



Mapping the development impacts of migration

Development on the Move: Working Paper 1

By Laura Chappell and Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah

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Challenging ideas – Changing policy

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ippr

30-32 Southampton Street, Covent Garden, London WC2E 7RA

Tel: +44 (0)20 7470 6100

info@ippr.org

www.ippr.org

Registered Charity No. 800065

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About this paper

This is the first working paper from a joint global research project being conducted by the Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr) and the Global Development Network (GDN). The project, *Development on the Move: Measuring and optimising the economic and social impacts of migration*, aims to:

- Develop a better methodology for assessing the multiple economic and social impacts of migration
- Build a better evidence base in this area by conducting fresh comparative research in case studies around the world
- Develop fresh, workable policy ideas which harness the development benefits that migration offers while minimising

the adverse impacts.

Development on the Move is being conducted from 2007 to 2010 and is generously funded by an international group of donors, which has so far included the Australian Agency for International Development, the Austrian Ministry of Finance, the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the UK Department for International Development.

As an interim output from this project, the authors and the project team are very interested in feedback and comments based on this working paper. Please send these to l.chappell@ippr.org.

For more information about GDN visit www.gdnet.org

About the authors

Laura Chappell is a Research Fellow in ippr's Migration, Equalities and Citizenship team, where her work focuses on the economic and social impacts of both immigration and emigration. She holds a BA from the University of Oxford, and an MSc with distinction from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah is Director of Research Strategy at ippr and head of the institute's Migration, Equalities and Citizenship team. He has written extensively on topics such as migration, identity and multiculturalism, and the political economy of ethnic conflict. He is an established commentator on migration issues,

writing regularly for the *Financial Times* and the *Guardian*, and appearing regularly on news bulletins and current affairs programmes. He holds an undergraduate degree from the University of Sydney, and an MPhil and DPhil from the University of Oxford, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

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Summary

Despite considerable interest in the relationship between migration and development, there have been relatively few attempts to map the various development impacts that migration can have on a country. This paper presents a new framework for mapping these impacts, focusing particularly on developing countries that send migrants. Drawing on two closely related definitions of development (the capabilities approach and the sustainable livelihoods approach), the paper suggests that migration can shape social and economic development in eight dimensions: economic impacts, educational impacts, health impacts, gender impacts, wider social impacts, governance impacts, environmental sustainability and disaster relief. The paper also lists more than 30 mechanisms through which impacts can occur and surveys the possible implications of each.

Introduction

Migration is steadily rising up the development agenda. There is growing research interest from a number of academic perspectives (including trade theory, labour market economics and poverty analysis) in understanding the relationship between migration and development, and in particular, the development impacts of migration. This is coupled with increasing interest in the issue among policymakers, with developing country governments in particular interested in understanding how migration affects development. Policymakers are keen to understand what sort of policies they should be applying (and encouraging others to apply) in order to minimise migration's negative impacts and maximise its positive impacts. The prominence of the issue within policy circles is indicated by the raft of initiatives on migration and development at the multilateral level. Initiatives such as the Global Forum on Migration and Development hosted by the Kingdom of Belgium in July 2007 suggest a clear appetite for exchanging best practices in migration and development, promoting partnerships to help policymakers to harness the advantages that migration can bring, and minimising its problematic aspects.

