Henley & Partners

Henley Passport Index
and Global Mobility Report

2019

"More than ever before, migration touches all states and people in an era of deepening globalization."

United Nations
World Migration Report 2018

H&P

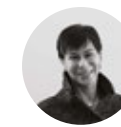*H&P* Henley & Partners

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INTRODUCTION: GLOBAL MOBILITY TODAY

by DR. PARAG KHANNA

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Migration has become an ever more central issue in world affairs, both a cause and a consequence of other major themes on the global agenda, such as economic growth, political instability, and climate change. We live in a world where all major issues, including migration, have become by definition cross-border.

Fiscal crises and high unemployment have pushed southern Europeans to northern Europe, the Gulf cities, and the Far East, while state failure in the Arab world and Africa has drawn political and economic migrants to Europe in droves. The more intense these challenges have become over the past year, the more the world has had to proactively develop coordinated and pragmatic migration policies, and the same will be true in the years ahead.

European politics continued to be dominated by migration-related rhetoric in 2018, with Brexit moving forward despite mounting evidence that the UK's National Health Service and other public institutions are suffering manpower shortages. In Germany, the Christian Democratic Union suffered badly in multiple provincial elections at the hands of the anti-immigration Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), even though net new refugee inflows have been drastically reduced. Sweden and Italy also experienced populist political turns, while 2019 will witness elections for the European Parliament that are already being billed as a referendum on European migration policy.

In America, the Trump administration's continued reduction of the inflows of both skilled migrants (through the H-1B program) and refugees and asylum seekers remains a core part of the president's political agenda.

But the situation in Europe and America should not cloud our vision of the long-term demographic realities that all but necessitate that Western societies absorb more migrants, on whom their aging populations, diverse industries, and tax bases depend. Indeed, America's and Britain's loss is proving to be Canada's and Australia's gain, as they and others maintain openness through transparent migration programs.

Furthermore, major regions such as Asia are becoming ever more pragmatic in their migration policies. The aging societies of Northeast Asia — Japan, China, and South Korea — are all importing more laborers and talented migrants than ever before, both from one another and from the younger societies of Southeast Asia. China's Thousand Talents scheme, Thailand's entrepreneur visa, and similar initiatives from Qatar to Singapore show Asian states sustaining a high comfort level with mutually beneficial economic migration.

Migration, then, is an exemplar of a broader ideological divergence that contrasts the approaches of engagement and isolation. Consider how with respect to Iran, Russia, and North Korea, the US has sought sanctions as the primary instrument of leverage, while Asian and most European nations prefer engagement.

But these geopolitical tensions will not be resolved by competing approaches working at cross-purposes. In matters of diplomatic tension, climate change, counter-terrorism, and organized crime — and most certainly migration — pragmatic coordination is the lesson to be learned from the preceding year and, hopefully, to be applied in the year ahead.

> " *The world has had to proactively develop coordinated and pragmatic migration policies, and the same will be true in the years ahead.*

The long-term demographic realities that make migration crucial for developed Western societies:

Aging populations

Increasingly diverse industries

TAX

Shrinking tax bases

GLOBAL MOBILITY TRENDS

WEALTH MIGRATION

by DR. CHRISTIAN H. KÄLIN
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Wealth and talent will go where they are wanted and stay where they are well treated. Today that adage — attributed to legendary banker Walter Wriston — is truer than ever. Some 95,000 high-net-worth individuals migrated in 2017 (the latest year for which data is available), up from 82,000 in 2016 and 64,000 the year before — ample evidence that the migration of wealth around the globe continues to accelerate.

There are an estimated 18.2 million high-net-worth individuals on the planet (defined as those with assets of at least USD 1 million), and their collective wealth has now surpassed the USD 70 trillion mark. That number also continues to grow and is projected to exceed USD 100 trillion by 2025. The migration of these individuals is particularly beneficial for the nations they move to. Nearly half of the 17 countries that saw the biggest percentage increases in wealth from 2016 to 2017 were assisted by inflows of wealthy people.

China, India, Turkey, and the UK saw the biggest outflows of such individuals in 2017. Safety, financial stability, high taxes, and religious or political tensions are a few of the factors driving these wealthy citizens abroad. According to the 2017 Knight Frank *Wealth Report*, demand for new nationalities is highest from China, Russia, and the Middle East, with around four-fifths of visas under the US EB-5 residence-by-investment program going to Chinese nationals.

Millionaires looking for residence or citizenship in alternative jurisdictions are seeking better schools, lower crime rates, and more abundant business opportunities. They are finding these conditions in nations such as Australia, the US, and Canada, which topped the list of wealthy individual inflows in 2017. In the case of Britain, Brexit and the concerns associated with it have slightly reversed the flow of wealthy individuals in recent years, although the UK Tier 1 Investor Visa Program remained popular until its temporary suspension in December 2018.

Flows go both ways, however, and there has been a noticeable and significant increase in appetite among wealthy individuals in both Europe and the US for access to residence- and citizenship-by-investment programs in other nations — a trend that is set to increase. More broadly, overall demand for a second passport continued to grow in 2018: more than a third of global ultra-high-net-worth individuals (those with a net worth exceeding USD 30 million) already hold one, and another 29% are planning to obtain one.

In addition to the larger economies taking in wealthy individuals, several smaller nations — Cyprus, Malta, Mauritius, Monaco, and Portugal among them — also saw significant wealth inflows in 2017. Several of these nations are benefiting from residence- and citizenship-by-investment programs. Malta, for example, saw a 12% increase in its ultra-wealthy population in 2016, primarily due to its citizenship-by-investment program.

Such programs account for about one in five wealthy individual migrations, though this number excludes individuals who gain citizenship in a second country but do not take residence, as well as those who move globally among several residences. Including such individuals would show an even larger impact on global wealth trends from the investment migration industry.

Wealth is clearly on the move globally, now more than ever. Wealthy individuals tend to have the skills, knowledge, capacity — and capital — that can increase an economy's overall wealth and standard of living. Attracting and keeping them are critical to nations seeking those outcomes.

> *Wealthy individuals tend to have the skills, knowledge, capacity — and capital — that can increase an economy's overall wealth and standard of living.*

64,000	82,000	95,000
2015	2016	2017
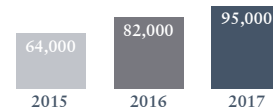
Number of HNWIs migrating per year

2/3

The percentage of UHNWIs who hold a second passport or plan to obtain one

Sources:
Capgemini. 2018. *World Wealth Report 2018.*

Karlgaard, Rich. 2009. 'Wriston's Law Still Holds'. *Forbes.* 6 August 2009.

Knight Frank Research. 2018. *The Wealth Report: The Global Perspective on Prime Property and Investment.* 12th Edition.

New World Wealth. 2018. *Global Wealth Migration Review.*

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TALENT MIGRATION

by PROF. SIMONE BERTOLI
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Uncertainty was a key factor for highly educated and highly skilled migrants in 2018, and it will remain so in 2019. A major destination country, the UK, is still involved in negotiations regarding its status after 29 March 2019 — the date that will (or ought to) mark its exit from the EU.

The future status of EU nationals in the UK is still unclear, and the attractiveness of this destination for talented individuals could substantially deteriorate; indeed, net migration flows from the EU to the UK have plummeted over the past two years.

British academic institutions fear a decline in their ability to recruit scholars, given the loss of access to EU sources of funding — such as European Research Council (ERC) grants — that have traditionally represented a lifeline for them in a context of declining funding from national sources. (Scholars based in the UK obtained almost 20% of all the 4,202 ERC grants allocated between 2007 and 2018.) Similarly, London's finance sector could lose a substantial part of its appeal, and other European countries (notably, France, Germany, and Ireland) could decide to strengthen policy measures to attract financial sector workers.

A substantial part of the prevailing uncertainty relates to whether other countries will decide to engage in a competition to grab the 'low-hanging fruit' represented by those talented migrants who are reconsidering their decision to move to (or to remain in) the UK, either through fiscal incentives or by increasing their ability to recruit scholars beyond the standard national procedures.

The lack of coordination of immigration policies among EU member states — as well as the limited nature of outreach efforts to attract skilled immigrants, such as the so-called EU Blue Card, which closely resembles a German-only policy instrument — suggests that intense competition to attract the best and the brightest will be a likely outcome of Brexit. Such an outcome could improve mobility opportunities for highly educated and highly talented individuals.

