International Migration Seen from a Mediterranean Perspective

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Today, many scholars carry out research on international migration in most of the academic fields such as geography, demography, ethnography, anthropology, political sciences, law and sociology. Forced migration, a subcategory of international migration, constitutes a current process of global social transformation drastically growing due to both security and political concerns accompanied by human rights breaches in the countries of origin. In this article, I portray international migration and forced migration relying on the latest literature. I also underline two important features within the latter: asylum seeking and human smuggling. Then, I formulate my key research question as follows: Does distance matter for all categories of people on the move? To answer this question, I analyse migration data from the United Nations Population Division Department of Economic and Social Affairs\(^2\) for Italy from Southern Europe and Lebanon from Western Asia, as two destination countries both bordered by the Mediterranean Sea. Last, I conclude with the notion that geographical proximity matters more in the case of people seeking protection in Lebanon; whereas, in Italy, it matters less since economically motivated migration prevails.

KEYWORDS: international migration, forced migration, global social transformation, asylum seeking, human smuggling, refugees, migrants, international migrant stock.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the present decade, the world has been witnessing a global social transformation linked to the accelerated mass migration flows from African and Asian countries towards the old continent. Aside the legal migration to respond to the unskilled and skilled labour markets, and the increase in asylum seeking due to unstable warfare situation in most of the countries of origin, many migrants have chosen to imperil their lives at sea, escaping from their bitter reality and hoping to reach a safe haven in the somewhat aspired dreamland Europe. Perhaps, in that manner, they would be able to

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redeem some of their acknowledged universal Human Rights, which are not fulfilled in their source countries. It is noteworthy to say that the state of alert of most European countries, intensifying border controls and adding more restrictions to the legal migration channels, does not hinder neither migrants nor human smugglers to try and penetrate Fortress Europe by all means possible. Furthermore, the latest events in the Mediterranean are a concrete example of what survival instinct (migrants) or even gainful business (human smugglers) might lead people to undertake such journey at sea, either in the hope of being rescued or to arrive to safe shores. What is certain is that migration industry is highly lucrative and opportunistic merchants will not stop taking advantage of needy aspiring voyagers, ready to put their lives at stake for the sole reason of reaching the developed world.

In this paper, I portray international migration as a global process. Then I highlight the issue of forced migration and its two main features asylum seeking and human smuggling. At this point, I proceed with analysing data, obtained from UNDESA, for a substantial amount of migrants arriving to Italy and to Lebanon, as Mediterranean countries of destination. Finally, I present my conclusive remarks through the interpreted results of my data analysis.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The definition for migration from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization\(^3\) states the following “it is the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time. It includes the movement of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people as well as economic migrants. Internal migration refers to a move from one area (a province, district or municipality) to another within one country. International migration is a territorial relocation of people between nation-states”.

I start with Castles who describes international migration as the movement of passing the border of a given country to any other country in the world, both to find a more secure settlement and a better livelihood (2000). Many governments view the migration process as disruptive and necessitating control (Tacoli 2009). Cultures of hospitality often encourage or discourage all types of migrants in the choice of a particular country of destination (Gill, Caletrío, and Mason 2011). Nevertheless, Tacoli explains in her article that the spatial distribution of economic opportunities determines the direction of migratory flows (2009). Furthermore, no global institutional framework seems to exist for the governance of international migration (Betts 2010). Nowadays, a large portion of migration is performed in an illegal manner. Most of the current sea border crossings share a common characteristic of illegality, since this market reacts in response to dramatic movements of populations (Monzini 2007). In addition, migration involves labour mobility in the pursuit of capital accumulation, thus taking a major part in the globalisation process (Munck 2011).

Indeed, Munck further explains that “politics of scale” influences peoples’ mobility on all levels local, regional, national and trans-national (2011). Other scholars suggest that increased mobility in the world, usually intimately linked to freedom, stirs to a global novelty in the future (Gill et al. 2011).

