Query
We have identified several factors that contribute to a decision to migrate from a home country into a more conducive environment, particularly including a lack of security and economic opportunities. What are the ways in which corruption leads to scarcity of economic opportunities, and to a lack of human security, which pushes people to flee their home countries?

Purpose
The enquirer is trying to establish a link between corruption and its effect on creating incentives for people to flee their countries of origin.

Content
1. Corruption as a driver of migration
2. Corruption as a facilitator of illegal migration
3. References.

Summary
Migration is one of the most pressing issues of our time as millions of people flee their home countries in search of security, better jobs and an improved quality of life.

Corruption has recently been identified as a major driver of migration, acting on the aspiration of people to migrate to other countries and areas. Indeed, increased corruption correlates directly with an increase in the levels of migration from a country. In particular, it plays a major role in driving highly-educated people away.

A lack of economic opportunities and insecurity have been identified as major drivers of migration. There is a large amount of literature that outlines the influence of corruption on these two factors. In the available literature, corruption is found to retard economic growth thereby reducing economic opportunities, and fuel insecurity, peace and conflict. Therefore, corruption can also be seen as an indirect driver of migration, due to its influence on other key drivers.

Moreover, there is also a growing body of literature that focuses primarily on corruption as a facilitator of the migration process, making sure that the process runs smoothly, for example in the form of bribery at border control points.

From the literature on corruption, security and economic opportunities, one can assume that corruption is a driver of migration through its impact on economic opportunities and security, but more research and resources should be allocated to explore the direct linkages between corruption, economic opportunities, security issues and migration.
1. Corruption as a driver of migration

Overview
Migration is a global phenomenon and one of the major challenges facing the modern world. In 2013 alone there were 232 million international migrants, a figure that increased by nearly 50% between 1990 and 2013 (UN DESA 2013). The majority of migrants live in the global north (estimated to be 136 million in 2013). In total, about 3.2% of the world’s population are migrants (UN 2013).

A number of recent studies have looked at the direct links between corruption and migration and whether differing levels of corruption actually affect levels of migration. These studies find a correlation between higher levels of corruption and increased motivation for migration. Moreover, some studies find that corruption can play a direct role as an incentive for migration out of corrupt countries and into countries with lower levels of corruption (Poprawe 2015; Cooray & Schneider 2014).

Legal migration refers to the movement of people between countries in accordance with the law. Illegal migration on the other hand refers to a range of different issues. It can include migrants entering a different state using false or forged documents, or via organised crime. In situations of conflict and the need to seek refuge, all requirements for legal migration may not be possible to fulfil. Oppressive states, lack of functioning formal institutions, and high demands for bribes may considerably obstruct the possibility to migrate in accordance with what the laws on migration require (OECD 2015). Illegal migration can also involve legal migrants illegally outstaying the duration of their visa (Schain 2013). Corruption can both drive legal and illegal migration, as well as facilitating illegal migration.

The literature surrounding migration and its causes identifies a lack of economic opportunities and a lack of security as two key drivers of legal and illegal migration (Sirkeci 2009; Poprawe 2015). There is ample evidence that corruption has an impact on economic opportunities and security, suggesting that it is an indirect driver of migration (Rothstein & Holmberg 2011; Lambsdorff 2005).

Indeed, corruption has direct consequences on economic growth and on governance, which are both key to providing economic opportunities for citizens (Chetwynd, Chetwynd & Spector 2003). In addition, corruption has been clearly linked to reducing security for citizens, and has been shown to exacerbate and prolong conflict and instability (O’Donnell 2006). Corruption undermines the legitimacy of state institutions, while at the same time weakening peace-building efforts (World Bank 2011).

However, at the same time, whilst corruption undermines the building of formal state institutions in fragile states, it can also be understood as a means to contain violence in the absence of effective formal institutions (North, Wallis & Weingast 2009; Tilly 2005).

