



Scoping study on defining and measuring distress migration

William Robert Avis

April 2017

Question

A scoping study to define and measure distress migration: this study includes a taxonomy of migration, an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of existing terms and suggestions on how distress migration can be located within the existing migration lexicon.

Contents

1. Overview
2. Migration terminology: a gap in existing definitions
3. Distress migration
4. Measuring distress migration
5. Strengths and weaknesses of the term distress migration
6. References
7. Appendices

1. Overview

This scoping study explores the concept of distress migration. It provides a broad overview of migration terminology, a reading of the strengths and weaknesses of existing terms and a discussion of how distress migration can be located within this lexicon. The review draws on both academic and grey literature, reflecting the variety of approaches to understanding migrants and migration. The scoping study involves a preliminary assessment of the scope of research literature pertaining to distress migration and a rapid analysis of the key concepts underpinning migration research.

Whilst the study and analysis of population movements (i.e. migration) has attained increased prominence in academic and policy circles, the nature, drivers, direction and permanence of migration remain subject to debate. Terminology within the migration lexicon is often associated with different literatures, concepts, methods and policy agendas. In assessing the utility of the term “distress migration” and its potential contribution to an already congested lexicon, a number of questions are posed:

- Is there a gap in existing definitions of migration that warrants the articulation of a specific notion of distress migration?
- If so, how can the definition of distress migration be developed?
- Finally, if the concept of distress migration is of use, how can it be measured?

The definition and use of the term distress migration must therefore be informed by a critical analysis of the existing migration literature and an acknowledgment that in practice migrant journeys are multiple, complex and fragmented.

It is also important to acknowledge the epistemological primacy exerted by certain organisations and their influence over terms used to discuss migration. Notions of migration are often constructed, defined and articulated by organisations, and driven by political interests and pragmatic concerns, i.e. managing flows of international migrants or discouraging population movements into overpopulated regions. Not only do definitional boundaries serve political and practical purposes, they can often be profoundly disempowering for migrant communities and individuals. There is a less established literature that captures how migrants perceive and define themselves and how collecting this type of qualitative data may well illuminate understandings of migration.

Key messages include:

- Existing migration terminology is riven with binaries and filled with conceptual and definitional challenges. The use of migration terms varies from country to country, organisation to organisation and academic to academic. Even within a country, a single term can be associated with different meanings or implications, perspectives or approaches.
- There is a need for more focus on the scope and scale of migration and the diverse nature and experience of mobility. This involves differentiating, in a nuanced way, between temporary and permanent, voluntary and involuntary migrants and their diverse origins and destinations – whether rural, urban or other.
- In a similar vein, more nuanced analysis of migratory patterns is needed that acknowledges that the substantive drivers of migration are multifaceted, context specific and involve multiple endpoints – there is no unilinear pattern.
- It is common for empirical studies and policy debates to focus on a particular aspect of migration i.e. the direction, destination, duration or lawfulness of migration, often treating these as compartmentalised subjects of study. This may overlook the intersecting and multifaceted nature of many contemporary population movements, which often include elements of internal/international, temporary/permanent and voluntary/involuntary movement.
- The notion of distress migration is not a new concept. There is an existing definition accompanied by a limited literature. According to this literature, migration flows associated with natural disasters and climate change can be categorised as examples of distress migration.
- The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO, 2016b: 1) has mobilised a broader definition of “distress migration”, defined in its work on rural youth migration. FAO identifies the root causes of distress migration as including: food insecurity, rural poverty, limited income opportunities, inequality and environmental degradation.
- To differentiate between migration as a coping response and migration for diversification requires a nuanced understanding of how households experience distress and to what extent this mediates the potential for successful, secure and/or profitable investment at home. One

way to clarify this is through an analysis of how individuals perceive local livelihood strategies and investment possibilities in communities experiencing distress.

- The report concludes that the term distress migration represents an interesting addition to an already crowded lexicon. The term seeks to problematise the compartmentalisation and binary demarcation of migration e.g. between internal and international, voluntary and involuntary, temporary and permanent. It encourages a more nuanced analysis of the decision to migrate, disrupting and politicising the discourse of economic migration. The adjective distress implies a more subjective reading of migration and of migrant experiences.

2. Migration terminology: a gap in existing definitions

It is widely held that migration is a growing global phenomenon, with countries simultaneously points of origin, transit and destination (UNHCR, 2016; UN, 2015; WB, 2016). Whilst migration figures are subject to much debate, it is estimated that globally there are 763 million internal (UNDESA, 2013) and 244 million international migrants (UNDESA, 2015). UNESCO (2017) has asserted that migration is integral to development, enabling individuals, families and households to attain their goals and aspirations, manage risk and vulnerability, and respond to shocks as they occur. Migration is also considered essential to the efficient and effective functioning of cities and regions, labour markets and communities (WB, 2009).

Migration pressures within and across countries are likely to be exacerbated by demographic trends, globalisation, inequality and climate change (Black et al., 2008). Conflicts, violence and natural disasters may prompt forced displacement and migration (FAO, 2016). Further to this, as economies undergo structural transformation and opportunities within the agricultural sector shrink (or expand), the movement of people within and across countries may increase (Timmer, 2014). In such contexts, individuals or households may be compelled to move because of socio-economic factors such as poverty, food insecurity, lack of employment, limited access to social protection, natural resource depletion or the adverse impact of environmental degradation and climate change (FAO, 2016a).

Migration is thus a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, manifested in a variety of forms, from local mobility to permanent relocation across international boundaries. Most countries distinguish between a number of categories in migration policies and statistics. Further to this, academics approach the study of migration from a variety of competing theoretical viewpoints fragmented across disciplines, regions and ideologies (Brettell & Hollifield, 2007; Brettell & Hollifield, 2014). The variations existing between countries and academic disciplines, illustrates the challenges of arriving at an objective definition of migration and the proliferation of adjectives to describe different types of migration (see appendix 1).

Definitions

Migration is broadly defined as the process of crossing a political or administrative boundary for a specific period. There is, however, much debate as to what constitutes migration and who should, and should not, be considered a migrant. The UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants defines a migrant worker as a 'person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national' (UN, 2005). From the above a broader definition of migrants follows:

'The term 'migrant' in article 1.1 (a) should be understood as covering all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned, for reasons of 'personal convenience' and without intervention of an external compelling factor'.

According to UNESCO,¹ such definitions have been criticised for being too narrow, ignoring the scale of internal migration and failing to acknowledge that decisions to move can be both voluntary and involuntary (King, 2008; King & Skeldon, 2010). Elaborating on this comment, UNESCO suggest that such definitions face difficulties in distinguishing between migrants who leave countries or regions of origin due to political persecution, conflicts, economic insecurity, environmental degradation or a combination of these, and those who do so in search of conditions of survival or well-being absent in places of origin. UNESCO has defined a migrant as ‘any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country’.²

In a similar vein, Guerra (2016) comments that there is a necessity of rethinking the international framework in a way that encourages the development of a protection policy no longer focused on the refugee status, but rather on specific needs and vulnerabilities of broad range of migrants.

Given the scale of migration (both international and internal) and the diversity of push factors (both economic and non-economic), organisations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has mobilised a broader definition of migration that incorporates movements within national borders of a voluntary and involuntary nature. IOM defines migration as ‘the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification’.³ Whilst capturing the multifaceted nature of population movement, this definition is less useful at capturing the decision making processes behind decisions to move (involving push and pull factors). A broad overview of attempts to define migrants and migration is provided in appendix 1; such terms can be loosely grouped according to five criteria:

Direction of movement

- **Out-migration/outward migration:** the process of people moving permanently out of areas of normal residence to another area in the same country.
- **Emigration:** the act of departing or exiting from one country with a view to settling in another.
- **Immigration:** the process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement.
- **In-migration:** the process of people moving permanently into a new area of their country.

Destination of movement

- **Internal migration:** refers to people within a country moving to another location within its borders.
- **International migration:** refers to people who leave their country of origin, or country of habitual residence, to establish themselves in another country (IOM, 2011).

¹ <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/migrant/>

² See UNESCO url above

³ <http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>

Duration of the movement

- **Permanent migration:** when someone moves from one place to another and has no plans to return to their original home. It involves persons who move to an area or country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least a year, so that the area or country of destination effectively becomes their new place of residence (UN Statistic Division)⁴.
- **Temporary migration:** is limited by time. It involves persons who move to an area or country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year, except in cases where the movement to area or country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends or relatives, business or medical treatment (UN Statistic Division).
 - **Circular or Seasonal migration:** The fluid movement of people between areas or countries, including temporary or long-term movement. It includes migration for employment, dependent on seasonal conditions and performed only during part of the year. Seasonal migrants are members of the household who leave for part of the year to work, but are still considered household members (de Brauw & Harigaya, 2007). Seasonal migration provides opportunities for households to supplement incomes and protect their asset base during the agricultural lean season.

Lawfulness of the movement

- **Legal migration:** Pertaining to migrants who have entered a country legally and remain in the country in accordance with his/her admission criteria.
- **Irregular migration:** There is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration. From the perspective of destination countries, it is entry, stay or work in a country without the necessary authorisation or documents required under immigration regulations. From the perspective of the country of origin, the irregularity is seen, for example, when a person crosses an international boundary without a valid passport or travel document or does not fulfil the administrative requirements for leaving the country. There is a tendency to restrict the use of the term "illegal migration" to cases of smuggling of migrants and human trafficking (IOM, 2011).⁵

Willingness to move

Framing all of the above is the degree to which individuals' or households' decision to migrate is made voluntarily or involuntarily. The notion of voluntary migration (commonly referred to as economic migration) denotes a decision making process based on free will and initiative. People move for a variety of reasons, involving options and choices. Individuals who are in-moving will consider the push and pull factors of two locations before making decisions. The strongest factors influencing people to move voluntarily is the desire to live in a better home or improve employment opportunities. Other factors contributing to voluntary migration include change in life's course, politics, family reunification, education, employment and individual personality.

In contrast, the notion of involuntary migration (commonly referred to as forced migration) refers to a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters etc.).

⁴ <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/migration/migrmethods.htm>

⁵ <http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>

Gaps in existing definitions

Existing migration terminology is thus riven with binaries (internal/international, permanent/temporary, legal/irregular, forced/voluntary) and fraught with conceptual and definitional challenges. The usage of migration terms vary from country to country, organisation to organisation and academic to academic. Even within a country, terms can vary as to the meaning or implication, perspective or approach. Adopting a compartmentalised approach to the study of migration also poses challenges.

The definition and delineation of migratory movements are often challenging, blurred as a result of geopolitical events, the changing nature and configuration of national borders, and evolving experiences of vulnerability and insecurity (King et al., 2008). Existing terms often fail to capture the overlapping, nuanced and contextually diverse drivers and consequences of migration (see appendix 3 and migration case studies). As a response, new terms have been mobilised or existing terms refined or repackaged.

Discussions of internal versus international movements may overlook or underestimate the degree to which internal migration may act as a precursor to international migration. Conway's (1980) discussion of step-wise migration⁶ highlights the progressive nature of many migratory movements involving movements up or indeed down the 'urban hierarchy', with moves to urban centres sometimes a precursor to international migration.

Discussions of the temporal nature of migration i.e. its temporary or permanent nature may gloss over the variety of temporary and circular movements and patterns of return migration documented in smaller population-specific studies. Such notions are based on conceptualisations of nations and populations as fixed objects of study with distinct points of origin and destination. This fixity has been challenged by authors such as Nail (2015), who in an attempt to provide a counter argument, mobilises the notion of kino-politics.⁷

To capture the multifaceted nature of many contemporary population movements, the term "mixed migration" has been mobilised. Mixed migration is a complex, relatively new term, defined differently by various organisations. IOM (2008: 2) define mixed migration flows as 'complex population movements including refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and other migrants'. Unaccompanied minors, environmental migrants, smuggled persons, victims of trafficking and stranded migrants, among others, may form part of a mixed flow.

Discussions of migration often differentiate between forced migration and economic, but this distinction is opaque in many contexts. Forced migration is often linked to conflict or natural disaster, while economic/labour migration is more often associated with voluntary migration. Nonetheless, between the two definitions, there is a gap that warrants more nuanced analysis. For example, in Somalia, the economic situation is such that economic migration has emerged as a coping strategy and is considered, by some, forced (IOM, 2014; UNDP, 2009).