**FORCED MIGRATION: A PRESENT PHENOMENON ON THE RISE**

The UNESCO provides as well the following definition for forced migration⁴ “in a broader sense, this includes not only refugees and asylum seekers but also people forced to move due to external factors, such as environmental catastrophes or development projects. This form of migration has similar characteristics to displacement”.

It is relevant to say that the forced movement of people, stepping outside their national borders “due to external factors”, requires from them to leave their home countries perhaps unwillingly or even as a last resort, in the hope of attaining a decent life elsewhere.

Many scholars argued that there seems to be an increasingly blurred distinction between interest-based particular economic migration through illegal channels and international protection-based migration. For instance, Pastore reveals that there is an increased mix up between migrants and refugees (2015); while for İçduygu and Yükseler, the securitisation of migration towards Europe is partly blurring the boundaries between transit migration and asylum seeking (2012). On the other hand, Gill asserts that in poorly regulated labour markets, there seems to be a blurred distinction between economic migrants and refugees who are not officially supposed to work (2010). For Chimni, the borders between voluntary and forced migration are blurred at the existential level (2009). Lastly, Castles expresses that it is actually the result of the existing divide between North and South which has led to an increasing social inequality (2003).

Other scholars described unequal development or underdevelopment as a generator of massive migratory flows of marginalised and excluded groups, particularly outlined in the article written by Delgado Wise, Márquez, and Puentes “Reframing the Debate on Migration, Development and Human Rights” (2013). Moreover, Nyberg Sørensen attributes the relationship between development and migration to disparities in the levels of development between diverse regions in her 2012 article “Revisiting the Migration-Development Nexus: From Social Networks and Remittances to Markets for Migration Control”.

Currently, the concept of forced migration is gradually modifying due to the latest continuous migration trends from the South to the North. In some way, it seems to connect with the global social transformation caused by the neoliberal globalisation (Delgado Wise et al. 2013). According to Smith, the world is witnessing complex patterns of migration across nation-states more than ever before (2005). Furthermore, in the context of ‘End justifies Means’, a migrant from the global South might justify his illicit movement towards a given developed country in the global North through his alleged, but somehow logical, need for political stability and security, fulfilment of basic human rights, as well as

⁴ See note 3.
economic welfare in the form of satisfactory livelihood. Rising inequalities between the
global poles is contributing to this major shift from one part of the globe to the other. The
consequences of the contemporary globalisation wave are significantly sensed through the
mounting risky mobility undertaken by various ethnic and religious groups from the bitter
South, putting their lives at stake, whether in the desert or at sea, just so they could arrive to
the luring Europe.

**SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND IN COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION**

While receiving states are concerned with border control and national security,
sending states undergo irreversible drastic societal changes emphasized by political
upheavals, environmental degradation, epidemics, internal wars, increasing violence and
ethnic clashes (Jandl 2007). Sending nations are losing both skilled workers who seek
better labour conditions through legal migration channels, and, unskilled workers through
illegal channels such as human smuggling or even human trafficking. Receiving nations are
pushing towards rigorous border controls (Gallagher 2015; Collyer 2007) and are imposing
more restrictions on visa requirements for legal entry (Weber and Grewcock 2011), or even
physical barriers to entry to curb smuggling activities (Gill 2010).

Therefore, host countries tend to be selective towards opening up to the entrance of
migrants who represent, in the case of illegal migration, a threat to national security and a
dangerous risk for terrorism. In the context of multicultural societies, many European
countries are rather reluctant to receive more migrants following previous unfortunate
experiences of criminal activities premeditated by various categories of migrants already
present in the territory. All of these developments come from unbalanced development
levels between developed, less developed and least developed countries.