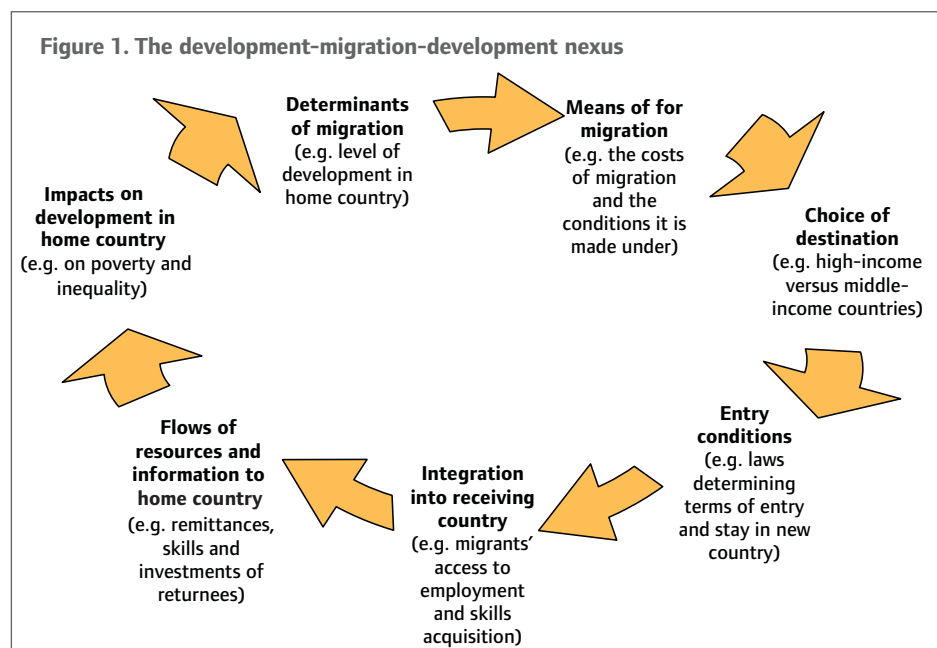
Yet, for there to be a significant step forwards in research or policy in this area, there first needs to be a significant step backwards. This working paper aims to do just that: step back from the detailed analysis and instead map the various development impacts of migration. Such a mapping, we argue, is necessary for understanding and framing the relationship between migration and development. We believe that this exercise will help facilitate the construction of the sort of evidence base that policymakers require in order to devise policies that optimise the overall development impacts of migration.

Most analyses of migration and development have focused on a particular aspect of the migration-development nexus by examining the link between one aspect of migration and a variable that is

believed to be linked to development – such as the relationship between remittances received by migrant households and economic inequality. Investigating the individual links between aspects of migration and aspects of development is a gradual, methodological and rigorous way of piecing together evidence on the relationships between the two, which should eventually allow us to gain an understanding of how migration and development are related. It is also a pragmatic approach. Given the lack of data which tends to plague the field, this kind of piecemeal approach effectively utilises new evidence on various aspects of migration and development as it emerges, even if it is not complete or comparable.

However, this paper suggests that in order to progress understanding of the field, and critically, in order to improve the ability of policymakers to set policy that optimises migration's developmental impacts, there is a need to move away from investigating particular relationships towards trying to understand the ways in which migration, as a whole, affects development, as a whole. After all, policymakers would prefer to make decisions on the basis of the overall effects on development, rather than the expected impacts on one or two variables.

This paper contends that, to move towards a more holistic analysis of migration and development impacts, we first need to have an idea of how migration and development are linked conceptually. For a start, it is important to recognise that the migration process can be affected by and, in turn, create effects on, the development process at several points. Figure 1 is a simple attempt to demonstrate the various points at which migration and development create impact as a migrant moves from one country to another (and possibly back to the original country) – what we might call the 'development-migration-development' nexus. It is clear that while migration may often be motivated by relative disparities between the economic development of sending and receiving countries (with the exception, generally, of those moving to seek political asylum), migration itself can have important impacts on economic development, especially on relatively poor countries experiencing significant outflows of migrants. As the scale and complexity of



migratory flows have grown, so too have the complex ways in which flows of people, skills, knowledge, and remittances have shaped development outcomes.

Even when we turn the question to how migration might impact on development (rather than how development might impact on migration), it is not clear whether or in what ways migration is a positive or negative force for development. There are several layers of complexity. First, there is the complex nature of migration itself. Migration is neither easy to define – when does movement for business or tourism turn into migration, for example – nor is it a homogeneous process. There is a great variety of different motivations for people moving – from seeking refuge to finding work, for example – and the different reasons may affect the developmental impacts that movement has. Who moves – are they young or old; skilled or unskilled; male or female – also matters, as well as where they go and the policies applied to immigrant communities in the receiving country. All these factors are likely to affect the developmental impact of an episode of migration, and they make interpreting its effects all the more complex.

