

# Evidence on education as a driver for migration

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## Question

*Evidence on education as a driver for migration*

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## 1. Overview

This report synthesises two previous reports on drivers of migration<sup>1</sup>, and focuses on the evidence on education's role. The previous reports focused on education and migration in fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS), and youth employment and education in low and middle income countries. The papers presented below reflect these original criteria, but reframe the studies to draw out the evidence on education as a driver. The report outlines the evidence on when and whether education services make a difference to people's reasons for moving. This report includes rural-urban migration, regional and international migration, and migration away from fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS). It does not consider migration that is primarily economic, whether regular or irregular.

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<sup>1</sup> Browne, E. (2016) How does education affect migration from fragile and conflict-affected areas? HEART Helpdesk report. [http://www.heart-resources.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/HEART-Helpdesk\\_Education-Migration.pdf?x30250](http://www.heart-resources.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/HEART-Helpdesk_Education-Migration.pdf?x30250)  
Browne, E. (2016) How does youth employment affect migration? HEART Helpdesk report.

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There are considerable differences in people's reasons for migrating, either internally or internationally, depending on where they come from and their personal circumstances. Often cited reasons are to escape conflict, get a better job, provide remittances to their families, or to help a family member. In short, people mostly migrate to improve their circumstances (Devictor, 2016).

The literature here suggests that education is not often a primary driver of migration, either as a push or pull factor, except in the cases of young people going to universities abroad, and sometimes to get into better, more distant, schools than their local ones. Where there has been a deliberate decision to study is the only circumstance noted here in which education is the primary driver of migration. Education is usually viewed as a secondary driver, or one among many socio-economic factors that contribute to a better life. The primary drivers of all kinds of internal and international migration are security concerns, livelihoods opportunities, and economic incentives.

Economic prospects and education are closely related and hard to disentangle. People giving education as a reason to migrate usually associate this with the prospect of eventually getting a decent job. Children's education is often considered a family investment for the future (Bakewell & Bonfiglio, 2013). Thus when people cite economic reasons for migrating or deciding on a particular place, this may also implicitly include educational services for children, who will then be able to get a better job in the future.

There are many conflicting pieces of evidence and no strong agreement in the literature on the role that education plays in migration. One of the reasons for this is that people's motivations change over time and as they travel (Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016). One of the only common points of agreement is that across low-income contexts, higher educated people are more likely to migrate, due to a combination of higher financial resources, greater aspirations, and lack of appropriate employment in their home environment. Literature and experts are very consistent on this. What is less clear from the literature is whether the aspiration to migrate shapes education itself, for example through young people's choices to learn languages which facilitate migration (Ali, 2007), or whether it is going to school that increases aspirations to migrate. Highly educated migrants are more likely to go abroad for work, because more legal options are open to them, but they are also very likely to enrol in further education once abroad, partly because their qualifications are not recognised, and partly because the opportunity cost of university is lower for them than for lower educated migrants (Banerjee & Verma, 2009). Education thus has multiple influences on migration, with few generalisable lessons. The summary below outlines some of the major issues arising in the literature, and details some of the nuances.

## Age

Over all types of migration, the vast majority of migrants are working-age economic migrants, who do not cite education as a key factor. Educational issues mostly affect young people and those with children. The literature suggests that youth aged between about 15 to 25 are the group who most strongly consider migrating for education, in line with their primary concerns of getting good qualifications leading to a good job. Schooling represents a route out of poverty and a chance to improve their and their family's economic situation.

Younger children are more likely to migrate for reasons of re-joining family members than for education and employment prospects (Cossor, 2016). This decision is usually made with their caregivers and not by themselves alone. Once on the move, families with children may consider

access to education as an important factor in deciding where to go (Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016). Nonetheless, education is not usually the primary reason why young people move. Usually, the family's search for better jobs and higher pay drives young people's internal and international migration, or security concerns, in the case of FCAS.

## Gender

There are gender differences in migration. In the Horn of Africa, girls often cite lack of education and early marriage as push factors; they migrate in order to avoid these and seek better opportunities (Cossor, 2016). If parents are not likely to allow girls to finish schooling, they may migrate away to a city where they are able to finish their education. Female refugees across contexts are less likely to want to return home if they have been receiving education in their refugee situations and see no prospect of this continuing if they return (Fagen, 2011). Women are more likely to migrate to join a spouse than men, who tend to migrate for work; and when they have migrated, women are more likely to stay at home than work or be in school (McKenzie, 2007). Women who migrate abroad or to the city specifically for study often enjoy more freedoms than they do at home; this can be part of the reason why they choose to temporarily migrate (Temin, et al. 2013).

Boys and young men are more likely to migrate for work, especially if they become the chief income earner in their household. This report did not find any studies looking at gender differences in migration for education, except a little detail in *Girls on the Move* (Temin, et al. 2013), so there remain considerable knowledge gaps on the relationship between gender, education and migration.

## Income level and class

The literature shows that education acts as a factor for migration mostly for middle-class, middle-income, aspirational young people. They aspire to white-collar jobs, for which higher education is needed (Punch & Sugden, 2013). Those who migrate primarily for education are those that can afford to pay school and accommodation fees. They tend to be from families that can raise the funds for travel. It is unclear how aspirations and resources work together to facilitate migration.

People who can migrate abroad, legally or illegally, tend not to be the poorest people. Legal international migrants tend to be well qualified before arrival, and thus education is not a driver. Poor families are less likely to access both education and migration.

Irregular migrants are likely to have low levels of education. Lower education means fewer options for legal migration (Cummings, et al. 2015). These migrants are mostly on the move in search of better-paying jobs. They are harder to track and this report contains much less information on this group, probably because the search terms for were looking for education as a driver, and education is not a driver for irregular migrants in search of work. Irregular migration from FCAS is detailed in the FCAS section.

## Rural-to-urban migration

Under specific circumstances, young people will migrate primarily to access education. This is often internal rural-to-urban migration, for secondary or tertiary education. Urban centres tend to offer better schooling opportunities, and young people will leave rural areas to access a better school (Crivello, 2011; Elder, et al. 2015). Parental desire for children to escape rural labour

means they emphasise and encourage education (Punch & Sugden, 2013). In complement, an increased emphasis on white-collar, middle class, office jobs encourages the prioritisation of education. Teenagers with the monetary and familial resources can move temporarily or permanently to the city to go to school. If not at a boarding school, they often lodge with a family member or diaspora member. Sometimes, this turns into an exploitative relationship where the young person is expected to pay their way in domestic work, which sometimes leads to them dropping out of school altogether (Temin, et al. 2013). There are also cases of traffickers taking children from their homes on the promise of sending them to school.

## **Tertiary education and international migration**

Education becomes a factor for international migration at university level. People move to go to university abroad. The results of this move are varied.