In other cases, however, mobility opportunities are actually being reduced. The US Citizens and Immigration Services decided in 2018 to limit the availability of premium (that is, fast-track) petitions-processing for H-1B visas, which (in exchange for an additional fee) allows applications to be dealt with within two weeks. This change will make life harder for H-1B visa holders seeking to accept job offers from alternate employers, as it leaves them unsure about whether their new position will allow them to maintain their visa status.

As with the UK, uncertainty will in this case act as a brake on mobility. Because the new policy ties talented foreign workers more closely to their initial employer, it could indirectly reduce the attractiveness of the US labor market for these individuals.

The increasingly lengthy and uncertain processing time for H-1B visa petitions in the US stands in contrast to the measures that China, for example, is currently trying to implement. The country's newly introduced China Talent (R) Visa program is characterized by the complete absence of application fees and is expected to allow applications submitted by talented foreign workers to be processed within a few working days.

In short, while highly educated and highly skilled individuals may feel pushed out of traditional migration destinations, they are receiving a very warm welcome in other parts of world, where economic and career opportunities might one day even eclipse those offered by countries such as the UK and US.

> *While highly educated and highly skilled individuals may feel pushed out of traditional migration destinations, they are receiving a very warm welcome in other parts of world.*

Intense competition to attract the best and the brightest will be a likely outcome of Brexit

Sources:
Anderson, Stuart. 2018. 'Who Will Be Hurt by the Latest USCIS Decision on H-1B Visas?' *Forbes.* 5 September 2018.

'EU Financial Centres Vie to Poach Tens of Thousands of City Jobs'. 2017. *The Guardian.* 3 April 2017.

'Figures on the EU Blue Card'. 2016. Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Germany). 30 November 2016.

'Immigration Worries Drove the Brexit Vote. Then Attitudes Changed'. 2018. *The Washington Post.* 16 November 2018.

Junlu, Jiang and Liu Chang King. 2018. 'New Rules on the R Visa'. *China Law Insight.* 16 January 2018.

FORCED MIGRATION
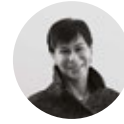
by PAOLA DE LEO
Paola De Leo is Head of Philanthropy and CSR at Henley & Partners and Executive Director at the Andan Foundation.

In attempting to communicate the scale and severity of the global forced displacement crisis, numbers and statistics are the most obvious place to begin. We know that, worldwide, there are currently more than 68.5 million people who have been forcibly displaced by war and internal conflict — slightly more than the population of the UK, and slightly less than the population of Thailand.

According to a report released by the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), 40 million of those people are internally displaced, while 28.5 million of them have fled their countries. Half of those 28.5 million people are children. Excluding those defined as long-term Palestinian refugees, over two-thirds come from five countries in the world: Somalia, Myanmar, South Sudan, Afghanistan, and Syria. 85% of all forcibly displaced people are being hosted in developing countries such as Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, Uganda, and Turkey.

This last statistic is perhaps especially noteworthy, given the occasionally disproportionate attention paid to developed countries' response to the forced displacement crisis. Every one of the figures surrounding this crisis has the capacity to stop us in our tracks, however: 727,000 Rohingya refugees driven from Myanmar into Bangladesh in 100 days; 2.8 million children displaced within Syria. Among other things, these figures show that we are living through a displacement crisis for which there is no precedent.

Because of conflict, persecution, or generalized violence, 31 people are forced to leave their homes every minute of every day. It is critical to take note of these sobering figures, but it is equally critical to bear in mind that numbers and statistics can only ever provide a partial insight into what forcibly displaced people face, and into what they overcome.

For instance, none of these figures tell us what it is like to come to the painful conclusion that you have run out of options, and that there is nothing left to do but leave your home, your town, or even your country. They tell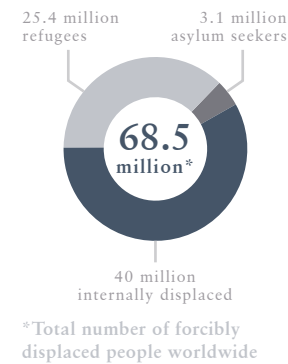 us nothing about what it is like to spend your entire adult life in a camp and to see your imaginative horizons diminishing. They give us no real understanding of what it feels like to leave a country of first asylum, where merely surviving is difficult, and embark on a second migration, a journey that will leave home even further behind.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, they tell us nothing about hope. Not the illusory hope offered by empty bromides about the resilience of the human spirit, but the real hope created by meaningful international partnerships, innovation, and constant adaptation. Since 2016, the UN has been appealing to governments, the private sector, and civil society to join hands in a global effort to develop a coordinated approach to migration. On 10 December 2018, the Global Compact for Migration — the first international agreement on the movement of people — was finally signed by 164 nations.

The private sector plays an increasingly prominent role in offering creative solutions to the refugee crisis. In 2015, for instance, entrepreneur Hamdi Ulukaya spearheaded a collaboration among 100 international brands in offering employment to over 200,000 refugees. Technology, too, is playing an instrumental role. From the employment of refugees within the digital industry, to training programs in coding schools, to the stunning efforts to digitize personal documentation through blockchain applications, we are witnessing remarkable examples of how humanitarian efforts are changing to meet the complex demands of the 21st century. As long as we are willing to do what we can to expand our understanding, there is always hope.

> Because of conflict, persecution, or generalized violence, 31 people are forced to leave their homes every single minute of every single day.

25.4 million refugees

3.1 million asylum seekers

68.5 million*

40 million internally displaced

*Total number of forcibly displaced people worldwide

50%

The percentage of the global refugee and asylum seeker population comprised by children

Sources:
UNHCR. 2016. 'Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015'. 20 June 2016.

UNHCR. 2016. 'Internally Displaced People'. 7 July 2016.

UNHCR. 2017. '100 Days of Horror and Hope: A Timeline of the Rohingya Crisis'. 5 December 2017.

UNHCR. 2018. 'Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2017'. 25 June 2018.

CLIMATE MIGRATION

by PROF. ROSEMARY LYSTER
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The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's *Global Warming of 1.5°C* report estimates that global temperatures are 1.0°C above pre-industrial levels, while warming is likely to reach 1.5°C between 2030 and 2052.

Meanwhile, the World Economic Forum's *Global Risks Report 2018* identifies the following top nine global risks, in descending order: weapons of mass destruction; extreme weather events; natural disasters; failure of climate change mitigation and adaptation; water crises; cyber-attacks; food crises; biodiversity loss and ecosystem collapse; and large-scale involuntary migration. Seven are likely to be influenced by climate change, which, combined with other drivers, already results in climate migration.

However, climate change is also causing forcible displacement following extreme weather events (such as cyclones) or slow-onset events (such as drought or sea-level rise). Climate migration or displacement may be temporary or permanent, and internal or across borders. The 2016 *Global Report on Internal Displacement* found that, worldwide, there are twice as many people displaced internally as across borders.

But are people who cross borders 'climate refugees'? A refugee is defined under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees as a person who has a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. Consequently, the International Organization for Migration's term 'climate-displaced persons' (CDPs) is now preferred.

Estimates about the scale of climate displacement vary from "25 million at the conservative end, to 1 billion in the middle, and 2 billion at the high end". To better protect CDPs, the Task Force on Displacement, mandated under the Paris Agreement, has recommended that countries adopt the following measures: implement legislation, policies, and strategies to avert, minimize, and address displacement, taking human rights into consideration; map, understand, and manage human mobility; strengthen preparedness, including early warning systems, contingency planning, evacuation planning, and resilience building; integrate human mobility into national planning processes; protect internally displaced persons; and facilitate the orderly, safe, and responsible migration and mobility of people, by enhancing opportunities for regular migration pathways.

Meanwhile, the UN Global Compact for Migration, including climate-induced migration, aims to mitigate the factors that hinder people from building and maintaining sustainable livelihoods in their countries of origin; reduce the risks that migrants face, by protecting their human rights; and create conditions that enable migrants to enrich society through their human, economic, and social capacities.

2018 was an important year in terms of international recognition for the plight of CDPs. The recommendations of both the Task Force on Displacement and the UN Global Compact should result in far better protections for them in the future.

