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A Policy Perspective**

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Maximising the Development Outcomes of Migration: A Policy Perspective

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Abstract

It is becoming increasingly clear that migration can have important impacts upon development. As a result, policymakers are searching for ways to increase migration's developmental benefits, and decrease its costs. This paper examines the levers at their disposal. We recognise the importance of the policy instruments which receive the most attention – migration policy (especially rules about entry and exit) and development policy (in particular migration's place in national development strategies and donor cooperation policies). However, we suggest that to maximise benefits and minimise costs, policy thinking must be broadened and made more coherent. We set out in a systematic manner the ways in which migration impacts upon development. We then analyse how the process of migration and development creates those impacts, and suggest where policy can intervene in the process to improve outcomes. We illustrate our analysis with a number of policy case studies.

Keywords: migration, development, policy.

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Introduction

It is becoming increasingly clear that migration can have important impacts upon development. As a result, policymakers are searching for ways to increase migration's developmental benefits, and decrease its costs. But what are the levers for doing so?

Some of the earliest efforts to maximise the development impacts of migration focused on *migration policy*, and specifically on opening up more channels for developing country citizens (especially the lower skilled) to move into higher wage labour markets. The hope was that this would maximise remittances, thereby promoting development (IOM, 2008). However, this strategy has come up against a number of problems, both political (many countries are not eager to allow access for lower skilled labour) (Chand, 2007), as well as more fundamental (it isn't clear that promoting migration always promotes development) (NEF, 2006).

As a result, policymakers have turned to *development policy* as their focus for maximising migration's benefits. Specifically they have focused on incorporating migration into development policies and strategies. This includes the development assistance policies of donor nations (e.g. see DFID 2007) well as the national development plans (such as PRSPs) put together by developing nations (IOM, 2006). This focus on development policy appears to have had some successes. It has helped increase awareness of the importance of migration as a development issue, and started to promote policy coherence (OECD, forthcoming). However, its potential for actually improving migration's contributions to development is limited. It is more of a first facilitating step towards considering how policies could be made more development friendly, rather than action to make this happen.

This paper therefore maps and explores the policy territory for improving migration's development impacts, including but also going beyond migration policy and development policy. We set out what areas of policy this might contain, as well as some practical examples of where such policies have been put in place and their effects. As a result, we

hope to increase awareness of the number of levers available to policymakers to maximise migration's benefits and minimise its costs; as well as providing a more systematic approach to considering policy in this area to help others identify more levers in the future.

Specifically, section 2 sets out the need for a more precise, systematic approach to understanding how migration impacts upon development, and suggests one typology of impacts which could be used. Section 3 situates the impacts in the process of migration and development, to make clear how the migration and development process shape these impacts. This is followed by section 4 which considers how policy can intervene in the migration and development process, highlighting some areas of policy which could make migration more development friendly, providing examples and case studies. The paper concludes with section 5, which summarises and highlights areas where further thought is required.

Migration's impacts upon development

Migration is now acknowledged as a potentially important contributor to development. This is clear both from the volume of discussions on migration and development at both national and international levels, and from the growing evidence regarding the significance of migration to some developing countries (see, for example, World Bank 2006a on the Pacific Islands). Yet while there is increasing recognition of the potential importance of migration to development, there remains limited understanding of the role that policy can play in maximising migration's benefits and minimising its costs.

This is not to say that policy ideas and initiatives designed to improve migration's development outcomes do not exist, because it is clear that they do. More ideas are evolving all the time and some approaches (such as concluding bilateral agreements between countries for labour access) are proliferating because of their perceived success. However, in our view there is an insufficiently systematic approach to considering how policy can intervene in the relationship between migration and development which limits

the potential for improving outcomes. In particular we believe there has been a focus on a couple of areas – migration policy and development policy - to the detriment of exploring other policy levers. We therefore hope that this paper can help to broaden and systematise thinking about potential policy interventions in the migration and development relationship.

However, broadening and systematising policy thinking must start by broadening and systematising our understanding of the relationship between migration and development. This is important because the literature on migration and development at present tends to focus on a few key issues. The importance of migrants' remittances for development is often mentioned, as are the potentially negative impacts of the 'brain drain'. Also moving up the agenda is the question of diasporas, with the flow of investment and know-how to countries of origin from diasporas often highlighted as being particularly beneficial from a development perspective.

However, while these three issues – remittances, brain drain and diasporas – are of obvious significance, we believe that to optimise migration's development impacts we must move from thinking in terms of broad and sometimes ill-defined 'issues' towards a more systematic consideration of impacts (Chappell and Sriskandarajah 2007). This involves firstly deciding what comprises 'development', so we can be clear on what migration is meant to be having an impact, and secondly isolating the channels or routes by which migration might affect development.

The first question is answered for this paper because the human development report takes the capabilities framework as its conception of development. (ippr's previous work on this issue has taken a similar approach, and as a part of that we produced a 'map' setting out the numerous micro aspects of capabilities which might be affected by migration, as well as migration's impacts on the macro structures which form individual capabilities. This is attached as annex A). Turning then to the second question, we suggest that there are six main routes by which migration might affect development:

- (1) The departure of migrants from a country (**'emigration'**) has some direct effects on development. For example, emigration often directly removes teachers from schools, which may affect the education of children in affected countries. Education is an important component of human development.
- (2) The arrival of migrants into a country (**'immigration'**) also has some direct effects on development. For example, immigration of teachers may add to the stock of teaching staff – to some extent balancing out the effects of 'teacher brain drain'.
- (3) In a number of cases migrants **return** to their countries of origin, bringing assets with them that are both tangible and intangible. For example, migrants may return with a much better knowledge of the markets beyond their borders, which might help them to establish an export business. They may also return with financial capital to invest in that business. To the extent that business growth promotes employment and growth in incomes, particularly of the poorest, this could be said to be associated with human development.