As such, migration for economic reasons may still qualify as "involuntary" if motivated by the absence of alternative viable livelihood strategies. The term "distress migration" offers one attempt to capture the involuntary nature of some migration that are undertaken in the absence of traumatic event, for which the term forced migration is commonly ascribed.

⁶ The notion of step-wise migration implies a spatial relocation by steps or stages from a migrant's place of origin (often rural areas) to an intended destination (often an urban area).

⁷ The term "Kino-politics" denotes a study of migration which moves not from notions of preexisting citizens and states, but from the *flows* of migrants and the ways they have circulated or sedimented into citizens and states. The focus is placed on social motion instead of the state. critical-theory.com/the-figure-of-the-migrant-an-interview-with-thomas-nail/

3. Distress migration

The definition and mobilisation of the term distress migration must be informed by a critical analysis of existing migration literature and an acknowledgment that in practice migrant journeys are multiple, complex and fragmented. Central to this discussion must be a number of questions, which may help to refine the definition, and suggest possible means of measuring the scale of distress migration:

- Who are the migrants?
- Why are they migrating?
- What are the spatial patterns of flows, origins and destinations?
- What are the consequences of migration, particularly on the societies of origin and destination?

These questions are of particular relevance, highlighting elements of similarity and continuity between distress migrants, the temporal and spatial dimension of distress migration, the motivations for migration, the nature, density, strength and continuity of personal networks in places of origin and destination and finally whether decisions to migrate are wholly voluntary or subject to some form of compulsion.

Existing articulations of distress migration

The notion of distress migration is not a new concept. There is an existing definition accompanied by a limited literature (Suhrke, 1993; Raleigh, 2010; Renaud et al., 2011). According to this literature, migration flows associated with natural disasters and climate change can be categorised as examples of distress migration. According to Raleigh (2010), research on “environmental refugees” and “climate migrants” has focused on the analysis of distress migration patterns.

Suhrke (1993) suggests that sudden or extreme environmental degradation prompts distress migration. This definition focuses on the extent to which environmental factors such as climate change, flood, drought, crop loss, and soil degradation, as well as the associated loss of traditional conditions for economic survival, have been key factors influencing decisions to migrate, particularly in areas where the relationship between livelihood and environment are precariously balanced. Such patterns comprise large numbers of distressed and impoverished people seeking aid until a time at which they may be able to return to their place of origin. A central concept in this literature is vulnerability of existing livelihoods (Renaud et al., 2011).

Key features of this articulation of distress migration include:

- Distress migration occurs in areas where food security is low and the capacity of states is limited (Raleigh, 2010). The distressed condition denotes a sharp impact, increased vulnerability associated with an environmental shock and needed assistance to avoid further suffering and conflict (Suhrke, 1993).
- The composition of distress migration flows differs significantly by country, region and group (including by age and gender). Distance to possible hosting areas is a crucial factor influencing decisions to migrate (Perch-Nielsen, 2004: 57-58). Destinations are selected based on community relations, social capital networks and the availability of emergency provisions.
- Moves are frequently temporary until people are able to return to rebuild their livelihoods (Haque, 1997; Perch-Nielsen, 2004). The primary reasons for temporary moves include structural damage, loss of utilities, danger, and the availability of emergency provisions. Evidence suggests that distress migrants return to their home areas at a remarkably high rate (Suhrke, 1993).

- Distress migrants experience sub-national socio-economic impoverishment and marginalisation because of their involuntary migration. This is in part a socially constructed process, reflecting inequitable access to land and other resources (Hutton & Haque, 2004). The majority of distress migrants endure accumulative and increasing impoverishment, and limited opportunities to relieve debt and build up savings that may ease the hardships associated with displacement (Haque, 1997). In extreme severe cases, large-scale distress migration may be accompanied by “abject misery, large scale beggary and greatly increased mortality” (Perch-Nielsen, 2004).

Within this literature migration is viewed as a proactive, calculated strategy of adaptation to environmental distress, where households respond to an increase in the perceived insecurity of future agricultural production by sending household labour to other regions or even abroad. These perspectives are informed by New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theories, which conceptualise migration as a means of risk diversification for rural households. Two characteristics of this notion of disaster-induced distress migration require emphasis. Firstly, forced migration, as a result of ecological disaster, often results in internal rather than international displacement. Secondly, such migrations cause temporary displacement but not permanent migration. If permanent migration is the result of a disaster, it is considered a reflection of the inability of the state to respond effectively rather than the impact of the natural disaster (Haque, 1997).

Mander and Sahgal (2015: 1) suggest a broader definition of distress migration in their study of rural-urban migration in Delhi (India), defining it as:

such movement from one’s usual place of residence which is undertaken in conditions where the individual and/or the family perceive that there are no options open to them to survive with dignity, except to migrate. Such distress is usually associated with extreme paucity of alternate economic options, and natural calamities such as floods and drought. But there may also be acute forms of social distress which also spur migration, such as fear of violence and discrimination which is embedded in patriarchy, caste discrimination, and ethnic and religious communal violence.

According to this definition, distress migration is a multifaceted response to an array of issues associated with natural and environmental disasters, economic deprivation, or forms of gender and social oppression that are perceived to be intolerable. While the drivers of distress migration are manifold and often interrelated, in Mander and Sahgal’s (2015) definition, the lack of access to employment and the inability to survive with dignity are particularly relevant.

A common characteristic emerging from the above definitions is that decisions to migrate are prompted by limited alternative opportunities at points of origin, thus blurring the distinction between voluntary economic migration and involuntary forced migration.

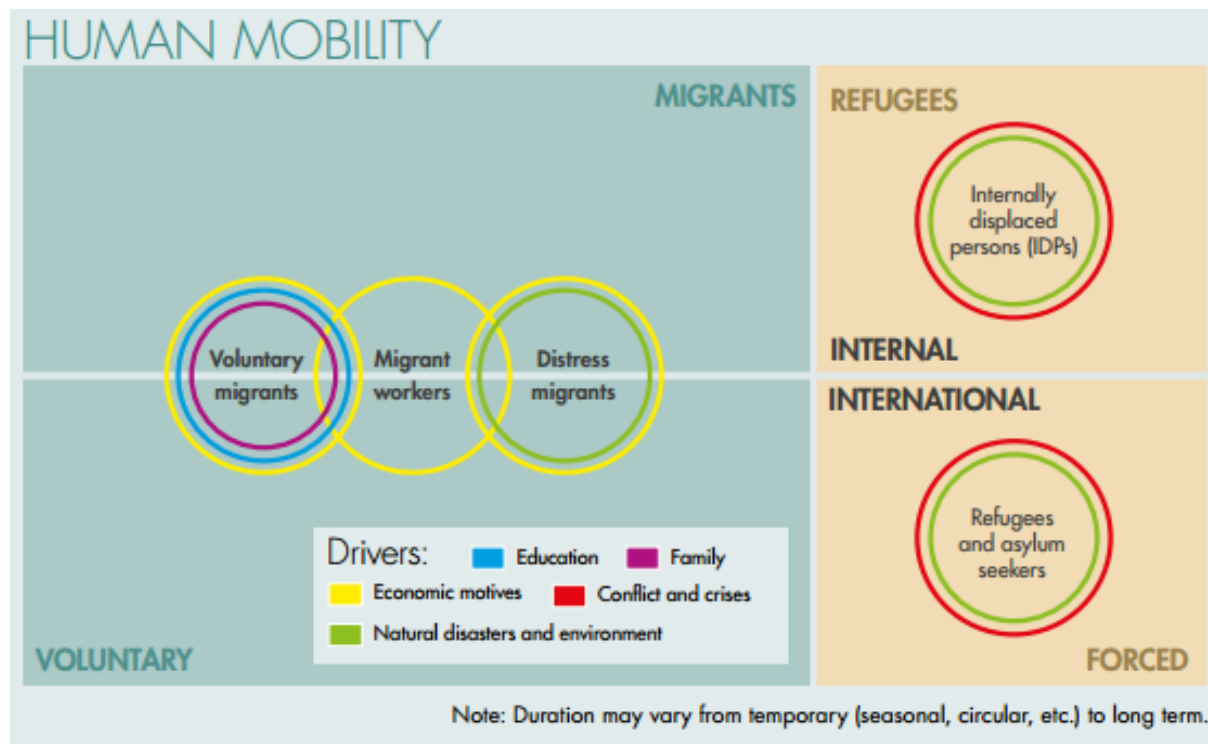
FAO definition of distress migration

In a similar vein to Mander and Sahgal (2015), FAO (2016b: 1) has mobilised a broad definition of “distress migration”, defined in its work on rural youth migration (see figure 1 for a visual representation of the location of this definition):

all migratory movements made in conditions where the individual and/or the household perceive that the only viable livelihood option for moving out of poverty is to migrate. Such distress is usually associated with lack of livelihood options, given the limited economic and employment opportunities, as well as drought, crop failure and food insecurity. Distress migration is

particularly acute among rural youth. For most of them, migration is not an informed and voluntary choice but the only perceived option for improving their employment and life prospects and meeting their particular aspirations and needs.

Figure 1: Human Mobility



Source: FAO (2016b: 19)

FAO identifies the root causes of distress migration as including: food insecurity, rural poverty, limited income opportunities, inequality and environmental degradation (these push factors will be explored in greater depth in subsequent sections). Alongside these, a number of additional factors can be seen to exert an influence on decisions to migrate. These include social/family networks, household size, cultural norms, household composition and assets (FAO, 2016). In common with existing notions of distress migration, decisions (though maybe constrained and occupying an area between voluntary and forced migration) are seen as a proactive, calculated strategy of adaptation to distress. In what follows I explore these points in greater detail, aiming to locate distress migration more clearly in the existing lexicon.

Who are the migrants?

Rural poor households

The population of the developing world is still predominantly rural, with an estimated 3.1 billion people, or 55 percent living in rural areas (IFAD, 2010a). IFAD estimates that at least 70 percent of the world's poor live in rural areas, with a large proportion of the poor and hungry being children and young people. Further to this, levels of poverty vary considerably, both across and within regions and countries.

Moving from one place to another is a fundamental way humans respond to challenging conditions. Migration patterns everywhere are in part motivated by economic factors: the dominant migration

system in the world has been movement from rural to urban areas within countries as people seek favourable work and living conditions (IPCC, 2014).

Rural households typically manage risk through diversification: smallholders may use diversified cropping or mixed farming systems and many households use non-farm activities to complement and reduce the risks associated with farming. Migration is a key component of risk management with households aiming to diversify their income sources. In many developing countries, remittances represent a large share of national income, with an estimated 40 percent going to rural areas (FAO, 2015).

Decisions to migrate are influenced by a range of household and individual characteristics. These include social/family networks, household size, cultural norms, household composition and assets. Of particular use in conceptualising the determinants of distress migration is the work of FAO (2016b). FAO provides a conceptual framework building on the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) model, which asserts that decisions to migrate reflect socioeconomic characteristics and aspirations of the individual, as well as the composition, wealth and livelihoods of households (Stark, 1991). Their framework suggests that the decision to migrate is subject to a set of determinants which vary according to local contexts, stage of structural transformation, as well as household and individual characteristics (see Figure 1 and Appendix 2 for a fuller discussion).

Young people

Youth is a pivotal stage of human development during which young people make the transition from childhood to adulthood and from dependence to independence or interdependence. This transition (social, economic, biological) is fundamental to safeguarding and shaping, further development and the deployment of human and social capital (GMG, 2014). It is during this period that young people make decisions about their lives, particularly their ethical, social, economic, cultural, political and civic positioning.

Youth are the most likely to be underemployed or employed in part-time, seasonal, low-paying and precarious jobs (ILO, 2011; 2015). Globally, the unemployment rate is three times higher for youth than for adults (ILO, 2015) and 92 percent of young people are considered to be working poor (ILO, 2015). The incidence of long-term unemployment among youth is estimated at 60.6 percent in North Africa and 48.1 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa (ILO, 2015). The proportion of rural youth in vulnerable employment ranges from 68.1 percent in Zambia to 93.7 percent in Benin (Elder et al., 2015).

Acknowledging that it is difficult to determine the drivers of youth migration, this review notes that motivations are often linked to the search for work, due to lack of employment, under-employment and absence of decent working conditions, and poor economic prospects in regions of origin. Furthering education, family reunification, and escaping from areas affected by war, persecution, humanitarian crises or natural disasters may also be important drivers. For women, gender-based discrimination, including violence or restrictions on their rights may also motivate migration.