> Estimates about the scale of climate displacement vary from 25 million people at the conservative end, to 1 billion in the middle, to 2 billion at the high end.

Extreme weather events (such as cyclones) and slow-onset events (such as rising sea levels) are causing forced displacement

200%

The percentage of people displaced internally compared to across borders

Sources:
Bodansky, Daniel, Jutta Brunnee, and Lavanya Rajamani. 2017. *International Climate Change Law.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. 2018. *Global Warming of 1.5°C.*

World Economic Forum. 2018. *Global Risks Report 2018: 13th Edition.*

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2016. *Global Report on Internal Displacement.*

International Organization for Migration. 2008. '*Climate Change and Migration: Improving Methodologies to Estimate Flows*'.

Part 2

REGIONAL MOBILITY TRENDS

THE CARIBBEAN

by DR. SUZETTE HAUGHTON
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For both economic and personal reasons, migration is an appealing prospect for some Caribbean citizens. Intra-Caribbean and international migration remain pronounced features of Caribbean migration patterns. Intra-Caribbean migrants are those nationals who travel from their countries to others within the Caribbean region for employment purposes.

An important example of this form of migration involves the movement of Cuban doctors and nurses to Anglophone Caribbean states, where they work in hospitals in these countries. Cuba–Caribbean health agreements support intra-Caribbean labor force migration by minimizing the shortage of health care professionals in the region.

International migration has negatively impacted the pool of doctors and nurses in the Caribbean region. Some doctors and nurses from Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago have opted to exploit opportunities in developed countries — namely, the US, the UK, and Canada — because health care facilities in these countries are equipped with modernized technologies, and compensation packages are better.

Further, demographic factors and developed countries' policies have facilitated the migration of citizens from the Caribbean region. For example, Canada's aging population and the increased demand for state spending on senior-related programs, coupled with reduced tax revenues, have factored into the government's decision to extend Canada's immigration through the Express Entry program. Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada — the immigration department of the Government of Canada — has reported that, between January 2015 and May 2018, 1,470 Jamaicans obtained Canadian permanent residence by applying to this program.

Short-stay international migration continues to be a major trend among residents of Caribbean countries. Some Jamaicans have travelled to the US and Canada on these countries' guest worker schemes. These migrants obtain seasonal employment in the US and Canada as hotel and agricultural workers. Similarly, university students from Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, and Barbados have also obtained summer employment in the US through work and study programs, where their services are utilized in the food industry.

The UK and the US have also provided scholarship opportunities to students from the English-speaking Caribbean through the UK Commonwealth, Chevening, and Fulbright scholarship programs. These annual scholarship opportunities are popular avenues through which people from the Caribbean enter those countries as short-stay migrants for academic purposes.

Another trend in the region is that of return migration. Short-stay migrants normally return to their countries once their seasonal employment or scholarships end. Additionally, some Caribbean migrants who have been naturalized as citizens in developed countries have returned to their countries of birth to retire. In Jamaica, a special program has been established to assist returning residents with their resettlement.

The 2019 outlook for the Caribbean region is that migration in all its forms is likely to continue. Intra-Caribbean and international short-stay migration will probably remain stable, but the resettlement of retirees through return migration may be hampered by economic and safety concerns in the region.

" *Intra-Caribbean and international short-stay migration will probably remain stable in 2019, but return migration may be hampered by economic and safety concerns in the region.*

1,470

The number of Jamaicans who have obtained Canadian residence through the Express Entry program

Sources:
Latin American and Caribbean Regional Preparatory Meeting of International Migration Experts on the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration. 2017. Santiago de Chile. 30–31 August 2017.

Thompson, Kimon. 2018. 'Jamaicans Flocking to Canada'. *The Jamaica Observer*. 10 September 2018.

'35 Trained Cuban Doctors Assigned to SERHA'. 2013. *The Jamaica Observer*. 12 September 2013.

ASIA PACIFIC

by FROILAN MALIT
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In Asia Pacific, international migration and mobility have become increasingly more complex, dynamic, and diverse, shaping the overall social, economic, and demographic conditions in the region. The UN estimated in 2017 that there were 80 million international migrants in the countries and areas comprising Asia Pacific.

International migration has strengthened labor market mobility, remittances, and trade across Asia Pacific. For example, the Philippines has obtained USD 33 billion in remittances from migrants, while other countries in the region — including China (USD 64 billion), Pakistan (USD 20 billion), and India (USD 69 billion) — have likewise received remittances that have been vital to their economies.

Due to the economic contribution of migration to development, countries such as Pakistan, India, and Sri Lanka have strategically invested in skills training and qualification programs for workers seeking employment elsewhere in Asia Pacific or the Gulf, in a bid to enhance these workers' productivity and wages. Overall, international migration has not only helped stabilize economic growth in Asia Pacific but also enabled many labor-sending South and Southeast Asian countries to sustain strong economic growth, even in times of crisis.

Low-skilled temporary migration has become an essential feature of the Asia Pacific region. In fact, international migratory paths to Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, and Thailand mainly involve low-skilled, single migrants working predominantly in highly segmented low-skill or low-status jobs that are often masculinized (for example, construction) and feminized (for example, domestic work and nursing).

Irregular migration remains a major dimension of migration in Asia Pacific, which hosts the world's largest flow of undocumented migrants, who mostly originate from neighboring countries.
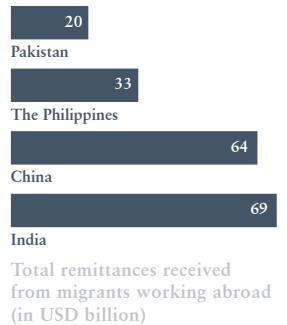
These irregular migration flows are characterized by mixed legal migration issues (visa overstays, cross-border movement) and they are also, to a certain extent, facilitated by global smugglers. Irregular migration flows in Asia Pacific have contributed to the rising number of migrants in detention and deportation centers across the region and pose bilateral and multilateral challenges for governments seeking more effective and humane migration-governance responses.

Refugees and displaced citizens also play an important role in Asia Pacific migration — Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran alone host 2.7 million Afghan refugees — but many countries in Asia Pacific have still not ratified the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Existing resettlement programs in the US, Australia, and European countries have proved extremely limited. Moreover, more and more second-generation migrants find themselves with an irregular status (having no national identity or international travel documents), which poses the risk of their potential statelessness.

While international migration in Asia Pacific has produced ongoing policy challenges, it has also generated multiple opportunities for governments to deepen diplomatic relations and address migration issues. The current ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of Migrant Workers was signed in 2017 to deal with migration governance and protection issues. The ongoing Colombo Process pilot initiatives in skills recognition and certification, recruitment, and migration technology have guided governments in addressing labor violations in origin, transit, and destination countries within the region.

" *International migration has not only helped stabilize economic growth in Asia Pacific but also enabled many labor-sending countries to sustain strong economic growth, even in times of crisis.*

Pakistan	20
The Philippines	33
China	64
India	69

Total remittances received from migrants working abroad (in USD billion)

Sources:
ASEAN Secretariat. 2016. 'ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers'.
Colombo Process. 2018. 'The Pilot Project on Skill Development, Certification, Upgrading, and Recognition'.
International Organization for Migration. 2017. 'Asia and the Pacific'.
Refugee Council. 2018. 'Refugee Protection in the Asia-Pacific'.
UN DESA. 2017. *International Migration Report*.
World Bank. 2018. 'Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook'. *Migration and Development Brief* 29.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

by RYAN CUMMINGS
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Conflict-induced forced migration has long defined population movement in Sub-Saharan Africa, and this remained the case in 2018. Ongoing intra-state conflict in Cameroon, the Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Mali, and South Sudan — and associated socio-economic ills such as famine — largely accounts for the estimated 6.3 million refugees currently living in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Looking ahead to 2019, elections in the DRC and the spread of extremist violence from northern Mali to the country's more populated south and central zones could lead to further forced migration from these two states.

A number of positive developments that took shape in 2018 have the potential to change some of these long-standing patterns, however. Notably, warring parties in South Sudan reached a negotiated settlement in September 2018, formally ending the country's five-year-long civil war. In addition, stabilizing political conditions could see the return of displaced populations from countries such as Uganda and Sudan and an overall reversal in the region's migration trends.