Beyond these three direct ways in which migration can affect development¹, there are also three indirect routes:

- (4) Migration may affect a household's financial resources, as many migrants send **remittances** back to friends and family in their home countries. Remittances have many impacts upon development – for example at the micro level they might allow for investment in a family business, whereas at the macro level they might provide a valuable source of foreign exchange. Again, to the extent that business growth promotes employment and income poverty reduction this is supportive of human development. A sufficient supply of foreign exchange is also important for human development as it contributes to a stable macroeconomic climate, a vital part of the environment required to pursue human development.

¹ Patterns of migration are of course much more complex than this typology of emigration, immigration and return migrants suggests – for example, many migrants engage in circular migration, or step-migration, but for the purposes of this paper a more detailed typology is not necessary.

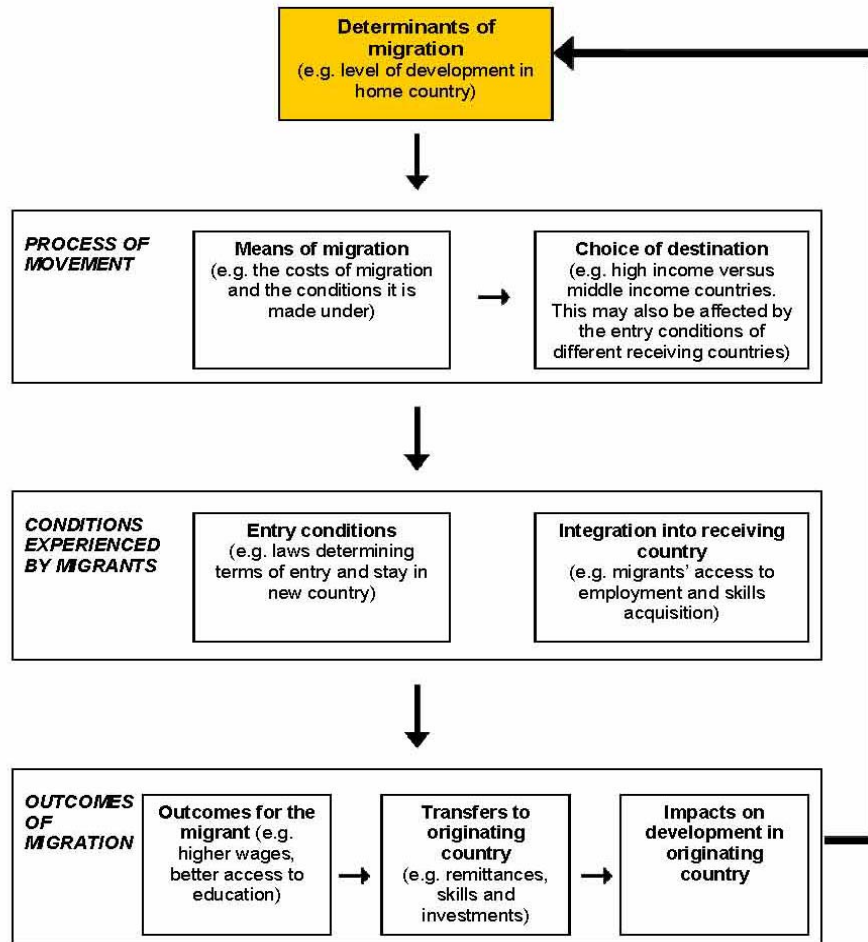
- (5) As noted above, migration creates **diasporas**. These diasporas may affect the lives of people in their originating countries in a variety of ways. For example, a diaspora may demand goods and services that remind them of home, which in turn generates new avenues of trade (see Head and Ries (1998)). This again may feed into employment growth and income poverty reduction.
- (6) Lastly, migration, or more precisely the prospect of migration, may **change people's incentives** to behave in particular ways. For example, if migration is something people aspire to, and highly skilled people have more opportunities to migrate, this may increase people's incentives to obtain education (see Batista et al (2007)), again increasing the stock of an important component of human development, education.

Viewing the impacts as part of a process

We now turn from the ways in which migration can impact upon development to the process of which those impacts are a part. The figure on the following page illustrates a highly simplified version of the process of migration and its inter-relationship with development. It is familiar in that it shows how migration is determined, at least in part, by the development circumstances in the originating country. It also illustrates how the development outcomes of migration can then directly and indirectly affect future migration flows.

However, the purpose of inserting this diagram is not simply to make the point that there is a cyclical relationship between migration and development, though this is important to recognise. The main objective is to sketch out the migration and development process as it takes place over time and bring out, in a simplified way, the micro and macro factors which influence that process. We believe that by thinking about what happens to a migrant over time and the factors that shape the migration and development process, we can see more clearly how to intervene in that process to increase positive developmental impacts and reduce negative ones.

Figure 1: The Migration and Development Process



Adapted from Sriskandarajah (2007)

In the diagram, then, we break the migration-development process down into three parts:

- The actual *process of movement* (prompted by the determinants of migration, including the development circumstances experienced by the person in question),
- The *conditions experienced by the migrant* in the country of destination, and
- The ways in which migration *impacts upon others* (including impacts on the development of the migrant's originating country, which help form the determinants of migration, thereby returning to the first point in the cyclical process).

The diagram can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, we can look at the macro process – the ways in which migration is linked into an originating country’s development process. Starting from the *process of movement* and the question of whether a given person migrates or not, we see that this is affected by the development circumstances of the person in question, which are partially formed by the effects of previous acts of migration, whether by that person themselves, or others in their household, community or country. Depending on their capabilities, such as financial resources, skills, but also the situation in which they find themselves (such as conflict or environmental degradation or disaster) the individual, in consultation with others, makes decisions regarding whether to move, and also regarding the process of that movement - where to move to, how to fund the movement, how to make the journey etc. This may be an initial movement out of their country of origin, a movement between countries of destination or the decision to return back to their country of birth.

So given that a migrant moves, and moves to a particular location, the next stage in the process is the *conditions* he or she experiences there². These include the terms of entry experienced, with distinctions based on country of citizenship and skill sets for example determining whether someone is allowed to enter a country legally, for how long they are permitted to stay, and what they are permitted to do once in the country. An important way in which these shape the conditions experienced by the migrant is by determining the legality of their actions. In particular, if some aspect of their movement is not legal, then the migrant’s possibilities are restricted – they may have to remain more ‘in the shadows’, take less skilled work, have less recourse to the law should a crime be committed against them etc (e.g. see Dixon et al 2006 for the differential impacts of crime on people with different socio-economic and legal status).

² We want to urge again that the diagram is not a perfect depiction of the relationship between migration and development. It is not strictly true, for example, to say that we can separate out a migrant’s movement to a particular location and the conditions he or she experiences there. Rather, we see some feedback from the conditions experienced to the process of movement. In particular, entry policies are listed here as conditions that the migrant experiences, rather than factors determining the movement itself. We think this is appropriate because entry policies do only partially determine whether or not a person moves to a country (Dorling, forthcoming), and thus can perhaps better be seen as conditions experienced by the migrant. However, this makes clear that it is important to treat the figure as a simplified version of reality, created to draw out the importance of considering the migration and development process, rather than as an absolutely accurate depiction of that process.

As well as entry conditions, however, the conditions of integration experienced by the migrant are also vital. Here we interpret 'integration' widely, along the lines of the British Council sponsored 'integration index' which highlights the expansive nature of integration, including access to nationality, anti-discrimination, family reunion, labour market access, long-term residence and political participation. These 'integration conditions' experienced by the migrant work in a similar way to the entry conditions in determining what kind of life the migrant is able to lead in their country of destination – are they able to use and develop their skills or not? Are they able to earn a good wage or not? Are they able to share their ideas and ways of living and learn new ones from their host community? This is vital because it determines the outcomes of migration. Other aspects of life in the host community are also vital here.

The third part of the migration and development process then is the *outcomes* of movement. The sum of the migrant's experiences thus far will determine how migration affects them – and this in turn affects the remittances they are able to send, and other diasporic actions that they can take. Evidence suggests that via transmissions of funds, attitudes etc migration may affect the health and education of household members, as well as political participation, gender attitudes and many other aspects of capabilities and the structures which shape them (e.g. see Lucas and Chappell forthcoming and World Bank 2006b). Together these outcomes of migration influence development circumstances in the originating country.

As the diagram shows this in turn helps to determine the existence, extent and nature of the next round of migration. Taking a couple of examples, remittances may directly affect the probability of future rounds of movement if they lead to a sufficient accumulation of resources to fund additional moves. Indirect effects might also be at play – observing previous acts of migration by skilled individuals and the resulting wealth experienced by their household may act as an incentive for other would-be migrants to pursue education. This in turn may have a number of effects on the migration and development process. Firstly, migration is likely to rise as more people have the necessary attributes to meet

terms of entry, but also secondly, the increase in education constitutes an improvement in development circumstances, which will then feed back in to the determinants of migration. It may be that in the longer run this improvement in development circumstances at 'home' acts as a deterrent to departure.

However, as well as taking a macro perspective of this diagram, we can also look at the migration and development process from the perspective of the migrant themselves. This is vital because the migrant's experiences at each stage of the process will shape their capabilities – and expanding capabilities is the focus of this work. When looking at the diagram from this perspective it is clear that the migrant's experiences at each stage of the process are not just important in an instrumental sense, in creating outcomes (such as higher incomes) for themselves, and then, through transfers, for their families, communities and nation of origin. The migrant's experiences during the process of movement and the conditions they experience are impacts upon development - their own development – and matter in and of themselves. This means, for example, that if a migrant experiences discrimination, we should count this as a negative development impact not only because they might earn less (a poorer outcome for themselves) and remit less back home (a poorer outcomes for their families and country of origin), but also because we are concerned about the experiences and wellbeing of that individual.

Applying a policy perspective

As stated previously, the purpose of including the diagram is to look at the migration and development process through a policy lens. The diagram allows us to see that policies which affect any point of the process will influence the extent and nature of migration as well as its developmental impacts.

As such, policies which have the potential to affect migration's developmental impacts necessarily include the rules on terms of entry that govern the extent and nature of migration flows, as key drivers of the process and conditions of migration. Moreover, development policies – both ODA and national development plans such as PRSPs - will

also play a key role. As stated previously, incorporating migration into development policies is the first step towards a comprehensive approach to making migration development friendly, potentially affecting migration's process, conditions and outcomes. For instance, if a country makes a link in its national development strategy between the goal of boosting financial inclusion, and the objective of increasing and formalising remittances flows, this might allow them to refocus any programmes of financial inclusion, to make sure that remittance recipients are seen as a key constituency who might be targeted. It might also give such work extra priority, as it is clear that it meets a number of goals at once. The key, however, is moving from linking development policy to migration on paper to ensure it affects policy on the ground.

Yet figure 1 above also suggests that other policies could have significant impacts of the development outcomes of migration, despite being neither 'migration' nor 'development' policies. For instance, economic policies relating to resource flows between different countries, such as regulations on money transfer, are likely to have important effects. As just one example, very strict regulations on money transfer designed to reduce money laundering or limit flows of resources for terrorists, may limit migrants' ability to send remittances and lessen the developmental impacts of migration (Conroy, 2006; Hernandez-Coss, 2006). Similarly, when countries receive migrants the development impact of that movement is not just determined by who they admit and under what terms – important though this may be – but also by policies which govern their reception and the circumstances under which they live.

To give greater detail we have created a typology of the sorts of policies which may have an impact in the following table. We consider first policies which appear important in shaping the process of movement itself. Secondly we consider those affecting the conditions experienced by migrants, and thirdly those related to the outcomes of migration (some policies affect more than one aspect of the process, which is indicated where relevant). We also add a section on 'facilitating' policies. These are policies which whilst not directly affecting migration's developmental impacts are nonetheless pertinent,

because attention to these policy areas can strengthen government's ability to make more development friendly policies in future.

In column 3 we set out for each type of policy which policy actors are important in shaping that policy. Four main categories of policy actor are identified – policymakers in countries of origin, policymakers in countries of destination, policymakers in developing countries, and policymakers in developed countries. The categories are deliberately overlapping - indeed we can envisage that most countries in the world are simultaneously members of three of the four categories. For policies which are primarily about the movement of people, the role of a country is determined more by whether it is a country of origin or a country of destination (and many are both, and so policymakers there will need to think through policies from both perspectives). On the other hand, where policies are more about meeting development goals, then the relevant distinction is whether a country is classed as developed (and so the major role is as a donor) or still in the process of developing.

After identifying the policy actors involved we provide in column 4 examples of real policies currently in place in that area, highlighting lesser known initiatives where possible. Moreover, as well as citing policies which are known and intended to influence some stage in the migration and development process we also include several policies (in italics) which we see as relevant examples, but which have thus far not been linked to the question of improving migration's development impacts by the policy actors involved. This shows concrete examples of where the next migration and development policy levers could develop in future. Finally, in column 5 we suggest how policies in that area might be made more development friendly. To provide some depth as well as breadth, some of the examples given in the summary tables are described in greater detail in the case studies below.

We are aware that this exercise has not produced a comprehensive list of relevant policies. Our hope is rather that it provide a more systematic insight into how policy

intervenes in the migration and development process and serve as a framework for further research and thought in this area.

Table 1: Examples of policies affecting the migration and development process

Stage of the process at which intervention is made	Policy	Policy actor	Examples	How could it be made more development friendly?
Process of movement	Policies on people trafficking	Partnership between countries receiving trafficking victims, countries through which the traffickers move and the countries of origin	Greece’s national action plan on fighting human trafficking. The action plan combats the traffickers and assists the victims.	Human trafficking severely curtails the capabilities of the people trafficked, thus efforts to reduce trafficking and assist its victims are development-friendly. Moreover, because trafficked persons are highly unlikely to be able to exercise all their skills and talents, their transfers back to their countries of origin are likely to be limited, again hampering development.
Process of movement	Policies to promote circular migration	Such policies tend to be led by countries of destination, though partnership working with countries of origin are likely to prove constructive.	The Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) initiative aims to promote “brain gain” in African countries by encouraging circular migration between the Netherlands and Ghana.	Circular migration is an area where the interests of developed and developing countries can coincide since it allows developed countries to fill skill-deficiencies whilst simultaneously allowing for developing countries to benefit from income, skill and knowledge transfers.

Process of movement	Policies on regional integration	Countries involved in regional bodies and processes	<p>(a) The expansion of the border of the EU between 2004 and 2007 to include 12 new member states.</p> <p>(b) <i>The Pacific Islands Forum states have created regional institutions – such as regional universities – which provide services regionally. As well as being more cost effective, regional institutions help build a common identity and further support for regional approaches to development problems. The movement of people is an integral part of this process.</i></p>	Regional integration often involves the possibilities for the movement of people, whether free movement for the purposes work or in a more limited sense, such as for education. As well as affecting development through the commonly known channels such as higher wages for the migrant and remittances, movement within a region can create support for new forms of governance, building cultural and political linkages. When devising regional integration policies it is crucial to keep these potential beneficial impacts in mind.
Stage of the process at which intervention is made	Policy	Policy actor	Examples	How could it be made more development friendly?

<p>Process of movement/ Conditions experienced</p>	<p>Policies around legal entry and exit – specifically those affecting: (i) the countries that migrants come from (ii) the skills they bring with them, and (iii) the duration of stay allowed/required</p>	<p>The most relevant entry and exit policies are those in the countries most migrants would like to move to, the major countries of destination of the developed world. Usually these policies are developed solely with regard to national interest, and not in partnership with other nations.</p>	<p>(a) Points based systems, such as those in Australia, Canada and the UK which select migrants on the basis of their skills, age, earnings etc. (b) Ethical health-worker recruitment code try to avoid recruitment of health workers from developing countries suffering shortages, and sometimes put in place measures to promote circulation of health workers. The UK and New Zealand both have such agreements with various countries – see case study 1.</p>	<p>Evidence suggests that developed countries should accept more migrants from developing countries with lower levels of skills. Expanding the possibilities for low skill movement should, for example, allow poorer households to share in the impacts of migration to a greater extent. Also, if terms of entry allow more migrants to move to more places, this will help diversify developing countries’ income sources. Where brain drain is a serious problem, incentivising people not to leave is likely to have a positive effect on development.</p>
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<p>Process of movement/ Conditions experienced</p>	<p>Education policies i.e. offering qualifications recognized by employers abroad.</p>	<p>Varies by initiative: Some are initiated by developing countries as donors, some by academia / private sector hoping to extend their influence and profit, and some by developing countries to help their nationals to migrate.</p>	<p>(a) The Australian government has set up a network of technical colleges in a number of Pacific Island countries that are designed to train workers to Australian standards. Bursaries are available to allow people from poorer households to attend. See Case Study 2.</p> <p><i>(b) A number of universities in developed countries have established branch campuses in developing countries (particularly in the Middle East)</i></p>	<p>Policies to upskill migrants appear good for development, as long as this provision is additional to existing training and education facilities (though further evaluation would be encouraged to calculate net impacts). To the extent that the opportunities are made available to those from poorer backgrounds it seems likely that effects will be more positive.</p>
<p>Stage of the process at which intervention is made</p>	<p>Policy</p>	<p>Policy actor</p>	<p>Examples</p>	<p>How could it be made more development friendly?</p>

<p>Process of movement/conditions experienced</p>	<p>Policies promoting the protection of migrant workers</p>	<p>This should be the responsibility of policymakers in both sending and receiving countries. Some of the most ambitious programmes of protection have been planned by major countries of origin.</p>	<p>(a) The Philippines' Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) provides its members with life and personal accident insurance while working abroad and has welfare officers who work together with embassies and consuls-general to assist migrant workers – see case study 3.</p> <p>(b) In 2004, the government of Bangladesh committed to provide pre-departure programmes for migrants (in partnership with recruitment firms and civil society).</p>	<p>Policies that seek to help migrant secure jobs formally and which provide pre-departure assistance as well as protection whilst abroad contribute significantly to enhancing individual freedoms, as well as increasing the likelihood that people are able to use their skills and make increased transfers – both of money and other attributes such as information – back to their countries of origin.</p>
<p>Conditions experienced</p>	<p>Policies affecting the migrants communities' at their destination</p>	<p>Community level policies tend to be the responsibility of local governments in countries of destination</p>	<p>(a) <i>Montreal's approach to city planning appears to have promoted integration and cohesion. Medium density neighbourhoods mean that people from different communities interact regularly. Also, mixed rental and owner occupier housing allow new migrants to locate themselves near more established members of their community, providing them with support and information and promoting integration.</i></p> <p>(b) Boston Borough Council, a branch of UK local government, has been</p>	<p>Community level policies (including but not limited to rules around town planning and the 'shape' and use of public space) can have important impacts on migrants' own development, because they shape the environments in which migrants live their everyday lives. This is important for the migrants themselves, and may also permit more positive interactions between the migrant and their originating country.</p>

			discussing community level action to promote integration. For example, using public events to draw people together and promote cohesion; and producing a strategy to deal with ‘myth hubs’ – places in the community (such as pubs and hairdressers) where rumours tend to start.	
Stage of the process at which intervention is made	Policy	Policy actor	Examples	How could it be made more development friendly?
Conditions experienced	<p>Migrant integration policies – specifically those relating to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) labour market integration (ii) family reunion (iii) long-term residence (iv) access to nationality (v) anti- 	Integration policies tend to be developed and led by countries of destination.	<p>(a) <i>In Sweden migrants have the right to change their permit, job and industry after less than one year. Migrants who lose their jobs do not necessarily they lose their right to stay in Sweden – see case study 4.</i></p> <p>(b) <i>Canada allows migrants’ children to join them up until the age of 22</i></p> <p>(c) <i>Norway allows most legal migrants a settlement permit after 3 years’ residence</i></p> <p>(d) <i>In Belgium, migrants can naturalise as long as they haven’t committed a serious crime. Belgium also permits dual nationality.</i></p>	<p>Policies which support the integration of the migrant appear supportive of development – as they can be good for the migrant themselves, as well as increasing their ability to transfer resources (not just remittances but ideas etc) to their originating country.</p> <p>This is not always the case though. Some policies which are positive for the migrant’s own development (e.g. family reunification) may have less positive impacts in the country they have left. For example, if a migrant brings their family with them then they may be less likely to remit. If a policy intervention increases migration’s benefits to one party in the migration and development</p>

	discrimination, and (vi) political participation		<p><i>(e) Discrimination on the grounds of nationality, race and ethnic origin are illegal in France.</i></p> <p><i>(f) In Luxembourg the national government and 95% of municipalities must consult their foreign residents in a structured way. Local and the national bodies are equally composed by foreigners and Luxembourgers.</i></p>	<p>process (here the migrant and their family) to the detriment of others a careful analysis must be made of where the trade off between parties should be made.</p> <p>Trade offs will not always be required though. Some ‘integration’ measures, such as banning dual citizenship, appear to reduce migration’s development impacts for all - constraining individuals and reducing the ability to contribute in their country of birth.</p>
Stage of the process at which intervention is made	Policy	Policy actor	Examples	How could it be made more development friendly?
Outcomes of migration	Policies affecting the transfer of remittances	Policies regulating money transfer in both sending and receiving countries are important here.	<p>(a) The EU’s 2005 Aeneas project tried to use trans-national networks to optimise remittances between Ecuador and Spain.</p> <p><i>(b) US money laundering regulations have affected the sending of remittances – see case study 5.</i></p>	Most policies supporting the transfer of remittances appear to be pro-development. Problems seem to occur either when the transfers are controversial (e.g. supportive of one side in a war or conflict), or when the system for collecting them is non-voluntary. Non voluntary transfers violate the migrant’s right to choose how to use the money they’ve earned.

<p>Outcomes of migration</p>	<p>Policies affecting the transfer of other diaspora resources – both monetary (e.g. investment) and non-monetary (e.g. ideas and attitudes)</p>	<p>Both developed and developing countries have a role to play, though many initiatives are being driven by developing countries.</p>	<p>(a) In 2003, the Indian government eliminated restrictions on Indians living abroad purchasing property in India and provided tax incentives for investment as well as introducing special bonds which non-resident Indian could invest in.</p> <p>(b) In April 2008, the Tanzanian government held an Investment and Diaspora Forum in the U.K to try to mobilise investment interests in Tanzania amongst the UK’s Tanzanian diaspora.</p> <p>(c) After devastating floods hit the country in January 2009, the Fiji Embassy in Brussels launched a facebook group ‘Fiji Flood Appeal 2009’ to mobilize donations for disaster relief from the diaspora and other ‘friends of Fiji’ located in Europe.</p>	<p>There is increasing evidence to suggest that diasporas can make a vital contribution to the development of their country of origin via a number of non remittance channels.</p> <p>Supporting these transfers again appears supportive of development, as long as the transfers are voluntary and non-controversial.</p>
<p>Stage of the process at which intervention is made</p>	<p>Policy</p>	<p>Policy actor</p>	<p>Examples</p>	<p>How could it be made more development friendly?</p>

<p>Outcomes of migration</p>	<p>Policies expanding the positive effects of migrants' transfers – whether financial or otherwise</p>	<p>Both developed and developing countries have a key role to play.</p>	<p>(a) The UK has developed 'remittance partnerships' with some key partner countries (e.g. Bangladesh), which explicitly promote the development of and access to the financial system in order that remittances can be used more productively.</p> <p>(b) DFID supports VSO, a charity which facilitates diaspora volunteering. This doesn't just involve placing members of the diaspora in volunteer positions, but also is designed to maximize their development impact, for example by helping them to effectively share their skills.</p>	<p>Expanding the ways in which remittances can be held and using remittances expands a household's choices and should reduce risk and enhance capabilities.</p> <p>Increasing the positive effects of other forms of transfer – whether other kinds of finance, or more intangible contributions such as skills and ideas – should also be positive for development.</p> <p>This is an area where more policy innovation is required – especially expanding the impact of migrants' non-monetary resources.</p>
<p>Outcomes of migration</p>	<p>Policies managing negative effects created by migrants' transfers – whether financial or otherwise</p>	<p>Both developed and developing countries have a key role to play.</p>	<p><i>(a) A number of governments have decided to use indicators of inflation which exclude housing costs from the 'package of goods' being considered. Given that in many countries remittances appear to be disproportionately spent on housing, this could contribute to inflation - and even the creation of a housing bubble - which escapes the attention of policymakers.</i></p>	<p>Where countries receive large amounts of remittances and they appear to be disproportionately spent on housing, those setting inflation policy should take into account whether this might require additional monitoring, and indeed whether it might require a switch between inflation indicators.</p> <p>More generally, the negative effects of migrants' transfers should be mapped and then existing instruments adjusted</p>

				or new policies developed to address them. This is an area of policy where more attention and innovation is required.
Stage of the process at which intervention is made	Policy	Policy actor	Examples	How could it be made more development friendly?
Policy Facilitation	Policies on improving the coverage, quality and comparability of migration statistics	Both countries of destination and origin	(a) The UK has recently decided to undertake a national survey of migrants, to understand their needs and impacts, to complement other datasets such as the census and labour force survey. (b) The governments of Armenia, Ecuador and Egypt have been working with the ILO to implement an additional module in their labour force surveys, examining labour migration.	The data gathered should allow us to better measure migration's key impacts, as set out in the typology in section 2. Better impact measurement will allow for the design of more nuanced and effective migration policies.
Policy Facilitation	Policies on development planning.	Both developing and developed countries have a role to play, the former in including migration in national development strategies and the latter in relation to development	(a) The EU has decided to systematically include information on migration in each of its country strategy papers, to ensure key migration issues are accounted for in development cooperation policy. (b) The government of Ghana has begun integrating migration into their national development plan – see case study 6.	The inclusion of migration into development plans (both ODA and national development strategies) should be done in order to improve migration's development impacts. The objective must not be to incorporate donor countries' migration objectives (e.g. reducing irregular migration or enforcing return) into strategies which are meant to be about

		cooperation policies.		pursuing development.
Policy Facilitation	Engagement in international discussions on migration	Both countries of destination and origin	<p>(a) The EU is currently negotiating ‘mobility partnerships’ with a number of countries. These include a package of agreements related to migration</p> <p>(b) Most countries are engaged in the Global Forum on Migration and Development.</p> <p>(c) Many countries engage in regional consultative processes, examining a variety of aspects of migration.</p>	<p>As above, this engagement should be in the spirit of finding ways to improve migration’s contributions to development.</p> <p>This is an area where policy is developing fast, and it is clear that further progress could be made with increased policy attention and innovation.</p>

Adapted from OECD (forthcoming). **Sources:** Balderas and Nath (2008), Black (2008), British Council and Migration Policy Group (2007), DFID, IOM and Buitenlandse Zaken (2005), European Commission (2007), GFMD taskforce (2007), ILO (2007), Lucas and Chappell (forthcoming), Muir (2008), OECD (2006), OECD (2007), Ray (2003), Robinson and Clark (2008), Smith and Hanson (2008), Solomon and Bryant (2007), Sriskandarajah (2007), Srivastava (2003) and Vertovec (2007).

Case Study 1

Policy initiative: *UK-South Africa Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)*

In 2003, the UK and South Africa agreed an MOU designed to help strengthen the South African health system by stemming the unchecked flow of South African health workers to the UK and linking with efforts to increase UK health worker self-sufficiency and ethical recruitment. The objectives of the MOU include: to share information and expertise, to provide technical assistance and collaboration between institutions, to provide the opportunity for time-limited placements between countries, to support ethical recruitment between the two countries, and to find new ways to manage health-worker flows bilaterally over time.

Policy implications:

Although a thorough assessment of the effectiveness of the UK-South African MOU has not yet been made, evidence suggests that it has contributed to the fall in registrations of South African midwives and nurses in the UK as a proportion of non-EU registrations from 24.6 per cent to 4.4 per cent (between 2000 and 2006). Hospital-twinning and capacity-building programmes are also believed to have contributed to development in the South African healthcare system by strengthening hospitals and health worker skills in targeted hospitals and medical schools. Given the huge challenges associated with health workers in some developing countries migrating to developed countries in search of better wages and working conditions, policymakers will increasingly need to formulate international health policies in the context of their likely impact on migration patterns and development outcomes.

Source: Robinson and Clark (2008)

Case Study 2

Policy initiative: *Australia-Pacific Technical College (APTC)*

In October 2006, the then Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard, announced the decision of the Australian government to invest \$150 million in establishing a network of technical colleges in a number of Pacific Island countries, including Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa and Vanuatu. These colleges offer training for Pacific Islanders in tourism, cookery, hospitality, automotive, construction, electrical and manufacturing trades, and give students the opportunity to acquire internationally-recognised Australian qualifications. Since 2008, scholarships have been made available to enable students, especially those from poorer backgrounds and from smaller island states, to enrol in this scheme.

Policy implications:

The stated aim of the APTC initiative is to address critical skill deficits and to promote economic growth throughout the Pacific Islands region. However, it also has clear implications for migration patterns and outcomes. By reorganising their educational system to train people to Australian standards, the Pacific Island states are improving the employability of future migrants, which in turn maximises the potential remittances from College-trained labourers. The challenge for policymakers going forward will be to ensure that the ‘brain drain’ effect of newly skilled migrants leaving is offset by the educational and economic development promoted by the creation of new educational institutions. Thought will also need to be given to the question of how to incentivise migrants to return and apply the skills they have developed through working elsewhere in the region back in their home country.

Source: AusAID (2007)

Case Study 3

Policy initiative: *The Philippine Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA)*

The OWWA oversees a national welfare fund providing advice, insurance services and loans to Filipinos working overseas. The core services of this initiative include a repatriation programme, health and life insurance provision and assistance in settling

work-related disputes and fraud. The OWWA also provides scholarship grants and training for migrants and, in select cases, their dependants. The Education for Development Scholarship Program (EDSP) offers grants of US\$1,200 per year to deserving and qualified dependents attending college-degree courses with durations of five years or less, while the Skills-for-Employment Scholarship Program pays for one-year technical and six-month vocational courses geared towards the technical skills requirements of overseas jobs. In partnership with Microsoft Philippines, a computer literacy programme is offered to OWWA members and their families, providing training in the use of the internet and other basic computer applications.

Policy implications:

The OWWA's work has clear implications for the development outcomes of migration – both for the individual migrants themselves and their potential contributions to their countries of origin. It is beyond the scope of this paper to address the question of whether or not the OWWA has succeeded in fulfilling its mandate, but it is at least possible to suggest some of the ways in which this kind of policy has the potential to maximise the development outcomes of migration. As noted by Agunias and Ruiz, 'a welfare fund, if managed effectively, has the potential to financially support activities that can leverage migrant resources for development, such as business entrepreneurship and career development among returning migrants' (Agunias and Ruiz 2007: 25). Assistance policies that support a migrant's dependants may also contribute to development by creating education and training opportunities in the sending country that individuals might not otherwise have access to.

Source: Agunias and Ruiz (2007)

Case Study 4

Policy initiative(s): *Swedish labour market access policies*

Migrants working in the Swedish labour market benefit from a wide range of policies that adhere to best practice standards, including:

- (i) eligibility to work in most sectors or to become self-employed with a viable business plan, if in possession of a permit of at least one year
- (ii) help with Swedish language and vocational training

- (iii) equal access to study grants after living and working in Sweden for two years
- (iv) the right to change permits, jobs and industries after less than a year

Policy implications:

Across the 25 EU Member States and 3 Non-EU countries surveyed in the MIPEX, Sweden scored highest over the six strands of integration policy measured, including a 100 per cent best practice score for its labour market access policies. Although it is difficult to draw a direct line between the ease of integration in receiving countries and the level of development in sending countries, it seems highly likely that migrants who are able to settle easily into their host country will be better placed to find employment and send home remittances than those who experience discrimination in the labour market and more generally. Their own capabilities will also be enhanced by greater labour market opportunity.

Source: British Council and Migration Policy Group (2007)

Case Study 5

Policy initiative: *US money laundering policies*

Since 2001, the US government has become increasingly concerned about the possibility of money transferred through informal channels being used to finance terrorist activities. As a result, it has imposed much tighter regulations on foreign transfers (primarily through anti-money laundering measures) which has led to a shift from informal to formal fund transfers systems. For example, migrants from Guatemala used to rely heavily on informal operators to send remittances home, but the new regulations have forced them to turn to official Money Transfer Operators (MTOs).

Policy implications:

While policies to improve financial transparency and security are vital, strict regulations on money transfer designed to reduce money laundering or limit flows of resources for terrorists may create higher transaction costs for migrants sending remittances home, lessening their developmental impacts.

Source: Hernandez-Coss (2006)

Case Study 6

Policy initiative: *Ghana Joint Assistance Strategy (G-JAS)*

The Ghana Joint Assistance Strategy (G-JAS) is a major initiative of the Ghanaian government, alongside international donors, to improve the alignment of overseas development assistance with the core business of Government. Joint Assistance Strategies try to align the activities of development agencies and donors with governments, so that together they can achieve the goals of the national development strategy – in this case the second Ghana Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II). Among its key targets is the commitment to develop the country's rural banking sector in order to encourage the growth of a more formal money market.

Policy implications:

Policies designed to support broad macroeconomic targets can also impact positively on the development outcomes of migration. In the Ghanaian case, as elsewhere in the developing world, the creation of more effective rural banking sectors should help to lower the transaction costs and logistical difficulties of remittance transfers, as well as expanding recipients' choices regarding how they hold and use those remittances. It should be noted that bringing a greater proportion of remittances into the 'formal' sector is also identified as a policy priority for Ghana, but no explicit linkage is made between these two goals in the GPRS II. If the two were linked formally it might make action to achieve both more effective.

Source: Republic of Ghana (2005) and World Bank (2007).

Conclusion and Priorities for Future Analysis

While policymakers have become more aware of the complex nature of links between migration and development over the last few years, there has been less systematised thought about the ways in which policy can intervene in that relationship. As this short paper has sought to demonstrate, to best understand how policy can contribute it is not enough to simply consider ‘migration’ policies and ‘development’ policies. A far more comprehensive approach is needed; one which looks systematically at how migration impacts upon development and the migration and development process of which those impacts are a part. Tracing a migrant’s journey and their interactions with their destination and originating countries allows us to identify all the factors which shape their experiences and actions. It therefore brings to light all the points at which policy might have a role to play - even policies not traditionally thought of as ‘migration’ or ‘development’ policies. It is our hope that the our preliminary attempts at expanding and systematising thinking about migration and development policy will increase awareness of some of the different levers available to policymakers to improve the developmental outcomes of migration and spur more thinking and research.

In particular, we think it is important to explore how migration and development policies beyond migration policy and development policy are implemented and funded. Some of the policies we have described in this paper are overseen by ministries and departments other than those generally considered to be responsible for migration or development. Cross-departmental communication and working will sometimes be sufficient to create policy coherence, but in many cases more will be required. To ensure policies outside the normal ambit of these issues do deliver better development outcomes will require a strategic assessment of which combination of departments should be working together. In particular, we believe that clear identification of whose goals, expertise and funding will be drawn upon is required, which may for example require departments to substantially fund work which they are not themselves undertaking. How this might effectively work in practice, however, should be a priority for further investigation.

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Annex 1: The development impacts of migration (taken from Chappell and Sriskandarajah, 2007)

	Type of Impact	How impact may occur	Likely relationship
E C O N O M I C	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.

	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.

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

	Type of Impact	How impact may occur	Likely relationship
ED	Migrant's education	Level of education of migrant	Opportunity to migrate may increase investment in education. Resources from migration may increase access to education.

U C A T I O N	Household education	Educational achievement of household members	Opportunity to migrate and remittances may increase ability and/or incentive for households to invest in education.
	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.
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 E T Y	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.
	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.
G O V E R N A N C E	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.

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.