A second layer of complexity is added by the number, variety and scale of developmental variables that migration has relationships with. For example, migration can have important impacts at various scales:

- **Individual** (for example, migrating can bring important welfare benefits to migrants themselves)
- **Household** (for example, remittances can help members of households left behind by migrants)
- **Community** (for example, migration can lead to changing patterns of land use within a community)
- **Sending country** (for example, remittances can be an important source of foreign exchange)
- **Receiving country** (for example, migrant workers can ease labour shortages)
- **Global economy** (for example, more efficient allocation of labour can increase global economic output).

The multitude of different links between migration and different aspects of development complicates any attempt to make an assessment of whether, overall, migration is likely to be a positive or negative force for development. This is particularly the case when the impacts of migration are so varied. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) *World Economic and Social Survey 2004* listed positive effects of migration as including a reduction in the supply of excess labour which often plagues developing countries, and a boost to technology and investment as a result of the transfer of techniques and resources from the diaspora. On the negative side, UNDESA counts the loss of highly skilled workers (which has negative impacts on public service provision among other things) and increasing inequality caused by selectivity in migration (UNDESA 2004).

A third problem adding to the complexity is the fact that the same link between migration and a particular aspect of development can be viewed differently depending on the perspective from which it is examined. For example, remittances can be viewed either as a vital

support to household income, or as a prop to unsustainable consumption and dependency. Similarly, the emigration of women from developing countries to take up paid domestic positions abroad could, on the one hand, be said to contribute to development by producing vital flows of income that support the woman's family, which is likely to increase their levels of consumption, promote better access to health and education services, and perhaps even boost investment. On the other hand, these women are not improving their position within the labour market, still performing what is regarded traditionally as 'women's work', and they may even be doing so under more exploitative conditions than they would experience at home.

So in order to examine the overall relationship between migration and development, one needs more than a careful examination of the different relationships within; we also need a framework in order to understand what those relationships mean. While this might complicate an attempt to move towards a more comprehensive assessment of the relationship between migration and development, the move to providing an interpretive framework also, potentially, provides a way to progress.

A way forward

While the above factors somewhat complicate an attempt to gain a picture of the overall relationship between migration and development, this paper suggests that it is nevertheless possible to think systemically about migration and development. In particular, we argue the case for starting with the various ways in which social and economic development may be affected by migration.

First, we need to explain what we mean by 'development'. Recognising that there is no single meaning of development and that any definition will be contentious, we have settled on a broad approach that we feel is relevant to our concerns and has the potential to address the challenges we are interested in. We suggest that the insights of two closely-related developmental theories – the capabilities approach and the sustainable livelihoods approach – provide a broad enough conception of what development is for us to be able to understand the various ways in which migration can affect development.

Capabilities approach

The capabilities approach is most closely associated with Amartya Sen, and is perhaps best summed up by the title of his book *Development as Freedom*. Sen sees the process of development as a process of expanding the substantive freedoms – the capabilities – that each person can enjoy. He suggests that freedom is central to the purpose of development for two reasons: 'Freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also amongst its principal means' (Sen 2000: 10). In other words, we should value freedom for itself because it enables people more to lead the lives they have reason to value, but also because 'free agency contributes to the strengthening of free agencies of other kinds' (ibid: 5). More simply, freedoms in one area of life can contribute to the achievement of freedoms in other areas too.

Sen provides empirical evidence to support the latter claim, and elegant justifications for the former, by comparing development as freedom to other moral theories, and arguing that the weaknesses of other theories can be avoided by focusing directly on substantive

freedoms as a moral objective¹. He argues, moreover, that a freedom-based perspective can incorporate the underlying motivations that make other moral theories compelling². It is not the intention of this paper, however, to attempt to duplicate Sen's argument. The essential point to be made is to emphasise the key, intuitively simple justification for seeing development as freedom – that expanding substantive freedoms can create a self-reinforcing process of increasingly allowing people to lead the kind of lives they have reason to value.