For many young people, there are universities available in their home countries. However, young people in developing countries often consider these to provide a poor standard of education that will not propel them into good careers (Samuel Hall Consulting, 2015; Syed, et al., 2007). For youth who can afford and aspire to university in Somaliland and Puntland, the 'right education' can only be obtained abroad (Samuel Hall Consulting, 2015). The expectation of studying in a developed country has become a key part of some societies, and signals a transition to adulthood along with qualifications (Ali, 2007). The expectation of international migration structures educational choices, such as which language to study, and which subjects to take, in order to facilitate later migration (Ali, 2007). There is also the expectation of acquiring a better job, either in the origin or destination country, as a result of the study (Samuel Hall Consulting, 2015). Higher-educated people may also migrate abroad for further training.

A subset of migrants are highly educated who have migrated for work, but find that their qualifications, while enough to gain entry, are not enough to get a job (Bloch, 2005). Developing country qualifications are frequently not recognised in developed economies. These migrants may then enrol in destination-country education in order to convert their abilities into recognised qualifications (Banerjee & Verma, 2009; Bloch, 2005). Thus education may not have been the driver for their migration, but becomes important once they have moved.

For some middle-class young people, study is the easiest route to getting a visa. Higher education institutes in the UK, Australia and the USA, among others, actively encourage international students to apply, making the application and travel process relatively easy (Rutten & Verstappen, 2014). The appeal of freedom from parents and societal expectations encourages some young Indians to study abroad; further education is not always their main motivator, but it provides simple and legal access (Rutten & Verstappen, 2014).

## **Fragile and conflict-affected states**

For people residing in fragile and conflict-affected states, the primary driver for migrating is to improve their physical safety and security. Violence, security, social networks and economic factors are the main factors influencing where and when to migrate (Devictor, 2016). Education plays only a minor role in these decisions, if at all. The literature is very consistent on this.

Some literature on the reasons for migration away from conflict-affected areas does include education as a factor playing into decisions, but it is usually mentioned very briefly as one of a number of socio-economic factors. Educational services have some influence as both a push and

pull factor, but are generally listed as of low importance. The evidence included below is some of the very small segment of the literature which does include some analysis of the impact of education on migration from fragile and conflict-affected areas.

Possibly this finding is because there are very few studies that consider this question in any meaningful way. Lack of data is a chronic problem in humanitarian contexts. It is not possible to provide experimental or counterfactual evidence on this topic, as this would require providing educational services to some migrants and not others, and examining whether this affected decisions to migrate, which in the case of people who did not migrate onwards would be a hypothetical question. The only example of this found for this report is Ethiopia's Out-of-Camp scheme, which allows Eritrean refugees to attend Ethiopian universities (Samuel Hall Consulting, 2014). In some cases, this has led to Eritreans settling in Ethiopia and not seeking to migrate further. However, there is no strong, generalisable evidence from which to draw policy conclusions.

The literature suggests that education plays very little role in the decision to leave a conflict-affected area, as this is primarily a security issue, followed by livelihoods issues. However, education may play a part once people are on the move, in deciding where to go. These decisions are made on the information available about where refugees can see making a viable life: work, education, healthcare, citizenship, ease of access, and safety are the main factors (Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016). These reasons for migrating onwards from a first country of asylum overlap quite strongly with traditional reasons for economic migration, and the two may be considered closely related. The literature is consistent in noting that these decisions and reasons may change over the course of the journey (Cummings, et al. 2015).

There is little to no evidence to suggest that provision of education in FCAS would change migration flows; as education is not a key driver of migration such provision is not likely to overcome the stronger drivers of insecurity and livelihood opportunities (Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016). Higher wages and better livelihoods are more important drivers than educational services for people migrating from FCAS. As noted above, in non-conflict contexts, greater education may encourage migration if a poorly developed job market means people cannot obtain work.

The literature summarised below is a selection of the large literature on education and migration. Case study examples are selected for their typical or topical nature, and there are many others demonstrating similar results. The literature reviewed for this report but not included here shows that the strongest reason for migrating is jobs, work, and livelihoods opportunities, while education plays a minor role for most people. A large amount of the literature looks at how to integrate immigrant children into schooling, and how best to support their particular needs. That literature is not included here, as this report focuses on drivers of migration rather than destination-country schooling.

The report provides brief assessments of the strength of evidence in each paper, using the DFID framework for assessing the quality of a single study<sup>2</sup>. Research type refers to whether the study is primary, secondary or theoretical. Design categorises the studies on their status as experimental, quasi-experimental or observational, and the specific quantitative or qualitative

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<sup>2</sup> DFID (2014) Assessing the Strength of Evidence. How To Note. Department for International Development. London: UK.

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/291982/HTN-strength-evidence-march2014.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/291982/HTN-strength-evidence-march2014.pdf)

methods used. As this report is a rapid review, the quality assessments were based on a brief review of what the study reports in its methodology. Studies with detailed methodologies, conceptual framing and consideration of limitations and/or bias were generally rated highly, while studies without this were rated low. Validity and reliability were more difficult to assess in the short time period of this review, but were rated highly if the study presented and discussed these issues. Readers are recommended to consult the original papers carefully before drawing policy conclusions.

## 2. General trends

### **Journeys to Europe. The role of policy in migrant decision-making**

Hagen-Zanker, J. & Mallett, R. (2016). ODI Insights. London: Overseas Development Institute.  
<https://www.odi.org/publications/10317-journeys-europe-role-policy-migrant-decision-making>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; qualitative; interviews; focus groups. **Quality:** High. **Type:** Policy paper. **Geographic focus:** Europe.

This report aims to increase understanding of the journeys made by migrants to Europe. Based on in-depth interviews with more than 50 migrants, refugees and asylum seekers who have recently arrived in Berlin, London, Madrid and Manchester, it explores: the journeys migrants take; the factors that drive them; and the capacity of destination country migration policies to influence people's decisions, both before their journey begins and along the way.

The factors that push people into migration can include a wide range of things. Political and economic insecurity, conflict, violence, human rights abuses and repressive governments affected many respondents, forcing them to leave. But decisions about where to go might include economic and social factors such as educational services. The authors stress that none of the reasons why asylum seekers and refugees want to get to European countries – good education systems, safety, human rights, employment opportunities – does anything to challenge, undermine or call into question the reasons they have fled warzones.

Once on the move, aside from the presence of family and friends, the interviews suggest that education and employment are the two most important factors influencing people's thinking about where to go. Destinations often start off undefined, forming into something more solid as journeys are 'moved through'. In some cases, the destination is the broad idea of 'Europe'. People often plan only one country ahead. At this stage, the destination will just be a neighbouring country and there may not be a clear plan beyond this.

'Locational objectives' were overwhelmingly universal: people wanted a place that offers safety and security, employment, schooling and education and decent living conditions. For young people and those with young children – and even for those without, but who are thinking long term – education is central. People want places with a decent schooling system, where they can realistically get their children a good education over the coming years. In one focus group with five Syrian women in Berlin, this reason was placed front and centre; it was clearly the most influential factor driving their movement towards Germany. A number of interviewees cited low living standards and a lack of access to essential services, especially those experienced in refugee camps in Ethiopia and Somalia, as a reason to move on. Respondents shared their experiences about crowded, unsanitary living conditions and lack of access to food and clean water. Perceptions of risk, viability and opportunity change, so people may move on after a while,



some even years later. This means people may move to one place initially with the intention to settle, but then move on when reality does not meet expectations.