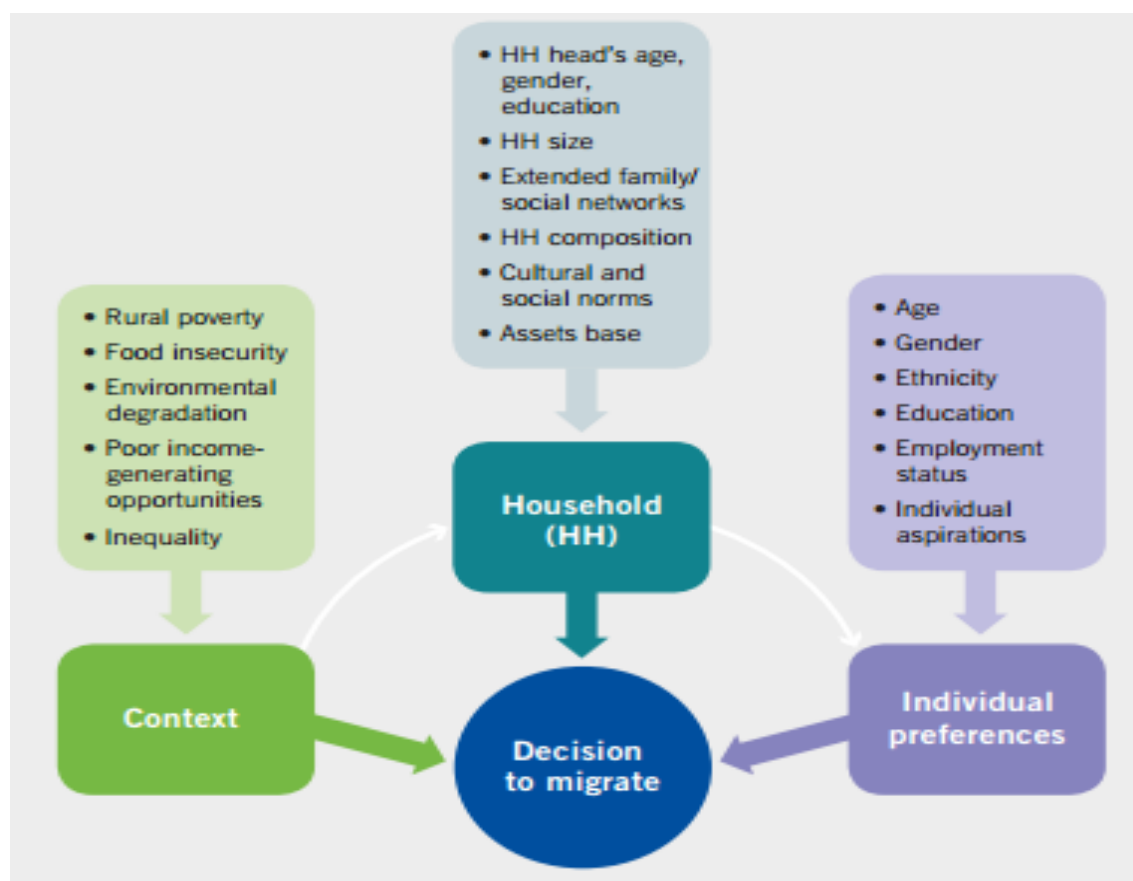
Recent literature has pointed out the importance of family and social factors in the decisions of the young to migrate (World Development Report, 2007). In developing countries, where households face labour and financial market constraints, migration can be a strategy to diversify income sources and cope with risks (Protick & Kuhn, 2006). Families might encourage younger members to migrate because they have higher earning potential, but also because they are more likely to remit money. Further, family and socioeconomic circumstances during childhood influence migration later in life (Abramitzky et al., 2012).

A positive migration experience can set young migrants on a path towards capitalising on their accomplishments and developing economic and social assets. However, if the experiences are negative, migration can have particularly dire and traumatic consequences for young peoples' short and long-term future (GMG, 2014). As with other forms of migration highlighted in this paper, FAO (2016b) asserts that distress migration is often pursued by the young, whether with the acquiescence of family or motivated by individual aspirations. Young people engaging in distress migration are often more vulnerable and at a greater disadvantage than older migrants.

Why are they migrating?

Decisions to migrate are influenced by a number of factors. Findings from Myanmar (WB, 2016a) highlight that households migrate for many reasons, including insecure rural livelihoods, shocks that make subsistence difficult, and the desire for upward mobility. In the coming decades, demographic forces, globalisation and climate change are likely to increase migration pressures both within and across countries. FAO (2016b) identifies these factors as follows:

Figure 2: Determinants of distress migration



Source: FAO (2016b: 10)

Rural poverty: The majority of the world's poor reside in rural areas and depend on agricultural production for subsistence. However, agriculture can only absorb a certain proportion of the labour force (Mutandwa et al., 2011), given the persistently low agricultural productivity, the poor use of technology and limited purchasing power in rural areas. The seasonal nature of agricultural labour results in sharp fluctuations in wages and employment opportunities and poor working conditions, especially for youth.

Rural poverty is thought to result from a lack of assets, limited economic opportunities, poor education and capabilities, as well as disadvantages rooted in social and political inequalities (Rahman & Chowdhury, 2012). Households fall into poverty primarily as a result of shocks such as ill health, poor harvests, social expenses, or conflict and disasters. Correspondingly, mobility out of poverty is associated with personal initiative and enterprise alongside household characteristics such as education, ownership of physical assets and good health. Beyond household-level factors, economic growth and local availability of opportunities, markets, infrastructure and enabling institutions (including good governance) are important (IFAD, 2010).

Food insecurity: In much of Africa, a large percentage population are undernourished (e.g. 40 percent in the Horn of Africa) and almost half live in areas prone to extreme food shortages (FAOSTAT). Migration has been highlighted as a widely adopted coping strategy for dealing with deteriorating food security.

Increased competition for natural resources and environmental degradation: To mitigate climate-change-induced hazards and demographic pressures, rural communities may adopt detrimental management practices that degrade the land and water systems (FAO, 2011). They may also resort to migration once existing livelihood strategies have been eroded. Youth's principal means for accessing land is through inheritance, but existing laws and customs and increasing life expectancy may be a hindrance. The increasing fragmentation of family land can result in economically unviable divisions.

Limited income-generating opportunities: In rural areas there are limited opportunities to engage in off-farm activities, with few alternative job prospects due to lack of investment and the limited socio-economic infrastructure. Youth have limited access to markets and lack the necessary training to improve entrepreneurial, administrative, technical or social skills. The jobs available in rural areas are associated with low and insecure incomes, poor occupational safety and health conditions, gender inequalities in pay and opportunities, and scarce access to social protection.

Inequality: Most policies aimed at enhancing agricultural productivity and food security fail to prioritise equality. They tend to benefit large-scale producers and overlook the heterogeneity of constraints faced by small-scale agriculture (FAO, 2013; IFAD & UNEP, 2013).

Factors associated with rural poverty tend to be unequally distributed within countries. Certain groups, particularly rural women, youth, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities, are often disproportionately affected by such disadvantages. Further, vulnerable households must also cope with factors including natural resource degradation, growing insecurity of access to land, increasing pressure on common property resources and greater volatility of food prices (IFAD, 2010).

Low or stagnant farm productivity: Sub Saharan Africa is the only region in the world where per capita agricultural productivity has remained stagnant over the past 40 years (Jama & Pizzarro, 2008). It lags behind other developing regions in terms of the adoption of new technologies. Additional constraints are market inefficiencies (Jack, 2011) and high transaction costs (Kirsten et al., 2013).

Remoteness and weak capital markets in rural areas: Rural-urban differentials in the availability of social infrastructure (in particular roads, schools and hospitals) influence migration from rural to urban areas (Herrera & Sahn, 2013). Youth are particularly disadvantaged with regard to accessing services. Migration stabilises household income in a context of weak or absent financial and insurance market, especially in the case of temporary migration (Schrieder & Knerr, 2000).

Distress and the decision to migrate

The decline or increasing challenge associated with certain rural livelihoods and the psychological impact this has had upon individuals and communities and their attitudes and aspirations is an understudied aspect of rural migration. Aldrich and Smith (2015) suggest that prolonged experiences of insecurity and vulnerability severely affect upon individuals and communities, often involving the disruption or collapse of existing social, economic and political relations. Factors that have a particular influence on decisions to migrate include:

- The unsustainability of existing livelihood systems and the degree to which these may have deteriorated beyond the point at which they are considered viable.
- The psychological experiences of anomie and distress associated with crises of identity, whether linked to the decline of livelihood systems, the rupture of existing patterns of social organisation or the failure of livelihood adaptations.

The increasing deterioration of certain patterns of livelihood generation in many regions may transform existing economic or socio-cultural practices necessitating changes to daily social life and associated norms, values, attitudes and aspirations (Ali, 2007). Where these are undermined, without anything positive to replace them (i.e. values and life opportunities), the effect on individuals, and the collective culture can be disastrous. Crawford (2008; 2016) notes that destruction of social values in this way may lead to increased alcohol and drug dependency and miss-use, violence, economic disempowerment, lack of self-esteem and cultural belief and increasing powerlessness and social lethargy. Such distress may entail changes in livelihoods, gendered roles or the use of violence, as well as compelling individuals or households to migrate.

Existing definitions of distress migration highlight the centrality of distress to decisions to migrate and of experiences at points of destination:

- The distressed condition denotes a sharp impact, increased vulnerability and needed assistance to avoid further suffering and conflict (Suhrke, 1993).
- Movements from one's usual place of residence which are undertaken in conditions where the individual and/or the family perceive that there are no options open to them to survive with dignity, except to migrate are examples of distress migration (Mander & Sahgal, 2015).
- Distress migration is all migratory movements made in conditions where the individual and/or the household perceive that the only viable livelihood option for moving out of poverty is to migrate (FAO, 2016b).
- For most of them, migration is not an informed and voluntary choice but the only perceived option for improving their employment and life prospects and meeting their particular aspirations and needs (FAO, 2016b).
- Large-scale distress migration can be accompanied by "abject misery, large scale beggary and greatly increased mortality" (Perch-Nielsen, 2004).

The term cultural depression has been used to describe the disruption to norms and values including attitudes and aspirations that crisis-affected people and societies face (Crawford, 2016: 26; Korhonen, 2005; Dyer, 2006). Crawford (2016) suggests that conflict, natural disasters, or political manipulation and exploitation can cause these disruptions. Such disruption is different to "breaks with tradition" where the choice to abandon certain cultural norms and practices is made consciously and with minimum force. Where norms and values are undermined without any positive replacement the effect on individuals and

collective culture can be disastrous. The erosion of existing pastoral livelihoods in regions such as Karamoja (Uganda) and the lack of viable alternatives in rural areas other than migration is one example of the potential synergy between discussions of cultural depression and distress migration (Stites, 2014; 2014a). Here, notions of manhood intrinsically linked to cattle ownership have been undermined, negatively affecting notions of self-worth and status.

In such contexts the dislocation of society, loss of cultural identity and purpose, self-esteem and cultural pride can exacerbate feelings of distress and motivations for migration. Crawford (2016) notes that there is a need to better understand the socio-cultural norms, capabilities and agency of affected communities and understand how their attitudes and aspirations change or adapt in response to conflict and crises. This is particularly pertinent for a discussion of distress migration.

What are the consequences of migration, particularly on the societies of origin and destination?

According to Maxwell et al. (2012) understanding local changes and adaptations in contexts of vulnerability and insecurity should be a pivotal concern for researchers. Adaptations identified by Maxwell et al. (2012) include higher reliance on labour markets, remittances, and natural resource extraction. He also notes that these adaptations may entail the adoption of unsustainable or “maladaptive” practices. This may in turn, impact on social interactions within families and communities leading to bonds of trust being negatively affected and shared norms breaking down. Decisions about migration may be influenced by this break down and the precarious nature of rural livelihoods.

The consequences of migration are mixed, involving both negative and positive impacts. For rural areas of origin, negative impacts may include a loss of workforce, growing remittance dependency, income inequality at community level due to remittances, increased work burden for those left behind and adoption of unsustainable consumption patterns (de Hass, 2007). It is, however, important to acknowledge that migration can have positive impacts. These may include less pressure on local labour markets, income stability and consumption, support to the poorest households, know-how transfer and investment in flow, better access to social services thanks to remittances and reduced person-land ration and less pressure on natural resources (de Hass, 2007).