The capabilities approach does not outline a prescriptive process for identifying and maximising substantive freedoms such that we could simply transplant into understanding migration's developmental impacts³. Sen notes, however, that while his approach does not provide strict directions for action, and in many practical problems the approach may be relatively limited, it is useful in most circumstances and can be used in many different ways: '...it is the combination of foundational analysis and pragmatic use that gives the capability approach its extensive reach' (Sen 2000: 86).

Thus, while we do not suggest 'operationalising' the capabilities approach in a strict sense, the insight that expanding substantive freedoms matters can be used to structure an understanding of how migration and development are related. As such, we class development as any process that expands the real choices available to people. This does not allow us to say *a priori* whether a female migrant employed in traditional women's work in a country that is not her homeland is good or bad for development, or whether change to traditional structures of living and traditional values represents progress or regress – that will depend on whether people have been actively able to choose these outcomes, and how we expect that their choices in turn will affect the choices available to others. But it does provide criteria for judging that impact.

Sustainable livelihoods approach

The sustainable livelihoods approach has similar concerns to Sen's regarding expanding the agency of individuals. Its objective is to help poor people achieve lasting improvements against their own livelihood objectives – or things that they have reason to value. This is done by working towards sustainable livelihoods.

'A livelihood comprises the capabilities⁴, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future' (Department for International Development 1999: 1).

It could be said that the capabilities approach tackles the big questions about why expanding individual agency matters, and the sustainable livelihoods approach picks up from that starting point

and suggests one way that this insight can be taken forward and operationalised. Again, our objective is not to attempt to duplicate the theory here, but only to sketch the details that demonstrate why it is useful for understanding migration's developmental impacts.

In order to construct sustainable livelihoods that allow people to achieve their own livelihood objectives, the latter approach highlights two activities that are particularly important. The first is to improve access to livelihood assets (things on which people can draw to generate the livelihood strategies and outcomes they desire). These can be disaggregated into:

- Human capital
- Social capital (this includes resources resulting from the social connections between people, and from political relations between individuals and the wider institutions of society)
- Physical capital (infrastructure and producer goods)
- Financial capital
- Natural capital.

The second activity is to mould the structures (such as the institutions of government) and processes (such as policies, and culture) that determine access to assets and the conversion of those assets into livelihood strategies and outcomes to ensure that they work to deliver the livelihood outcomes desired by the poor. As such, a framework based on the sustainable livelihoods approach would be concerned both with how migration impacts on livelihood assets, and the structures and processes that affect those assets. Drawing on this insight for our framework implies that the focus should be both on migration's impacts at the micro level and on structures and processes, as far as those macro circumstances impact on individuals' capabilities.

It is also integral to the theory that livelihoods be sustainable, in the following senses:

- **Environmentally:** the productivity of life-supporting natural resources is maintained
- **Economically:** a given level of economic expenditure/welfare is maintained
- **Socially:** social exclusion is minimised
- **Institutionally:** prevailing structures and processes have the capacity to continue to perform their functions over the long term.

The approach recognises this need for sustainability 'in order that progress in poverty reduction is lasting, rather than fleeting' (Department for International Development 1999: 7). However, the approach's goals of sustainability and of 'primacy of individual livelihood objectives' may come into conflict, as it is not clear if, and in fact unlikely that, people will always choose outcomes that meet

1. For example, an approach that aims to maximise people's substantive freedoms would avoid the important criticism of utilitarianism that it is unfair to the persistently deprived – because people who have learnt to make the best of difficult situations become undeserving in a utilitarian calculus. In contrast, that difficult situation matters deeply in a freedom-based theory.

2. For example it reflects utilitarianism's concern with human well-being.

3. Indeed in Sen's 2000 formulation he does not go much further than to outline and describe five kinds of substantive freedoms that he believes it will be important to foster: (i) political freedoms, (ii) economic facilities, (iii) social opportunities, (iv) transparency guarantees (which refer to the freedom to deal with people on the basis of openness and disclosure, which permits trust), and (v) protective security (which refers to the freedoms created when a state provides a social security net to alleviate the basic insecurity that results from things such as poverty, natural disaster and war).