**Why people move: understanding the drivers and trends of migration to Europe.**

Cummings, C., Pacitto, J., Lauro, D., & Foresti, M. (2015). Working paper 430. London: Overseas Development Institute. <https://www.odi.org/publications/10217-why-people-move-understanding-drivers-and-trends-migration-europe>

**Research Type:** Secondary. **Design:** Semi-systematic review. **Quality:** High. **Type:** Working paper. **Geographic focus:** Europe.

This Rapid Evidence Assessment was commissioned by DFID to examine the state and strength of knowledge on the drivers of irregular migration to Europe in the current Mediterranean crisis. It does not mention anything specifically about educational services, but does provide insights into the migration flows to Europe.

The evidence is clear that the reasons why asylum-seekers and economic migrants choose to make the dangerous journey to Europe are often similar and a person may fit both of these categories at the same time. At the centre of this is the need for secure livelihood opportunities. However, an individual's trajectory is difficult to predict, and a person's motivations and intentions may change frequently throughout their journey.

Outside of conflict-affected areas, as a country's economy grows, emigration is likely to increase as more people have the necessary financial resources and information to make the journey. The relationship between development and migration has been described as a 'migration hump', explaining that it is not individuals from the poorest households who migrate to Europe, but rather those who have access to sufficient resources to pay for their journey. Studies commonly report that the majority of irregular migrants are male, unmarried, in their early 20s, and have low levels of education. While it is not uncommon for irregular migrants to have secondary-level education, those with a higher level of education generally have more opportunities to migrate legally. The growing youth population in the Horn of Africa may also drive further migration from the region. Increasing employment and education opportunities in these countries would be unlikely to counteract this since people migrate not only to seek better education opportunities, but also to earn higher wages for their labour.

**A profile of the world's young developing country migrants.** McKenzie, D. J. (2007). Discussion Paper No. 2948 World Bank Publications. World Bank: Washington, DC. <http://ftp.iza.org/dp2948.pdf>

**Research Type:** Secondary. **Design:** Other review; survey analysis. **Quality:** High. **Type:** Discussion paper. **Geographic focus:** Global.

Census and household survey data present a rich profile of the young developing country migrants around the world. Youth are found to comprise a large share of all migrants, particularly in migration to other developing countries, with the probability of migration peaking in the late teens or early twenties. The results suggest a high degree of commonality in the youth migrant experience across a number of destination countries.

- Developing country youth tend to work in similar occupations all around the world, and are more concentrated in these occupations than older migrants or native youth. Young men tend to work in physically intensive jobs like construction and agricultural labour.

Young migrant women are most likely to be domestic workers, cashiers, sales clerks, waitresses and cooks. Many of these jobs are considered to be of low status in developed countries, and offer little in the way of career advancement.

- Male migrants have a higher likelihood of working than young female migrants. Female youth who migrate are much more likely to be married and accompanying a spouse than male migrants.
- There is substantial migration for education. The large majority of young migrants are either in school or are working.
- The vast majority of 12 to 14 year old migrants are attending school. 29 percent of 18 to 24 year olds are attending school in their destination country, but another 29 percent are not working or in school. Among 18 to 24 year olds, over half are attending school in Canada and the United Kingdom, reflecting the importance of migration for education in these countries. However, there are also sizeable proportions of 18 to 24 year olds attending school in Argentina and South Africa, showing regional migration for higher education. In fact, a higher proportion of male 18 to 24 year old migrants to these two countries are attending school than male migrants to Spain and the United States in this age range.
- Youth who are neither working nor in school are often the cause of most concern for policymakers. The proportion of young migrants involved in neither activity is very large in some countries. As one would expect, the proportions are generally higher for young women, who may be involved in raising children or other household activities.
- The age of return migration is also very young in many countries, with the median return migrant being aged 25 to 30.

**Migration and Education.** Dustmann, C. & Glitz., A. (2011). Chapter 4 in 'Handbook of the Economics of Education'. Hanushek, E. A., Machin, S., & Woessmann, L. (eds.).

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/~uctpb21/Cpapers/MigrationAndEducation.pdf>

**Research Type:** Secondary. **Design:** Other review; conceptual. **Quality:** Moderate. **Type:** Academic book. **Geographic focus:** Global.

This chapter discusses some of the key areas that connect migration and education. Education and skill acquisition play an important role at many stages of an individual's migration. Differential returns to skills in origin and destination country are a main driver of migration. In its simplest possible form, the migration decision is based on a comparison of expected lifetime earnings in the current region of residence and in an alternative region, to which the migrant has the possibility to emigrate. In many cases the acquisition of higher education rather than the pursuit of higher wages may be the main motive of migration: a hypothesis that is supported by the growing fraction of student migrations in the overall migration flows.

The economic success of the immigrant in the destination country is to a large extent determined by his or her educational background, how transferable these skills are to the host country labour market and how much he or she invests in further skills after arrival. The possibility of a later migration may affect educational decisions in the home country long before a migration is realized.



### **Seeking the views of irregular migrants: Decision making, drivers and migration journeys**

McAuliffe, M. (2013). Irregular Migration Research Program. Department of Immigration and Border Protection, Australia.

<https://www.border.gov.au/ReportsandPublications/Documents/research/views-irregular-migrant-decision-drivers-journey.pdf>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; survey. **Quality:** High<sup>3</sup>. **Type:** Occasional paper. **Geographic focus:** Australia.

This paper reports the findings of a survey of irregular maritime arrivals who have been granted a permanent visa in Australia. The majority of irregular migrants were motivated by multiple factors, including education. The most prominent factor was protection. Poor education facilities in home countries was mentioned as a reason to leave, along with poverty, corruption and unemployment, aside from the most important issue of security. Education was listed as a problem at home by 30 per cent of the respondents. The most common reason for leaving was for general insecurity/conflict (42 per cent), followed by 'better education services' (15 per cent).

## **3. Youth employment and rural-urban migration**

### **Youth and rural development: evidence from 25 school-to-work transition surveys.**

Elder, S., de Haas, H., Principi, M. & Schewel, K. (2015). *Work4Youth Publication Series*, No. 29, Geneva: ILO.

[http://www.skillsforemployment.org/wcmstest4/idcplg?IdcService=GET\\_FILE&dID=201976&dDocName=WCMSTEST4\\_141854&allowInterrupt=1](http://www.skillsforemployment.org/wcmstest4/idcplg?IdcService=GET_FILE&dID=201976&dDocName=WCMSTEST4_141854&allowInterrupt=1)

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; survey<sup>4</sup>. **Quality:** High. **Type:** Policy paper. **Geographic focus:** Global.