More specifically, moving to urban areas can enhance well-being, offering an escape from poverty and providing access to better opportunities, employment, health and education (IOM, 2015: 4). However, an influx of migrants strains the ability of urban areas to cope, meaning migrants may be unable to access social support or afford adequate housing. This makes them more vulnerable to deprivation, disease and violence and often exposes them to forced eviction (de Boer, 2015). Migrant women, especially those who are undocumented, are more likely to experience labour market exploitation and are at greater risk of kidnap or trafficking.

Raleigh (2010) and Renaud (2011) comment that if few resources are available to deal with distress migrations, the result can be disorder and social conflict. Suhrke (1993) utilises the example of tension in the Sudan and evictions from Khartoum as one possible consequence when in-migration inflates urban slum populations, overwhelms the capacity of existing social services, and generates an uprooted and disenfranchised population thereby increasing the potential for urban violence.

Box 1: Distress and the experiences of migration

An interesting feature of Mahander and Sahgal's (2015) definition of distress migration is that the suffix "distress" is used, not just to highlight the psychological feelings and experiences associated with the decisions to migrate, but also experiences of migration at points of destination. They highlight that whilst the initial decision to migrate may be prompted by the increasing un-tenability of existing livelihoods and a sense that as individuals or households they are compelled to migrate, this sense of distress or anomie is not confined to the place of origin, rather it defines and informs migrant experiences of vulnerability and insecurity. Similarly, authors such as Raleigh (2010), Renaud (2011) and Suhrke (1993) highlight that the majority of distress migrants endure accumulative and increasing impoverishment and that in extreme severe cases, large scale distress migration can be accompanied by abject misery and greatly increased mortality (Perch-Nielsen, 2004).

Mahander and Sahgal (2015) suggest rural-to-urban migrants are often treated as intruders and illegitimate citizens experiencing various levels of insecurity of livelihood and habitation. They note that migrants are predominately engaged in vulnerable occupations located in the informal sector, are unorganised and unprotected, offered little or no social security benefits in employment and working in exploitative unsafe conditions which strip workers of their dignity. They are often unable to access citizenship rights in the city making them vulnerable to deprivation, disease and violence and often expose them to forced eviction (de Boer, 2015).

Whilst moving to cities can enhance well-being, offering an escape from poverty and providing access to better opportunities, employment, health and education, experiences of distress of internal migrants often continue, albeit in transformed ways. As noted, rural youth may lack important skills and resources to be competitive in formal labour markets. They often have insufficient economic assets, savings, human capital, social capital (i.e. the ability to make use of networks) and cultural capital (i.e. language, customs) (World Bank, 2011). Young rural migrants often end up living in informal settlements (McKay & Deshingkar, 2014) and are at risk of being trapped in low-income or informal employment, hazardous work, unemployment or underemployment (World Bank, 2011). Migrants are often marginalised both physically and metaphorically within the city. In general, young migrants are particularly vulnerable to discrimination, social exclusion, violence, abuse and exploitation (GMG, 2014).

What are the spatial patterns of flows, origins and destinations?

The large majority of migrants worldwide move within their countries rather than abroad. They move from one rural area to another or from rural to urban areas. Existing definitions of distress migration highlight the rural origins of migrants and the predominately-internal points of destination. Mander and Sahgal (2015) note that patterns of distress migration in India involve large numbers of impoverished men, women and children migrating from rural to urban areas. Discussions of environmental distress migration highlight the importance of distance to possible hosting areas as a crucial factor influencing decisions to migrate. This does not preclude distress migration over national borders but rather suggests that migrations are often undertaken by individuals with limited financial resources and prompted by deteriorating socio-economic contexts. It is well established in demography that while migration is a common strategy to deal with livelihood risk, movement is costly and disruptive and hence may be used only as an adaptation of last resort (McLeman, 2009).

Internal migration

Whilst international migration of skilled individuals has received much attention within academic and policy discourse, the study of internal migration has been more limited (Skeldon, 2008; Castaldo et al., 2012). International migration denotes a territorial relocation of people between nation-states. In contrast, internal migration refers to a move from one area (province, district or municipality) to another within a country. Whilst the boundaries between these definitions are inherently blurred,⁸ it is the latter term that is of particular relevance to discussions of distress migration. Indeed, the majority of migrant journeys involve short to medium distance migration, primarily within national boundaries (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2004). Such moves are rarely permanent with people changing place of residence multiple times (Rees et al., 2000).

Studies have highlighted that this form of mobility consists predominantly of the young and the poor and constitutes the largest flow of people in developing countries (Deshingkar & Grim, 2004; Tacoli et al., 2014; UNDP 2009). In contexts where households face labour and financial market constraints, migration can be a strategy to diversify income sources and cope with risks (Protick & Kuhn, 2006). Families might encourage younger members to migrate because they have higher earnings potential and are more likely to remit money (see appendix 3 and migration case studies).

With a few exceptions, the evidence suggests that internal population movements are increasing. IOM (2006) comments that the classic push and pull forces that resulted in people from poor regions migrating to richer rural and urban locations still exist and may even be accentuated with rising population pressure and deteriorating land and water availability. Alongside these, new factors have emerged including urbanisation and manufacturing in Asia; increased occupational diversification and mobility in response to macroeconomic reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa and more circulation within urban areas in Latin America. All of these factors render existing delineations between internal/international, permanent/temporary and forced/voluntary increasingly blurred.

While it is sometimes assumed that internal migration equates to movements from poor rural to richer urban areas, data shows that patterns of internal migration are more complex, involving different types of movement (e.g. inter-district/inter-state, inter-rural and urban), with reasons for migration differentiated by gender (Migrating out of poverty, 2011). A further strand of evidence shows social differentiation in access to the resources necessary to migrate influences migration outcomes (Renaud et al., 2011; Black et al., 2013). Vulnerability is inversely correlated with mobility, leading to those being most exposed and vulnerable to the impacts of climate change having the least capability to migrate.

Given the temporal and context specific nature of migration, a more pragmatic exploration of internal migration is required that acknowledges that factors influencing migration are not static, rather they wax and wane according to social, political and economic contexts. Decisions are thus complex and multifaceted, dependent on individual and household characteristics, driven by a variety of factors (i.e. poverty, food insecurity, inequality, poor income-generating opportunities and increased competition for scarce land and water resources alongside perceptions of and ability to access opportunities elsewhere).

An often-missing aspect of the migration debate, is the inter-relationship of push and pull factors and their interaction with existing cultural norms. For example, whilst rural-urban migration in regions such as Karamoja (Uganda) may be driven in part by a desire to access improved opportunities it may also be prompted by the un-tenability of existing livelihoods (Stites, 2014; 2014a; Crawford, 2016). The distress

⁸ See for example regional migration in border areas characterised by highly fluid population movements such as the Fulani in West Africa, the Sotho in South Africa or the Ewe between Ghana and Togo.

caused by the decline of existing livelihoods, the psychological challenges associated with the loss of notions of masculinity tied to pastoral livelihoods and the push to seek new opportunities in other rural or urban areas is an aspect of migration discourse that is often missing.

4. Measuring distress migration

Paucity of data

Studies of the patterns and determinants of migration have been hampered by a lack of consistency in definitions, measures, timing and analysis (Ginsburg et al., 2014). In other fields of demography there is a long-established tradition of clearly defined statistical indicators by which countries can be compared. Examples include the fertility rates, life expectancy and level of urbanisation (Bell & Charles-Edwards, 2014). League tables ranking countries on these and a variety of other measures are routinely available in international statistical collections, such as those maintained by the United Nations and the Population Reference Bureau. While fertility and mortality are singular events tied to specific locations, migration can be a repetitive process with variable temporal and spatial dimensions linked to individual aspirations and constraints (Bell et al., 2002).

In recent years, estimates of international migration rates have become increasingly available for many countries and efforts have been made to enhance the comparability of international migration statistics (Abel & Sander, 2014)⁹. To date, however, statistical indicators on other forms of population mobility, including internal migration, are much more challenging.

The dynamics of the interaction of mobility with poverty, food insecurity, lack of employment, limited access to social protection, natural resource depletion or the adverse impact of environmental degradation and climate change are multifaceted and direct causation is difficult to establish. The major findings of existing studies demonstrate the multiple drivers of migration and highlight the governance challenges faced by migrating populations (Black et al., 2013; Foresight, 2011). The IPCC (2014) illustrates that these studies have derived these findings through multiple methods and lines of evidence, including statistical inference, to explain observed migration patterns using climate or related impacts as independent variables; sample surveys of migrant motivations and behaviour; modelling techniques; and historical analogues (McLeman & Hunter, 2010; Piguet, 2010)

Whilst international migration has received much attention, according to Bell and Charles-Edwards (2014), less attention has been given to the way internal migration varies between countries. Temporary, circular, repeated or multiple migrations are particularly difficult to measure, and may represent the only constant in the fragmented lives of migrants in search of better opportunities. Existing analyses reveal close links between migration and some aspects of national development but also underline the significance of history, culture, and socio-economic context in shaping mobility behaviour. A number of broad challenges exist for recording and measuring data on all types of migration. These include:

- increasing population mobility, and respective complexity, that complicates the estimation of migrant numbers;
- the absence of a standardised measurement of migration, which makes comparison difficult;
- undocumented migration, which creates specific measurement challenges;

⁹ UNDESA Migration Profiles - Common Set of Indicators. <https://esa.un.org/migmgprofiles/mpcsi.htm>

- the failure of most official and non-official statistics to disaggregate migratory flows by age, gender, education and skill, and area of origin (rural areas);
- a lack of consensus on the terms and the implementation of quantitative approaches to measure the impact of migration.

Framing these broad challenges is the overarching complexity of migration. Much attention has focused on challenges associated with the quantitative measurement of migration (Bell & Charles-Edwards, 2014), however, there has been less discussion of the potential contribution of qualitative methods.

Sources of data

Despite the above-mentioned challenges in measuring migration, available sources of data enable the provision of estimates, and offer a basis for improving the modes and means for measuring distress migration. Measurements of distress migration must work with, not against existing means of data collection, acknowledging constraints and augmenting gaps in innovative ways. Data can be gleaned from a number of sources, the two most common being (Stuart et al., 2015):

Administrative data derived from one or more government sources such as hospital or school records. They are cheaper to collect than survey data, and should be more frequent and aspire to greater population coverage, but at present coverage in many countries is incomplete and quality of the data can be problematic. An important type of administrative data is from civil registration systems – the governmental machinery set up in a country, state or province for legal recording of vital events (such as birth, death or marriage) of the population on a continuous basis.

Household surveys use a questionnaire to gather information on households and their members from a sample of the population of interest, carefully selected so that the findings will be representative of the whole of that population (but with margins of error). The major internationally comparable household surveys are the Macro International’s Demographic Health Survey, UNICEF’s Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey and the World Bank’s Living Standards Measurement surveys, World Bank Migration and Remittances Surveys and International Labour Force Surveys. These are usually conducted every 3-5 years. Most countries also implement national household surveys, which can be more or less frequent.

Bell and Charles-Edwards (2014) report that 179 out of 193 UN member states collect information on internal migration, but the form of data varies widely, with differences in three key dimensions:

- **Types of data.** While many countries measure migration as a change of address or transition between two discrete points in time, some countries collect information on all migration events, and a third group of countries simply record duration of residence in the current location;
- **Migration interval.** For countries that measure migration as a transition, the interval over which it is computed varies, with some electing to measure it over a one or five year interval, others migration since birth, and some the interval since the last move;
- **Spatial framework.** Countries differ widely in the way geographical data of migration is recorded, not only in the way the country is divided into zones, but also the precision with which current residence is recorded. While some of these differences are a product of particular forms of data collection or administrative geographies, others appear to be driven by historical inertia. The legacies of colonial influence, for example, are readily apparent in contemporary data collection systems across Africa (Rees et al., 2000).

Censuses or Demographic Health Surveys (DHS) are the most common sources of data on internal migration in Africa at the national level but these are conducted sporadically and in some countries not at

all (Potts, 2012). These surveys also have limitations when it comes to measuring migration and thus distress migration. Population censuses are designed to record more permanent forms of relocation occurring across larger spatial boundaries. Health and Demographic Surveillance Systems (HDSSs) provide an important source of detailed prospective, longitudinal data on migration and health measures, and individual level characteristics (Ginsburg et al., 2014).