This would build upon an emerging trend in East Africa, linked to the stabilization of Somalia and the return of displaced communities residing in the country's neighboring states. Also within the Horn of Africa, the unprecedented decision by Ethiopia and Eritrea to end an almost two-decade-long political impasse has resulted in a marked increase in bilateral migration across the countries' erstwhile disputed borders. These movements are expected to only continue in 2019, as East African states strengthen the social, political, and economic ties between them.

The easing of restrictions between Ethiopia and Eritrea can be seen as a microcosm of a wider trend toward greater economic inclusion in Sub-Saharan Africa. In March 2018, for instance, African states promulgated the world's largest and most profitable free-trade agreement since the creation of the World Trade Organization. Known as the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA), the initiative authorizes signatory states to remove tariffs from 90% of goods, allowing free access to commodities, goods, and services across the continent.

Concomitant with this agreement, which is set to increase intra-African trade by 52% by 2022, has been a commitment by member states to lift entry requirements for fellow Africans, in order to maximize the economic dividends accrued from the ACFTA and other associated pan-African trade deals.

Economic benefits remain a significant driver of migration in Africa. The initiation or development of key economic sectors across the continent, and indeed outside of it, is creating opportunities to absorb the plentiful labor resources that Sub-Saharan Africa has to offer. This is particularly the case in the hydrocarbon sector, where an increased demand for oil is increasing production of the commodity and creating employment opportunities.

Similarly, the development of nascent industries in countries such as Kenya, Mozambique, and even Zimbabwe could go a long way in not only addressing unemployment within these jurisdictions, but also attracting unskilled and semi-skilled workers from beyond their borders.

> *The development of key economic sectors across the continent is creating opportunities to absorb the plentiful labor resources that Sub-Saharan Africa has to offer.*

52%

The increase in intra-African trade predicted to occur by 2022 as a result of the African Continental Free Trade Area

Sources:
'IOM Trends Analysis: Most Horn of Africa Migrants Move within Region'. 2018. *Relief Web.* 9 November 2018.

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THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

by LORRAINE CHARLES
Lorraine Charles is a Research Associate at the Centre for Business Research at the University of Cambridge.

Migration in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region has long been dominated by regional conflicts and their attendant refugee crises — a trend that prevailed in 2018 and is set to continue into 2019. The large numbers of refugees coming from Syria, Palestine, and other countries in the region have placed economic strain on host communities — particularly because the MENA countries where the majority of refugees are hosted tend to be middle- or low-income economies.

Since the international funding that provides assistance for refugees continually falls short of requirements, host countries, forced to use their national budgets, are struggling to meet even the basic needs of the growing numbers of refugees within their borders.

The economic challenges arising from this situation include rising public debt, decreasing GDP, high unemployment rates, declining job opportunities, and increasing levels of poverty in developing refugee-hosting countries. On the other hand, the Turkish economy has generally been boosted by the influx of new businesses from Syria: 7,000 companies have been founded or co-founded by Syrians in Turkey since 2011, though this economic growth slowed in 2018.

Refugee-hosting countries generally enforce protectionist labor laws that restrict refugees from fully accessing the domestic labor market. In Lebanon and Jordan, Syrian refugees only have the right to work and acquire work permits in limited sectors (agriculture and construction). Palestinian refugees also have restricted access to the labor market in Lebanon. In Turkey, while Syrian refugees are allowed to work in any sector, employment is restricted by a quota set by the government (namely, one Syrian for every ten Turkish employees). This has meant that many refugees are under-employed or work informally, often earning less than the minimum wage in sub-standard working conditions.

The plight of refugees in the MENA region will continue to be a challenge in 2019. Greater international financial assistance, via multilateral organizations and INGOs, is needed to support refugee-hosting economies and, thereby, improve the lives of both refugee and host populations.

The global private sector can play a key role in supporting refugees, both by mobilizing financial resources quickly and by providing a level of expertise and innovation that generally cannot be matched by humanitarian actors. The global private sector is also an important source of employment. Through its channeling of foreign direct investment to refugee-hosting countries, for example, jobs can be created locally for both refugee and host communities.

In addition, by employing responsible business practices — such as mandating that a particular proportion of jobs be allocated to refugees or that employment adhere strictly to local labor laws — the private sector could provide dignified livelihoods to refugees, as well as to members of host communities.

Because local MENA economies cannot absorb the full number of refugees who need jobs, there is an urgent need for a scalable, sustainable, and replicable model for job creation. The global private sector has the potential to provide employment remotely, via technology and the internet, and can potentially provide jobs to hundreds of thousands of MENA-based refugees.

With the appropriate level of political will, the impact that the private sector could have on the refugee crises in the MENA region is significant.

> *The global private sector has the potential to provide employment remotely to hundreds of thousands of MENA-based refugees.*

7,000

The number of Turkish companies founded or co-founded by Syrians since 2011

Sources:
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by PROF. FLORIAN TRAUNER

Prof. Florian Trauner is Jean Monnet Chair at the Institute for European Studies at the Free University of Brussels. He is also a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe.

In 2018, migration continued to be a polarizing and salient issue in Europe. The EU persisted in negotiating the reform of its migration and asylum policies, initiated in the wake of the refugee crisis that started in 2015. The strengthening of Frontex, the EU's Border and Coast Guard Agency, was a key element of the EU's move to curb unwanted migration. The EU intends to increase the agency's staff count from 1,500 in 2018 to 10,000 border guards by 2020.

Reinforced EU border controls, in addition to intensified cooperation with transit countries such as Turkey and Libya, have made it more difficult for undocumented migrants to arrive on European soil. With about 40,000 to 50,000 asylum applications being submitted per month, the EU has reached numbers comparable to the years prior to the refugee crisis.

Irrespective of the decreasing numbers of applications, the question of how to distribute asylum seekers within the EU has regularly caused controversy. According to Eurostat data for the first six months of 2018, three out of four asylum applications in the EU-28 were made in only five countries (Greece, Italy, Spain, France, and Germany). The European Commission sought to tackle this imbalance by adding a mandatory relocation quota for asylum seekers to the EU's Dublin system. However, this proposal was met with fierce political opposition, in particular in Eastern Europe.

The reform of the Dublin system proved difficult to achieve in 2018, even if the issue of European burden-sharing continued to be relevant in national elections. Populist and anti-migration parties gained electoral support in the Italian general and German regional elections, contributing to German Chancellor Angela Merkel stepping down as party leader of the Christian Democratic Union in December. In Italy, the anti-migrant party known as 'the League' formed a coalition government with the anti-establishment Five Star Movement. The League's leader, Matteo Salvini, embarked

on a number of controversial policies, including the denial of docking rights to vessels carrying rescued migrants. The conditions in Greece, with seriously overcrowded refugee camps on some Greek islands, also caused public concern.

Throughout 2018, the EU's emphasis was more on controlling irregular migration than on developing pathways for legal migration. Supported by the Commission, some member states developed legal migration pilot projects with selected African countries, albeit on a modest scale. Other efforts by the Commission to enhance legal pathways into the EU — for instance, by reforming the EU's Blue Card Directive — were not supported by member states. The political climate for developing a proactive EU migration policy was, overall, unfavorable.

The trends observed in 2018 are likely to continue in 2019. The next elections to the European Parliament will take place in May 2019. The prospect of an election will make the reform of EU asylum and migration policies even more difficult to achieve. As a matter of fact, the EU will most likely focus on stopping irregular migration, in order to prevent migration from becoming the overbearing issue of the campaign.

> " *The prospect of European Parliament elections in May 2019 will make the reform of EU asylum and migration policies even more difficult to achieve.*

167,190
October 2015

6,400
August 2018

Number of asylum applications received per month in the EU

Sources:

Eurostat. 2018. 'Asylum and First-Time Asylum Applicants by Citizenship, Age, and Sex: Monthly Data (Rounded)'. Luxembourg.

European Commission. 2018. Progress Report on the Implementation of the European Agenda on Migration. COM(2018), 301. Brussels.

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RUSSIA AND THE CIS

by DR. MARINA SOROKA
Dr. Marina Soroka is an independent scholar and published author whose field of expertise is the history of European international relations.