This study aims to test hypotheses generated from current literature regarding rural development and broader prospects for rural livelihoods. One of the most common motivations behind urban migration is the assumed higher wage potential of urban areas, and the expectation of higher urban wages is borne out by the school-to-work transition (SWTS) datasets. From a survey of young people in 28 countries, many young workers signalled a willingness to relocate in order to find work, particularly to urban areas (27 per cent of all respondents) but also overseas (13 per cent). Migration aspirations were consistently higher among the unemployed. Given the underdevelopment of rural educational facilities in many countries, rural youth often have to migrate to towns and cities in order to study, particularly for higher education purposes. Even as educational opportunities increase in rural areas, higher level specialised jobs are concentrated in cities and in more highly developed countries. But even for the lower skilled, migration to the city or abroad often arises from a deliberate decision to improve livelihoods, save money for investments and help to reduce fluctuations in the family income.

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<sup>3</sup> Methodology given in accompanying paper:

<https://www.border.gov.au/ReportsandPublications/Documents/research/views-irregular-migrant-background-rationale-methodology.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> School-to-Work Transition Survey: [http://www.ilo.org/employment/areas/youth-employment/work-for-youth/WCMS\\_191853/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/employment/areas/youth-employment/work-for-youth/WCMS_191853/lang--en/index.htm)

**Work, education and outmigration among children and youth in upland Asia: changing patterns of labour and ecological knowledge in an era of globalisation.**

Punch, S. & Sugden, F. (2013) *Local Environment*, 18:3, 255-270

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2012.716410>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; mixed methods; wealth ranking; survey; focus groups; participation tools. **Quality:** Moderate. **Type:** Journal article. **Geographic focus:** India, Vietnam, China.

This paper identifies the impact of ongoing transformations in young people's labour contribution in four natural resource-dependent regions in India, Vietnam and China. There is an increased emphasis placed by households on education, with a strong parental desire for their children to escape from traditional agricultural and fishing-based livelihoods to find work in the cities. Pursuing education was therefore particularly marked as households sought new opportunities. There are fewer skilled jobs available locally and out-migration is increasing, and adults, older children and youth expressed a desire to leave fishing and agriculture, particularly in the context of ecological decline. These dual processes of rising educational aspirations and out-migration are intricately connected. Education is prioritised as a route to better paid employment in urban centres, whether this is white collar work or skilled manual work.

**Should I stay or should I go? Rural youth employment in Uganda and Zambia.**

Kristensen, S., & Birch-Thomsen, T. (2013). *International Development Planning Review*, 35(2), 175-201.

<http://online.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/doi/abs/10.3828/idpr.2013.12>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; mixed methods; surveys; focus groups. **Quality:** Moderate. **Type:** Journal article. **Geographic focus:** Zambia, Uganda.

This paper discusses the employment strategies of young people in selected rural areas of Zambia and Uganda, with a focus on the opportunities and constraints that they face. In Uganda, a significant proportion of the youth, especially young men, migrate to urban areas, whereas in Zambia, almost all the young people have chosen to remain in the rural area, where they consider their prospects of success to be greater than if they were to migrate elsewhere. An even number of men and women had migrated from the Ugandan study sites. People mainly left the villages due to pull motives, either in pursuit of education (61 per cent) or to look for employment (22 per cent). It is likely that a certain percentage of the young people who had left the villages for education, especially those attending a secondary boarding school, might return and resettle in the village. In fact, young people accounted for 68 per cent of all household members who had left the villages to pursue education elsewhere. This was the only motive for their absence.

The difference between the rural youth strategies in the two countries arises primarily because of the differing access of young people to land, plus the Zambian study sites being close enough to a small town to facilitate mobility on a daily basis. This study shows that not all young people have shunned agriculture, but, given the right conditions, are willing to stay in rural areas, where they can make a decent living. Furthermore, with urban living becoming increasingly challenging, some young people are returning to live and work in rural areas. Those that do move to urban areas maintain a multi-faceted relationship with their village of origin, often sending back remittances and forming part of the seasonal labour supply.

### **'Becoming somebody': youth transitions through education and migration in Peru.**

Crivello, G. (2011) *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14:4, 395-411.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2010.538043>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; mixed methods; survey; interviews; participatory research. **Quality:** High. **Evidence Type:** Journal article. **Geographical focus:** Peru.

Data from the Young Lives longitudinal study show that young people in Peru have high educational aspirations linked to mobility. The globalising discourse around the value of school education for defining good childhoods and successful youth transitions is widespread in Peru, this being reflected in the high educational aspirations for young people in the sample. Urban caregivers wanted their children to have 'better' lives while rural caregivers wanted their children to have 'distinct' lives, and education was seen as central to disrupting the intergenerational transfer of poverty.

For young people growing up in resource-poor communities, continuing education beyond primary school often entails travelling greater distances to the nearest secondary school. In the qualitative research, young people rarely aspired to migrate for the sake of migration. It was mostly an implicit assumption behind their aspirations and linked to schooling and job opportunities. Especially in rural communities, education both requires mobility and increases one's capacity for being mobile. Young people were also pragmatic in acknowledging the need for mobility in order to pursue quality education, especially if they aspired to university. Few of them, however, enthusiastically embraced the idea of long-distance, permanent migration and wanted to be close to their parents and home. Likewise, many caregivers said that when their children were grown they would like to continue living near them, but some of them viewed migration as inevitable. When rural young people orient themselves towards migration, it is generally to the next biggest town or capital city. Young people in the urban sites, and particularly in Lima, tend to orient their mobility to a 'better neighbourhood' or internationally. Overall, there were no major gender differences in migration aspirations.

### **Girls on the move: Adolescent girls and migration in the developing world.**

Temin, M., Montgomery, M. R., Engebretsen, S., & Barker, K. M. (2013). A Girls Count report on adolescent girls. Population Council.

[http://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2013PGY\\_GirlsOnTheMove.pdf](http://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2013PGY_GirlsOnTheMove.pdf)

**Research Type:** Secondary. **Design:** Other review. **Quality:** Moderate. **Type:** Policy paper. **Geographic focus:** Global.

Adolescent girls migrate to cities from both urban and rural homes, motivated by similar aspirations and needs. Many girls migrate to further their education in the city. Girls may move to be physically closer to school. The quality and relevance of schooling are also a consideration: in Bangladesh and Burkina Faso, children reported they migrated because they felt the rural school curriculum lacked relevance to modern lives. Although they are better educated than their rural peers, urban in-migrant girls' levels of educational attainment generally do not match the levels achieved by urban non-migrant girls.

Many migrants combine educational aspirations with plans to work. Migrant girls may find jobs to cover fees for part-time schooling or future educational expenses. Some anticipate that domestic work will lead to opportunities for formal education. A study in Ghana found that 20 percent of girls entered domestic work because the employer promised to support vocational training either

during or after their service. Many girls who migrate for work report that gaining skills through work is the only educational option realistically open to them. Migrant children frequently state a preference for vocational training over traditional academic education. Apprenticeships—a common form of such training— are a popular alternative to formal education among young migrants in West Africa. Girls perceive that apprenticeships improve marriage prospects and teach practical skills, which can provide a degree of independence even within marriage.

## 4. Education and international migration

**Middling migration: Contradictory mobility experiences of Indian youth in London.** Rutten, M., & Verstappen, S. (2014). *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(8), 1217-1235.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.830884>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; qualitative; interviews. **Quality:** Moderate. **Type:** Journal article. **Geographic focus:** UK, India.