In addition to exploring corruption as a direct and indirect driver of migration, a sizeable section of the literature focuses on corruption as a facilitator of illegal migration, often through the lens of human trafficking which corruption directly facilitates. Corrupt law enforcers may help traffickers to recruit, transport and exploit their victims, while corrupt justice authorities may prevent the proper investigation and prosecution of trafficking cases (UNODC 2011). The literature also focuses on corruption at border crossing points where bribery, corrupt border officials and the use of fraudulent documents allow for illegal migration to occur (Chêne 2008, OECD 2015).

Overall, there is a consensus in the literature that corruption plays a part as an indirect and direct driver for migration, and as instrumental to illegal migration. This answer will highlight some of the key literature that covers corruption and migration, as well as economic opportunity and insecurity – two of the major drivers of migration – before looking at some ways in which corruption facilitates illegal migration.

Corruption as a direct driver of migration
There are many ways in which corruption can be said to be a driver of international migration. The desire to move abroad is often driven by a lack of faith in local opportunities. If corruption and nepotism are perceived to undermine meritocracy, it is a plausible reaction to turn towards opportunities elsewhere, especially among the highly-skilled. Moreover, research into corruption and its effects as a driver of migration tends to identify a difference in the impact that corruption
Literature review: corruption as a driver of migration

has on the migration of different societal groups. Better off and better educated people are more likely to migrate than those who are worse off in either area. However, the direct links between corruption and migration could benefit from further research to explore how corruption may indirectly influence migration issues.

Below are papers that explore the nexus between corruption and migration. It is found that countries with high levels of corruption generally have the effect of encouraging emigration. It is also shown how differing levels of corruption have an effect on the migration of different economic groups. High income people are shown to migrate more when corruption levels increase, while middle and low income earners stop migrating after a certain level of corruption is reached. This is postulated to be due to the increased income inequality that corruption fosters, meaning that middle and low income earners become unable to afford the costs of migration (either due to the actual monetary cost of leaving, because of the costs to their families, or because of reduced prospects for a better life abroad).

On the Relationship between Corruption and Migration: Empirical Evidence from a Gravity Model of Migration
Poprawe, Marie. 2015.
http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11127-015-0255-x#page-1

Abstract:
This paper shows the relationship between corruption and migration. In particular, countries with a lot of corruption are shown to encourage emigration and discourage immigration because they provide worse and unpredictable economic conditions, increased insecurity and a lower quality of life. This hypothesis is confirmed empirically with a cross-section dataset with bilateral migration data from around the world. Well-known implications of the gravity model are confirmed here: larger populations, a common language and a common border increase migration, while the distance between two countries decreases migration. Furthermore, education, GDP per capita, inflation in the destination country, as well as corruption and education in the origin country can robustly explain migration. Corruption thus appears to be a push factor of migration.

Does Corruption Promote Emigration? An Empirical Examination

Cooray, Arusha and Schneider, Friedrich. 2014.

This paper empirically investigates the relationship between corruption and the emigration of those with high, medium and low levels of educational attainment.

The findings of the paper indicate that as corruption increases, the emigration rates of higher educated people increases. The same is true for middle and low income workers, although after a certain level of corruption is reached (found to be 3.4 – 3.9 on both the Transparency International and Kaufmann et al. indexes) levels of migration for these groups declines. Cooray and Schneider suggest that this may be due to increased income inequality that corruption fosters, effectively making migration for middle and low income workers unaffordable.

Corruption as a Driver of Migration Aspirations: The case of Ukraine
Lapshyna, Iryna. 2014.
http://www.economics.sociology.eu/files/12_52_Lapshyna.pdf

Lapshyna’s article bases its results from the findings of the EUMAGINE project, which focussed on four countries (Morocco, Turkey, Senegal and Ukraine) and included the gathering of qualitative data from 2,000 citizens per country. The overall findings are that corruption is a driver of migration aspirations in Ukraine.

This is based on the fact that individuals who responded to the research noted that they would attempt to leave and migrate to a better place because of a deterioration in socio-economic and politico-institutional conditions, both of which are closely linked to corruption. Moreover, the findings show that Ukrainian citizens who believe that corruption levels in Ukraine are high, are 1.5 times more likely to want to migrate to Europe or other less corrupt areas.