4. The reference to capabilities here reinforces the complementarity of the two approaches, although this conception of capabilities seems narrower than Sen's conception – as expanding assets is a key process by which capabilities could be improved in Sen's theory.

these standards of sustainability. For example, there is a tension between maximising income or welfare in the short term, and guarding against vulnerability to shocks in the longer term. In the context of migration and development, this is particularly critical in relation to the question of whether unproductive boosts to income should be viewed as having positive or negative developmental impacts, as discussed previously.

The theory does not provide an answer to this question. However, it does start to shed light on the issue by emphasising that an enduring impact is more valuable than a momentary one (in contrast to ignoring the long-run implications and focusing solely on the static poverty impact). And it makes it clear that the most important policy-related dilemma is how to change structures and processes in order to capitalise on a fleeting gain and to also make it sustainable. It makes obvious the role of external structures and processes in determining how people react to that injection of funds, rather than focusing simply on individual behaviour, as some theorists have done. These insights can be drawn upon in order to structure thinking about how to understand the developmental impacts of migration.

Theory into practice

While the two approaches are complementary, there is an important difference between them that has implications for our framework. The capability approach focuses its attention on expanding people's substantive freedoms in general, whereas the sustainable livelihoods perspective places a much greater degree of importance on expanding the capabilities of people to reach particular livelihood objectives that they themselves have selected. In other words, while the former wants to expand all capabilities, the latter focuses on expanding people's ability to do particular things.

We seek to overcome this difference by providing a whole field of different impacts which could potentially affect capabilities, that can be used by others to prioritise key impacts. This could be done by asking people in developing countries which impacts matter to them – or rather, how they evaluate the various freedoms that migration may enhance or restrict.

In order to turn these theoretical insights into a practical framework for understanding the developmental impacts of migration, this paper proposes the following set of guidelines, based on these two development theories:

1. The process of development can be viewed as the process of expanding the substantive freedoms that allow people to live their lives in the way that has value for them.
2. The sort of migratory impacts that should be examined, therefore, are those that could affect the substantive freedoms that people enjoy.
3. The same kinds of impacts should be investigated in all countries, but it is also important to know which are particularly relevant in each case.
4. The insights of the sustainable livelihoods approach can be built on through the examination of the impacts of migration at the individual level on people's assets (defined broadly), as

well as the impacts on macro structures and processes that can shape people's access to assets and their potential for generating livelihood outcomes.

5. This framework will also help with understanding some of the more contentious impacts of migration by providing criteria by which to assess them – that is, whether the impact expands or restricts substantive freedoms. Where contentious impacts may have positive short-run effects that do not contribute to sustainable outcomes in the long run, our framework recognises the tension, while emphasising the importance of sustainability.

In establishing this framework it has not been possible to avoid making normative judgements. As Sen emphasises, 'much of the debate on the alternative approaches to evaluation relates to the priorities in deciding on what should be at the core of our normative concern' (Sen 2000: 85). It is not possible to avoid this, but it is hoped that the reasons for the selection of the framework described above are clear: it is intuitively appealing, is based on an elegantly argued moral theory underpinned by empirical evidence, and it allows us to grapple openly with some of the key questions in the study of migration and development.

However, it is not the intention of this paper to propose that this is the only, or necessarily the best, framework for understanding migration's developmental impacts. Rather it is simply one way of examining how the study of migration and development might look different if we were to map the development impacts of migration in a holistic manner.

From the framework to the mapping

Moving from these theoretical guiding principles to a tool that can be used to guide a research agenda is critical. We have done this by filtering the vast list of potential impacts that migration can have – derived from our own knowledge gained from previous research, and a considerable literature review – to produce a list of impacts that can be seen as affecting development when defined as 'expanding capabilities'. This list has been turned into a 'mapping' of potential impacts.