This paper examines the contradictory migration experiences of Indian youth who recently moved to Britain on a student or temporary work visa and discusses the perspectives of their middle-class families in Gujarat. The young middle-class Indians have high aspirations to go abroad, either for work or study. Since the early 1990s, educational institutes in countries like Britain, USA and Australia have vigorously attracted students from countries like India, turning education into an export product. In many parts of India, education has come to be viewed as the easiest and fastest route to go abroad. The visa agents in Anand specialised in student visas, and some of them had 'exclusive deals' with foreign colleges. Most advise their customers to apply for a student visa to the UK as the college fees are often cheaper there than in the USA or Canada. 22 of the 26 respondents already had a bachelor's or master's degree when they reached London. 12 of them entered the UK on student visas, but almost all of them gave up studies soon after their arrival because of the long hours they had to work in order to cover their living expenses. Officially, however, they remained students, registered in their colleges, to ensure their legal status.

These young people moved to London not only to earn money and gain new experiences but also to escape family pressures by living away from their parents. For young men, going abroad means to escape parental control over their behaviour and lifestyle; for young women, it means having the opportunity to work and move freely outside the house. Migration can also be used to avoid social pressure related to marriage. While the migration literature has tended to represent migrants as driven by economic pressures, it is important to also recognise these gendered social motivations for migration.

**'Go west young man': the culture of migration among Muslims in Hyderabad, India.**

Ali, S. (2007). *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, 33(1), 37-58.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691830601043489>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; qualitative; participant-observation; interviews. **Quality:** High. **Type:** Journal article. **Geographic focus:** India.

This article explores an understudied aspect of the migration process, the 'culture of migration', using data gathered from field research in Hyderabad, India. Hyderabad is a city with substantial capital investment, especially from IT companies, and is an excellent site to examine how the desire to migrate remains salient in spite of the immigration of capital to the migrants' home

setting, resulting in increased job opportunities at home, at least for professionals. The culture of migration is diffused through Hyderabad Muslim society, so much so that, while it is impossible for all to go, the desire to migrate has become generalised and normative. The culture of migration and the desire to migrate manifest themselves in how people deal with education and work in Hyderabad, shaping the choices they make. Arabic is now commonly taught in many schools, to facilitate future Gulf employment. Where medicine and engineering used to be the primary choices of professionals, it is now computer science that attracts the brightest, as they are the ones who can most easily get the coveted H1B visa for the US.

#### **Reasons for migration among medical students from Karachi.**

Syed, N. A., Khimani, F., Andrades, M., Ali, S. K., & Paul, R. (2007). *Medical education*, 42(1), 61-68. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2923.2007.02904.x>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; quantitative; questionnaire. **Quality:** Moderate. **Type:** Journal article. **Geographic focus:** Pakistan.

The study focused on final-year medical students at two of the largest private medical schools in Karachi, Pakistan. Over 95 per cent of Aga Khan University (AKU) and over 65 per cent of Baqai University (BU) final-year medical students intend to proceed abroad for their postgraduate training. The most common reason cited for moving abroad was the quality of postgraduate medical education (PGME). Over 93 per cent of respondents at AKU and 65 per cent at BU felt that poor quality PGME in Pakistan was the most important factor motivating them to seek PGME abroad. Another important issue concerned the poor salary of postgraduate trainees in PGME programmes in Pakistan. A little over half of all students also cited economic prospects after training as an extremely important reason behind their decision to migrate. Post-training economic prospects was the third most important factor. Other interesting factors captured through the open-ended questions were the poor work environment and lack of rigor in teaching of residents in domestic university hospitals. The major contributing factors for students who wished to stay in Pakistan were family ties, the desire to serve their nation and the desire to settle in Pakistan. It is often supposed that a desire to settle in the developed world is the main motivation of people who migrate abroad. However, the study revealed that only 10 per cent of respondents wanted to settle abroad after training.

#### **The development potential of Zimbabweans in the diaspora: A survey of Zimbabweans living in the UK and South Africa.**

Bloch, A. (2005). International Organization for Migration (No. 17). [http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/mrs17\\_0.pdf](http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/mrs17_0.pdf)

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; quantitative; questionnaire **Quality:** High. **Evidence Type:** Research report. **Geographic focus:** UK, South Africa, Zimbabwe.

This report is based on a survey of 1,000 Zimbabwean nationals – 500 respondents in the United Kingdom and 500 respondents in South Africa. The data show that Zimbabweans in the UK and South Africa are well educated with high levels of skills and employment experience that they are not always able to use in their country of residence. The main reason for emigrating related to the economy and employment – 48 per cent had left Zimbabwe due to the economic situation, the lack of employment or to work abroad. Around a quarter (26 per cent) said that their main reason for leaving was political. A further 19 per cent left to study abroad. Zimbabweans in the UK were more likely than those in South Africa to have left for political reasons and to study abroad.



Educational qualifications were high, especially among those in the UK, where 97 per cent arrived with a formal qualification. An average of 38 per cent arrived in their country of residence with a first degree qualification or higher. This puts them among the educational elite not just from Zimbabwe but also in their country of residence. There was a clear element of capacity building through education in the UK and South Africa, with 39 per cent obtaining a new qualification in their country of residence. More than two-thirds of those who had gained a qualification had obtained a first degree qualification or higher, and an additional 22 per cent had obtained a diploma or professional qualification. There was clear evidence of progression in terms of qualifications obtained. However, these high levels of qualifications were not necessarily transferred into jobs.

**Migrating to opportunities: How family migration motivations shape academic trajectories among newcomer immigrant youth.**

Hagelskamp, C., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Hughes, D. (2010). *Journal of Social Issues*, 66(4), 717-739. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01672.x/pdf>

**Research Type:** Secondary. **Design:** Other review; survey analysis. **Quality:** High. **Type:** Journal article. **Geographic focus:** USA.

This study describes the relative salience of educational and employment prospects in immigrant parents' motivations for coming to the United States, and links these types of parental migration motivations to newcomer immigrant youth's school performance. Families came from Central America, China, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico. Overall, educational opportunities were less salient than work and employment prospects in the migration motivations of this culturally diverse sample of immigrant parents, regardless of national origins. This finding is important given that much research on immigrant families argues that educational opportunities are often a primary motivator for family migration. These findings can be interpreted as illustrating a hierarchy of needs in migration motivations, where safety and economic prospects trump the search for education. These findings should therefore not be viewed as suggesting that educational values per se are low among immigrant families. Rather, educational goals take up a role of relative salience in the context of other pressing, and potentially competing, family needs and goals. Children whose parents more often mentioned schooling as a reason to immigrate had higher GPAs. These findings support the argument that family context in general, and concrete, future-oriented motivations in particular, matter in the academic development of immigrant youth.

**Determinants and effects of post-migration education among new immigrants in Canada.**

Banerjee, R., & Verma, A. (2009). Canadian Labour Market and Skills Researcher Network, Working Paper, (11).