Russia's economy, although not fully recovered since 2014, continues to outperform the stagnant regions from which a largely under-qualified young male workforce pours in. This influx of foreign workers, in turn, has proved critical to maintaining economic productivity in the face of high emigrant outflows.

Russia's pivotal position in Central Eurasia, its comparatively lenient migration laws, and, frequently, the absence of a language barrier virtually guarantee that Russia will remain the largest migrant recipient in 2019 for the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Ukraine, as well as a popular destination for Vietnamese, Chinese, Indian, North Korean, and Turkish workers.

Despite a downward trend in migrant inflows, between January and September 2018 Russia received over 3.4 million Uzbeks, 1.7 million Tajiks, 347,000 Ukrainians, and almost 250,000 Kyrgyz, with migrants from other regions falling far behind these numbers.

Nearly half of Russia's estimated 10–12 million migrants are illegal. Registration procedures for foreigners were tightened as of 31 December 2017, with the federal authorities intensifying the punishment for employing illegals. To allay widespread fears about migrants' monopolizing and criminalizing of certain industries, regions were allowed to set their own quotas for employing migrants in certain industries (public transport, security, pharmaceutical, and food). A CIS migration law that is currently in the works aims to regulate all aspects of migration.

The number of migrants pushed into Russia from Georgia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Ukraine, and Syria by political distress or pro-native citizenship and language laws dropped to 13,200 in 2018. Since 2014, Russian professionals have been fleeing political and social stagnation in the wake of Putin's three re-elections.

Russian media agencies regularly publish encouraging stories about Russian migrants worldwide. According to Russian statistics, about 60,000 Russians emigrate annually, but the data is unverifiable because Russians are not required to declare that they have emigrated. Besides, the issue is politically sensitive, as it is in Ukraine, where over one million people left the country each year between 2014 and 2017.

With Russia's labor market poised to shrink even further in 2019, the need for migrant workers remains critical. The further aging of the Russian population without an ongoing influx of migrants may leave entire peripheral regions of the country depopulated. Migrants tend to flow to Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other large cities. According to the migration policy guidelines for 2019–2025, migrants will soon be directed to under-populated Siberian and Far Eastern regions, and governmental recruiting agencies in Central Asian states will have the mandate to prevent human rights abuses and tax fraud. Similarly, a socio-cultural assimilation program will facilitate foreign nationals' integration into Russian society.

To encourage the inflow of qualified professionals, the process of obtaining Russian citizenship and work licenses is being eased. So far, this policy is working: although in 2018 fewer work permits were issued, the percentage of professionals among legal migrants increased.

> "
> *With Russia's labor market poised to shrink even further in 2019, the need for migrant workers remains critical.*

Kyrgyz 250,000

Ukrainians 347,000

Tajiks 1,700,000

Uzbeks 3,400,000
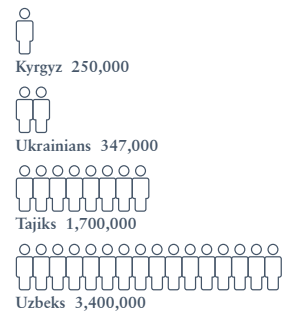
Migrant inflows to Russia, January–September 2018

5,000,000

The number of Ukrainians who left their country between 2014 and 2017

Sources:
Klimkin, Pavel. 2018. 'Kiyev Priznal Migratsiyu Ukraintsev Katastroficheskoy'. *Lenta*. 4 September 2018.

Scherbakova, Ekaterina. 2018. 'Migratsiya v Rossii: Itogi Pervogo Polugodiya 2018 Goda'. *Demoscope Weekly*. September/October 2018.

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THE AMERICAS

by DR. DIEGO ACOSTA
Dr. Diego Acosta is a leading international expert on global and comparative migration law and is Associate Professor in Migration Law at the University of Bristol.

Migration and mobility in Latin America in 2018 were almost exclusively dominated by the emigration of thousands of Venezuelans to other countries in the region, with the addition of around 50,000 Nicaraguans applying for asylum in Costa Rica. According to estimates offered by the International Organization for Migration in November 2018, the number of refugees and migrants from Venezuela worldwide has already reached three million people.

80% of this number are now residing in Latin America and the Caribbean, with Colombia (around one million), Peru (approximately half a million), Ecuador (around 220,000), and Argentina and Chile (over 100,000) having received the largest number of Venezuelans.

The legal responses of Latin American and Caribbean countries to the arrival of Venezuelans can generally be characterized as open, although with some caveats. While most countries in the region (with exceptions such as Trinidad and Tobago) are trying to offer residence permits — so as to avoid situations of undocumented residence, which could lead to possible exploitation — typically such permits are only applicable to certain categories of Venezuelans (for example, those arriving after a certain date); are adopted by executive decrees, with little intervention by parliaments; and merely grant temporary residence, thus generating legal uncertainty for the future.

The prospects for 2019 point in the direction of the ongoing emigration of Venezuelans, as well as Nicaraguans, to countries in the region — in the case of Nicaraguans, almost exclusively to Costa Rica, due to the latter's proximity and stability and the historical and migration links between both countries. This opens up several scenarios, for which we can anticipate a range of possible trends. First, while many Venezuelans have obtained residence permits in countries across the region, we can already see some countries closing their doors. This is most obvious in the case of Peru, where President Vizcarra announced at the end of October that the country will not continue to offer residence permits. Since migration flows will continue, this move might lead to numerous individuals ending up with undocumented status, increasing the risk of situations of exploitation.

Second, the region will see the emergence of domestic courts as important actors in the attempt to maintain some of the advances in migration liberalization — notably regarding the free movement of regional migrants — that have been made since the turn of the century. Courts have already played important roles in 2018 in places like Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, and Chile.

Third, the arrival of Jair Bolsonaro to the Presidency of Brazil in early 2019 might produce changes in the migration policy of Latin America's most populous country. While the number of foreigners residing in Brazil is very low (constituting less than 1% of the total population), any restrictive signal by such a country is likely to have negative consequences for debates in other neighboring states.

Finally, Latin American's second most populous country, Mexico, will also see the arrival of a new president, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, who holds a completely different political ideology from that of Bolsonaro. Mexico will face numerous challenges that will affect its already poor track record when it comes to the protection of the rights of migrants in its territory, including those fleeing violence in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.

> "
> *Domestic courts will emerge as important actors in the attempt to maintain some of the advances in migration liberalization that have been made since the turn of the century.*

3,000,000

The number of Venezuelans who have emigrated as a result of the ongoing crisis in their country

Sources:
Acosta, Diego. 2016. 'Free Movement in South America: The Emergence of an Alternative Model?' Migration Information Source. *Migration Policy Institute*. 23 August 2016.

Acosta, Diego. 2018. *The National versus the Foreigner in South America: 200 Years of Migration and Citizenship Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Freier, Luisa Feline and Nicolas Parent. 2018. 'A South American Migration Crisis: Venezuelan Outflows Test Neighbors' Hospitality'. *Migration Information Source*. Migration Policy Institute. 18 July 2018.

TRENDS IN TRAVEL FREEDOM

INSIGHTS FROM THE HENLEY PASSPORT INDEX

by DOMINIC VOLEK
Dominic Volek is a Managing Partner, a Member of the Management Board, and Head of Southeast Asia at Henley & Partners.

Despite a year in which the world has witnessed an upsurge in populist and nationalist movements, the story told by the Henley Passport Index is one that speaks overwhelmingly of increased visa liberalization and travel freedom for the world as a whole. The growth in global travel freedom has been far from equally distributed, however.

Originally invented in 2004 by Dr. Christian Kälin, who designed the first ranking of all the world's countries according to how many destinations their citizens can travel to visa-free, the Henley Passport Index is the original, authoritative, and most widely used index of its kind.

In the first quarter of 2018, Germany lost the top spot on the index for the first time in six years, as Japan and Singapore took over in joint 1st place. Significantly, this was not just a breakthrough for Japan and Singapore, but also highly emblematic of the increasing passport power of the Asian continent as a whole. As a number of commentators have pointed out, the rise of Asian nations on the Henley Passport Index is long overdue, with Japan and Singapore blazing the trail for other peaceful commercial powers in the region (such as South Korea).

China performed well in the second quarter, gaining access to the UAE, Oman, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which boosted its overall position on the ranking. As part of China's effort to boost inbound tourism, the government also liberalized visa access to its Hainan province for passport holders from 59 countries — an unprecedented move for this historically closed-off nation.

In the third quarter, EU nations became conspicuous by their lack of activity in the visa-waiver sphere. According to scholars who commented on this trend, the stasis of EU nations on the Henley Passport Index in 2018 can be attributed to the current political climate in the region, with a growing anti-immigration sentiment peppering the debates taking place in many EU member states.

Elsewhere, the US remained the regional leader in terms of passport power but failed to make any gains compared to 2017. It seems increasingly unlikely that either the US or the UK will regain the number 1 spot they jointly held in 2015.
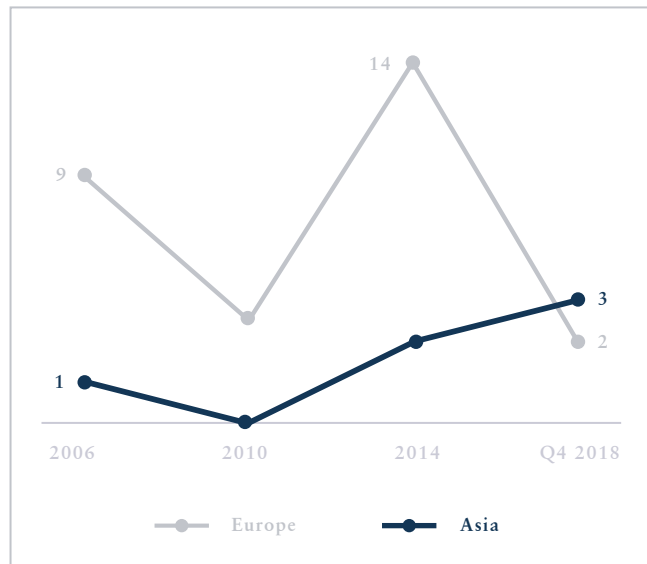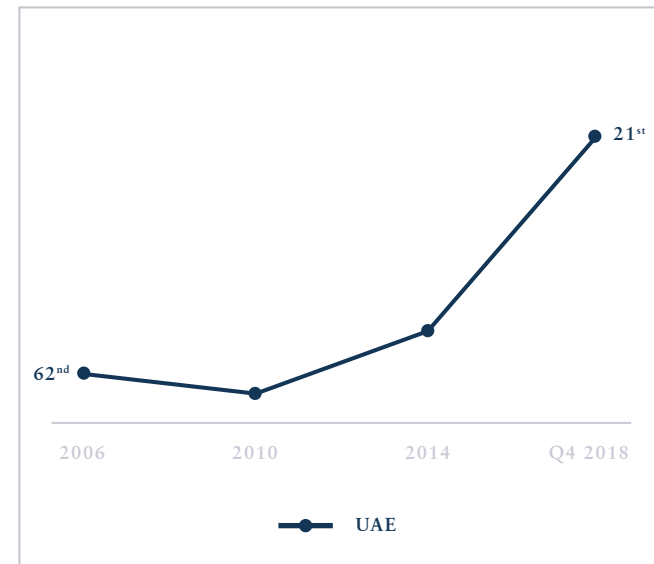
By the fourth quarter, Japan had overtaken Singapore to become the most powerful passport in the world, boasting visa-free access to a record-high 190 countries. The UAE claimed

the top spot in the Middle East region for the first time in the index's history, after signing an unprecedented visa-waiver with Russia. The UAE has made a stunning ascent since the index's inception, from 62nd place in 2006 to 21st place worldwide at the end of 2018.

Generally, movements on the Henley Passport Index in 2018 point to a strong desire on the part of countries in the Middle East to reduce their dependency on the hydrocarbon sector — and a corresponding willingness among other nations to attract Middle Eastern investment and solidify bilateral trade and tourism.

As we push into 2019, the trends from 2018 look set to continue. In the Q1 2019 ranking, Japan sits in 1st place, while Singapore and South Korea share 2nd place. South Korea holds this position for the first time, overtaking both France and Germany. Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar have each moved four places up the ranking compared to the beginning of 2018, in another demonstration of Asian passport power. Iraq and Afghanistan continue to hold the bottom spot on the index, each offering their citizens visa-free access to only 30 destinations worldwide.

Neither the US nor EU member states are forecast to revise their current closed-door policy, while countries in other parts of Europe (such as citizenship-by-investment newcomers Moldova and Montenegro) as well as those in Asia and the Middle East will most likely continue seeking visa-waiver agreements with strategic diplomatic allies, in line with their more proactive foreign affairs approach. The US and the UK have slid down the ranking from 5th to 6th place this year.

A final word ought to be added concerning the great unknown that is Brexit. Until a final deal is hammered out, it is difficult to know what exactly the ramifications will be for EU–UK travel, although, as it stands, it seems that visa-free arrangements will remain in place. And with Kosovo waiting in the wings for visa liberalization with the EU, the year ahead is bound to contain its fair share of surprises in the travel freedom space.

Methodology

The Henley Passport Index and its contents are based on data provided by the International Air Transport Authority (IATA) and supplemented, enhanced, and updated using extensive in-house research.

On a fixed date each year, Henley & Partners receives exclusive data from IATA, which forms the basis of the Henley Passport Index. In order to maintain the accuracy of the data provided by IATA in the face of constant updates to visa policy, and in order to create detailed visa lists for all 199 passports in our database, the Henley & Partners research team uses publicly available and reliable online sources to cross-check each passport against all 227 possible travel destinations. This research process is ongoing throughout the year. It is coupled with a rigorous monitoring system to pick up relevant visa-policy shifts and to ensure that the index remains 'live'.

For each travel destination, if no visa is required for passport holders from a country or territory, then a score with value = 1 is created for that passport. A score with value = 1 is also applied if passport holders can obtain a visa on arrival, a visitor's permit, or an electronic travel authority (ETA) when entering the destination. These visa types require no pre-departure government approval, because of the specific visa-waiver programs in place.

Where a visa is required, or where a passport holder has to obtain a government-approved electronic visa (e-visa) before departure, a score with value = 0 is assigned. A score with value = 0 is also assigned if passport holders need pre-departure government approval for a visa on arrival — a scenario that we do not consider 'visa-free'.

The total score for each passport is equal to the number of destinations for which no visa is required (value = 1), under the conditions defined above.

Figure 1: The number of European versus Asian countries in the top 3 of the Henley Passport Index

Figure 2: The ranking of the Emirati passport on the Henley Passport Index over time

> "
> *The rise of Asian nations on the Henley Passport Index is long overdue, with Japan and Singapore blazing the trail for other peaceful commercial powers in the region.*

2015
The last time either the US or the UK held the top spot on the Henley Passport Index

6th
The Q1 2019 position jointly held by the US and UK

190
The number of countries and territories accessible to citizens of Japan, who hold the strongest passport in the world

IATA
International Air Transport Association

Sources:
Kälin, Christian H. and Henley & Partners. Henley Passport Index. 2006–present. henleypassportindex.com.

Rank	Passport	Score
1	Japan	190
2	Singapore	189
	South Korea	
3	France	188
	Germany	
4	Denmark	187
	Finland	
	Italy	
	Sweden	
5	Luxembourg	186
	Spain	
6	Austria	185
	Netherlands	
	Norway	
	Portugal	
	Switzerland	
	United Kingdom	
	United States	
7	Belgium	184
	Canada	
	Greece	
	Ireland	
8	Czech Republic	183
9	Malta	182
10	Australia	181
	Iceland	
	New Zealand	
11	Hungary	180
	Latvia	
	Lithuania	
	Slovakia	
	Slovenia	
12	Estonia	179
	Malaysia	

Rank	Passport	Score
13	Liechtenstein	178
14	Chile	175
15	Monaco	174
	Poland	
16	Cyprus	173
17	Brazil	171
18	Argentina	170
19	Bulgaria	169
	Hong Kong (SAR China)	
	Romania	
20	Andorra	168
	Croatia	
	San Marino	
21	Brunei	165
22	United Arab Emirates	164
23	Israel	161
24	Barbados	159
25	Mexico	158
26	Bahamas	154
	Uruguay	
27	Seychelles	151
	St. Kitts and Nevis	
28	Antigua and Barbuda	150
29	Costa Rica	149
	Taiwan	
30	Trinidad and Tobago	148
	Vatican City	
31	Mauritius	145
	St. Lucia	
32	Macao (SAR China)	144
	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	
33	Grenada	143
	Paraguay	

Rank	Passport	Score
34	Panama	141
35	Venezuela	138
36	Dominica	137
	El Salvador	
	Honduras	
37	Guatemala	136
38	Peru	134
39	Solomon Islands	130
40	Serbia	129
	Vanuatu	
41	Nicaragua	128
	Samoa	
	Ukraine	
42	Colombia	127
	Tuvalu	
43	Macedonia (FYROM)	125
44	Marshall Islands	124
	Tonga	
45	Kiribati	123
	Montenegro	
46	Moldova	122
47	Micronesia	121
48	Russian Federation	119
49	Bosnia and Herzegovina	118
	Palau Islands	
50	Albania	115
51	Georgia	114
52	Turkey	111
53	Belize	101
	South Africa	
54	Timor-Leste	97
55	Ecuador	93
56	Kuwait	91
57	Fiji	89

Rank	Passport	Score
58	Guyana	88
59	Maldives	86
	Nauru	
60	Qatar	85
61	Jamaica	83
	Papua New Guinea	
62	Botswana	82
63	Bahrain	81
64	Suriname	80
65	Bolivia	79
66	Belarus	77
67	Kazakhstan	76
	Oman	
68	Namibia	75
	Thailand	
69	China	74
	Lesotho	
70	Saudi Arabia	73
71	Eswatini	72
72	Indonesia	71
	Kenya	
	Malawi	
73	Gambia	68
	Tanzania	
	Zambia	
74	Azerbaijan	66
	Philippines	
	Tunisia	
75	Cape Verde Islands	65
	Cuba	
	Dominican Republic	
76	Kyrgyzstan	64
	Uganda	
	Zimbabwe	

Rank	Passport	Score
77	Ghana	63
78	Sierra Leone	62
79	Armenia	61
	Benin	
	India	
	Mongolia	
	Morocco	
80	Mauritania	58
	Mozambique	
	Sao Tome and Principe	
	Tajikistan	
	Uzbekistan	
81	Burkina Faso	57
82	Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)	56
	Guinea	
	Senegal	
83	Bhutan	55
	Gabon	
	Mali	
	Togo	
84	Cambodia	54
	Niger	
	Rwanda	
85	Chad	53
	Guinea-Bissau	
	Madagascar	
	Turkmenistan	
86	Comores Islands	52
	Laos	
87	Equatorial Guinea	51
	Haiti	
	Vietnam	
88	Algeria	50
	Jordan	

Rank	Passport	Score
89	Angola	49
	Central African Republic	
	Egypt	
90	Cameroon	48
	Myanmar	
91	Congo (Rep.)	47
	Liberia	
	Nigeria	
92	Burundi	46
93	Djibouti	45
94	Kosovo	44
95	Congo (Dem. Rep.)	43
	Sri Lanka	
96	Ethiopia	42
	Iran	
	North Korea	
97	Bangladesh	41
	Lebanon	
	Libya	
	South Sudan	
98	Nepal	40
99	Palestinian Territory	39
	Sudan	
100	Eritrea	38
101	Yemen	37
102	Pakistan	33
103	Somalia	32
	Syria	
104	Afghanistan	30
	Iraq	

This graph shows the full Global Ranking of the 2019 Henley Passport Index. In certain cases, a rank is shared by multiple countries because these countries all have the same level of visa-free or visa-on-arrival access.

The Henley Passport Index is a live ranking. The information provided here reflects the ranking on 8 January 2019. For the latest ranking, visit henleypassportindex.com

THE EFFECT OF TRAVEL FREEDOM ON ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEMOCRACY

by UĞUR ALTUNDAL
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and ÖMER ZARPLI
Ömer Zarpli is a researcher in political science at the University of Pittsburgh.

Over the past decade, travel freedom has expanded precipitously thanks to the rising number of bilateral visa-waiver agreements and unilateral decisions implemented by governments. In 2006, a citizen, on average, could travel to 58 destinations without needing a visa from the host nation; by 2018, this number had nearly doubled to 107.

Yet despite the important progress made in overall global mobility, there remains a significant 'global mobility divide', with some passports much more powerful than others. For instance, in 2018, the average European could travel to about 163 destinations without a visa, while the average individual from Africa could travel to only about 61 destinations.

Notwithstanding this apparent gap, many developing nations — with the notable exception of some Sub-Saharan countries — have significantly increased their visa-free access over time. A few countries in particular stand out: Albania has increased its total number of visa-free destinations more than six-fold (from 17 in 2006 to 114 in 2018), while countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, China, and Colombia have more than quadrupled their visa-free access over time.
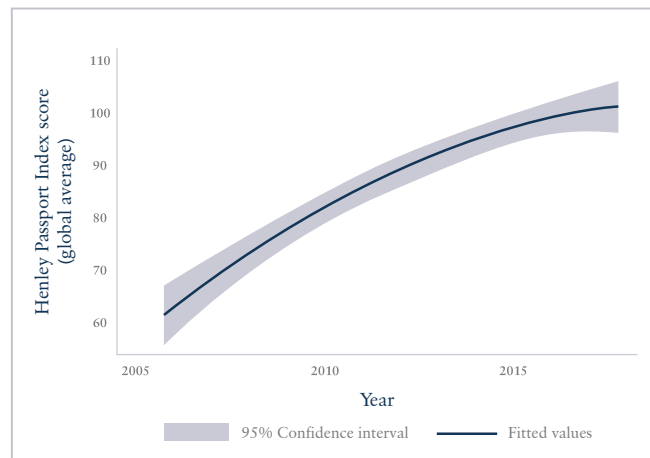
Research has shown that visa-free access increases the number of travelers to the visa-free destination country. In contrast, visa requirements have a negative effect on the number of inbound travelers. Scholars have pointed out that, "[a]t the bilateral level, having a travel visa requirement on a particular country is associated with a 70% reduction in inbound travel from that country".

Beyond tourism, countries such as Japan and Taiwan have recently relaxed travel and residence requirements in the hope of attracting a skilled workforce. A number of European nations, among them Portugal and Greece, have set up 'golden visa' programs as a way to revitalize their economies through foreign investment and capital inflow.

Figure 3: The expansion of global travel freedom on the Henley Passport Index from 2006 to 2018

Figure 4: The effect of travel freedom on sender countries' democracy levels

Visa-waivers ease restrictions on international travel by granting citizens of certain countries and territories the right to travel without prior permission by the host. While some of these waivers are one-sided (that is, one country opening up its borders), others are reciprocal.

What is the effect of visa liberalization on economy and politics? It is estimated that the spread of 'open door' policies could potentially contribute to the global economy by generating USD 206 billion in additional tourism revenue and creating as many as 5.1 million jobs.

Yet most existing empirical studies on the effect of visa liberalization are based on the analysis of one or two cases. There is little cross-national evidence on how the rising number of visa-free destinations has affected countries' economies and, to date, no empirical study that addresses the question of its effect on democracy.

Our research used regression analysis to measure the effect of a country's number of visa-free destinations on its democracy score and GDP per capita, within a global sample.

We drew the data on visa-waivers from the Henley Passport Index, which compiles the number of visa-free destinations for each country and territory, with data going back to 2006. For the economic variables, we relied on the World Bank, and for the data on democracy, we relied on the Polity data series, which records each country's democracy score on a scale from –10 (autocracy) to +10 (democracy).

Based on our preliminary analysis, we found that the number of visa-free destinations held by a sender country has a positive and statistically significant, albeit non-linear, effect on that country's democracy score (see Figure 4).

By minimizing the risk of reverse causality, we were able to rule out the possibility that higher levels of democracy are the cause of high levels of travel freedom, as might generally be assumed.

Indeed, when we tested whether countries' visa-free scores were affected by changes in their democracy scores, we found no significant relationship, which suggested that the causal arrow points from visa-free travel to democracy, rather than the other way around.

When we increased the number of visa-free destinations from 0 to 150, a country's predicted democracy score increased from approximately 3.0 to 5.0, with other variables held constant. However, any further increase did not seem to have a positive effect on democracy. Increases in visa-free score also did not have a significant effect on a country's economic indicators, such as GDP per capita.

There are several possible explanations for the somewhat surprising findings outlined above. For one, democracy is generally thought to be 'contagious'. It has been argued that democratization is rarely a purely domestic phenomenon, and that cross-border diffusion plays a very important role in its development. One of the pathways through which diffusion occurs is 'learning' from other cases through communication and informational networks. It is possible that increased cross-border interactions thanks to visa-free travel can contribute to this learning process.

Furthermore, individuals who are exposed to different cultures may be more tolerant at home. There is a long line of research on the prejudice-reducing effect of inter-group contact. It has been generally found that contact with 'out-groups' fosters empathy and reduces bias under certain conditions.

Visa-waivers can also facilitate cooperation between civil society groups and NGOs, including those that specialize in democracy promotion. Finally, visa liberalization can facilitate scientific and academic exchanges. It has been found that foreign-educated individuals have a positive impact on a country's democracy, especially when they study in democratic countries.

One important avenue for further research is the disaggregation of visa-free destinations. After all, not all destinations are equal. For instance, destinations that are more liberal and democratic may have a larger impact on the sender's political system than non-democracies do.

Notwithstanding these issues, this study constitutes an important first step and will, we hope, precipitate a timely debate about the political effects of various visa policies.

> *The number of visa-free destinations held by a sender country has a positive and statistically significant effect on that country's democracy score.*

> 70%
The percentage reduction in inbound travel that results from one country placing visa restrictions on another

Continued visa liberalization could inject USD 206 billion into the global economy and create 5.1 million jobs

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Part 4

TRENDS IN MIGRATION TECHNOLOGY

DIGITAL IDENTITY FOR REFUGEES AND GLOBAL CITIZENS

by MONIQUE JEANNE MORROW

Monique Jeanne Morrow is President and Co-Founder of The Humanized Internet, an organization that uses new technologies to defend the rights of vulnerable people.

What is identity? You might think at first of the document that holds your name and date of birth. Perhaps it is a driver's license, or the ID card that was issued to you when you turned 16. It could be the passport that you need to remember before catching a flight. Alternatively, you might think that your identity is based on your interests, skills, gender, or ethnicity. You might think of it as being rather fixed and stable and, therefore, you might take it for granted.

But have you ever lost your ID or had your passport stolen while traveling abroad? Suddenly, it becomes impossible to do even the simplest things, such as booking a hotel room, renting a car, or even buying a mobile SIM card to contact your family.

Losing a passport does not necessarily make you question who you are, but it certainly deprives you of the possibility of proving it. This is the everyday reality of over 1 billion people globally who do not have any official identity.

What gives a piece of paper such power over our lives? How did we arrive at a political and social situation where our worth is determined not by who we are but by the type of paper we hold?

or redrawn, resulting in millions of refugees, ex-prisoners, and stateless people. In response, the first refugee travel document, also known as the 'Nansen passport', was issued by the League of Nations in 1922 (see Figure 5).

The early versions of these passports were signed and included a photograph, as well as identifying physical details. Some critics found this dehumanizing.

It seemed that people struggled with the implicit labeling or packaging associated with the passport concept, with some countries wanting to dispose of it altogether.
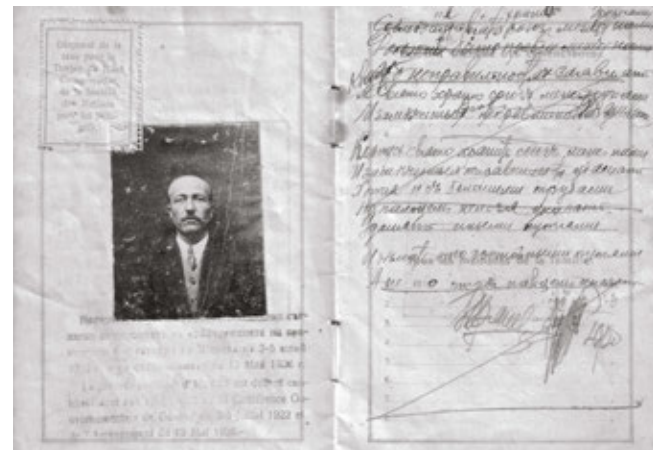
The idea of a worldwide passport as we understand it today emerged in the aftermath of World War One, particularly after the Paris Peace Conference, and as a step taken by the League of Nations towards maintaining peace.

At the end of the war, the world was in disarray: many governments were toppled or fell, and borders were changed
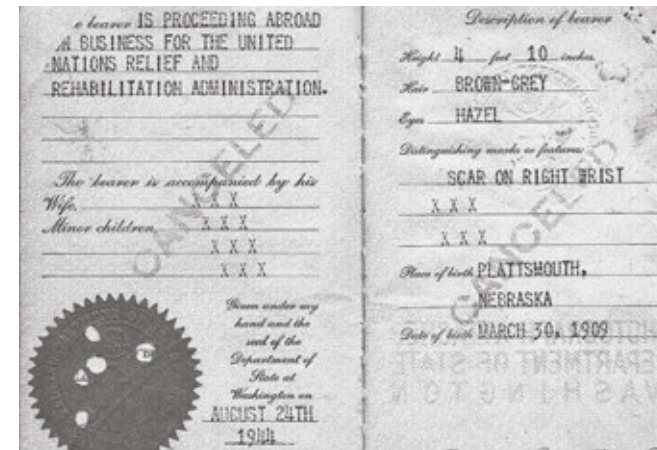
The passport seemed on one level to be a step towards maintaining peace, protecting freedom, and helping refugees, but there was also the potential for it to be seized as a political opportunity to control movement and immigration. And yet, of course, no one could reverse the idea once it had been introduced.

In our current reality, citizenship is an accident of birth, defined by borders that were drawn years ago by people who in most cases knew very little (geographically and culturally) about the regions they were splicing into self-contained nation-states.

The passport that you hold can be a shield and a privilege if it belongs to a wealthy democracy, and it can be a distress and a burden if it belongs to a poor or politically conflicted country.

The world is changing faster than ever, and it seems clear that identity, citizenship, and the nature of our passports should evolve along with it.

As a concept, digital identity can extend far beyond the limits imposed by a passport. It has the potential to become a new basis for conferring the status of global citizenship onto the individual, independent of their nationality.

A digital identity could allow for participation in global processes of democratic discourse and will-formation, which are needed for the regulation of global challenges.

A normative framework for the operation of a globally free internet and communication system is only one of these challenges. Others are climate change, frameworks for sustainable international trade, global financial markets, and the fight against terrorism and organized crime.

Our present democratic systems at the national and supra-national level are unable to meet these challenges. Even international cooperation fails to produce the necessary effective regulation.

As Jürgen Habermas explains, the establishment of regulatory power beyond the state is not so much a challenge to democracy but rather, in and of itself, a requirement of it.

Digital identity and global citizenship — as doors to participation in democratic decision-making processes at the global level — do not substitute the citizenship of a state, and nor does an institutional setting for global regulation substitute the state.

Instead, these initiatives are additional and complementary to national citizenship and the state — though the alternative system they represent may offer the establishment of digital identity, registration, and the operation of global citizenship independently of a particular nation-state. Precisely such a system is the basis for conceptualizing democratically legitimized regulation, as is needed to meet global challenges effectively.

Global constitutionalism built upon these insights could become a realistic utopia, if it is coupled with the new opportunities offered by the internet. The task now is to explore how technologies can democratize processes effectively at the global level.

Digital identity is foundational to other services. Using the principle of selective disclosure, the individual is able to pair whatever record they have of themselves with whatever organization they desire. The given organization does not need to know whether someone is a 'refugee' or not — the individual is in control of who they are.

Digital self-sovereignty allows the individual to become 'the center of the universe', so to speak, in terms of determining what they want to share about themselves, and via what method.

Could the individual enabled with technology have digital safe boxes for their documentation, which could be digitally notarized in near-real time? Rather than the 'centralization of data', which is often vulnerable to hacking and/or abuse, should we not be thinking about hybrid models, where the ownership of information is more dispersed?

Imagine a world in which everyone is in control of their digital identity and, thus, of their future. Is there a better way?

> *As a concept, digital identity has the potential to become a new basis for conferring the status of global citizenship onto the individual.*

1,000,000,000

The number of people who do not have an official identity

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