Bell and Charles-Edwards (2004) identified 110 countries that utilised national surveys to collect internal migration data, and while small sample sizes limit insights into spatial patterns of internal migration, surveys generally do provide some measure of migration intensity. They also provide coverage of many countries in parts of the world, particularly Africa, for which other forms of internal migration data are less readily available.

Whilst these sources of data are of use, they often fail to identify frequent or temporary movements, or moves occurring over shorter distances between more homogeneous settlement areas. They also fail to capture the more nuanced and context specific drivers of migration, particularly where it is driven by distress.

A path forward

Whilst the constraints of data on migration patterns has been discussed, there is a less clear narrative about what data will be required to measure distress migration. What is clear is that limited data and evidence specifically related to distress migration of rural youth and its determinants will be the norm. The multidimensional poverty index (MPI) provides one source of information that could be leveraged to identify those communities which may be more likely to resort to distress migration. The MPI is an international measure of acute poverty covering over 100 developing countries¹⁰. It complements traditional income-based poverty measures by capturing the severe deprivations that individuals faces at the same time with respect to education, health and living standards. The MPI can be used to create a comprehensive picture of people living in poverty, and permits comparisons both across countries, regions and the world and within countries by ethnic group, urban/rural location, as well as other key household and community characteristics. This may allow an exploration of how demographic and socio-economic characteristics of regions are associated with migration patterns.

To differentiate between migration as a coping response and migration for diversification requires a nuanced understanding of how households experience distress, and to what extent this mediates the potential for successful, secure and/or profitable investment at home. One way to clarify this is through an analysis of how individuals perceive local livelihood strategies and investment possibilities in communities experiencing distress. Yet theories of migration and research among migrants rarely, explicitly capture migrant perspectives on their home communities. This oversight means we often know little about how distress is related to changing understandings of what is possible at home for individuals within migrant-sending areas.

Implicit within the definitions of distress migration is the notion that some people move because of a sense of anomie and psychological distress, loss of dignity and self-worth or compulsion. These aspects are hard to capture and overlooked by existing statistical methods of measurement. The contribution of the term distress migration is that it disrupts and politicises the discourse of economic migration. Correspondingly, innovative data collection measures must be developed that are efficient, cost effective and capture the nuanced nature of decisions to migrate. These should endeavour to impose the minimal

¹⁰ <http://www.ophi.org.uk/multidimensional-poverty-index/>

demands on resource constrained national statistical offices and work with, not against data already being collected.

Information is needed on both migrants and potential migrants in terms of origin and decisions whether or not to migrate. For those who do migrate information is required on destinations and timing of the migration, including the duration spent away from place of birth or residence, as well as the consequences of migration on both point of origin and destination. This must include socioeconomic data on migrants (and non-migrants) before their departure but also qualitative indicators of the decision to migrate and the impact of migration.

Carletto and de Brauw (2007) assert that panel data may be one solution, though its collection can be very costly. Given the lack of panel data in most contexts, other means of gathering data are required. Examples include unique modules such as the 2003 Education et Bien-être des Ménages au Sénégal (Education and Household Welfare in Senegal) survey which was specifically designed to explore migration decisions by asking questions retrospectively of young adults (21 to 35 years of age).

Bell et al. (2002) have suggested a minimum set of indices which will provide comparable information on four dimensions of internal migration levels and structure, though they will not capture the ways in which internal migration systems can differ between countries (see table 2).

Table 1: Set of indices for cross-national comparison of internal migration

Measures of intensity of migration	Measures of migration connectivity
Crude migration intensity	Index of migration connectivity
Standardized migration intensity	Index of migration inequality
Gross migraproduction rate	Migration-weighted Gini
Migration expectancy	Coefficient of variation
Peak migration intensity	
Age at peak intensity	Measures of migration impact
	Migration effectiveness index
Measures of distance of migration	Aggregate net migration rate
Median distance moved	
Distance decay parameter	
Courgeau's index	

Source: Bell et al. (2002: 461)

Whilst this set of indices is of use, Bell et al. (2002) acknowledge a number of gaps e.g. the absence of comparisons of characteristics of migrants other than the basic demographic variables of age and sex (e.g. ethnicity and social class). Further work would also be required to examine the extent of spatial variability within countries. In the context of distress migration, indicators of the influence of distress on decisions to migrate would be required.

Whilst quantitative measurements can provide broad indications of population movement, socio-economic status of migrants and duration of stay, this information has been shown to be relatively generic. It contains large gaps and arguably contributes to the disempowerment of migrants, reducing the diversity of human experience of migration to a range of measurable indicators.

It is here that qualitative methods of capturing the nuanced drivers of distress migration would have utility. They would augment and nuance quantitative data, serving to highlight the complex and multifaceted drivers of migration and to facilitate the development of policies and their better targeting at specific types of migrant (e.g. distress migrants). Examples of these methods employed in the study of migration include: Kubat and Hoffman-Nowotny (1981), Pryor (1979), Brettel and Hollifield (2014) and the ESCAP National Migration Survey manuals which advocate detailed migration histories as the core of modern survey design (United Nations/ESCAP, 1980-84). Examples of qualitative methods that could be used in the study of distress migration include:

- **Biographical approaches:** These approaches focus on biographical identity or biographical structuring, asserting the link between structure and individuals can only be understood sufficiently by analysing the development of individual personalities over their life course.
- **Narrative approaches:** These approaches overlap with the notion of narrative research; especially the empirical approaches of discourse analysis, ethnography, conversation analysis and others might be partly quite similar to the self-image of narrative research. The emphasis is on the importance of open questions and free narrations for discovering the “gestalt” of personal patterns of subjectivity.
- **Participant observation:** A type of data collection method typically used in qualitative research. The aim is to gain an understanding, within a given group of individuals, of practices through an involvement with people in their cultural environment, over an extended period of time.
- **Participatory action research (PAR):** An approach to research in communities that emphasises participation and action. It seeks to understand the world by trying to change it, collaboratively and following reflection. PAR emphasises collective inquiry and experimentation grounded in experience and social history.
- **Micro-level studies (individual or community):** Micro-level studies looks at small-scale interactions between individuals and groups, such as conversation or group dynamics.

The use of these methods would serve a number of purposes: augmenting the gathering of data in a field dominated by quantitative methods; highlighting the diversity of experiences of distress migration; identifying gaps in existing data collection methods; suggesting innovative means of filling these and, importantly, empowering migrants to define their experiences. Qualitative methods may be more adept at highlighting the specificity and processes of migrant decision-making, identity formation and change through the migration experience, the role of social capital and networks and the dynamics of the migration experience at points of origin and destination. Such an approach can act as a corrective to empiricist-positivist approaches and associated quantitative survey methods that dominate migration studies.

5. Strengths and weaknesses of the term distress migration

The term distress migration represents an interesting addition to an already crowded lexicon. It seeks to problematise the compartmentalisation and binary demarcation of migration e.g. between internal and international, voluntary and involuntary, temporary and permanent. It encourages a more nuanced analysis of the decision to migrate disrupting and politicising the discourse of economic migration. The adjective distress implies a more subjective reading of migration and of migrant experiences. A number of important questions, however, remain:

- The term distress migration has a limited existing usage and associated literature. This definition explores migration in response to environmental distress, specifically sudden onset events and the extent that these prompt temporary and involuntary migrations. More recent conceptualisation of distress migration mobilise a broader definition that, whilst including responses to climate related shocks, also incorporates a range of other factors. If the intention of this latter articulation is to replace existing definitions, it is important to articulate clearly why existing terms fail to capture accurately the nature of distress migration and how this mobilisation goes some way to rectify this failing. If the intention is to work alongside existing definitions, it is important to articulate what makes this definition distinctive.
- Given the comprehensiveness of more recent articulations of distress migration, there is a danger that it becomes a catch all term, including internal/international, temporary/permanent as well as incorporating a host of push factors. If this is the intention then it will occupy a similar space to the term mixed migration. To differentiate the terms it may be helpful to narrow down to some extent this definition. For instance, this could involve an emphasis on the migration of rural youth, predominantly, within national boundaries.
- It is also unclear as to what the mobilisation of the term distress migration is intended to accomplish. If the intention is to challenge existing notions of migration, in particular its compartmentalisation into convenient units of study, then adopting existing quantitative methods of analysis risks reproducing current debates. If the intention is to nuance discussions of the overlap between voluntary (economic) and involuntary (forced) migration this will require an analysis of tipping points i.e. the stage at which constrained livelihoods become untenable. Measuring this will be challenging as it is subjective and will vary between and within countries. The suffix distress implies a subjective analysis of conditions at point of origin and of the perceptions of migrants. If this is the case the explicit deployment of qualitative methodologies to augment and problematise existing terminology is required.
- It is important to clarify whether the term distress migration is an inwardly facing heuristic device to inform various organisations work on migration from rural areas, or an externally focused term to encourage others to reconceptualise how migration is analysed. While this may seem a spurious point, it does require some thought as it will influence how and where the term distress migration is used and the extent to which its uptake is encouraged in policymaking and academic circles. One means of doing this would be to commission empirical research that explicitly explores the term rather than applying it to an array of existing studies.

6. References

- Abel, G. & Sander, N. (2014). Quantifying Global International Migration Flows. *Science*, 343(6178): 1520-1522. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/24675962>
- Abramitzky, R. et al. (2012). Europe's Tired, Poor, Huddled Masses: Self-Selection and Economic Outcomes in the Age of Mass Migration. *American Economic Review* 2012, 102(5): 1832–1856. http://www.econ.ucla.edu/lboustan/research_pdfs/research11_massmigration.pdf
- African Economic Outlook. (2008). Youth unemployment. Developing Technical & Vocational Skills. www.africaneconomicoutlook.org
- Aldrich, D. & Smith, R. (2015). Social capital and resilience. World Humanitarian Summit Policy Brief. http://works.bepress.com/daniel_aldrich/31/
- Akher, S. & Bauer, S. (2014). Household Level Determinants of Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh. *International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering* Vol 8, No 1. <http://waset.org/publications/9997037/household-level-determinants-of-rural-urban-migration-in-bangladesh>
- Ali, S. (2007). Go west young man: The culture of migration among Muslims in Hyderabad, India. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(1): 37-58. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233338966_'Go_West_Young_Man'_The_Culture_of_Migration_among_Muslims_in_Hyderabad_India
- Bell, M. et al. (2002). Cross-national comparison of internal migration: issues and measures. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.612.2324&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Bell, M. & Charles-Edwards, W. (2014). Measuring Internal Migration around the Globe: A Comparative Analysis. Global Knowledge Partnership in Migration and Development. http://www.knomad.org/docs/working_papers/KNOMAD%20Working%20Paper%203_BellCharles-Edwards_12-19-2014.pdf
- Bezu, S. & Holden, S. (2014). Rural-urban Youth Migration and Informal Self-Employment in Ethiopia. Norwegian University of Life Sciences. <https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/5739-rural-urban-youth-migration-and-informal-self.pdf>
- Black, R. et al. (2008). Demographics and Climate Change: Future Trends and their Policy Implication for Research. University of Sussex. http://www.migrationdrc.org/publications/working_papers/WP-T27.pdf
- Black R et al. (2013). Migration and Climate Change: Toward an Integrated Assessment of Sensitivity. <file:///cssfs14/home2/AvisWR/Desktop/Downloads%20Junk/9789400762077-c2.pdf>
- Brettell, C. & Hollifield, J (2007). *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*. Routledge.
- Brettell, C. & Hollifield, J. (2014). *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*. Routledge.
- Çağlar, A. (2015). Urban migration trends, challenges and opportunities in Europe. Vienna: University of Vienna. https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/ICP/MPR/WMR-2015-Background-Paper-ACaglar.pdf
- Carletto, G. & de Brauw, A. (2007). Measuring migration using household surveys. Migration Operational Note World Bank. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLSMS/Resources/3358986-1199367264546/MOVE_Note_02.pdf
- Castaldo, A. Dehsingkar, P. & McKay, A. (2012). *International Migration, Remittances and Poverty: Evidence from Ghana and India*. Brighton: University of Sussex. <http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=wp7-internal-migration-remittances-and-poverty.pdf&site=354>
- Conway, D. (1980). Step-Wise Migration: Toward a Clarification of the Mechanism. *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring). 3-14. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2545058.pdf>
- Crawford, S. (2008). Education for the Baka, Bagyeli and Bedzang Forest People of Cameroon. Forest Peoples Programme.
- Crawford, S. (2016). Support for strategic review and planning to strengthen DFID's work on gender equality and women and girls empowerment in Karamoja Region, Uganda. DFID Unpublished
- de Boer, J. (2015). Resilience and the fragile city. Stability: *International Journal of Security and Development*, 4(1), art. 17. <http://doi.org/10.5334/sta.fk>
- de Brauw, A. & Harigaya, T. (2007). Seasonal Migration and Improving Living Standards in Vietnam. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*. 89:2. 430-447. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4492821>
- de Haan, A. (1999). Livelihoods and poverty: The role of migration - a critical review of the migration literature. *The Journal of Development Studies*. Volume 36, issue 2. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00220389908422619>