<http://www.clsrn.econ.ubc.ca/workingpapers/CLSRN%20Working%20Paper%20no.%2011%20-%20Banerjee%20&%20Verma.pdf>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; quantitative; survey. **Quality:** High. **Evidence Type:** Working paper. **Geographic focus:** Canada.

This study investigates post-migration educational investment among newly arrived immigrants in Canada and examines the effect of post-migration education on new immigrants' labour market integration, as measured by earnings and occupational status. New immigrants to Canada are among the most educated immigrants to date. Despite their high levels of education, many newly arrived immigrants are unable to find work in fields related to their education and previous



experience. Even when they find jobs within their fields, new immigrants earn considerably less than their native-born counterparts. One important way for new immigrants to overcome the barriers they face is to further invest in their skills after arriving in Canada.

The results indicate that previous human capital is a determinant of post-migration educational investment. Specifically, older migrants are less likely to enrol in education, pre-migration education makes migrants more likely to enrol in Canada, and acceptance of foreign work experience means people take up jobs rather than further education. Gender is not found to affect new immigrants' post-migration educational decisions, but black immigrants are found to be more likely to invest in Canadian education than other ethnic groups. This is not surprising since Blacks are known to face the greatest labour market disadvantage in Canada and therefore may feel that they must invest in further education to improve their position. Younger new arrivals with already high levels of education and language ability are most likely engage in further education and improve their economic prospects while those who face the greatest disadvantage in the Canadian labour market (older, less educated, unable to speak English or French) fall further behind.

## 5. Education and migration and FCAS

### **Forcibly Displaced: Toward a Development Approach Supporting Refugees, the Internally Displaced, and Their Hosts.**

Devictor, X. (2016). The World Bank, Washington, DC.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/25016>

**Research Type:** Secondary. **Design:** Other review. **Quality:** Moderate. **Evidence Type:** Book, policy report. **Geographic focus:** Global.

This report contains a chapter on forcibly displaced people's choices to move, and one on choices to return. Neither chapter mentions education as a reason to move. Instead, the primary concerns are security and violence, and economic opportunities. Evidence suggests that security plays the main role, whether in deciding to flee or in choosing a destination. Economic considerations play a secondary role. Areas with higher wages and better social services are more attractive as they potentially offer more opportunities. When deciding whether to stay, return home, or move on, when they do have options, their decision-making process may be partly similar to that of economic migrants: they compare their welfare in their place of displacement with their likely welfare in the place they could move to, including back home. Among safe destinations, they choose the place where they believe they will maximise their welfare, based on economic considerations as well as on a host of other factors, including social, cultural, and political. Men and women also tend to consider different factors in making their decision: women may give more weight to health and education, while men may be more concerned about employment.

### **Refugees and IDPs after Conflict: Why They Do Not Go Home**

Fagen, P. W. (2011). Special Report, United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Washington DC.

<http://www.gsdrc.org/document-library/refugees-and-idps-after-conflict-why-they-do-not-go-home/>

**Research Type:** Secondary. **Design:** Other review. **Quality:** Low. **Evidence Type:** Working paper. **Geographic focus:** Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Burundi.

Using Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Burundi as case studies, this paper argues that the effects of protracted conflict and displacement mean that, for many, returning home is not a viable solution. Going home and reestablishing rights to land matters a great deal to some of the returnees and IDPs, but for many others, the challenge is to settle where they can maintain decent livelihoods, find peaceful conditions, have access to health care and education, and enjoy the full rights of citizenship. Social services have assumed growing importance for refugee and IDP populations, as access to health and education has long-term value for their own, and their children's, future. Among the reasons most often heard for refugees' and IDPs' rejecting the option to return to their places of origin is that families do not want to lose the access to education and health care they had as refugees and urbanised IDPs, and which many have come to consider as important as income generation opportunities. Returnees to remote rural villages find very limited opportunities to school their children, and while building schools, health clinics, and installing public works may be on their government's future agenda, their lack in the present sharply deters return. In particular, female refugees and urban IDPs, while displaced, may have had access to education, live less isolated lives and, in many instances, come to value themselves to a greater extent.

## Afghanistan

In UNHCR's regular profiling of Syrian and Afghan arrivals in Europe, education is listed as a low-level driver. In May 2016<sup>5</sup>, five per cent of 181 Afghans in Greece gave educational opportunities as a reason for choosing destination countries (respect for human rights was top at 34 per cent, and family reunifications second at 32 per cent). Two per cent gave education as a reason to leave Afghanistan (71 per cent gave conflict/violence). In May 2016<sup>6</sup>, nine per cent of 291 Syrians in Greece gave educational opportunities as a reason for choosing destination countries (family reunification was top at 45 per cent, and respect for human rights second at 17 per cent). 0.34 per cent gave education as a reason to leave Syria (92 per cent gave conflict/violence/war).

### **Children on the Move. A Report on Children of Afghan Origin Moving to Western Countries.** Boland, K. (2010). UNICEF.

[http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/files/Book\\_children\\_on\\_the\\_move.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/files/Book_children_on_the_move.pdf)

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; qualitative; interviews. **Quality:** Moderate.

**Evidence Type:** Research report. **Geographic focus:** Afghanistan, UK, Norway.

The study focuses on the stories of 20 unaccompanied children of Afghan origin who have applied for asylum in Norway and the UK. Within Afghanistan, five deported children and three families with a child on the move in a western country were also interviewed.

Families interviewed in Afghanistan who have a child in the west said the decision was made because of the need to provide financial support for the family and the good economic prospects for their son in Europe. Children who were deported back to Afghanistan said their parents had made the decision for education and employment reasons. Moreover, education and employment prospects would be the trigger for their next attempt. One family with a son in Sweden and another son in the UK said that their children had moved to a western country because of the family's economic circumstances.

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<sup>5</sup> <http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/download.php?id=1728>

<sup>6</sup> <http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/download.php?id=1727>

All 20 children interviewed in destination countries UK and Norway said the decision was made because their lives were in danger for a political or personal reason. The children who participated in the focus group in the UK were all Pashtun and said it was not possible to stay in Afghanistan because there was no safety, proper education and job prospects, forcible recruitment by Taliban, and family feuds. All children said that existing levels of security, education and employment prospects open to them in Afghanistan were limited or non-existent. Until these needs are met, children and their families will make the decision to have a child on the move to a western country. Most respondents said that the decision to go to a particular country was based on information from relatives or neighbours who already had a child there. In other cases the child said the initial decision was to go to Europe or a western country and during the journey – in countries such as Turkey, Greece, Italy or France – they obtained information from other children on the move about preferred destinations.

**Afghans on the Move: Seeking Protection and Refuge in Europe. “In this journey I died several times; In Afghanistan you only die once”.** Donini, A., Monsutti, A., & Scalettaris, G. (2016). Global Migration Research Paper, (17). Global Migration Centre.

[http://graduateinstitute.ch/files/live/sites/iheid/files/sites/globalmigration/shared/Publications/GMP\\_RS\\_N17\\_Donini\\_Monsutti\\_Scalettaris.pdf](http://graduateinstitute.ch/files/live/sites/iheid/files/sites/globalmigration/shared/Publications/GMP_RS_N17_Donini_Monsutti_Scalettaris.pdf)

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; qualitative; interviews. **Quality:** Moderate. **Evidence Type:** Research report. **Geographic focus:** Afghanistan, Greece, Italy, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary and Sweden.