The mapping, set out as Table 1 at the end of this paper, shows eight 'areas of development' where migration may impact on people's capabilities – economic, education, health, gender, wider social (other than education, health and gender), governance, environmental sustainability and disaster relief⁵. Within these eight fields we have attempted to list how development impacts may occur and what is the likely relationship between migration and people's capabilities. Some of these impacts occur at the individual level and some at the macro level, some are very direct and some much less so, but each does affect capabilities.

Many of the impacts we list are quite complex. For example, it makes sense to say that migration might have an impact on 'dependency' in the country in question. It is important to examine this, as the relationship between migration and dependency has been much discussed in the literature. However, dependency is itself a complicated concept – for example it could manifest itself at the micro level in the behaviour of individuals, or at the macro level in

5. We chose not to draw these directly from Sen's five categories of capabilities, or the five kinds of assets, or the structures and processes outlined in the sustainable livelihoods approach for two reasons. First, it is not clear (at least at present) that migration does affect some of the assets/capabilities/structures/processes identified within the approaches. Some do not seem relevant in a migration and development context. Second, while we are using insights from these approaches to guide our work, we are not conducting this project strictly within their boundaries. We have used their insights to create our principles, and it is the principles that will structure the work from this point.

the attitudes of governments. Even at the individual level, the kinds of behaviours that may change in a country characterised by dependency could be multiple, including labour market participation and/or investment behaviour. A thorough audit of the development impacts of migration should examine the impact of migration on all these different aspects of dependency. And yet we also want to be able to bring them together, and look at the relationship between migration and dependency.

Conclusion

We hope the mapping presented in this working paper will be a useful tool for those who wish to audit the various development impacts of migration and, eventually, for those interested in understanding the overall relationship between migration and development. It is, however, by no means complete: it is a first attempt to conceptualise how migration might impact on development and to map these various impacts.

This kind of mapping of impacts raises several questions that go well beyond the scope of this working paper but some of which are worth mentioning:

How can these various impacts be measured? While conceptualising the ways in which migration may be impacting social and economic development is relatively straightforward, understanding the scale and nature of that impact is far more complicated. Delimiting the scope of what is being measured, devising a metric, and determining whether impacts are positive or negative are all potentially immense tasks, which will need to be carried out for each of the impacts listed in our map.

Where can relevant data be found? Devising the methodology for understanding impacts will only be useful if the necessary data can be found. It is clear that existing sources of data on the scale, nature and impact of international migration are vastly inadequate. This raises the question of what new or improved sources of data will be needed.

At what scale should impacts be measured? The impacts of migration can manifest at various scales: the individual migrant, the individual non-migrant, household, community, sending country's society, receiving country's society, or global economy. Any understanding of the relationship between migration and development will need not only to look at what impacts are occurring but also at which scale they are occurring, and work towards a methodology for comparing impacts which occur at different scales.

Over what time period should impacts be measured? Impacts can occur at different temporal scales too. For example, large-scale emigration of highly skilled people could have near-disastrous short-term labour market impacts in the sending country but positive long-run impacts. Those interested in understanding the relationship between migration and development will need to develop an account of how these impacts are distributed over time.

Who gains and loses from impacts? There are also potential distributional issues when measuring the impacts of migration on development. For example, one group of people could gain immensely from migration while another group could experience

negative impacts. While researchers need not assess who benefits overall (though policymakers will often have to do this), they do nevertheless have to be able to understand distributional impacts.

While this working paper has only touched on these questions, the mapping exercise has a pragmatic immediate use for us: to help us design the methodology for the ippr/GDN global research project *Development on the Move*. One of the main aims of this project, which is running from 2007 to 2010, is to adopt a holistic approach to the study of migration and development. We hope this mapping will help frame this new project by looking at the various possible impacts that migration is having on social and economic development in the case study countries.

While the project itself will concentrate on gathering fresh empirical evidence on a few key types of impacts, this sort of mapping will be important in meeting the objectives of the project in several ways. First, it will help situate the issues and impacts being examined in the project within the wider empirical context. Second, an important component of the project will be to understand the development impacts of migration that local policymakers and other stakeholders list and prioritise in each of the project's country studies. It will be useful to have a general template of impacts against which to compare these local impact mappings. Third, we hope this exercise will help frame the methodological and policy components of the project, at the very least by helping us focus on which impacts need to be better understood and which are more amenable to policy interventions.

In the long term, we hope this working paper is part of the important step back that we believe is a necessary precursor to the many steps forward needed in the study of migration and development.

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Table 1. The development impacts of migration

Type of impact	How impact may occur	Likely relationship
Material poverty of migrant	Migrant's income	Migration may improve wages.
Material poverty of household*	Short-term household income	Household loses the labour/income of their migrant in the home country, but may receive remittances from abroad.
	Long-term household income	Improved investment potential of household.
Household risk	Household savings	Propensity and/or ability to save may improve. Remittances may smooth domestic economic shocks.
	Diversification	Ability to reduce their risk through diversification (e.g. moving to another labour market).
Economic growth	Multiplier effects	Remittances and extra income from migration may increase volume of money spent in home economy.
	Savings	If migrants and households save more, overall savings rate may increase.
	Investment	If migrants and households invest more, overall investment may increase. Foreign investment inflows may rise.
	Output	Remittances and extra income from migration may increase propensity and/or ability to consume and produce, thus potentially increasing overall output.
	Innovation	Increased technology transfer from migrants abroad and exposure to new working practices.
	Structural change	Migration may promote 'capitalist' economic activity (e.g. move from subsistence to cash economy) or urbanisation.
Inequality	Household income	Some households may gain in short and long term from migration, changing relative income distribution across economy.
Financial system	State of financial system	Increased volume of remittances and other financial flows may help strengthen financial institutions.
	Financial inclusion	Remittances and other flows may increase financial service provision to marginal areas and increase household involvement in financial system.
Demography	Fertility rates	Migration may affect fertility rates, either by separating couples across international boundaries, or by altering the incentives of those who might have children.
	Population changes	Large-scale emigration may deplete some regions of population, undermining economic viability.
Labour markets	Household labour supply	Migration may reduce labour supply available for income earning or non-income earning tasks.
	Unemployment	Migration of excess labour may reduce unemployment or may heighten labour shortages. Return migrants may increase labour supply.
	Skilled labour supply	'Brain drain' could lead to acute shortages in some sectors but opportunity to migrate may increase investment in education, increasing long-term skill supply.
	Labour market structure	Migration may change the industrial structure or alter the split between public and private sector employment.
	Domestic wages	Wages of workers left behind may go up or down, depending on relative changes in labour demand/supply.

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	Type of impact	How impact may occur	Likely relationship
E C O N O M I C		Labour force participation	Incentives for remaining household members to participate in the labour force may change.
	Inflation	Domestic inflation rates	Remittance-fuelled expenditure may fuel inflation, especially in some sectors.
	Trade	Trade volume and direction	Migration may promote greater preferences for imported goods. Migrants abroad may increase trade links. Returned migrants may increase export production.
	Foreign exchange	Foreign exchange position	Remittances may affect the supply of foreign exchange.
	Fiscal balance	Tax take	Taxable base of labour in the economy may rise or fall.
		Social rate of return	Migration may affect the returns which the state drives from public investment (e.g. in education).
	'Dependency'	Household behaviour	Support from migrants abroad may reduce incentive to engage in economic activity or invest productively.
		State development policy	Migration may affect a government's incentives to develop the domestic economy.
	Migrant's education	Level of education of migrant	Opportunity to migrate may increase investment in education. Resources from migration may increase access to education.
	E D U C A T I O N	Household education	Educational achievement of household members
Provision and quality of education		State education policy	The possibility for its citizens to migrate may change the incentives of the government to invest in education.
		Private education provision	Opportunity to migrate, remittances and diaspora investment may fuel private sector education provision.
		Availability of teachers	'Brain drain' of teachers may hamper education system but returning migrants may have new skills and qualifications.
		Quality of education	Need to train to overseas standards may improve quality of education. Migrants and returnees may introduce new practices.
H E A L T H	Migrant's health	Migrant health profile	Moving location may expose the migrant to different health risk factors and healthcare availability.
	Household health	Household health profile	Migration may affect the ability and/or incentive of households to invest in health.
	Public health	Disease prevalence	Population movement may be accompanied by increased disease transmission.
		Health behaviour	Migration may spread health related knowledge and good practices.
	Provision and quality of health services	State health policy	Migration (e.g. 'brain drain' from state sector overseas and into private sector) may undermine public healthcare provision.

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	Type of impact	How impact may occur	Likely relationship
H E A L T H	Provision and quality of health services	Private healthcare provision	Opportunity to migrate, remittances and diaspora investment may fuel private sector health provision.
		Availability of health workers	'Brain drain' of health workers may hamper health system but returning migrants may have new skills and qualifications.
		Quality of healthcare	Need to train to overseas standards may improve standards. Migrants and returnees may introduce new practices.
G E N D E R	Impacts on female migrants	Income of migrant women	Migration may result in new employment opportunities and increased wages.
		Economic empowerment of migrant women	Migration may impact on the economic empowerment of women by altering their resources (financial and/or personal) as well as their expectations.
		Education of migrant women	Migration may impact on educational attainment by affecting either the physical and/or financial constraints to education.
		Migrant women's view of their own role	Migration may alter the migrant woman's view of her role by exposure to other ideas of gender roles, or through her own experiences gained through migration.
	Gender roles in household	Sexual division of labour	Opportunities to migrate and resources from migration may affect the sexual division of labour in a household, both by absence of particular members and by changing views of gender-based roles.
Women's status in society	Gender roles	Migration may alter the views of wider society of the role of women, either through the effects that migration might have on household relationships, or through the role that diaspora and returnees play in campaigns that affect women's opportunities.	
S O C I A L	Traditional culture and norms	Changing values	Migrant's values may change, and their return or diaspora activities may alter traditional culture and norms.
	Family structures and social networks	Changing family structures and social networks	Migration may impact on traditional social networks, by altering both the actual composition of groups and networks and by altering the power which each member holds. Prevalence of 'broken' households may lead to new social problems.
G O V E R N A N C E	Confidence in home society	Citizens' confidence in their own society	Opportunities to migrate may affect the degree to which people are happy with and confident in their own society.
	State capacity	Availability of key personnel	'Brain drain' may deplete staff to perform key functions of the state – not just healthcare and teaching, but to perform audits, or lead public prosecutions, for example.
	Governance standards	Demands for better governance	Migrants abroad and returned migrants may demand better standards, and diffuse good practice.
	Balance of power	Relative power of groups within society	Some domestic groups (e.g. regional or ethnic) may enjoy greater economic and even political power as a result of a greater propensity to migrate, and diaspora sections may exert power from abroad.
	Personal security	Criminality	Lack of opportunity to migrate among some groups may create resentment. Migration may fuel smuggling networks. Forcibly returned criminals may increase crime.

	Type of impact	How impact may occur	Likely relationship
E N V I R O N M E N T	Individual environmental behaviour	Environmental protection	Migrants abroad and returned migrants may increase awareness of environmental challenges and good behaviour.
	State environmental policy	Importance of environment	Migrants may place greater pressure on states to act on environmental sustainability. Emigration of people from environmentally unsustainable regions may ease pressure on states to mitigate degradation.
	Environmental technologies	Impact on environment-affecting technologies	Migrants may spread technologies which affect the environment in either positive or negative ways (e.g. new, imported production techniques could cause more or less pollution).
R E L I E F	Disaster relief	Diaspora support	Migrants abroad may assist at times of crises through increased remittances or aid. Availability of diaspora relief may reduce incentives of state or other non-state actors to intervene.

* Households referred to in this table are generally those that are directly affected by migration (that is, that send migrants, contain returned migrants or receive remittances).