- de Hass, H. (2007). Remittances, Migration and Social Development A Conceptual Review of the Literature. UNRISD. [unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpAuxPages\)/8B7D005E37FFC77EC12573A600439846/\\$file/deHaaspaper.pdf](http://unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/8B7D005E37FFC77EC12573A600439846/$file/deHaaspaper.pdf)
- Deshingkar, P. & Grim, S. (2004). Voluntary Internal Migration: an Update. ODI. <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/70.pdf>
- Dyer C. (2006). The education of nomadic peoples: current issues, future prospects. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Elder, S. et al. (2015). Youth and rural development: Evidence from 25 school-to-work transition surveys. ILO. http://www.ilo.org/employment/areas/youth-employment/work-for-youth/publications/thematic-reports/WCMS_360558/lang--en/index.htm
- FAO (2011). The state of the world's land and water resource for food and agriculture. Managing systems at risk. FAO. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/015/i1688e/i1688e00.pdf>
- FAO (2013). Ensuring small-scale farmers benefit from high food prices. The implications of smallholder heterogeneity in market participation. Rome: FAO. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/018/i3292e/i3292e.pdf>
- FAO (2015). Reducing Distress Migration through Decent Rural Employment. FAO. <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i4983e.pdf>
- FAO (2016). Migration, Agriculture and Rural Development: Addressing the Root Causes of Migration and Harnessing its Potential for Development. FAO. <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i6064e.pdf>
- FAO (2016). Addressing Rural Youth Distress Migration. Rome: FAO. <http://www.fao.org/3/a-c0136e.pdf>
- FAO (2016a). Migration and Protracted Crises: Addressing the Root Causes and Building Resilient Agricultural Livelihoods. FAO. <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i6101e.pdf>
- FAO (2016b). Addressing rural youth migration at its root causes: A conceptual framework. Rome: FAO. <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i5718e.pdf>
- Foresight (2011). Migration and Global Environmental Change Future Challenges and Opportunities. UK Government. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/287717/11-1116-migration-and-global-environmental-change.pdf
- Ginsburg, C. et al. (2014). : Determinants of Internal Migration in Africa: Does Human Capital Necessarily End up in Cities? Comparative Analysis of Health and Demographic Surveillance System. Princeton University. <http://paa2014.princeton.edu/papers/141818>
- GMG (2014). Migration and Youth: Challenges and Opportunities. UNESCO. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002277/227720e.pdf>
- Guerra, C. (2016). Mass Migration Beyond the 1951 Geneva Convention. LUISS. http://tesi.eprints.luiss.it/17475/1/626012_GUERRA_CAROLINA.pdf
- Haque, C. (1997). Hazards in a fickle environment: Bangladesh. Kluwer Academic Publisher. .
- Herrera, C. & Sahn, D. (2013). Determinants of Internal Migration Among Senegalese Youth. <http://www.cfnpp.cornell.edu/images/wp245.pdf>
- Hutton, D. & Haque, C. (2004). Human vulnerability, dislocation and resettlement: adaptation processes of river-bank erosion-induced displacees in Bangladesh. *Disasters*. 2004 Mar;28(1):41-62. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/15016105>
- IFAD (2010). Rural Poverty Report New Realities, New Challenges: New Opportunities for Tomorrow's Generation. IFAD. <https://www.ifad.org/documents/10180/c47f2607-3fb9-4736-8e6a-a7ccf3dc7c5b>
- IFAD (2010a). Rural Poverty Report: Facts and Figures. IFAD. <https://www.ifad.org/documents/10180/c1bbf5fa-bdc3-4ea6-9366-d163b95b1180>
- IFAD & UNEP (2013). Smallholders, food security, and the environment. IFAD. <https://www.ifad.org/documents/10180/666cac24-14b6-43c2-876d-9c2d1f01d5dd>
- ILO (2011). An introductory guide for employer's organization. Tackling youth employment challenges: An overview of possible actions and policy considerations. ILO. http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/actemp/downloads/projects/youth/tackling_ye_guide_en.pdf
- ILO (2015). Global employment trends for youth 2015: Scaling up investments in decent jobs for youth. ILO http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_412015.pdf
- IOM (2006). Migration for Development: Within and Beyond Borders. IOM. <https://publications.iom.int/books/migration-development-within-and-beyond-frontiers>

- IOM (2008). Challenges of Irregular Migration: Addressing Mixed Migration Flows. IOM.
https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/microsites/IDM/workshops/return_migration_challenges_120208/mixed_migration_flows.pdf
- IOM (2011). Glossary on Migration. IOM. <http://www.epim.info/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/iom.pdf>
- IOM (2014). IOM Outlook on Migration, Environment and Climate Change. IOM.
http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/mecc_outlook.pdf
- IOM (2015). World migration report 2015 – migrants and cities: New partnerships to manage mobility. IOM.
http://publications.iom.int/system/files/wmr2015_en.pdf
- IPCC (2014). Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. IPCC.
https://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar5/wg2/WGIIAR5-Chap12_FINAL.pdf
- Jack, B.K. (2011). Constraints on the adoption of agricultural technologies in developing countries. White Paper, Agriculture Technology Adoption Initiative. <http://sites.tufts.edu/kjack/files/2011/08/ATAI-white-paper-12102011.pdf>
- Jama, B. & Pizzarro, G. (2008). Agriculture in Africa: Strategies to improve and sustain smallholder production systems. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1136: 218–232.
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/18579884>
- Jenkins P. (2003). In Search of the Urban-Rural Frontline in Post-war Mozambique and Angola. IIED. ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/drivers_urb_change/urb_economy/pdf_Urban_Rural/IIED_Jenkins_angola.pdf
- Keyfitz, N. (1980). Do Cities Grow by Natural Increase or by Migration? *Geographical Analysis*, 12: 142-156.
<http://www.popline.org/node/457354>
- King, R. et al. (2008). Internal and International Migration: Bridging the Theoretical Divide. University of Sussex.
<https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=mwp52.pdf&site=252>
- King, R. & Skeldon, R. (2010). 'Mind the Gap!' Integrating Approaches to Internal and International Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 36: 10. 1619-1646. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489380>
- Kirsten, J. et al. (2013). Managing agricultural commercialisation for inclusive growth in sub-Saharan Africa. Working Paper No. 60. Global Development Network Working Paper Series.
http://www.gdn.int/admin/uploads/editor/files/SSA_1_PolicyBrief_Agricultural_Commercialization.pdf
- Korhonen, M. (2005). Alcohol and Inuit communities: Current services and new directions. Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse National Conference, November 2005. National Aboriginal Health Organization.
http://www.naho.ca/documents/it/2005_Alcohol_CCSA_presentation.pdf
- Kubat, O. & Hoffman-Nowotny, H.J. 1981: Migration: towards a new paradigm. *International Social Science Journal* 33, 307-29.
- Mander, H. & Sahgal, G. (2015). Internal Migration in India: Distress and Opportunities.
http://www.solutionexchange-un-gen-gym.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/MANDER_SAHGAL_Internal-Migration_Distress-Opportunities.pdf
- Maxwell, D. et al. (2012). Constraints to addressing food insecurity in protracted crises. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science of the United States of America* 109 (31): 12321–12325.
<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3411957/>
- McKay, A. & Deshingkar, P. (2014). Internal remittances and poverty: Further evidence from Africa and Asia. *Migrating out of Poverty*. <http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=wp-12---mckay-and-deshingkar-internal-remittances-and-poverty.pdf&site=354>
- McLeman (2009) A Recurring Anarchy? The Emergence of Climate Change as a Threat to International Security', *Conflict, Security and Development* 9(3): 289-305 iisd.org/pdf/2009/recurring_anarchy_climate.pdf
- McLeman, R. & Hunter, L. (2010). Migration in the context of vulnerability and adaptation to climate change: insights from analogues. *Climate Change*. 1(3). <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/wcc.51/full>
- Migrating out of poverty (2011). *Internal Migration and Poverty: Evidence from Ghana and India*. DFID.
<http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=internal-migration-poverty-bp1.pdf&site=354>
- Mutandwa et al. (2011). An analysis of the determinants of rural to urban migration among rural youths in northern and western provinces of Rwanda. *Rwanda Journal*, 22(B): Social Sciences.
<http://www.ajol.info/index.php/rj/article/view/71504>
- Nail, T. (2015). *The Figure of the Migrant*. Stanford University Press.
- OECD (2015). Is this Humanitarian Migration Crisis Different. OECD. <https://www.oecd.org/migration/Is-this-refugee-crisis-different.pdf>

- Oucho, J. et al. (2014). Is Migration the Solution to Poverty Alleviation in Kenya? Rural-Urban Migration Experiences of Migrants from Western Kenya to Kisumu and Nairobi. DFID. <http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=wp21-oucho-oucho-ochieng-2014-is-migration-the-solution-to-poverty-in-kenya.pdf&site=354>
- Perch-Nielsen S. (2004). Understanding the effect of climate change on human migration: The contribution of mathematical and conceptual models. Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich. <http://e-collection.library.ethz.ch/eserv/eth:27632/eth-27632-01.pdf>
- Piguet, E. (2010). Linking climate change, environmental degradation, and migration: a methodological overview. *Climate Change*. Volume 1 Issue 4. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/wcc.54/abstract>
- Potts, D. (2012). Whatever happened to Africa's rapid Urbanisation? London: Africa Research Institute. <http://africaresearchinstitute.org/newsite/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Whatever-happened-to-Africas-rapid-urbanisation.pdf>
- Protik, A. & Kuhn, R. (2006). The hidden cost of migration: Effect of brother's migration on sister's marriage outcomes in rural Bangladesh. Brown University. <http://www.prb.org/pdf07/protikfinalreport.pdf>
- Pryor, R.J. (1979). Residence history analysis. Canberra. The Australian National University, Department of Demography.
- Rahman, K. & Chowdhury, S. (2012). Poverty and Rural-Urban Migration. Unnayan Onneshan. <http://www.unnayan.org/reports/PovertyandRuralUrbanMigration.pdf>
- Raleigh, C. (2010). Political Marginalization, Climate Change, and Conflict in African Sahel States. *International Studies Review* (2010) 12, 69–86. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2009.00913.x/pdf>
- Rees, P. et al. (2000). Problems and Solutions in the Measurement of Migration Intensities: Australia and Britain Compared. *Population Studies*, 54(2): 207-222. <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1340290/>
- Renaud et al. (2011). A Decision Framework for Environmentally Induced Migration. *International Migration*. Volume 49 issue 1 5-29. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00678.x/full>
- Schrieder, G. & Knerr, B. (2000). Labour migration as a social security mechanism for smallholder households in sub-Saharan Africa: The case of Cameroon. *Oxford Development Studies*, 28(2): 223–236. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/713688309>
- Skeldon, R. (2008). International Migration as a Tool in Development Policy: A Passing Phase? *Population and Development Review*. 34(1). <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2008.00203.x/epdf>
- Stark, O. (1991). *The Migration of Labor*. Blackwell.
- Stites, E. et al. (2014). "It's better to sweat than to die:" Rural-to-urban migration, Northern Karamoja, Uganda. Feinstein International Center. http://fic.tufts.edu/assets/TUFTS_1474_Migration_NKaramoja_Uganda_V5_online.pdf
- Stites, E. et al. (2014a). Engaging male youth in Karamoja, Uganda: An examination of the factors driving the perpetration of violence and crime by young men in Karamoja and the applicability of a communications and relationships program to address related behaviour. Feinstein International Centre. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/913341468109743452/pdf/926600WPOBox380A0StudySeriesNo30UGA.pdf>
- Stuart, E. et al. (2015). *The data Revolution: Finding the Missing Millions*. ODI. <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9604.pdf>
- Suhrke, A. (1993). *Pressure Points: Environmental Degradation, Migration and Conflict*. CMI. <https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/1374-pressure-points-environmental-degradation.pdf>
- Tacoli, C. et al. (2014). *Urbanization, Rural-Urban Migration and Urban Poverty*. IIED. https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/ICP/MPR/WMR-2015-Background-Paper-CTacoli-GMcGranahan-DSatterthwaite.pdf
- Timmer, P. (2014). *Managing Structural Transformation: a Political Economy Approach*. UNU-Wider. https://www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/Events/Image/pub_18.pdf
- Ünalán, T. (2005). Definition of household membership in international migration surveys. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 1(4): 220–225, Science Publication. <http://docsdrive.com/pdfs/sciencepublications/jssp/2005/220-225.pdf>
- UN (2005). *The International Convention on Migrant Workers and its Committee*. UN. <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FactSheet24rev.1en.pdf>
- UN (2015). *International Migration Report 2015*. UN. http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2015_Highlights.pdf