This UNHCR-commissioned report presents the profiles and trajectories, motivations and aspirations, decision-making process and strategies of Afghans in connection to their journey to Europe and their experience of the EU asylum system.

Afghans are fleeing from violence in their country of origin and from exclusion and a lack of durable solutions in the countries of first asylum. New generations of Afghan refugees are forced to move due to similar factors as their parents, but they are compelled to seek protection in more distant places and resort to even riskier routes. Young men are overrepresented among those arriving in Europe, sent by their families to improve their situations. Success is understood as getting an official form of protection, an education and a job, and eventually marrying a girl from home and bringing her to Europe to build a family. Failure is not an option. Being returned signifies that the money that was collected for the journey has been lost. In addition to the serious repercussions of an individual's repatriation on his or her security, it is a blow to the domestic economy and would be experienced as a social shame by the whole family.

This social pressure for Afghans means that while protection needs and access to livelihoods, education and other social services may be the key driving factors leading to displacement, questions of prestige and status may be the decisive factors for the choices which are ultimately made by Afghans on the move.

## Horn of Africa

### Young and on the Move: Children and youth in mixed migration flows within and from the Horn of Africa

Cossor, E. (2016). Save the Children. <http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/library/young-and-move-children-and-youth-mixed-migration-flows-within-and-horn-africa>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; qualitative; interviews. **Quality:** Low.

**Evidence Type:** Research report. **Geographic focus:** Horn of Africa.

As with adult migration, economic reasons and fleeing from conflict are the strongest drivers of migration in the region. Economic motivation is a powerful factor for both children and youth to migrate, sometimes for short or seasonal work (often younger children) or as a longer term future prospect (older children, youth). Migrating to join family in other countries (particularly Europe) was one of the most powerful 'pull' factors for children. Following family was also a pull factor for youth, however aspirational motivations of a better, more prosperous life emerged as the primary attraction for youth, often influenced by 'success stories' of migration shared through friends, family and diaspora. Educational opportunities play a part as push/pull factors in the hope for a better life.

According to UNICEF, the household level is the key site where choices and decisions about migration for work or other purposes are shaped and framed. The migration of children with their parents may be considered as a family investment, by realising opportunities of better education and employment, which is the main route to the future success of the second generation. Children travelling alone from Eritrea into Ethiopia are frequently sent by their families in the belief that they will find a better life, despite the risks. All key informants in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Sudan pointed to poverty, the economic hardships experienced within the family, and difficulties in providing for children's basic needs and education as primary factors in child migration.

Migration for education has a strongly gendered aspect. Gender inequality and discrimination drives girls and women to leave in order to avoid forced marriages and to seek better educational and employment opportunities. All of the girls in the focus group discussion in Amhara region, Ethiopia, cited restrictions in access to education, for example due to child marriage, as the primary reasons for leaving home for domestic migration. KIs in Amhara also drew the link between high migration and high child marriage in their region. A [report by ODI on the situation in Amhara](#) similarly connects gender inequality, lack of education, child marriage and migration of girls. Some girls interviewed also referred to the possibility of finding domestic work, but in Ethiopia this was often cited as a means to pay for the continuation of their education; access to education being the primary motivation.

### Living out of Camp: Alternatives to Camp-based Assistance for Eritrean Refugees in Ethiopia.

Samuel Hall Consulting (2014). Norwegian Refugee Council. <http://samuelhall.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Living-Out-of-Camp-Alternative-to-Camp-based-Assistance-in-Ethiopia.pdf>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; mixed method; survey; interviews; focus groups. **Quality:** Moderate. **Evidence Type:** Evaluation. **Geographic focus:** Ethiopia, Eritrea.

This research is the first study of alternatives to camp-based assistance in Ethiopia for Eritrean refugees, and the first thorough review of Ethiopia's Out-of-Camp scheme (OCP). The scheme

allows Eritreans to live and study outside the camps if they are able to sustain themselves independently (usually through relatives or remittances). Eritrean refugees are allowed to access higher education in any university of the country, if they pass the university entrance exam. 1,200 Eritrean refugees are currently enrolled in universities. Officials expect graduates to go back to the camps and look for jobs there. However, past graduates mentioned being given the choice to stay in the city if they were able to sustain themselves. In this case, higher education can lead to a potential settlement, and local integration, outside the camps, potentially deterring onward migration. Refugees list one of the positives of the scheme as better access to education for children and adults in the city than in the camps.

The OCP is a positive opportunity offered by the Ethiopian government for a part of the Eritrean caseload and a good mechanism to rely on to make progress towards non-camp based refugee management in the country. Yet, it does not give refugees the right to work or to move freely, nor does it provide a sufficient incentive for Eritrean refugees to consider it as a sustainable solution, as most prefer opting for resettlement and further migration.

### **Youth, Employment and Migration in Mogadishu, Kismayo and Baidoa.**

Altai Consulting (2016). IOM Somalia. <http://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/IOM-Youth-Employment-Migration-9Feb2016.pdf>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; mixed method; survey; interviews. **Quality:** High. **Evidence Type:** Research report. **Geographic focus:** Somalia.

This review aims to assess whether opportunities for additional IOM youth programmes exist in South Central Somalia. Altai conducted a survey with 1,200 respondents under 30 across the three cities, and interviews with youth and employers. Poor economic conditions are the primary drivers of irregular migration but many youth are also pushed out by instability in the country. Economic factors are the main reasons for youth to migrate, and respondents talked about the prospect of “finding a better job” as a primary motivation to leave, followed by the motivation to simply “find a job”. The push factors emerge as more influential than pull factors and this is why awareness of the risks of the journey does not tend to deter aspiring migrants that have their heart set on migrating.

The typical aspiring migrant has an intermediary level of education: Amongst the sample, the respondents with the lowest levels of education (no education) and the respondents with the highest levels of education (master’s degree level) were the least likely to express the wish to migrate or to have thought about migrating. Students, not the unemployed, displayed the greatest propensity to migrate: 41 per cent of non-migrants who were students reported that they have thought about leaving, against 27 per cent of unemployed non-migrants.

Pull factors for Europe tend to be as follows:

- **High revenues and a decent job.**
- The ability to potentially gain a **foreign passport** with time.
- Robust **welfare and health** systems in European countries.
- High quality **education**, and also the ability to be able to work and study at the same time. For some, the objective is to attend a university that offers a higher quality of education than what would be available in Somalia, whereas for others, the objective is to

work and study at the same time (something that some are unable to do in Somalia, which excludes them from being able to study at all).

It should also be noted that in many of the interviews, young respondents said they would be interested in migrating, in principle, but they were not actually pursuing this goal.

### **Investing in Somali Youth: Exploring the Youth-Employment-Migration Nexus in Somaliland and Puntland.**

Samuel Hall Consulting (2015). IOM Somalia. <http://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/investing-somali-youth-exploring-youth-employment-migration-nexus-somaliland-and>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; mixed method; survey; interviews; focus groups. **Quality:** High. **Evidence Type:** Research report. **Geographic focus:** Somalia.

According to UNDP, more than 60 per cent of Somaliland's and 50 per cent of Puntland's population indicate willingness to migrate due to economic reasons and political and cultural exclusion. The research makes it clear that many youth have migrated, many wish to migrate, and that unemployment and the potential for better job opportunities are the primary motivating factors of their perceptions.

The second most popular reason, "to study", is not unrelated to this, as studying abroad is viewed as a path to better or different job opportunities. Likewise, a lack of up-to-standard educational facilities was also pointed out as driver of youth emigration from Somaliland, particularly of already highly educated youth. In case studies, FGDs and conversations, the desire to obtain a scholarship from a university abroad to pursue the studies that are either not offered in Somaliland or could not be pursued for other reasons, was particularly prevalent among already educated youth. There seems to be a widespread notion among students, as well as employers, that the right education can only be obtained abroad. Reinforcing this notion, in asylum countries (and especially Kenya or Ethiopia), the lack of quality education in Somalia was often mentioned as the main reason for refugees not wanting to return, since parents want the same educational opportunities for their children as they experienced in the camps or in their country of asylum. University and technical education are of poor quality in Somalia, and do not provide youth with marketable skills. While there is a common perception that degrees and certificates are a major prerequisite for obtaining qualified jobs, higher education in Somaliland and Puntland does not equip youth with necessary skills to find employment. In addition, it is not recognised abroad or among international employers as university experience.

### **Moving Beyond Conflict: Re-framing mobility in the African Great Lakes region**

Bakewell, O., & Bonfiglio, A. (2013). Working paper. African Great Lakes Mobility Project. <https://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/wp/wp-71-13>

**Research Type:** Secondary. **Design:** Theoretical. **Quality:** Low. **Evidence Type:** Working paper. **Geographic focus:** African Great Lakes.

Conflict and violence with the associated humanitarian and development crises have affected the African Great Lakes for more than three decades, creating one of the most protracted situations of displacement in the world. This paper sets out the case for exploring the broad process of migration in the region looking beyond the conflict framework that dominates analysis.

Migration for education may be a part of an individual or family's livelihood strategy, a socio-cultural norm and perceived part of life-cycle development, or a part of an individual's aspirations.



It is possible to see migration for education as a reflection of the variation in educational opportunities across Africa; a result of macro-structural forces. A (perceived) lack of or insufficient access to educational opportunities at home and the availability of such opportunities elsewhere is another key determinant of education migration.

The insecurity in the Great Lakes region and the disruption of the education systems has skewed the distribution of educational resources away from the eastern DRC and made the schools and universities of Uganda, Kenya and (more recently) Rwanda more attractive. Apart from changing these macro-structural conditions, it may also have affected the significance of migration for education within households. Evidence from across the African continent suggests that migration for education can play an important role in the survival strategy or coping mechanism for families. For instance, a family may financially sponsor one of its members to receive secondary or tertiary education abroad as a form of economic investment, if it is unable to provide for itself given dire economic conditions at home. This person is responsible for gaining employment and remitting funds back to kin in home countries. Migration within Africa for higher education is increasingly the most favoured option for youth looking for optimal education and employment opportunities. African universities are increasingly recruiting students from beyond their borders, developing partnerships or establishing overseas campuses, prompting students enrolled in home country institutions to transfer to programmes abroad. Some African governments are also developing selective immigration policies to attract foreign students in specific academic fields or with specific skills.

## Receiving countries

### **Aspirations for higher education among newcomer refugee youth in Toronto: Expectations, challenges, and strategies.**

Shakya, Y. B., Guruge, S., Hynie, M., Akbari, A., Malik, M., Htoo, S., ... & Alley, S. (2012). *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 27(2).

<http://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/34723/31553>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; qualitative; interviews; focus groups. **Quality:** High. **Evidence Type:** Journal article. **Geographic focus:** Canada.

Findings from this study provide new insights about educational aspirations of refugee youth between the ages of 16 and 24 who arrived in Canada within the last five years, the challenges they face as they navigate secondary and tertiary education, and the strategies they utilise to address these challenges. Many newly arrived refugee youth indicated that their educational aspirations became stronger after coming to Canada. This increase in educational aspirations is a response to a number of factors related to perceived and real differences between educational systems in Canada compared to the war-torn home countries or refugee camps. These include (1) lack of quality education or access barriers to quality education in their pre-migration contexts; (2) positive experiences of learning provided by Canadian educational institutions (compared to before Canada); and (3) expectations and realisation that a Canadian education can lead to good jobs and a better future, including being able to make a good income and help family and community with the income and knowledge gained. The change in educational aspirations before and after coming to Canada is also linked to the perceived differences in the value and benefits associated with education between the two contexts. In direct contrast to pre-migration contexts, many participants perceived that education carries greater value in Canada and is an essential requirement for getting a good job.

**Fleeing through the globalised education system: the role of violence and conflict in international student migration.** Kirkegaard, A. M. Ø., & Nat-George, S. M. L. W. (2016). *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 14(3), 390-402.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2016.1151769>

**Research Type:** Primary. **Design:** Observational; qualitative; interviews. **Quality:** High.  
**Evidence Type:** Journal article. **Geographic focus:** Sweden.

This article is based on a close reading of six qualitative interviews with self-defined conflict-induced student migrants in Sweden. They come from Europe, South Asia, South America including the Caribbean, the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa. They have all experienced or witnessed structural, cultural and/or direct violence first hand.

These students were unlikely to have been accepted as legal migrants or asylum seekers, either because they exit conflicts when these are not active, or because the kind of violence they have experienced is not considered grounds for asylum. To the great majority of these students, leaving their home country as students either seems or is directly stated to be the only acceptable option. They express the legitimacy involved in exiting the conflict through education, however in different and to some extent gendered ways. Leaving for education is open; it is legal; your status is by definition high locally and internationally; and it is comparably easy if you have the resources necessary (education and money are essentials, while migration networks seem to be less central). In addition, leaving as a student opens new possibilities of onward migration within the international education system, and possibly in the end a highly qualified job in exile, without jeopardising the individual students' possibilities of safe returns, or their families' security in their home countries. All the students included in the research come from resourceful, if not rich backgrounds. While some of them secured scholarships, the others live under rather harsh economic conditions, struggling to make ends meet.

## 6. Further resources

**UNICEF; Children on the Move research website:** <https://www.unicef-irc.org/research-watch/Children%20on%20the%20move/>

**Save the Children International; Children on the Move in Europe website:**  
<https://savethechildreninternational.exposure.co/children-on-the-move-in-europe>

**Child Migration Research Network:** <http://www.childmigration.net/>

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## About this report

*This report is based on five days of desk-based research. The K4D research helpdesk provides rapid syntheses of a selection of recent relevant literature and international expert thinking in response to specific questions relating to international development. For any enquiries, contact [helpdesk@k4d.info](mailto:helpdesk@k4d.info).*

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