



YOUTH MIGRATION: FACTS & FIGURES*

Chapter 1

Clear definitions and timely, comparable, accessible and reliable data are the cornerstones of any successful policy intervention. This chapter outlines some of what is known about young migrants to date and presents data and other challenges faced by policymakers and stakeholders when designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating migration policies affecting youth.

The main focus of this report is on migrants between 15 and 24 years of age, who in 2013 represented about one-eighth (28.2 million) of the 232 million international migrants worldwide. Children are defined by the Convention on the Rights of the Child as people below 18 years of age unless, under national laws applicable, majority is attained earlier (Article 1). Adolescence is the period of transition between childhood and adulthood, though no legal definition exists. For analytical purposes, the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) divides adolescence into three stages: early (10-to-13 years), middle (14-to-16 years) and late (17-to-19 years). Although no legal definition of ‘youth’ has been established, the United Nations (UN) defines persons aged 15-to-24 as youth (“without prejudice to other definitions by Member States.”)¹

Despite some progress, the data needed to enable policymakers and stakeholders to fully understand the role of youth within migration patterns worldwide and the specific motivations that drive them remain insufficient. The UN’s Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) and UNICEF are attempting to fill this void by developing comparable estimates of the global stock of international migrant children and youth for all countries and regions. Data disaggregated by age and sex, among other factors, are important to better understand the experience of young people on the move. Detailed data also serve as the foundation for an evidence base upon which migration policies and programmes can be built to protect the human rights of young migrants.

WHAT DO AVAILABLE DATA TELL US?

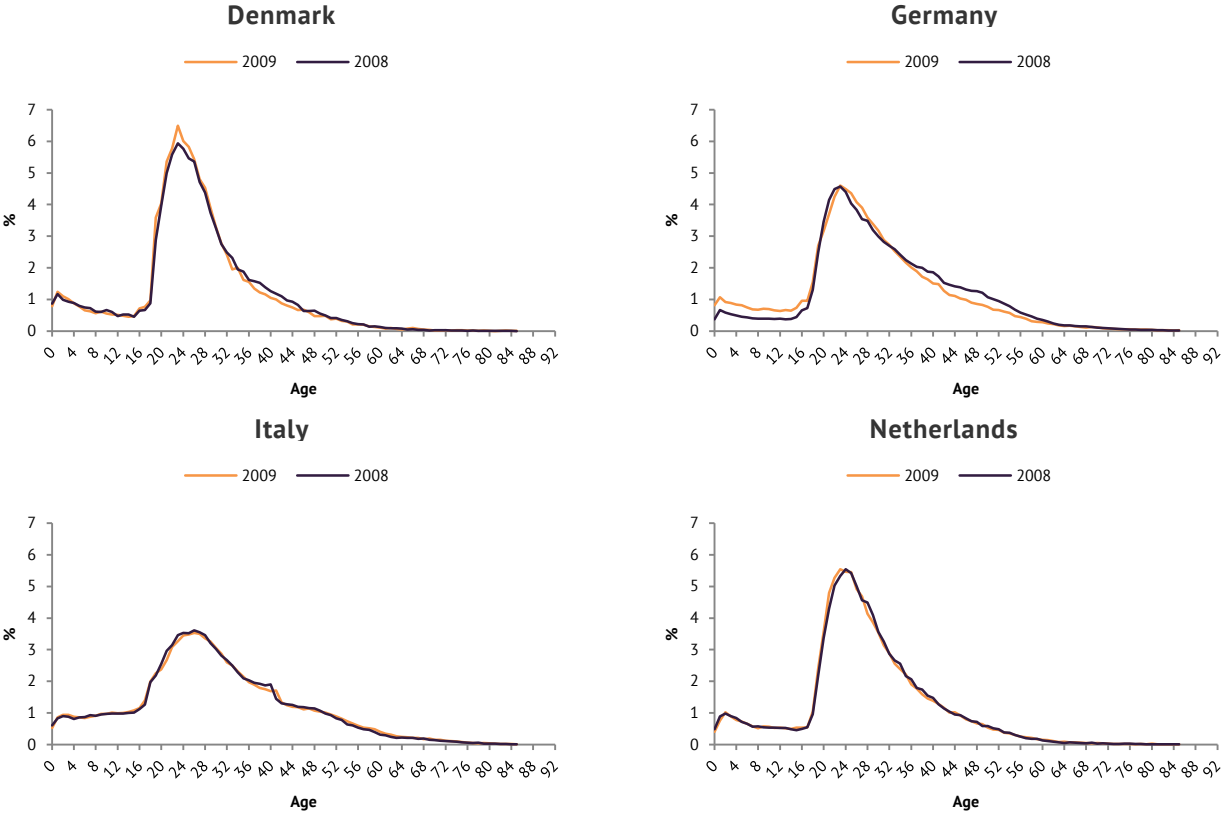
Information on migration is often gathered as part of population censuses or through administrative surveys. Global estimates of levels and trends in youth migration enable policymakers to design evidence-based policies that will maximize the positive effects of migration and minimize its negative effects on families and communities in both countries of origin and destination.²

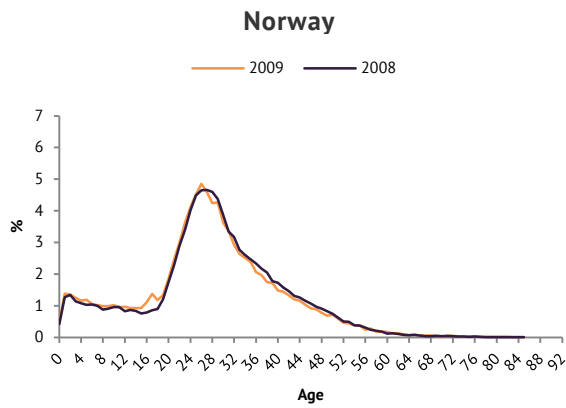
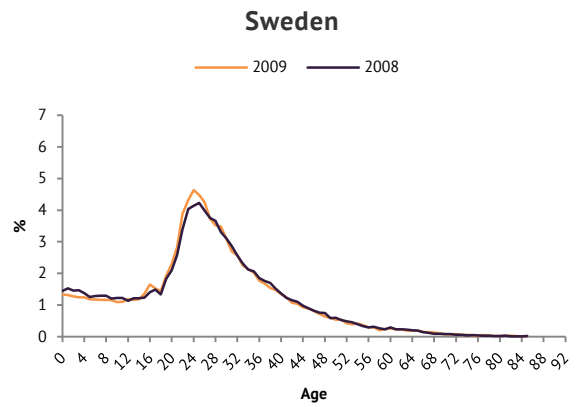
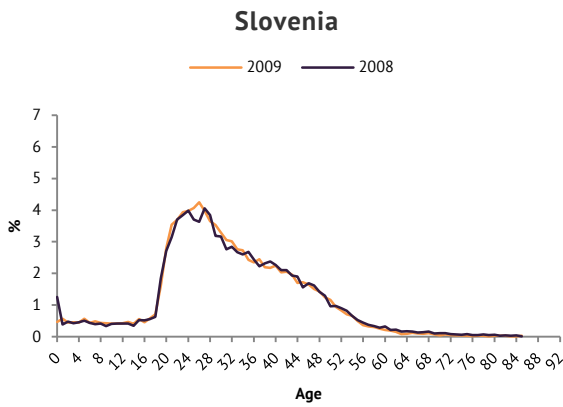
¹Prepared by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, Migration Section.

Young people are more likely than older people to migrate

The age selectivity of international migration is well known: all things being equal, younger people are more likely to migrate than older people. As migrant flows to selected traditional and non-traditional destination countries in Europe show, a large proportion of foreigners entering a country as migrants in any given year are young adults³ (Figure 1.1). According to the data for these countries, the age distribution of migrants generally peaks in the mid-to-late-20s. Figure 1.1 shows that most migrants are between the ages of 23 and 27. Adolescents and youth aged 15-24 account for between 19 and 34 per cent of international migrants: on average, one in four newly arriving migrants to these countries is in this age group. Youth between the ages of 18 and 29 also account for a large proportion of international migrants.

Figure 1.1. Age Distribution of Inflows of International Migrants by Year (Selected Countries)





While youth constitute a formidable part of the migrant population, children under age 15 represent a smaller, yet significant, proportion. However, children are also affected by migration in other ways: many are left behind when a parent or parents migrate, or are born to migrant parents outside the country they know as home.

About 28.2 million youth were classified as migrants in 2013

Table 1.1. Number of International Migrants in Selected Age Groups, by Development Group, 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2013 (millions)

<i>Development group</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>0-14</i>	<i>15-24</i>	<i>25-34</i>	<i>Total</i>
World	1990	22.0	23.2	30.2	154.2
	2000	20.7	23.7	34.3	174.5
	2010	22.2	28.0	45.1	220.7
	2013	23.4	28.2	47.7	231.5
Developed countries	1990	7.9	11.2	16.0	82.3
	2000	8.0	13.0	19.8	103.4
	2010	7.4	13.7	24.3	129.7
	2013	7.9	13.9	25.7	135.6
Developing countries	1990	14.1	12.0	14.2	71.9
	2000	12.7	10.7	14.5	71.1
	2010	14.8	14.2	20.8	91.0
	2013	15.5	14.3	22.0	95.9
Least developed countries	1990	3.1	2.5	2.2	10.9
	2000	2.5	2.2	2.2	10.2
	2010	2.4	2.2	2.1	10.2
	2013	2.5	2.3	2.3	11.0
Other developing countries	1990	11.0	9.5	12.1	60.9
	2000	10.2	8.5	12.4	60.9
	2010	12.4	12.1	18.7	80.8
	2013	13.0	12.0	19.7	85.0

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2013, Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Age and Sex (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013).

International migration overall is increasing; the number of migrants has grown from 154 million in 1990 to 175 million in 2000, 221 million in 2010 and 232 million in 2013, the latest year for which data are available. Of the total international migrant stock in 2013, an estimated 28.2 million were between the ages of 15 and 24 (Table 1.1)⁴, which represents around 12 per cent of the total migrant population (Table 1.2). The number of young migrants increased from 23.2 million in 1990 to 28.2 million in 2013. Calculations of the number of young migrants are affected by the way children born to international migrants are classified. In most destination countries, children born to immigrants from another country are included among the native-born population. Children are also underrepresented in global migrant tallies due to

restrictive government policies that discourage migrants from bringing family members, including children, with them.

Over 12 per cent of international migrants were between the ages of 15 and 24 in 2013, but that share has decreased since 1990

Table 1.2. Percentage of International Migrants in Selected Age Groups, by Development Group, 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2013

<i>Development group</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>0-14</i>	<i>15-24</i>	<i>25-34</i>
World	1990	14.3	15.1	19.6
	2000	11.9	13.6	19.7
	2010	10.0	12.7	20.4
	2013	10.1	12.2	20.6
Developed countries	1990	9.6	13.6	19.5
	2000	7.7	12.5	19.1
	2010	5.7	10.6	18.7
	2013	5.9	10.2	18.9
Developing countries	1990	19.6	16.7	19.8
	2000	17.9	15.1	20.4
	2010	16.3	15.6	22.9
	2013	16.2	14.9	23.0
Least developed countries	1990	28.2	22.6	19.7
	2000	24.8	21.7	21.2
	2010	23.9	21.3	20.6
	2013	23.1	20.9	20.8
Other developing countries	1990	18.1	15.7	19.8
	2000	16.7	14.0	20.3
	2010	15.3	14.9	23.2
	2013	15.3	14.2	23.2

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2013, Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Age and Sex (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013).

The proportion of migrants aged 15-to-24 among all international migrants is generally higher in developing countries than in developed countries, and is highest in countries designated as ‘least developed’ (Table 1.2). This can be partially explained by the fact that a continuous inflow of young migrants is replacing older generations of migrants; thus there is no significant aging of the migrant population in destination countries. In 2013 adolescent and youth migrants accounted for 10.2 per cent of

international migrants in developed countries, 14.9 per cent of those in developing countries, and 20.9 per cent of those in least-developed countries (Table 1.2). When young migrants move to least-developed countries, it may jeopardise their future well-being, as educational and labour-market opportunities are liable to be more constrained than in developing or developed countries, leaving migrant youth unable to increase their human capital or to find good-paying jobs, and thus to save or send money home.

Just about half of all migrant youth in the world live in developing countries

Table 1.3. Percentage Distribution of Migrants in Selected Age Groups, by Development Group, 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2013

<i>Development group</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>0-14</i>	<i>15-24</i>	<i>25-34</i>	<i>Total</i>
Developed countries	1990	35.8	48.2	53.0	53.4
	2000	38.7	54.7	57.6	59.2
	2010	33.2	49.1	53.9	58.8
	2013	33.9	49.1	53.8	58.6
Developing countries	1990	64.2	51.8	47.0	46.6
	2000	61.3	45.3	42.4	40.8
	2010	66.8	50.9	46.1	41.2
	2013	66.1	50.9	46.2	41.4
Least developed countries	1990	14.0	10.6	7.1	7.1
	2000	12.3	9.4	6.3	5.9
	2010	11.0	7.7	4.7	4.6
	2013	10.8	8.1	4.8	4.7
Other developing countries	1990	50.2	41.1	39.9	39.5
	2000	49.0	36.0	36.1	34.9
	2010	55.8	43.1	41.5	36.6
	2013	55.3	42.7	41.4	36.7

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2013, Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Age and Sex (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013).

Developed countries host the majority of international migrants

In 2013 developed countries hosted about 59 per cent of all international migrants and almost half (49 per cent) of those aged 15-to-24 (Table 1.3). About one-third (34 per cent) of all migrants in developed countries were under the age of 15. In 2013 some 51 per cent of migrant adolescents and youth worldwide lived in developing countries; the largest number were residing in Asia -- 10.3 million (36 per cent). Europe

has the second largest population of adolescent and youth migrants, with 7.3 million (26 per cent), and North America has the third largest, with 5.4 million (19 per cent). Africa hosts an additional 3.4 million youth migrants and Latin America and the Caribbean host 1.1 million, while Oceania hosts the remainder – 750,000.

Women account for less than half of migrant youth

Globally, 46.5 per cent of migrants aged 15-to-24 are young women or girls; similar to the percentage of females in the total migrant population (48 per cent). That said, the share of females among all migrants declined slightly: from 48.8 per cent in 1990 to 48 per cent in 2013. Despite a slight increase in the share of female migrants in developed countries between 1990 and 2013, the corresponding share for developing countries declined (Table 1.4).

Table 1.4. Percentage of Women and Girls Among International Migrants in Selected Age Groups, by Development Group, 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2013

<i>Development group</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Percentage female</i>			
		<i>0-14</i>	<i>15-24</i>	<i>25-34</i>	<i>Total</i>
World	1990	48.6	47.3	46.4	48.8
	2000	48.6	48.0	47.2	49.1
	2010	47.8	46.0	44.9	48.1
	2013	47.6	46.5	44.8	48.0
Developed countries	1990	48.6	48.4	49.1	51.2
	2000	48.8	48.7	49.8	51.2
	2010	48.5	48.6	50.1	51.5
	2013	48.6	48.9	50.2	51.6
Developing countries	1990	48.6	46.4	43.3	46.2
	2000	48.4	47.1	43.8	46.1
	2010	47.4	43.5	38.8	43.3
	2013	47.2	44.1	38.6	43.0
Least developed countries	1990	48.9	46.2	46.5	47.2
	2000	48.0	47.7	46.8	47.5
	2010	46.1	45.1	44.9	45.6
	2013	45.8	44.7	44.5	45.3
Other developing countries	1990	48.5	46.4	42.7	46.0
	2000	48.5	47.0	43.2	45.9
	2010	47.7	43.2	38.2	43.0
	2013	47.4	44.0	37.9	42.7

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2013, Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Age and Sex (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013).

In developed countries women and girls constitute 48.9 per cent of adolescent and youth migrants and 51.6 per cent of the total migrant population in developed countries.

In developing and least developed countries, women and girls represent a somewhat smaller proportion of the total migrant population (43.0 and 45.3 per cent, respectively) due to the rising proportion of males. Nevertheless, female representation among youth migrants in developing countries is slightly higher than in the overall migrant population of those countries (44.1 versus 43 per cent, respectively).

Over time, the share of young female migrants among all migrants in developing countries has been declining: from 46.4 per cent in 1990 to 44.1 per cent in 2013, but remained almost unchanged in developed countries (48.4 per cent in 1990 versus 48.9 per cent in 2013). In least- developed countries, the trend is mixed, rising from 46.2 per cent in 1990 to 47.7 per cent in 2000, and reaching 44.7 per cent by 2013.

Developing countries experienced the most rapid growth of young migrants

At the global level, estimates suggest that between 2000 and 2013 the most substantial increase in the number of young migrants occurred among those aged 30 to 34 (2.7 per cent), followed by young people in the 25-to-29-year-old age group (2.4 per cent).

While developed countries saw negative growth rates for young migrants aged 10-to-14 and 15-to-19 in 2000-2013, the opposite was observed in developing countries. The highest annual average growth rates (3.3 per cent) in developing countries is estimated to have occurred among migrants aged 30-to-34 (Table 1.5).

Table 1.5. Annual Average Growth Rate of the Population in Selected Age Groups, by Development Group, 1990-2000 and 2010-2013 (per cent)

<i>Development group</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>10-14</i>	<i>15-19</i>	<i>20-24</i>	<i>25-29</i>	<i>30-34</i>
World	1990-2000	-0.5	-0.3	0.6	1.1	1.5
	2000-2013	0.5	0.8	1.7	2.4	2.7
Developed countries	1990-2000	0.7	1.1	1.7	1.9	2.3
	2000-2013	-0.8	-0.3	1.1	1.8	2.2
Developing countries	1990-2000	-1.4	-1.6	-0.7	0.0	0.4
	2000-2013	1.6	2.0	2.4	3.1	3.3
Least developed countries	1990-2000	-1.1	-1.2	-1.0	-0.3	0.5
	2000-2013	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.5
Other developing countries	1990-2000	-1.5	-1.8	-0.6	0.1	0.4
	2000-2013	2.0	2.5	2.8	3.6	3.6

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2013, Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Age and Sex (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013).

WHY DO YOUNG PEOPLE MIGRATE?

Reliable, comparable data on individual migrants is insufficient to draw definitive conclusions about why young people migrate. But certain assumptions can be made based on empirical and other evidence: most young people migrate in search of a better life for themselves and their families. Some move to escape poverty, violence, unemployment or the effects of climate change; others, to study abroad, reunite with their families or get married. Migration decisions among young people appear to be related to major life transitions, such as obtaining a higher education, starting work or getting married.

The number of young people studying abroad is increasing

Globalisation has led an increasing number of young people migrate to study abroad. From 1975 to 2009 the number of foreign-born students enrolled in tertiary education increased fourfold – from 0.8 million to 3.4 million.⁵ Although the number of foreign students continues to rise in both developed and developing countries, the increase has been sharper in developing countries, where the average number of foreign students more than tripled in a decade (from 130,000 in 1999 to 443,000 in 2008).⁶ Over the same period, the proportion of foreign students studying in developed countries declined from 92 per cent to 84 per cent.

Box 1.1. Observations on Gender and Youth Migration by U.N. Regional Commissions

Economic Commission for Africa: Evidence points to increasing number of women in the migration streams within Africa and abroad. In Western Africa, for instance, the number of migrant women increased from 2.2 million in 1990 to 3.7 million in 2005, and again to 3.9 million in 2010. These trends are related to the failures of the traditional food production economy, and to the increasing difficulties men face in supporting their households from wage earnings. On the positive side, migrant women are claiming greater freedom to move independently and improve their own lives. Poverty is higher among women than among men in Africa, and more prevalent among women in Africa than other regions in the world. Recent evidence also shows that poverty is more widespread among female-headed households in Africa. This is partly due to women's comparatively limited access to land, technology and credit.

Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia: The largest single migration driver within and to the region is labour migration. However, for all age groups, including young people, labour migration mostly concerns young men. ...This may reflect the gendered nature of the sectors in which young migrants work, such as construction, which is heavily masculinized. Also, young women's migration within this region is sometimes restricted by their countries of origin, which set age limits for work in the domestic work sector. For example, Indonesian women migrating to work as domestic workers must be at least 21 years of age, whereas in other sectors this age is 18.

Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific: Across Asia and the Pacific, young women make up the bulk of domestic migrant workers, frequently working very long hours and receiving low wages. They are more likely to face physical and sexual harassment, violence and abuse. Overall, young people account for half of all new HIV infections in the region; trafficked and undocumented youth, especially females, are particularly vulnerable.

Commonwealth of Independent States: Most countries in the region have experienced high emigration of population since the breakup of the Soviet Union, particularly to the Russian Federation. Data provided by UNICEF's Clearinghouse on Migration Statistics database reveal that in five countries, young people between the ages of 10 and 29 account for an average of 40 per cent of all emigration; two-thirds of emigrants are between 20-29 years of age.

Source: United Nations Regional Commissions submission to Thematic Report.

Young migrants seek work in variety of industries, but unemployment remains worrisome

Adolescents and youth also migrate to seek jobs, but little can be said about their numbers because of the dearth of data disaggregated by age. In addition, understanding the role of youth in labour migration dynamics requires knowing whether a migrant worker is being admitted to a country for the first time or is being

readmitted after the renewal of a visa or work permit. Indirect evidence suggests that young people may account for a significant proportion of new migrant workers. In the health sector, for instance, young women in sending countries such as the Philippines are known to enrol in nursing schools that cater to the certification requirements of receiving countries, so that successful candidates can migrate as soon as possible, probably while in their 20s. Seasonal worker programmes that engage labourers from the agricultural, construction or tourism sectors are also likely to favour young workers, who may be perceived as better able to adapt both to a new environment and to the demands of the work involved.

Some 'temporary worker' programmes are explicitly designed to attract young people. Australia and New Zealand, for instance, allow the entry of students on holiday who wish to work temporarily in those countries (admitted as 'working holiday makers'). Several countries have programmes allowing the admission of 'trainees' who work while improving their skills. Although trainee programmes generally do not establish an explicit age criteria for admission, the expectation is that the trainees will be young. Countries that admit trainees include Germany, Japan, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea, Switzerland and the United States.⁷

Even when young migrants are not admitted explicitly for employment purposes, they are more likely to be economically active than non-immigrant youth. However, adolescent and youth migrants may fare worse in the labour market, due to a lack of work permits or certificates and language deficits. In developed countries, data typically show that unemployment is higher among young migrants than older migrants and non-immigrant youth.⁸

High unemployment among young migrants can be indicative of problems in adapting to the host society, as well as host country discrimination and xenophobia. Studies in selected countries suggest that living in a host country as a young child increases the chances of successful adaptation.⁹ Young children more easily acquire fluency in the local language, a major advantage in later life. When girls and boys migrate as teenagers, both language acquisition and adaptation are more difficult.

Joining family members, including spouses, is a major reason given for migration

Many young people migrate to reunite with their families. Admissions of immediate relatives (especially spouses, children and parents of citizens and migrants with permanent residence status) accounted for at least half of all admissions to Australia, Canada, France, Italy, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States in 2003.¹⁰ Some countries allow the admission of unmarried offspring (under the age of 21) of citizens and permanent residents, some of whom would be included in the category of 'migrant youth'. But here again, the lack of data classified by age makes it impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of youth migration for the purpose of family reunification. The need for age-disaggregated data also includes knowing the age of the spouse when a husband or wife migrates to be with their partner.

Empirical evidence suggests that most international marriages involve young people, and that brides tend to be in their 20s. Given the increasing numbers of young people who travel internationally, marriages between people of different nationalities are occurring more frequently.¹¹ Marriage may be the reason for migration, or migration may lead to marriage. In nearly all countries the spouses of citizens are allowed to immigrate and are granted the right to reside in the host country. Spouses constitute a sizable proportion of the migrants admitted by major receiving countries. In 2003, for example, 45 per cent of all long-term immigrants in France were spouses from abroad, and spouses of U.S. citizens accounted for 28 of all persons granted U.S. permanent resident status in 2009.¹²

Another aspect of family migration that has gained importance over the past two decades is migration for adoption. In 2005, approximately 40,000 children migrated annually as a result of inter-country adoptions, nearly double the estimated 20,000 adopted annually in the 1980s.¹³ The children involved may be aged 15 or over, and thus be categorized as adolescents.

Refugees, asylum-seekers and unaccompanied minors migrate in search of protection

Humanitarian migration includes refugees, asylum-seekers and other persons in need of protection, including unaccompanied minors. Although the UN High Commissioner for Refugees publishes data classified by age, the age groups used do not explicitly show the percentage of persons aged 15-to-24. At the end of 2009, 41 per cent of

refugees were under age 18; 15 per cent were aged 12-to-17. Since most refugee populations originate in countries with relatively young populations, the proportion of young people among refugees tends to be high.¹⁴

Data on the age of asylum-seekers are scarce, but available evidence suggests that 27 per cent are under 18, and therefore classified as children. Young single men are more numerous among asylum-seekers than young single women, who are more likely to seek asylum as part of a family group, or to be married.

Unaccompanied minors are persons under the age of majority who find themselves in a country other than that of their nationality, and who are not accompanied by a parent, guardian or other adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for them. Without adult protection and care they become easy prey for unscrupulous employers or traffickers.¹⁵ In 2009 some 12,200 unaccompanied minors applied for asylum in the European Union, according to Eurostat.¹⁶ Most were boys between the ages of 16 and 18 originating primarily from Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia. Their main countries of destination were France, the United Kingdom and Sweden.

KEY MESSAGES

- Some 28.2 million international migrants are adolescents and youth; they have moved to countries all around the world, and their presence deserves notice and policy attention in all destination countries.
- To design, implement, monitor and evaluate policies related to youth migration in countries of origin and destination, it is vital to understand who young migrants are and why they are moving. Such an understanding is limited by the lack of detailed data, without which it is impossible to arrive at a clear characterisation of the migratory experience of youth.
- With international migration high on the United Nations development agenda the relationship between aging populations and youth seeking to migrate, in the context of overall economic and social change, are key topics to be considered in the global debate.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Understanding the role of young people in the dynamics of international migration requires strengthening the evidence base upon which policies and programmes depend. This can be accomplished by expanding the collection, analysis and dissemination of data disaggregated by age, sex, country of origin, education, occupation and skill level. Other relevant information, such as migration status, issuance of entry, exit and work permits and documentation on changes in nationality would help complete the picture.
- In addition to collecting more, and more detailed, data and making it available, robust and long-term institutional capacity to collect, analyse and disseminate such data, particularly in developing countries, is needed.
- The international community should facilitate access to data generated by administrative records and consider funding a dedicated survey programme in countries that lack adequate migration data.

NOTES

¹ United Nations (1981), 'Report of the Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year', UN document A/36/215, Annex, United Nations, New York. Due to data limitations, and because specific cohorts (such as children and adolescents) face different human rights challenges, this report occasionally refers to groups other than those aged 15 - to-24.

² This section focuses on the analysis of a new set of estimates prepared by the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), namely, estimates of the number of international migrants by five-year age groups and sex in 196 countries or areas of the world for the years 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2013. The estimates were derived mostly from census data referring to foreign-born migrants classified by age and sex. For some countries, population registers or large sample surveys were the source of age-disaggregated data on international migrants. In addition, for countries where the data on migrants referred to foreigners rather than to the foreign-born, those data were used instead. The estimates should be referenced as: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2013, Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Age and Sex (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013), see also www.unmigration.org.

³ The data presented in Figure 2.1 refer to foreigners establishing residence in a country for at least a year and include data for 2008 and 2009 for the following countries: Denmark, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia and Sweden.

⁴ The estimates are measures of the stock of international migrants and represent the cumulative effect of net inflows and outflows of migrants by age and sex as well as the impact of mortality. The age distribution of international migrants at a particular time is shaped by the migration experience of a country over the past 70 or 80 years. For the population under a given age, say 30, the past 30 years of migration experience is imprinted in that population.

⁵ United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics (2011), *Global Education Digest* (various years).

⁶ UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2011), data extract, 19 April 2011, <http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/tableviewer/document.aspx?ReportId=143> and other issues of the *Global Education Digest*. See p. 7 for data considerations.

⁷ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *International Migration Outlook: SOPEMI 2006*, OECD, Paris.

⁸ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *International Migration Outlook: SOPEMI 2009*, OECD, Paris.

⁹ Dowell Myers, XinGao, and Emeka Amon (2009), 'The Gradient in Immigrant Age-at-Arrival Effects on Socioeconomic Outcomes in the U.S.', *International Migration Review*, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 205-229.

¹⁰ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2006.

¹¹ For data on Asia, see: Castles and Miller, 2009, *The Age of Migration*, Guilford Press, New York. Some 2.3 million foreign nationals gained lawful permanent resident status in the United States by marrying a United States citizen between 1998 and 2007 (Source: David Seminara (2008), 'Hello, I Love You, Won't You Tell Me Your Name: Inside the green card marriage phenomenon', Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, D.C. Available at: www.cis.org/articles/2008/back1408.pdf [accessed 26 September 2012]).

¹² Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2006).

¹³ United Nations (2009), *Child Adoption: Trends and Policies*, United Nations Publications (Sales No. E.10.XIII.4), New York.

¹⁴ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2010), *UNHCR Statistical Yearbook 2009*, UNHCR, Geneva.

¹⁵ International Organization for Migration (2011), *Glossary on Migration, Second Edition*, IOM, Geneva.

¹⁶ Amanda Levinson, 24 January 2011, 'Unaccompanied Immigrant Children: A growing phenomenon with few easy solutions', Migration Information Source. Available at: www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/print.cfm?ID=823 (accessed 26 September 2012).