- UNDESA. (2013). Population facts. UNDESA.
http://esa.un.org/unmigration/documents/the_number_of_international_migrants.pdf
- UNDESA (2013a). International Migration Report: 2013. UNDESA.
<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2013.pdf>
- UNDESA (2013). Cross-national comparisons of internal migration: An update on global patterns and trends. UNDESA.
<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/technical/TP2013-1.pdf>
- UNDESA (2015). Trends in international migration, 2015. UNDESA.
<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/populationfacts/docs/MigrationPopFacts20154.pdf>
- UNDESA (2015). Youth population trends and sustainable development. UNDESA.
<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/YouthPOP.pdf>
- UNDP. (2009). Human development report 2008 – overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development. UNDP:
http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/269/hdr_2009_en_complete.pdf
- UNESCO (2017). Migration as a Development Challenge: Analysis of Root Causes and Policy Implications. UNESCO.
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002470/247089E.pdf>
- UNHCR, (2016). Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015. UNHCR. <http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7.pdf>
- Van Hear, N. (nd). Mixed Migration: Policy Challenges. The Migration Observatory.
<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/primers/mixed-migration-policy-challenges/>
- Varshney, A. & Gubler, J. (2013). The state and civil society in communal violence. Routledge.
ashutoshvarshney.net/wpcontent/files_mf/thestateandcivilsocietyincommunalviolencesparksandfires.pdf
- World Development Report (2007). Development and the Next Generation. World Bank.
<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/556251468128407787/pdf/359990WDR0complete.pdf>
- World Bank. (2009). Systems of cities: Harnessing urbanization for growth and poverty alleviation. World Bank.
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTURBANDEVELOPMENT/Resources/336387-1269651121606/FullStrategy.pdf>
- World Bank (2011). Migration and poverty: Towards better opportunities for the poor. World Bank.
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/2535/582840PUB0ID231ration09780821384367.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- World Bank (2016). Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook. World Bank.
<http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/661301460400427908/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief26.pdf>
- World Bank (2016a). A Country on the Move: Domestic Migration in Two Regions of Myanmar. World Bank.
<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/myanmar/publication/a-country-on-the-move---domestic-migration-in-two-regions-of-myanmar>

Appendix 1: A broad taxonomy of migration terminology

	Term	Description
	Migration	The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.
	Mixed migration	The principal characteristics of mixed migration flows include the irregular nature of and the multiplicity of factors driving such movements, and the differentiated needs and profiles of the persons involved. Mixed flows have been defined as 'complex population movements including refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and other migrants'. Unaccompanied minors, environmental migrants, smuggled persons, victims of trafficking and stranded migrants, among others, may also form part of a mixed flow.
Direction of movement	Out-migration	Out-migration is the process of people moving out of their area in their country to move to another
	In-migration	The process of people moving permanently into a new area of their country.
	Emigration	the act of departing or exiting from one country with a view to settling in another.
	Immigration	A process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement.
Destination of movement	International migration	Movement of persons who leave their country of origin, or country of habitual residence, to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country. An international frontier is
	Internal migration	Refers to people within a country moving to another location within its borders.
	Step-wise migration	A spatial relocation by steps or stages from a migrant's origin (invariably a rural home place) to an intended destination (invariably an urban center)
Duration of movement	Permanent migration	When someone moves from one place to another and has no plans to return to their original home. It involves persons who move to an area or country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least a year, so that the area or country of destination effectively becomes their new place of residence.
	Temporary migration	Is limited by time. It involves persons who move to an area or country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year, except in cases where the movement to area or country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends or relatives, business or medical treatment.
	Circular migration	The fluid movement of people between countries, including temporary or long-term movement which may be beneficial to all involved, if occurring voluntarily and linked to the labour needs of countries of origin and destination.
	Seasonal migration	Migration for employment, dependent on seasonal conditions and performed only during part of the year (Art. 2(2)(b), International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, 1990). Seasonal migrants are members of the household who left for part of the year to work, but are still considered household members (de Brauw and Harigaya, 2007). Seasonal migration seems to be less costly than other forms of migration, especially for the landless, and it is linked to different seasonal calendars in agriculture. Therefore, seasonal migration provides opportunities to households to supplement their incomes, smooth consumption and protect their asset base during the agricultural lean season .
Lawfulness of movement	Irregular Migration	Movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries. There is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration. From the perspective of destination countries it is entry, stay or work in a country without the necessary authorization or documents required under immigration regulations. From the perspective of the sending country, the irregularity is for example seen in cases in which a person crosses an international boundary without a valid passport or travel document or does not fulfil the administrative requirements for leaving the country. There is, however, a tendency to restrict the use of the term "illegal migration" to cases of smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons.
	Economic migration	A person leaving his or her habitual place of residence purely for financial and/or economic reasons. Economic migrants choose to move in order to improve their quality of life. This term is often loosely
	Humanitarian migration	Resettlement of persons who have completed the asylum procedure and been granted protection (refugee status) or resettled through programmes outside the asylum procedure.
	Facilitated migration	Fostering or encouraging of regular migration by making travel easier and more convenient. This may take the form of a streamlined visa application process, or efficient and well-staffed passenger inspection procedures.
	Labour migration	Movement of persons from one State to another, or within their own country of residence, for the purpose of employment. Labour migration is addressed by most States in their migration laws. In addition, some States take an active role in regulating outward labour migration and seeking opportunities for their nationals abroad.
	Orderly migration	The movement of a person from his or her usual place of residence to a new place of residence, in keeping with the laws and regulations governing exit of the country of origin and travel, transit and entry into the destination or host country.
Voluntary or involuntary nature of migration	Forced migration	A migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects).
	Economic migration	The process of leaving habitual place of residence to settle outside of the country or region of origin in order to improve quality of life. This term is often loosely used to distinguish from refugees fleeing persecution, and is also similarly used to refer to persons attempting to enter a country without legal permission and/or by using asylum procedures without bona fide cause. It may equally be applied to persons leaving their country of origin for the purpose of employment.
	Environmental/Climatic migration	Persons or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move within their country or abroad (IOM 2011).

Term	Definition
Migrant	IOM defines a migrant as any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is. IOM concerns itself with migrants and migration-related issues and, in agreement with relevant States, with migrants who are in need of international migration services.
Short-term migrant	Persons who move to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year, except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends or relatives, business or medical treatment (IOM 2011).
Long-term migrant	Person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence. From the perspective of the country of departure, the person will be a long-term emigrant and from that of the country of arrival, the person will be a long-term immigrant (IOM 2011).
Temporary migrant worker	Skilled, semi-skilled or untrained worker who remains in the destination area for definite periods as determined by a work contract with an individual worker or a service contract concluded with an enterprise. Also called contract migrant workers (www.iom.int).
Migrant worker	Person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in an area different from that of origin. The term "migrant" should be understood to cover all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned, for reasons of "personal convenience" and without intervention of an external compelling factor. It includes refugees, displaced persons and uprooted people as well as economic migrants (UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants).
Migrant household	Household with at least one member who has migrated (internally or internationally) in a certain period in the past (Ünalán, 2005).
Refugee	A person who, "owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. (Art. 1(A)(2), Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Art. 1A(2), 1951 as modified by the 1967 Protocol). In addition to the refugee definition in the 1951 Refugee Convention, Art. 1(2), 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention defines a refugee as any person compelled to leave his or her country "owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country or origin or nationality." Similarly, the 1984 Cartagena Declaration states that refugees also include persons who flee their country "because their lives, security or freedom have been threatened by generalised violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order."
Stateless person	A person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law" (Art. 1, UN Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, 1954). As such, a stateless person lacks those rights attributable to national diplomatic protection of a State, no inherent right of sojourn in the State of residence and no right of return in case he or she travels.
Internally Displaced Person (IDP)	Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, UN Doc E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2.). See also de facto refugees, displaced person, externally displaced persons, uprooted people.
Asylum seeker	A person who seeks safety from persecution or serious harm in a country other than his or her own and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments. In case of a negative decision, the person must leave the country and may be expelled, as may any non-national in an irregular or unlawful situation, unless permission to stay is provided on humanitarian or other related grounds.
Return migrants	Persons who return to their country of citizenship/area of origin after having been migrants (whether short-term or long-term) and who are intending to stay in their own country/ area for at least one year (UNSD, 1998).
Rural-rural migrants	Internal migrants who move from one rural area to another, consisting also of both short and longer distance movements of traders, pastoralists and agricultural workers (IOM 2011)
Rural-urban migrants	Internal migrants who move from rural to urban areas, often in response to poverty, low agricultural incomes, low productivity, population growth, shortages, fragmentation and inequitable distribution of land, environmental degradation, and the relative lack of economic opportunities in rural areas (IOM 2011).

Sources: OECD (2015); FAO (2016b); Ünalán (2005); IOM (2011); IOM,¹¹ Mander & Sahgal (2012).

¹¹ <http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>

Appendix 2: Determinants of distress migration of rural youth (FAO, 2016b)

Context determinants

The stage of agriculture and rural development in areas of origin has a defining influence on rural youth mobility. There is evidence that unemployment and underemployment in rural areas are among the principal drivers of youth migration (UNICEF, 2014; Young, 2013; Van de Glind, 2010; FAO, 2004a). The lack of employment opportunities in rural areas (both on-farm and off-farm self-employment or wage employment) is the direct consequence of a number of other context-linked factors namely:

Rural poverty: The majority of the world's poor reside in rural areas and depend on agricultural production for subsistence (FAO, 2014b). However, agriculture can only absorb a certain proportion of the labour force (Mutandwa et al., 2011), given the persistently low agricultural productivity, the poor use of technology and the limited purchasing power in rural areas. The seasonal nature of agricultural labour results in sharp fluctuations in wages and employment opportunities and in poor working conditions, especially for youth.

Food insecurity: In much of Africa a large percentage population are undernourished (for example 40 % in the Horn of Africa) and almost half live in areas prone to extreme food shortages (FAOSTAT). Migration has been highlighted as a widely adopted coping strategy for dealing with deteriorating food security.

Increased competition for natural resources and environmental degradation: To mitigate climate-change-induced hazards and demographic pressures, rural communities may adopt detrimental management practices which degrade the land and water systems (FAO, 2011). They may also resort to migration once existing livelihood strategies have been eroded. Youth's principal means for accessing land is through inheritance, but existing laws and customs and increasing life expectancy may be a hindrance. The increasing fragmentation of family land can result in economically unviable divisions.

Limited income-generating opportunities: In rural areas there are limited opportunities to engage in off-farm activities, with few alternative job prospects due to lack of investment and the limited socio-economic infrastructure. Youth have limited access to and lack the necessary training to improve entrepreneurial, administrative, technical or social skills.

Inequality: Most policies aimed at enhancing agricultural productivity and food security fail to prioritise equality. They tend to benefit large-scale producers and overlook the heterogeneity of and constraints faced by small-scale agriculture (FAO, 2013; IFAD and UNEP, 2013).