**ASYLUM SEEKING AND HUMAN SMUGGLING**

Jones et al. define smuggling as the facilitation, transportation, attempted
transportation, or illegal entry of a person or persons across an international border (2007).
For the moment, smuggling activity of human beings seems substantially on demand, in
response to the stricter border regulations for migrants to reach their destination countries.
It is noteworthy to mention that human smugglers perform their criminal activities through
networks connected via latest technologies such as internet or mobile communication.
These networks operate within origin, transit and destination countries (Collyer 2007). At
present, it appears to be a highly lucrative and expanding business, particularly due to the
closing of borders and visa restrictions for entering legally to the European Union Member
States. The supply of asylum seeking is considerably high these last few years, since in
different areas of the world, continuous internal wars are intensifying and seem to have no
end. Ultimately, many desperate people, fleeing those unforeseen events, had no option but
to choose smuggling as the only available and somehow affordable paid service to cross the
borders. They sought this service for the sake of claiming asylum, whether journeying at
sea or across land borders (Gallagher 2015; Collyer 2007). Furthermore, many undocumented migrants whose visas had expired or had overstayed their residence permit turn to smugglers to move from country to another (Andrijasevic 2010).

**Empirical Analysis**

I now analyse UNDESA data for two Mediterranean countries, Italy and Lebanon. My goal is to check whether the distance crossed by the international migrant stocks of Italy and Lebanon were a key determinant for the migrants’ corresponding choice of the country of destination.

**First Case Analysis: Italy as Country of Destination**

Italy is a Southern European developed country on the Mediterranean coast (peninsula surface area: 302,073 km$^2$)\(^5\) with a total population estimated at 59,798 million people, considering the zero-migration variant which assumes that international migration for Italy is set to zero starting 2010-2015.\(^6\) We can see below in Table 1 the international migrant stock present in Italy at mid-year by top migrant-originating countries between 1990 and 2015. The size of migrant population by country of origin, particularly in 2015, varies approximately between 200,000 (China) and 1,000,000 (Romania). Looking at the figures of the year 2010, five years earlier, we notice similar numbers for both Chinese and Romanian nationals. Other top ranking nationalities are respectively from the largest to the smallest in size Albania, Morocco, Ukraine and Germany. We can view in Figure 1 the migration trend to Italy as country of destination from Romania, Albania, Morocco, Ukraine, Germany and China. Between 2005 and 2010, approximately 500,000 Romanian nationals arrived to Italy. The line representing Romania rose sharply after starting its ascendance as of the year 2000, indicating that Romanians form the biggest migrant population in Italy in comparison with the other five represented nationalities.

Romania is an Eastern European country which joined the European Union only in 2007 after becoming an official member state. This relatively explains the increased access of Romanian nationals as migrant workers to Italy between 2005 and 2010. As for Ukraine, which is also an Eastern European country, the situation is different considering that it was a Soviet satellite country. Nevertheless, the break of the Communist regime constituted a push factor for the gradual migration toward Western Europe and Southern Europe (Solivetti 2010). Ukraine has not been able to access full membership within the EU, but it is associated with the EU Member States through the European Neighbourhood Policy. Albania is located in Southern Europe and is indirectly bordering with Italy through the Strait of Otranto, which connects the Adriatic Sea to the Ionian Sea, only about 72 kilometres far from the Eastern Coast of Italy. Earlier illicit crossings from Albania were

registered during the 1990s and the early 2000s (Monzini 2007). As for German nationals, they exercise rightfully their right for freedom of movement within the EU geographical area, most probably as highly skilled migrant workers. Also, Moroccans arrived essentially by sea-crossings through the Mediterranean in the early 1990s, as seasonal workers in agriculture or fishing (ibidem). Italy attracted as well Chinese nationals who came primarily for economic motives and which size continuously grew from circa 30,000 in the 1990s to reach a threshold of almost 200,000 in 2010, remaining relatively stable till 2015.

At this point, we would like to group the remaining four countries with the abovementioned six countries according to the geographical region of provenance. Figure 2 below is a schematic representation from the source regions to target country Italy. We notice seven different regions of the world. We can consider Western Europe and Northern Africa relatively proximal to Southern Europe. Eastern Europe is less distant than Eastern Asia, South-Eastern Asia and Southern Asia. Albania is within the same geographical region as Italy. We calculated the distance through internet\(^7\). We obtained the average distance 3,308.508, expressed in kilometres, by performing the sum of all distances of Figure 2 between the respective capitals of the top ten countries of origin and Rome then dividing the result by 10.

Finally, when calculating the percentage of international migrant stock from total population estimates at zero-migration variant of the year 2015 (59,798,000) and total international migrant stock at mid-year 2015 (5,788,875), we found the result 9.68% which is approximately 10% from the total population of Italy.

### TABLE 1

**International Migrant Stock at Mid-Year by Country of Origin for Migration into Italy (1990 - 2015)**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>40,066</td>
<td>79,401</td>
<td>118,736</td>
<td>570,087</td>
<td>1,021,438</td>
<td>1,021,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>44,935</td>
<td>159,672</td>
<td>274,408</td>
<td>360,959</td>
<td>447,510</td>
<td>447,586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>6,959</td>
<td>13,711</td>
<td>117,957</td>
<td>222,203</td>
<td>222,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>96,165</td>
<td>75,903</td>
<td>55,640</td>
<td>137,808</td>
<td>219,975</td>
<td>220,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>32,172</td>
<td>53,519</td>
<td>74,865</td>
<td>137,633</td>
<td>200,400</td>
<td>200,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>43,544</td>
<td>32,837</td>
<td>22,130</td>
<td>110,133</td>
<td>198,136</td>
<td>198,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Moldova</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>3,371</td>
<td>6,658</td>
<td>86,725</td>
<td>166,791</td>
<td>166,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>65,197</td>
<td>75,405</td>
<td>85,612</td>
<td>114,522</td>
<td>143,432</td>
<td>143,457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>3,413</td>
<td>23,261</td>
<td>43,109</td>
<td>89,745</td>
<td>136,380</td>
<td>136,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (183 Countries)</td>
<td>933,152</td>
<td>1,037,199</td>
<td>1,141,250</td>
<td>1,873,854</td>
<td>2,606,463</td>
<td>2,606,901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,428,219</td>
<td>1,774,954</td>
<td>2,121,688</td>
<td>3,954,790</td>
<td>5,787,893</td>
<td>5,788,875</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^7\) Distance From To http://www.distancefromto.net (last visited on 20/02/2017).
Fig. 1 — The International Migrant Stock at mid-year by top six countries of origin for migration into Italy (1990 - 2015).

Air Distance to Rome

Tirana: 612.57 km (Southern Europe SE)
Bern: 689.99 km (Western Europe WE)
Bucharest: 1,138.43 km (Eastern Europe EE)
Berlin: 1,183.87 km (Western Europe WE)
Chisinau: 1,415.85 km (Eastern Europe EE)
Kyiv: 1,677.09 km (Eastern Europe EE)
Rabat: 1,908.15 km (Northern Africa NA)
New Delhi: 5,922.85 km (Southern Asia SA)
Beijing: 8,134.29 km (Eastern Asia EA)
Manila: 10,401.99 km (South-Eastern Asia SEA)

Fig. 2 — The Regional Flow of International Migrants into Italy at mid-year by the top ten countries of origin (1990 - 2015).
SECOND CASE ANALYSIS: LEBANON AS COUNTRY OF DESTINATION

Lebanon is a small Western Asian less developed country on the Mediterranean coast (surface area: 10,452 km²) located in the Middle East area, with a total population estimated at 5,851 million people, considering the zero-migration variant which assumes that international migration for Lebanon is set to zero starting 2010-2015. We can see below in Table 2 the international migrant stock present in Lebanon at mid-year by top migrant-originating countries between 1990 and 2015. The size of migrant population by country of origin, particularly in 2015, varies approximately between 3,000 (Bangladesh) and 1,200,000 (Syrian Arab Republic). Looking at the figures of the year 2010, five years earlier, we can see the tremendous increase in Syrian nationals, inevitably related to the beginning of the Syrian conflict in 2011. As for Palestinian nationals, they have been residing in Lebanon since 1948 as permanent refugees since they have no right to claim for the Lebanese citizenship. Their elevated number that has reached 500,000 reflects the protracted situation they have been living in, ever since they fled from Palestine. All Palestinian new-borns from the post-Nakba generations remain Palestinian by identity. Iraqi nationals have also substantially increased in size after the onset of religious turmoil in the last decade. They flew from persecution to reach a relatively safer Lebanon. Other top ranking nationalities are respectively from the largest to the smallest in size Egypt, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. All three nationalities represent low skilled migrant workforce. We can see in Figure 3 the migration trend to Lebanon as country of destination from Arab Syrian Republic, State of Palestine, Iraq, Egypt, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. The line representing Arab Syrian Republic in Figure 3 rose sharply after the year 2010 indicating that Syrians form the biggest migrant population in Lebanon in comparison with the other five represented nationalities.

At this point, we would like to group the remaining four countries with the abovementioned six countries according to the geographical region of provenance. Figure 4 below is a schematic representation from the source regions to target country Lebanon. We notice five different regions of the world. We can say that Northern Africa is relatively proximal to Western Asia. Southern Asia is less distant than Eastern Asia and South-Eastern Asia. It is noteworthy to mention that Syrian Arab Republic, State of Palestine, Iraq and Saudi Arabia are entirely within the same geographical region as Lebanon. Here too,

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9 See note 6.
10 Syrian nationals are considered persons of concern or displaced, “Nazeh” in the Arabic terminology means “displaced”. It is important to highlight that Lebanon is not between the Signatory States neither to the 1951 Refugees Convention nor to its 1967 Protocol. The only people who are formally recognized as having the status of refugee in Lebanon are the born Palestinians. They are registered at the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). Furthermore, the Lebanese government collaborates with the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) through signed memoranda of understanding in order to facilitate the temporary stay of those who have fled from war situations in their source countries and are displaced into the Lebanese territory whether Syrian or Iraqi nationals.
we calculated the distance through internet\textsuperscript{11}. We obtained the average distance 3,374.881, expressed in kilometres, by performing the sum of all distances of Figure 4 between the respective capitals of the top ten countries of origin and Beirut then dividing the result by 10.

Finally, when calculating the percentage of international migrant stock from total population estimates at zero-migration variant of the year 2015 (5,851,000) and total international migrant stock at mid-year 2015 (1,997,776), we found the result 34.14\% which is significantly elevated and constitutes around one third of the total population of Lebanon.

TABLE 2
INTERNATIONAL MIGRANT STOCK AT MID-YEAR BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN FOR MIGRATION INTO LEBANON (1990 - 2015)

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Arab Republic</td>
<td>23,553</td>
<td>24,856</td>
<td>26,159</td>
<td>23,419</td>
<td>20,679</td>
<td>1,255,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of Palestine</td>
<td>389,171</td>
<td>428,088</td>
<td>467,005</td>
<td>498,778</td>
<td>530,550</td>
<td>515,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>11,774</td>
<td>18,572</td>
<td>25,369</td>
<td>84,380</td>
<td>143,391</td>
<td>120,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>78,308</td>
<td>104,377</td>
<td>130,459</td>
<td>114,723</td>
<td>99,001</td>
<td>83,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>5,054</td>
<td>5,965</td>
<td>6,876</td>
<td>5,382</td>
<td>3,887</td>
<td>3,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>2,124</td>
<td>3,814</td>
<td>3,717</td>
<td>3,619</td>
<td>3,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>2,911</td>
<td>5,738</td>
<td>4,491</td>
<td>3,243</td>
<td>2,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>2,596</td>
<td>5,103</td>
<td>3,994</td>
<td>2,885</td>
<td>2,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>1,169</td>
<td>1,940</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>1,840</td>
<td>1,548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>1,597</td>
<td>2,185</td>
<td>2,773</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>1,567</td>
<td>1,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (20 Countries + North and South)</td>
<td>9,656</td>
<td>11,976</td>
<td>14,288</td>
<td>11,186</td>
<td>8,076</td>
<td>6,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>523,693</td>
<td>608,303</td>
<td>692,913</td>
<td>756,784</td>
<td>820,655</td>
<td>1,997,776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{11} See note 7.
FIG. 3 — The International Migrant Stock at mid-year by top 6 countries of origin for migration into Lebanon (1990 - 2015).

Air Distance to Beirut

- Damascus: 83.29 km (Western Asia WA)
- Ramallah: 223.28 km (Western Asia WA)
- Baghdad: 823.73 km (Western Asia WA)
- Cairo: 588.02 km (Northern Africa NA)
- Riyadh: 1,488.31 km (Western Asia WA)
- New Delhi: 3,985.14 km (Southern Asia SA)
- Dhaka: 5,406.94 km (Southern Asia SA)
- Beijing: 6,981.62 km (Eastern Asia EA)
- Sri Jayawardenepura Kotte: 5,457.86 km (Southern Asia SA)
- Jakarta: 8,710.62 km (South-Eastern Asia SEA)

FIG. 4 — The Regional Flow of International Migrants into Lebanon at mid-year by the top 10 countries of origin (1990 - 2015).
CONCLUSION

Lately global migration patterns have reached a certain level of complexity beyond imagination, encompassing millions of refugees and economic migrants who share a common goal that is to realize a better future for themselves and their families away from all the constraints to their freedom, as well as away from the dreadful living conditions.

Turning to the results of our findings for Italy and Lebanon, we could interpret the geographical distance from country of origin to country of destination as a key determinant to the choice of refugee population more than to that of economically motivated population. The average distances calculated for both Italy and Lebanon from the corresponding migrant-originating top ranking countries seem to be similar (circa 3,300 kilometres). In the Italian case, the distance from Bucharest to Rome (1,138.43 km) does not convey much about the choice of Romanian nationals, although their number had doubled between 2005 and 2015. Instead, in the Lebanese case, the distance from Damascus to Beirut (83.29 km) is minimal and we can associate the large size of Syrian nationals with the geographical vicinity, as explained earlier in the case analysis. Furthermore, the figures supplied by UNDESA at mid-year in 2015 for Syrian and Palestinian migrants, verify somehow my hypothesis regarding the choice of destination to neighbouring countries as closest safe country (Appendixes 2 and 3). However, in the case of Iraq as a migrant-originating country, Iraqi migrants show a diverse choice and we cannot rely solely on the figures of 2015 that indicate two countries within the same geographical region out of the first five chosen destinations (Appendix 1).

In addition, Italy, as an EU Member State, possesses major pull factors, aside the geographical position as a gate to Europe from the Mediterranean Sea. It is politically and economically stable, and can secure the fulfilment of Human Rights for all types of migrants arriving to its territory. Alternatively, Lebanon, as country located in the conflict zone of the Middle East, has no political or economic guarantees to offer for the arriving migrants. Therefore, most of the settled migrants in its territory seem to be forced migrants (displaced, refugees, people of concern).

To conclude this paper, I would like to draw attention to the respective levels of development, the surface areas and the percentages of international migrant stock in both Italy and Lebanon. Italy belongs to the developed world, while as Lebanon is less developed. Italy (302,073 km²) is about thirty times bigger than Lebanon (10,452 km²). Italy’s percentage of international migrant stock from total population is circa 10%. As for Lebanon, it is circa 34%, an enormous figure for such a small country. Almost 33% of the Lebanese percentage of international migrant stock from total population represents the refugee population (Syrian Arab Republic, State of Palestine and Iraq).

Finally, as we saw in the case analyses, distance might matter most when people are escaping from war situations and might matter less when people are in search of better economic opportunities.
REFERENCES