Finding Connections: The Nexus between Migration and Corruption
Carling, Jørgen., Paasche, Erlend. and Siegel, Melissa. 2015.

Carling, Paasche and Siegel describe the nexus between migration and corruption, noting that the connections remain relatively unexplored.
They outline ten ways that corruption and migration influence each other. The strongest connections appearing highest on the list:

1. Corruption facilitates illegal migration
2. Corruption enables humanitarian protection
3. Corruption impedes the development benefits of migration
4. Corruption stimulates migration desires
5. Corruption promotes the transnational ties of elites
6. Corruption discourages return migration
7. Social remittances reduce corruption
8. Migration upends corrupt social structures
9. Migration sustains corruption
10. Corruption undermines assistance to migrants

The article then describes three case studies, from Nigeria, Iraq and Latin America, which illustrate the above connections by discussing the findings from further studies that give examples of how these connections can take shape in different contexts. For example, it is noted that a study by the AmericasBarometer gives evidence that migration sustains corruption through a factor named as ‘morality drain’.

**Does Corruption Promote Emigration?**

If corruption leads highly-skilled and highly-educated workers to leave developing countries, it can result in a shortage of skilled labour and slower economic growth. In turn, this leads to higher unemployment, lowering the returns to human capital and encouraging further emigration.

Friedrich examines how corruption can affect the different areas of migration. He firstly discusses how corruption can damage the attractiveness of a country, making outmigration more likely. These include poor public institutions and poor economic growth. The paper argues that apart from corruption retarding economic growth in a country, it can also lead to a situation in which jobs are no longer distributed fairly, leading to workers seeking to migrate to seek meritocratic job opportunities.

Corruption can also reduce the returns of higher education by reducing the opportunities for higher-skilled job opportunities. Moreover, it is suggested that corruption can affect tax rates, which may in turn push those affected to leave the country in search of more favourable economic conditions. Similarly, low skilled and low earning workers tend to pay disproportionate levels of bribes in relation to their income, and therefore higher corruption levels can push those belonging to these groups to leave as well. The case is less clear with middle-income workers, and tends to be more related to the areas in which they work.

**The Effect of Corruption on Migration, 1985-2000**

This paper examines the influence that corruption had on migration in 111 countries between 1985 and 2000. It concludes that corruption is among the push factors (driver) of migration, especially fuelling skilled migration by negatively affecting a country’s economic activity as corruption slows economic growth and leads to non-meritocratic and uncompetitive allocation of a state’s resources.

While identifying corruption as a driver for migration, it is also noted that corruption plays a role in the deterioration of a country’s economic situation, thereby further incentivising migration. Corruption is also shown to be an underlying factor in many other traditionally understood reasons behind migration. This is because corruption tends to worsen the working and living conditions of citizens (i.e. corruption lowers quality of/access to education, slows economic growth and hampers social advancement).

The paper concludes by suggesting that anti-corruption controls would be an important factor in attempting to reduce the levels of brain drain from countries.

**The Balance of Brains: Corruption and High Skilled Migration**

Abstract:
In a mobile labour market, a high emigration rate of high skilled workers is not necessarily a problem, if counterbalanced by a high immigration rate. However, some countries experience a net gain of high skilled while others a net loss. Corruption is part of the explanation, acting through two different channels: first, it pushes
skilled natives to virtuous countries where they can find a job based on meritocratic criteria; second, it discourages the entry of foreign talents who would hardly have access to string-pulling recommendations. This might induce a prolonged loss in human capital and vanish investments in education. As a consequence, corruption seems to drive a high skilled worker allocation mechanism that ensures that countries with high-level corruption maintain low levels of high-skilled workers as they seek better opportunities in countries with lower level of corruption.

Impact of corruption on drivers of migration

The literature regularly cites a lack of economic opportunities as a key factor in increased migration. Corruption lowers the development opportunities for the better educated, leading them to look elsewhere for work. Corruption also incentivises higher-skilled workers to leave in search of a fair and meritocratic selection process. Moreover, insecurity in a country is identified in the literature on migration as one of the major drivers of migration, with war and violence both identified as key factors in incentivising migration. However there are also studies which have suggested that corruption can have a containing effect on violence in certain contexts.

Corruption has a well-documented effect on economic opportunities and insecurity, clearly helping to facilitate migration.

Corruption and economic opportunities

Corruption has been closely correlated to a country's level of GDP growth: the more corruption present in a country, the lower the GDP and income of a country. Additionally, corruption has been found to have an impact on levels of poverty in a country, as well as exacerbating levels of income inequality by unfairly favouring the rich in society.

The literature also agrees that corruption has consequences on economic and governance factors that result in an increase in poverty. Corruption directly affects economic opportunities for citizens by its effect on income, access to services, and resource distribution. For more information on the impact of corruption on growth and inequality, please see here. Please see this previous Helpdesk literature review for more resources on corruption and its impact on poverty, and this previous literature review on the costs of corruption for the poor.

Correlates of Corruption

This paper demonstrates the correlation between control of corruption and GDP per capita, control of corruption and Human Development Index, as well as between control of corruption and levels of poverty. The researchers take an inverted approach, trying to see if reducing corruption lowers the level of poverty and inequality. The correlation between poverty levels and control of corruption is found to be relatively weak, but is reinforced by a strong correlation between high levels of control of corruption and higher levels GDP per capita and vice versa.

How Corruption Affects Economic Development

An increase in corruption leading to a decrease of one point on a scale from 10 (highly clean) to 0 (highly corrupt) lowers productivity by 4% of GDP and decreases net annual capital inflows by 0.5% of GDP. Central to the impact of corruption on productivity is its adverse influence on bureaucratic quality. Crucial for corruption to deter net annual capital inflows is its effect on the quality and effectiveness of law and order. Anti-corruption reform should focus on public sector reform if priority is given to increasing productivity as a factor for economic growth.

The Economic Costs of Corruption: A Survey and New Evidence

This paper reviews the empirical literature on the economic costs of corruption. Corruption affects economic growth, the level of GDP per capita, investment activity, international trade and price stability negatively. Additionally, it biases the composition of government expenditures. The second part of the paper estimates the effect of corruption on economic growth and GDP per capita as well as on six possible transmission channels. The results of this analysis allow a calculation of the total effect of corruption: an increase in corruption by about one index point reduces GDP growth by 0.13 percentage points and GDP per capita by US$425.
Corruption and Poverty: A Review of Recent Literature

The literature points to the conclusion that corruption, by itself, does not produce poverty. Rather, corruption has direct consequences on economic and governance factors, intermediaries that in turn produce poverty. Thus, the relationship examined by researchers is an indirect one. This paper discusses two major models explaining this moderated linkage between corruption and poverty: a) an economic model, which postulates that corruption affects poverty by first affecting economic growth factors, which, in turn, affect poverty levels; and, b) a governance model, which asserts that corruption affects poverty by influencing governance factors, which, in turn, affect poverty levels.

Corruption, Economic Growth, and Income Inequality in Africa
http://economics.usf.edu/pdf/corruption.growth.inequality.africa.econgov.02.pdf

This paper uses panel data from African countries and a dynamic panel estimator to investigate the effects of corruption on economic growth and income distribution.

The paper finds that corruption decreases economic growth directly and indirectly through decreased investment in physical capital. A unit increase in corruption reduces the growth rates of GDP and per capita income by between 0.75 and 0.9 percentage points and between 0.39 and 0.41 percentage points per year respectively.

It is also found that increased corruption is positively correlated with income inequality. The paper suggests that corruption hurts the poor more than the rich in African countries.

Does Corruption Affect Income Inequality and Poverty?

Sanjeev, Davoodi and Alonso-Terme seek to illustrate that corruption serves to increase income inequality and poverty and lowers economic growth, biases economic systems towards the rich, and provides an unequal access to education by interfering with the traditional core functions of government.

Their research finds that a one-standard deviation increase in levels of corruption leads to a reduction in income growth of the poor by 7.8% per year. An important implication of these findings is that policies that reduce corruption will most likely reduce income inequality and poverty as well.

Corruption and security
There is a general consensus in the literature that corruption and conflict are linked, but the direction of the causality is debated. Corruption increases the level of instability and the risk of conflict by undermining the legitimacy and credibility of state institutions and weakening peace-building and peace-keeping efforts. Corruption also plays a large role in facilitating cross-border smuggling of weapons and insurgents, which are then used to cause further instability and disruption to proper state functions. In this way, corruption can also help to prolong conflict and create large incentives for people to leave the afflicted areas. Corruption has also been postulated to have a containment effect on violence in contexts where corrupt institutions or structures can offer an alternative to ineffective formal institutions (Mungiu-Pippidi 2015; North, Wallis & Weingast 2009).

For more information please see this Helpdesk literature review on corruption and conflict/fragility.

Risks of Corruption to State Legitimacy and Stability in Fragile Situations
Dix, Sarah, Hussmann, Karen, and Walton, Grant. 2012.

Examining the cases of Liberia, Nepal and Colombia, this study asks how corruption poses risks to political legitimacy and stability in fragile situations. The report focuses on the key role of elites and their views of the state’s legitimacy in determining the extent to which there will be instability or stability. Qualitative interviews of elites show that two particular patronage scenarios are seen as threatening stability. One is when the state or illegal actors sustain a corrupt network by violently eliminating opponents. The other is when corruption benefits few people, the benefits are not distributed “fairly”, and the population’s basic needs are not met. The impact of corruption on legitimacy and stability is mitigated by other factors. Anti-corruption initiatives potentially strengthen state legitimacy,
but undermine it if they fail to deliver or become too far-reaching.

**World Development Report**


Institutional legitimacy is the key to stability. When state institutions do not adequately protect citizens, guard against corruption, or provide access to justice, when markets do not provide job opportunities, or when communities have lost social cohesion, the likelihood of violent conflict increases.

Corruption greatly affects the risk of violence, fuelling grievances and undermining the effectiveness of national institutions and social norms.

**Corrupting Peace? Peacebuilding and Post-conflict Corruption**


Many conflict-affected countries are among the most corrupt in the world, and corruption is frequently reported as a major concern of local populations and foreign aid agencies during the transition to peace. Tackling corruption is part of “liberal peace-building”, which seeks to consolidate peace through democracy and free market economy. Yet liberalisation policies may also foster corruption. Using a preliminary analysis of selected corruption perception indicators, this article finds tenuous and divergent support for post-conflict patterns of corruption. Three main arguments linking liberal peace-building with higher levels of corruption are then presented for further elaboration and a research agenda is outlined.

**Corruption and Armed Conflicts: Some Stirring Around in the Governance Soup**


The paper discusses the impact of corruption on the probability of violent conflict and traces the shifts in the composition of corrupt transactions during and in the aftermath of violent conflict. It explores the causal linkages between corruption and conflict, as well as the analogy of the phenomena with dealing with the modus operandi of the state and the violation of institutional and normative restraints. The author argues that corruption and violent conflicts are basically co-

flux phenomena caused by the same or closely connected mechanisms.

**Buying Peace or Fuelling War: The Role of Corruption in Armed Conflicts**


**Abstract:**

Although corruption may have a corrosive effect on economies and rule-based institutions, it also forms part of the fabric of social and political relationships. This endogenous character means that conflict may be engendered more by changes in the pattern of corruption than by the existence of corruption itself.

Such changes, frequently associated with domestic or external shocks, can lead to armed conflict as increasingly violent forms of competitive corruption between factions “fuel war” by rewarding belligerents. Controversially, “buying-off” belligerents can facilitate a transition to peace; but “sticks”, such as economic sanctions, rather than “carrots”, have dominated international conflict resolution instruments. While “buying peace” can present a short-term solution, the key challenge for peace-building initiatives and fiscal reforms is to shift individual incentives and rewards away from the competition for immediate corrupt gains. This may be facilitated by placing public revenues under international supervision during peace processes.

2. **Corruption as a facilitator of illegal migration**

Corruption can been seen to play a significant role as a facilitator of illegal migration, chiefly through human trafficking and corrupt border controls.

Specific data and in-depth analysis of the role of corruption in human trafficking is currently very limited. Corruption can facilitate migration via human trafficking through the corrupt provision of identity papers, visas or permits, as well as the transportation and exploitation of victims by corrupt actors within the chain of trafficking activities. Such actors can include police, customs officers, embassies/consulates, border control authorities, immigration services and other law enforcement agencies, security services, armed forces, public officials, public sector actors and financial institutions.
There are also incentives and opportunities for corruption for port, customs and border officials that facilitate illegal migration. These factors include poor infrastructure, lack of human and institutional capacity, low levels of automation and computerisation, lack of training and professionalism, low public service salaries, and weak controls and oversight.

Once trafficking is detected, corruption can protect the trafficking process from prosecution and facilitates the avoidance of forcibly moving innocent people to situations and countries that do not serve their best interests. Corruption assists the victims’ movements within a country and across borders. When trafficking is discovered, corruption results in laws and judicial processes being disregarded.

The Role of Corruption in Trafficking in Persons

This paper seeks to outline patterns of corruption in trafficking in persons, provide a description of relevant international legal instruments and outline some practical guidance on what can be done to address the issue of corruption in human trafficking. In an attempt to keep its scope within reasonable limits, the paper focuses mostly on corruption of public officials, and in particular of law enforcement and criminal justice actors.

Corruption and Human Trafficking

Corruption is increasingly cited as a key reason for why trafficking continues and traffickers remain free. Corruption both facilitates trafficking and feeds the flow of people by destabilising democracies, weakening a country’s rule of law and stalling a nation’s development. At the same time, trafficking, which can involve global or regional networks, contributes to a country’s corruption. To function, trafficking relies on payoffs to police, judges and ministers at all levels.

Human Trafficking, Border Security and Related Corruption in the EU


Trafficking in human beings as a transnational crime, involves the movement of people across borders. In this regard, border control authorities are expected to play an important role in preventing and curbing this phenomenon. Border guards are identified as key actors in the fight against trafficking in human beings. This paper investigates corruption and human trafficking. Rusev explores this topic vis-à-vis border authorities and connected corruption to facilitate human trafficking, finding that a nexus between organised crime and corruption facilitates illegal entry into the European Union from major origin states.

Study on Anti-Corruption Measures in EU Border Control

This study starts by identifying the main forms of corruption in border guard services across the EU, including organised crime related corruption (selling information, facilitating the passage of illicit goods, obstructing investigations), petty corruption in the form of border traffic extortion to speed up facilitate routine processes, and administrative corruption (kickbacks, nepotism based recruitment and promotion, etc.). While in a minority of countries there are specific anti-corruption measures and codes of conduct designed for border guards, in most countries there is no specific anti-corruption infrastructure targeting border services, although they are subject to broader public sector measures and policies. Some of the key measures specifically addressing border services may include vetting of applicants, anti-corruption training, sanctions and penalties, integrity testing, rotation of border guards, electronic surveillance and specialised investigation units or departments.

Corruption, Human Trafficking and Human Rights: The Case of Forced Labor and Sexual Exploitation in Thailand

Human trafficking is considered to be a serious violation of human rights. This paper raises corruption as an important factor that not only
facilitates but causes and perpetuates trafficking activities. The argument is strengthened through empirical evidence of labour and sex trafficking in Thailand wherein corruption invariably plays a role. To foster respect for the fundamental rights and freedom of people, the article seeks to promote greater awareness among all parties involved about the adverse relationship between corruption and human trafficking.


With record-breaking numbers of displaced people seeking passage to safe refuge, refugee smuggling has become a more lucrative and sinister operation than ever before. The influx of refugees to European borders regularly leads to tragedies that can be directly linked to people smuggling. Corruption is one of the primary facilitators of refugee smuggling. While there are significant differences between trafficking in persons and human smuggling, they both frequently arise from similar circumstances, namely extreme poverty, lack of economic opportunities, civil unrest and political uncertainty. The criminal elements that engage in one often also engage in the other.

### 3. References


UN. 2013. *The number of international migrants worldwide reaches 232 million.*