Low or stagnant farm productivity: Sub Saharan Africa is the only region in the world where per capita agricultural productivity has remained stagnant over the past 40 years (Jama & Pizzarro, 2008). It lags behind other developing regions in terms of the adoption of new technologies. Additional constraints are market inefficiencies (Jack, 2011) and high transaction costs (Kirsten et al., 2013).

Remoteness and weak capital markets in rural areas: Rural-urban differentials in the availability of social infrastructure (in particular roads, schools and hospitals) influence migration from rural to urban areas (Herrera and Sahn, 2013; Katz, 2000). Youth are particularly disadvantaged with regard to accessing services. Migration stabilises household income in a context of weak or absent financial and insurance market, especially in the case of temporary migration (Schrieder & Knerr, 2000).

Household determinants

Migration is primarily a household-based strategy, especially in the case of youth who often depend on family support to cover the costs of migration. The migration decision process is related to the larger family system and the family may exert authority and oversight over young migrants through explicitly stated expectations, personal visits or monitoring via extended social networks (WB, 2006a; Konseiga, 2005; Akhter and Bauer, 2014). The main household determinants of the decision to migrate are summarised as follows:

Household head's age, gender and educational level: The head of a household with at least one migrant is usually older and more educated than the head of a household without migrants (Akhter and Bauer, 2014; Ferrone and Giannelli, 2015; Herrera and Sahn, 2013). The older the head, the more they are able to diversify income and allocate farming and family responsibilities across household members. Similarly, the more educated the head, the better able they are to gather and process the information required to migrate.

Household size: Larger households are more likely to resort to migration: As the size of the family increases its per capita income decreases and family members may migrate in search of work. According to Thorat et al. (2011), an increase of one unit in family size equates to an increase of 8.7 percent in the probability of migration.

Household composition: The share of active members and dependents (0–14 years and the elderly) influences the income-generating capacity of a household and propensity to migrate. Taylor (2001) provides evidence that when the number of children in a family is high, families encourage younger members to migrate. Youth with younger siblings are more likely to migrate as there is someone to take on their responsibilities (Herrera & Sahn, 2013). Family and community networks play a key role in determining migration, especially in terms of lowering migration costs (Dolfin & Genicot, 2010). They can provide information about opportunities and arrange jobs prior to arrival. Migrants often rely on networks at destination, especially for food, shelter and advice about customs and language (de Brauw & Carletto, 2012).

Cultural and social norms: In many African societies migration is considered a rite of passage through which youth can acquire adult status, for example, in northern Somalia (Rousseau et al., 2001) and Morocco (UNICEF, 2007). According to data collected from Ethiopian returnees under IOM's Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) programme, peer influence and social and cultural norms are important push factors for migration (IOM, 2014a).

Assets base: Ownership of productive assets (i.e. land, livestock, machinery and equipment, plantation crops, financial savings) determines a household needs to pursue livelihood diversification (Waddington and Sabates-Wheeler, 2003). The larger a household's assets, the lower its vulnerability and propensity of members to migrate (Berhanu, 2012)

Individual determinants

The decision of rural youth to migrate also depends on individual characteristics. Understanding the role of these individual factors is challenging as it requires the collection of specific data. Determinants may include (Carletto and de Brauw, 2007).

Age: Migration is highest among young adults and decreases with age, influenced by cultural norms, traditions and economic opportunities (Bell and Muhidin, 2009; Bell and Charles-Edwards, 2014).

Gender: Migration levels differ between men and women, with a wide variation across different contexts. According to some studies women are less likely to migrate because of their reproductive and care responsibilities as well as financial and decision-making constraints (Awumbila et al., 2015). In contrast, Herrera and Sahn (2013) find that rural women were 6.4% more likely than men to migrate because of limited access to productive resources and vulnerability.

Ethnicity: Migration varies among ethnic groups, depending on their sociocultural characteristics and the level of development in those areas in which they are concentrated (Amin, 1974). Mberu (2005) identified ethnicity and religion as key predictors of internal migration in Nigeria.

Education: Better educated Individuals tend to be more mobile, seeking work that matches their skills and expectations (Ackah and Medvedev, 2010; Richter and Taylor, 2006). Migration for education purposes is also common, dependent on two main factors: (i) the potentially high returns on investment in education through access to more skilled, better paid jobs; and (ii) the persistent scarcity of education institutions in rural areas, especially at secondary or higher level.

Individual aspirations: Youth in rural areas can feel socially and politically excluded, they may have limited participation in family decision-making processes or civic life (Porter et al., 2010). Frustrations generated by heavy workloads, exclusion and immobility may push them to move away from places of origin (and out of the agricultural sector), often towards urban areas, where they believe they can access better employment.

Appendix 3: Migration Case studies

Migration theories often imply that more people will migrate from poor areas that have relatively low return to labour and more exposure to risks and shocks. However, the empirical evidence shows that it is not always the case. Some empirical literature documents segmentation of migration streams but the poorest areas do not always have the most out-migration (De Haan, 1999). This is because of barriers in the form of lack of capital to finance migration, absence of networks, insufficient information, distance to urban areas and poor infrastructures limit migration for those facing the constraints.

Much migration is long-distance to the larger cities and manufacturing centres, but there are also smaller moves, typically undertaken by poorer people, to smaller towns and conglomerations of non-farm activity (Deshingkar & Grim, 2004). Migration is self-perpetuating in the sense that migrants from a certain area open the way for more migrants from the same place through their social capital that reduces the cost and risk of new migrants and increases the return from migration (Bezu & Holden, 2014). To illuminate differences and similarities in internal migration patterns across countries a sample of studies have been included below.

Rural-urban migration - Senegal

Herrera and Sahn (2013) analyse the socio-economic determinants of young people's decisions to migrate internally in Senegal. They note that far from a rural-to-urban story, youth undertake mostly rural-to-rural and urban-to-urban migrations (Herrera & Sahn, 2013). They find that determinants of youth migration are heterogeneous by gender and destination. The higher the fathers' education the more (less) likely are their daughters to move to urban (rural) areas. Young men and women, who spend their childhood in better off households, are more likely to move to urban areas. Also, the presence of younger siblings increases the propensity of moving to rural areas. Access to primary schools during childhood decreases the likelihood of migrating to urban areas for both men and women.

Rural-to-urban migration - Bangladesh

Akher and Bauer (2014) note that determinants of rural-to-urban migration vary from country to country and even within countries, among different regions (Akher & Bauer, 2014). In their analysis of urban migration in Bangladesh they highlight that it is undertaken by the young and influenced by environmental pressures, weak agricultural development and food insecurity, poverty, landlessness, unemployment in rural areas, easy access to the informal sectors, higher income, better livelihood opportunities, better social amenities, migration networks. They highlight that young male members are more likely to work in the non-farm sector in the city. Whilst aspiration for better opportunities may be one factor influencing migration, they also note the influence of other factors such as limited available land and familial responsibilities. Of particular interest is the proclivity of young men to migrate in contexts where there are a number of active males in rural households or there is an established household head.

Rural-to-urban migration - Ethiopia

Bezu and Holden (2014) in their analysis of rural-to-urban migration in Ethiopia comment that this form of migration has been historically low in Ethiopia. However, they highlight that in recent years there has been a surge in rural-to-urban migration. This is partly related to access to agricultural land in rural areas. Access to farmland is a constitutional right to village residents of Ethiopia, but it has become difficult to

fulfil this right for the young generation because of increasing land scarcity. At the same time, the rapid expansion of urban centres with better education, technology and other basic social services attract youth to towns and cities in search for better livelihoods. Empirical studies in the migration literature indicate that migration is often welfare improving for the migrant (Bezu & Holden, 2014).

Migrant youth face several constraints in urban areas such as tenure insecurity, in terms of rental arrangements in residential units, and work place insecurity from eviction and confiscation. Youth migrants are also vulnerable and food insecure since they do not have the social network that can provide them with informal safety net during crisis. Young women seem to be more disadvantaged than male youth. They earn less both in the formal employment and informal self-employment. In addition, there is also a higher risk that young women are trapped in the low resource, low-income state since they are less endowed with resource.

Rural-to-urban migration - India

Mander and Sahgal (2015) note that patterns of rural-to-urban migration in India are complex and multifaceted, involving large numbers of impoverished men, women and children migrating from rural to urban areas in search of the opportunities and means to survive. The duration of migration displays a degree of variation, some stay for a season, some several years, some permanently. A common feature of this type of migration is that migrants tend to drift quickly to low-end, low paid, vulnerable occupations such as picking waste, pulling rickshaws, constructing buildings and roads, or working in people's homes.

Another common feature is the experience of migrants upon arrival in cities. Mander and Sahgal highlight their treatment as intruders and illegitimate citizens, and the insecurity of their livelihood and habitation. Migrants are predominately engaged in vulnerable occupations located in the informal sector, are unorganised and unprotected, offered with little or no social security, and experience working conditions which are exploitative, unsafe and often strip workers of their very dignity. They are often unable to easily access even citizenship rights in the city such as the right to vote, a ration card, supplementary feeding for their children, and school admissions. Their numbers are substantial; their economic contributions enormous; yet internal migrants tend to remain in the periphery of public policy.

The overall picture of internal migration to vulnerable occupations in Delhi that emerges from this study is, firstly that it often originates in situations of great distress in the countryside. Secondly, the experience of distress of internal migrants continues, albeit in many transformed ways, in the city, in the conditions of work and habitat that is available to them – and these are aggravated by a hostile state, and often the loneliness of migration. But their distress is illuminated, and mitigated, by the better opportunities for livelihoods, savings and remittances which they encounter in the city. It is this a bitter-sweet experience of internal migration to vulnerable occupations which is revealed by the study (Mander & Sahgal, 2015).

Rural-to-urban migration - Kenya

Oucho et al. (2014) contend that out-migration from Western Kenya to the country's urban areas can be traced back to the colonial period and remains a reflection of regional inequality, as migrants try to move out of their poorer origins to destinations with promising economic opportunities. Out-migration in Western Kenya, mainly from the Siaya and Vihiga counties, is directed towards the regional city of Kisumu and the national capital, Nairobi. Under-development in Western Kenya and the desired lifestyle of the cities drive both rural-to-urban migration and rural-to-rural migration to the country's economic hubs that rely on commercial agriculture.

The majority of the migrants were aged 18-to-40 years old. Of this proportion, 62.5% were male migrants aged between 15 and 29 years old at the time of outmigration, whereas women in the same age bracket constituted 25%. Women and men migrated for similar reasons: employment opportunities, education, escaping inadequate infrastructure and access to basic amenities. Lack of employment in the cities was the core challenge for migrants while the high cost of living comes second. Most migrants couldn't find employment in the formal sectors and make do with informal sector employment where the pay is inadequate. Women also had to contend with exploitation and fear of physical or sexual abuse. Rural-to-urban migration also causes proliferation of slums and problems such as, poor sanitation, insecurity and poor housing (Oucho et al., 2014).

About this report

This report was prepared for the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).

The designations employed and the presentation of material in this information product do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) or the University of Birmingham (the University) concerning the legal or development status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries. The mention of specific companies or products of manufacturers, whether or not these have been patented, does not imply that these have been endorsed or recommended by FAO or the University in preference to others of a similar nature that are not mentioned.

The views expressed in this information product are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of FAO or the University of Birmingham.

FAO encourages the use, reproduction and dissemination of material in this information product. Except where otherwise indicated, material may be copied, downloaded and printed for private study, research and teaching purposes, or for use in non-commercial products or services, provided that appropriate acknowledgement of FAO as the source and copyright holder is given and that FAO's endorsement of users' views, products or services is not implied in any way.

All requests for translation and adaptation rights, and for resale and other commercial use rights should be made via www.fao.org/contact-us/licence-request or addressed to copyright@fao.org.

FAO information products are available on the FAO website (www.fao.org/publications) and can be purchased through publications-sales@fao.org.

Published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the University of Birmingham.

© FAO 2017

The GSDRC Research Helpdesk provides rapid syntheses of key literature and of expert thinking in response to specific questions on governance, social development, humanitarian and conflict issues. Its concise reports draw on a selection of the best recent literature available and on input from international experts. Each GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report is peer-reviewed by a member of the GSDRC team. Search over 600 reports at gsdrc.org/gsdrc_pub_type/helpdesk/. Contact: helpdesk@gsdrc.org.

Suggested citation

Avis, W. (2017). *Scoping study on defining and measuring distress migration* (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report no. 1406). Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; and Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham.