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**How does international migration affect ACP rural development?**

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## **A Reader<sup>1</sup>**

### **Resources on International Migration and ACP Rural Development**

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partageons les connaissances au profit des communautés rurales  
sharing knowledge, improving rural livelihoods

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<sup>1</sup> Most text in this Reader has been directly taken from the original documents or websites. The Reader is not intended to exhaustively cover the issue of Migration and ACP Rural Development but to provide a brief overview and a selection of information resources. For additional inputs, kindly contact at CTA Isolina Boto ([boto@cta.int](mailto:boto@cta.int)) or Camilla La Peccerella ([lapeccerella@cta.int](mailto:lapeccerella@cta.int)). The Reader and most of the resources are available at <http://brusselsbriefings.net/>.



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# INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND ACP RURAL DEVELOPMENT<sup>2</sup>

Migration is a huge phenomenon. The share of migrants in industrial countries' populations doubled over past three decades and remittances flows to developing countries are larger than foreign investment or overseas aid. In many developing countries the percentage of the population working abroad and the percentage of GDP represented by remittances run into double digits<sup>3</sup>.

## 1. International migration flows: key data and trends

### *Migration to high-income countries has accelerated*

The United Nations (UN) estimates that migrants account for some 3% of the world's population, or about 175 million persons. The stock of immigrants to high income countries increased at about 3% per year from 1980 to 2000, up from the 2.4% pace in the 1970s.

At that rate of growth, the share of migrants in high-income countries' population almost doubled over the 30-year period, and population growth (excluding migration) fell from 0.7% per year in the 1970s to 0.5% in the 1990s. Immigration has had a particular impact on population growth in several high-income countries. By contrast, migration to developing countries rose by only 1.3% per year from 1970 to 2000. With rapid population growth, the share of migrants in developing countries' population (excluding the former Soviet Union) fell<sup>4</sup>.

At the country level, during 2000-2010, 33 of the 45 developed countries have been net receivers of international migrants. This group includes traditional countries of immigration such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States, most of the populous countries in Northern, Southern and Western Europe as well as the Russian Federation and Japan. The movement of people from less developed regions to more developed regions has dominated the world migration patterns for almost half a century, but flows among developing countries have also been important. Several developing countries or areas have been attracting migrants in large numbers, including Hong Kong SAR China, Israel, Kuwait, Malaysia, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Thailand and the United Arab Emirates. Jordan and the Syrian Arab Republic have been the primary receivers of refugees from Iraq. Many African countries have been the destination of refugee flows from neighbouring countries<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In this Reader, international migration is broadly defined as the movement of persons from one country to another ("home" and "destination" country, respectively) and it focuses on South-North migration only.

<sup>3</sup> World Bank, Migration, Poverty and Human Capital, 2007

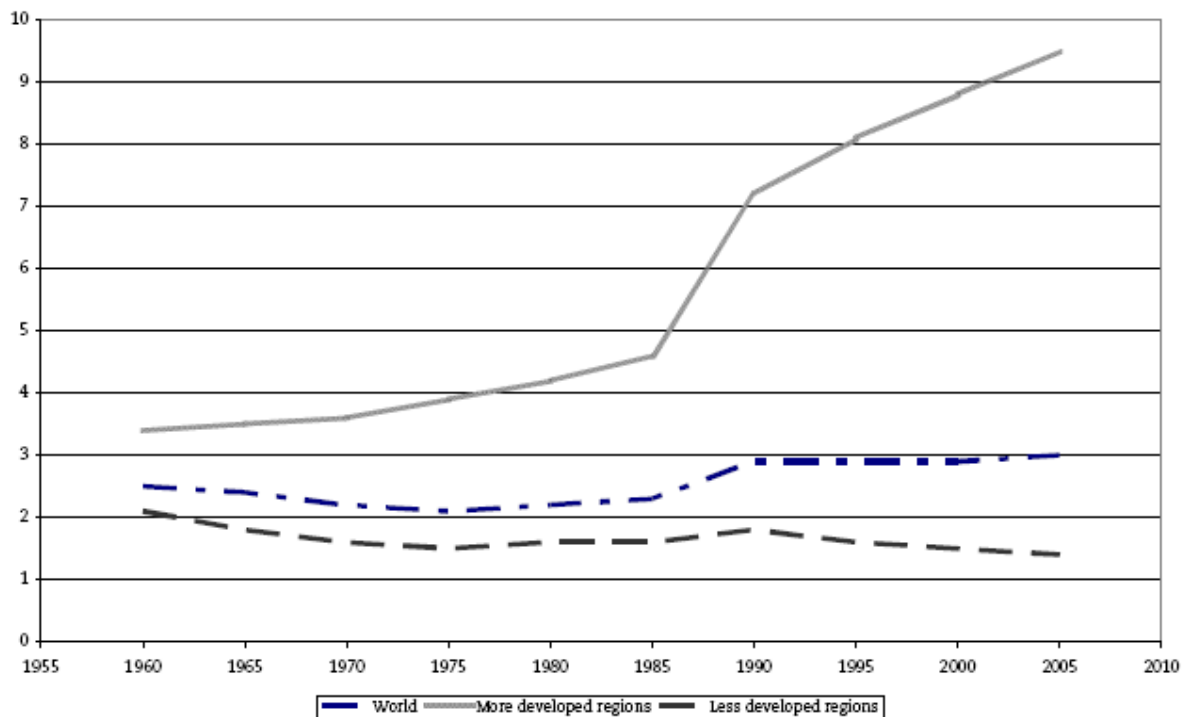
[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMIGDEV/Resources/MOVE\\_Note\\_01.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMIGDEV/Resources/MOVE_Note_01.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> World Bank, Global Economic Prospects. Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration, 2006, <http://go.worldbank.org/OZRERMGA00>.

Estimates of net migration between the major development groups show that since 1960 the more developed regions have been net gainers of emigrants from the less developed regions. Furthermore, net migration to the more developed regions has been increasing steadily from 1960 to 2000. During 1990-2000, the more developed regions were gaining annually 2.5 million migrants. About half of that net flow was directed to Northern America (1.3 million annually). During 2000-2010, the level of net migration to the more developed regions as a whole changes only slightly, but there is some increase in the net number of migrants received by Northern America (1.5 million annually). Over the rest of the projection period, net migration to the more developed regions is projected to remain at about 2.3 million per year, of which 1.3 million are directed to Northern America. With respect to the other major areas, Asia was by far the major source of migrants during 2000-2010 (1.3 million annually), followed by Latin America and the Caribbean (1.1 million annually) and then Africa (0.4 million annually). Over the projection period, more than half of all the net number of emigrants from the less developed regions are expected to be from Asia, between 25% to 30% from Latin America and the Caribbean, and the remaining from Africa. Source: UN, World Population prospects: the 2006 Revision, [http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/wpp2006/WPP2006\\_Highlights\\_rev.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/wpp2006/WPP2006_Highlights_rev.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> UN, World Population Prospects, cit. International migration is the component of population change most difficult to measure and estimate reliably. Thus, the quality and quantity of the data used in the estimation and projection of net migration varies considerably by country. Furthermore, the movement of people across international boundaries, which is very often a response to changing socio-economic, political and environmental forces, is subject to a great deal of volatility. Refugee movements, for instance, may involve large numbers of people moving across boundaries in a short

**Figure 1.1. International Migrants as a Percentage of World Population, of Less Developed Regions, and of More Developed Regions, 1960-2005**



Note: "More Developed Regions" comprise all regions of Europe plus Northern America, Australia/New Zealand and Japan.

### *Evolution of Migration Flows, 1960 – 2005*<sup>6</sup>

Most high-income countries saw immigration rise by at least 2% per year from 1980 to 2000. This increase reflected, in part, increased demand for services accompanying rising incomes, global competition for highly educated workers as technological advances boosted the premium for skills, the growth of networks of immigrants in high income countries that facilitated new immigration, and increased refugee movements.

The volume and flow of international migration is no longer mainly associated with population growth or demographic pressure. Unlike the 1960s and 1970s, international immigrants are not from the poorest, least developed countries. Voluntary international movements of people tend to originate from countries with rapidly growing economies and falling fertility rates. Emigration today is the outcome less of desperation and more of integration.

The pattern of international migration is also shifting, from South-North to South-South. Although the top three receiving countries are members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) - the United States, Germany, and France, in that order—Côte d'Ivoire, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jordan, and Pakistan are now among the top 15 destinations. International migrants tend to stay within regional neighbourhoods, particularly in developing world regions, most notably in Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>7</sup>.

Though the stock of migrants has accelerated sharply relative to the population in the industrial countries, in some respects the composition and patterns of international migration have exhibited continuity over the past few decades<sup>8</sup>.

time. For these reasons, projections of future international migration levels are the least robust part of current population projections and reflect mainly a continuation of recent levels and trends in net migration.

<sup>6</sup> Source: OECD website, [http://www.oecd.org/document/28/0,3343,en\\_2649\\_33935\\_39644828\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1.00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/28/0,3343,en_2649_33935_39644828_1_1_1_1.00.html).

<sup>7</sup> World Bank, World Development Report 2009. Reshaping Economic Geography, [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2009/Resources/4231006-1225840759068/WDR09\\_11\\_Ch05web.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2009/Resources/4231006-1225840759068/WDR09_11_Ch05web.pdf)

The share of female migrants has remained almost unchanged (47% of global migrant populations in 1970, compared with 49% in 2000), although women are the great majority of migrants from some countries. More women today are migrating as independent wage earners, rather than to accompany their husbands.

Migration continues to be heavily determined by geographic proximity (from Mexico to the United States, from North Africa to Southern Europe, and from Eastern to Western Europe), as well as by colonial ties (from Latin America to Spain and from a number of Sub-Saharan African countries to Belgium, France, Portugal, and the United Kingdom)<sup>9</sup>.

#### *Migration is set to increase*

According to a World Bank report, it is likely that the number of people who wish to migrate from developing to high-income countries will rise over the next two decades. About 31% of developing countries' population is below the age of 14, compared with 18% in high-income countries. We can thus anticipate a large influx in the age categories most suitable for emigration, as lifetime earnings from migration tend to be largest for those emigrating early in their working life. The surge in immigration since the 1980s has established large diasporas in high-income countries, which help to reduce the costs and risks of migration. The demand for immigrant services in high-income countries will also rise as the aging of the population shrinks the workforce and increases demand for services that immigrants can supply (such as nursing care).

As income standards rise, the demand for other services that employ migrants (such as household and restaurant help) should grow rapidly. The intensifying competition for skilled workers may also draw migrants, especially from countries with strong systems of higher education<sup>10</sup>.

#### *Skills—the motor of internal and international migration*

A rush of labour matching the migrations out of Europe at the turn of the twentieth century has not yet taken place, and perhaps it never will. But unlike the flow of unskilled labour, that of skilled labour—with human capital—has been on the rise. Globalization and selective migration policies are likely to ease travel for skilled labour within countries and across borders.

Within countries, education attainment continues to determine who moves and who does not—certainly from rural areas to cities. People with more education are more likely to migrate in their own country. Many temporary, seasonal migrants with little or no education also migrate. But education boosts the velocity of labour mobility, by opening employment opportunities farther afield and shortening the job search at migrants' destination. Education also increases the likelihood of people moving abroad. The international migration of skilled workers relative to that of unskilled workers has been rising since the 1970s for every developing world region. The highest proportions of skilled emigrants (as a percentage of the educated workforce) are from Africa, the Caribbean, and Central America. Many Central American island nations in the Caribbean had more than half their university-educated citizens living abroad in 2000. And close to 20% of skilled workers have left Sub-Saharan Africa.

In 2007 the flows of remittances to many developing countries surpassed those of foreign direct investment and equity for the first time. And these are only the flows of remittances that governments and researchers can observe—just a fraction of what is actually sent through formal and informal channels.

Yet in Sub-Saharan Africa, remittances account for 15% of rural income. In Uganda labour mobility has a positive effect on household expenditure. Comparable households enjoy much higher per capita spending if they migrate within their own district or to another district than if they stay in their native area.

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<sup>8</sup> World Bank, Global Economic Prospects. Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration, 2006, <http://go.worldbank.org/OZRERMGA00>

<sup>9</sup> World Bank, Global Economic Prospects, cit. It should be emphasized that the migration data on which these judgments are based tend to be unreliable and incomplete. Many countries and international agencies do not distinguish between regular and irregular migration or among types of temporary migration. Some record migrants' country of birth, others their nationality. National estimates of the number of migrants can be vastly different depending on whether "migrant" is defined as foreign born or of foreign nationality.

<sup>10</sup> World Bank, Global Economic Prospects, cit.

### *Pulled or pushed?*

The development benefits of migration are seen when people move voluntarily. Large numbers of people—particularly in the poorest countries—are also forced to move by deteriorating living conditions and conflict. People are “pushed” off their land when agriculture is in decline, by the pressures of population growth, and when environmental change makes continued cultivation of certain areas no longer viable. Historically, droughts have had sudden and prolonged impacts on the distribution of the population, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Another important “push” that propels internal migration—mundane, but no less critical—is the lack of adequate public services. In many developing countries, schools, health care centres, hospitals, and public and private amenities are located in areas of economic activity. With a concentration of economic mass, public services can be withdrawn from smaller towns and villages.

Several studies document the migration to large economic centres by people in search of better education and health services. This movement, though voluntary, is more likely to add to congestion costs in cities than to agglomeration benefits.

### *International brain drains—or gains?*

There is concern about the volume of skilled workers leaving Sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean. As a percentage of the total stock of highly educated people, the number of skilled emigrants looks high. On the whole, though, most skilled migrants to high-income countries come from the larger middle-income countries like Brazil and India. Migration prospects in these countries induce more human capital accumulation, increasing not only the number of skilled migrants but also the skills of the global workforce generally. A “brain gain” is likely when the rate of emigration of skilled workers from a country is between 5 and 10%. Concern arises for the stunted development prospects of some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean, where the emigration of skilled labour is much higher. In 2000 the rate of skilled emigration from Sub-Saharan Africa was 13.1%, from Central America it was 16.9%, and from the Caribbean it was 42.8%. Critics of the “brain drain–brain gain” debate point out that it ignores real-world patterns of international migration. Skilled workers do not “drain away” as much as “circulate” among countries in the world economy. The benefits of attracting and retaining skilled people do not have to be distributed in a zero-sum game among countries. In addition to the large flows of international remittances, many skilled migrants work hard to return to their countries with improved prospects as entrepreneurs, armed with capital, new skills, and ideas. Several political, academic, and business leaders in developing countries began as emigrants. Cross-country research on the determinants of economic growth has not found evidence of a negative impact associated with the emigration of people with skills<sup>11</sup>.

## **1.1 Migration trends: a regional review**

### **a) Sub-Saharan Africa**

Africa accounts for one-quarter of the world’s land mass and one-tenth of its population, and is the continent with the most mobile populations in the world. In 2000, there were 16.3 million international migrants in Africa, accounting for some 9% of global migrant stocks. Refugees have always been an important factor, but by 2000 both the numbers and the global share of refugees had declined from, respectively, 5.4 million or 33% in 1990, to 3.6 million or 22%. During that same period, the number of non-refugee migrants rose by nearly 2 million to reach 12.7 million in 2000. The proportion of females among the 16.3 million international migrants rose from 42% in the 1970s to 46% in the 1990s, and to 46.7% in 2000. Africa includes a large share of the world’s poorest states, accounting for some 49% of the total population, or 323 million people living below the poverty line. Deteriorating living conditions and growing rural and urban poverty continue to push more and more people to move in search of livelihoods. The number of Africans living outside their country of origin has more than doubled in a generation, and African states are faced with the critical challenge of managing migration in the 21st century<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> World Bank, World Development Report 2009, cit.

<sup>12</sup> IOM, World Migration 2005. Costs and benefits of international migration, Section 1, chapter 1

### *The feminization of Sub-Saharan migration*

The proportion of females among international migrants in Africa has increased steadily and faster than at the world level. In the 1960s, Africa had the lowest proportion (42%) compared with Latin America and the Caribbean (45%) and Asia (46%). Today, female migrants account for almost 47% of the stock of 16 million migrants in Africa, while in Asia the proportion has declined to 43%. More and more women are moving independently, not simply accompanying husbands or other family members, but to meet their own economic needs. They are becoming primary wage earners and taking jobs in domestic work, cleaning restaurants and hotels, child rearing, care of the elderly, but also as more specialized nurses and hospital aides.

Women migrants are also sustaining families at home through their remittances. Indeed, they tend to remit more of their income than male migrants, both as international and internal migrants, as indicated in the World Survey. In Africa, a similar pattern has been observed in studies of remittance behaviour of internal migrants, particularly in rural South Africa, where it was concluded that “employed migrant men are 25% less likely than employed migrant women to remit”.

The feminization of migration is one of the most significant migratory patterns in Africa, as it is gradually changing the role of both female and male migrants as well as the traditional African family cultures. In particular, the migration of women is affecting the development processes on the continent, and “creating new challenges for public policy”<sup>13</sup>.

### **b) The Caribbean**

The Caribbean region, comprising 24 island states, has one of the highest net emigration rates in the world (some 72,000 persons emigrated annually between 1995 and 2000). While there is considerable intraregional migration, such as between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, most Caribbean countries have developed specific labour migration ties to the US and, to a lesser extent, to Canada. In 2000, Caribbean migrants in the US totalled 2,879,000 or 9.6% of the foreign-born population and these inflows into the US continue to be significant, even though in 2002 the numbers had fallen to 96,380 from 103,550 in 2001. The US continues to be a prime destination for both Haitians and Cubans fleeing their countries.

Sometimes arriving by boat and without authorization, the separate groups continue to be handled differently. Cubans who physically arrive on US soil are allowed to stay. Those who are intercepted at sea are returned. Beyond this, under agreements signed with Cuba in 1994 and 1995, the US admits roughly 20,000 Cubans annually either as refugees or through immigration channels. In return, Cuba works to prevent its citizens from departing illegally for the US. In 2002, some 28,270 Cubans entered the US. The stock of Cubans in the US as of 2002 was 919,000, the largest foreign-born group in Florida, where the majority of them reside<sup>14</sup>.

## **1.2 Migration and rural areas**

Rural areas across most of the developing world face a formidable employment challenge. Even with migration to cities, rural populations continue to grow, sometimes very rapidly, as in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Each year's addition to the rural labour force needs to find work in agriculture or the rural nonfarm economy, or to migrate to the urban economy.

The rural labour market offers employment in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors to skilled and unskilled labour, in self-employment and wage labour. Agriculture employs many wage workers—20% of the sector's labour force. The dynamic high-value crop and livestock sector is labour intensive with good potential for employment growth. Yet labour conditions in agriculture are not always conducive to large welfare improvements, in part because of the nature of the production process and in part because of a lack of appropriate regulation. Rural nonfarm work is increasing rapidly and includes numerous low-productivity commercial activities in thin local

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[http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/cache/offonce/pid/1674?entryId=932&srcId=933&grpsrc=yes&publicationEntriesGroup\\_filt er=World%20Migration%20Reports](http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/cache/offonce/pid/1674?entryId=932&srcId=933&grpsrc=yes&publicationEntriesGroup_filt er=World%20Migration%20Reports)

<sup>13</sup> IOM, World Migration 2005, cit.

<sup>14</sup> IOM, World Migration 2005, cit.

markets. But dynamic non-agricultural subsectors, linked to agriculture or the urban economy, offer opportunities for skilled workers.

Wages in agriculture are low, lower on average than in the other sectors. This difference is largely a result of the skill composition of workers. Unskilled workers in low-productivity self-employment in the rural nonfarm economy also garner very low earnings. Educated workers find high paying jobs, locally or in secondary cities. With labour as the main asset of the poor, landless and near-landless households have to sell their labour in farm and nonfarm activities or leave rural areas<sup>15</sup>.

## 2. Migration-Development Channels and Interlinkages

Migration is an extremely diverse phenomenon. Its economic impact on each origin country, and the impact of policy, will depend on many circumstances—among them the skills and former employment of migrants, the history of migration (the existence and location of a large diaspora), the sectors affected, patterns of trade and production, the investment climate, and the size and geographical location of the country. For example, migration policies appropriate for a large developing country with substantial low-skilled emigration and effective institutions will differ from the policies for a small island economy with substantial high-skilled emigration and weak institutions<sup>16</sup>.

### 2.1 The impacts of migration on migrants and their families

#### *Better economic prospects drive migration*

Migrants from developing to high-income countries generally enjoy large increases in earnings. A dataset compiled by the International Labour Organization (ILO) shows that workers in high-income countries earn a median wage that is almost five times the level of that of workers in low-income countries, adjusted for differences in purchasing power. These data may overstate the wages that migrants expect, because their earnings, at least initially, tend to be lower than those of natives. Moreover, many poor workers who lack local language skills and have minimal education may find limited employment prospects in high-income country job markets.

On the other hand, these data may understate the benefit of migration from the perspective of the household. In measuring differences in welfare between migrants and those who do not migrate, migrants' earnings in high income countries are reduced to reflect the higher cost of living in high-income countries— or purchasing power parity (PPP). To the extent that migrants send earnings back home in the form of remittances, however, this adjustment is not relevant, so household gains may exceed the PPP-adjusted rise in earnings. Furthermore, the data on income differences may influence expectations of future earnings for migrants and their children, and would undoubtedly generate much larger migration, in the absence of controls.

The expectation of higher earnings is not the only economic incentive for migration. Households may decide to send some members abroad to diversify the family's source of income and thus reduce risk, as shocks affecting the level of wages and the probability of employment in the destination country may not be correlated with the shocks affecting domestic workers<sup>17</sup>.

#### *Migration involves considerable costs*

Despite clear gains for many, migration involves costs and risks that, together with restrictions on migration, help explain why most people prefer to stay at home. Migration can entail substantial up-front costs—transportation, fees charged by recruitment agencies, fees to obtain a visa and work permit, maintenance while searching for work, forgone earnings (if the migrant was or could be employed at home), the reduction in value of location-specific skills (for example, knowing one's native language), and the pain of being separated from family and familiar surroundings. Obviously these costs will vary enormously among migrants<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> World Bank, World Development Report 2008, [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2008/Resources/2795087-1192112387976/WDR08\\_16\\_ch09.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2008/Resources/2795087-1192112387976/WDR08_16_ch09.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> World Bank, Global Economic Prospects, cit.

<sup>17</sup> OECD, Effects of migration on sending countries: what do we know? OECD Development Centre Working Paper n. 250, 2006, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/24/54/37053726.pdf>

<sup>18</sup> OECD, Effects of migration, cit.

*Decisions to migrate are often made with inadequate information*

The distance and differences in language and culture between countries of origin and destination imply that migration is particularly affected by inadequate information. Migrants may have a distorted notion of the possibilities of employment and the likely wage in countries of destination, as well as insufficient information on the costs and potential risks of the trip. Smugglers, recruitment agencies, and others with a financial stake in encouraging migration may present a biased picture of the migration experience, and poor information increases the potential for migrants to suffer from fraud and abuse.

*A diaspora can reduce the costs facing migrants*

The stock of emigrants in countries of destination can reduce the costs facing new migrants from the same origin country. As migrant networks spread, private institutions and voluntary associations emerge to provide a range of services, including counseling, social services, and legal advice; lodging, credit and job search assistance; and the means to reduce the cost of undocumented migration, including smuggling and transport, counterfeit documents, and arranged marriages. The migrant diaspora can also reduce the likelihood of, and fears concerning, abuse.

*There are costs for those left behind*

Finally, migration may impose costs on family members left behind, particularly children. In general, emigration does impose hardships on family members left behind, but it also improves household income and improves families' ability to make compensating adjustments that mitigate those hardships<sup>19</sup>.

*The impact of international migration on countries of origin varies*

The impact of migration on countries of origin varies greatly, depending on the size of emigrant flows, the kinds of migrants, and labour and product market conditions in the country.

In describing these effects, it is useful to distinguish between skill levels, given the differences in the labour markets for low- and high skilled workers.

1) *Low-skilled migration can improve labour market conditions for other poor workers*

The effects of South–North migration on working conditions for low-skilled workers in the developing world as a whole must be small. In individual countries, however, large scale emigration can place increased pressure on wages or reduce unemployment of low skilled workers at the margin. Low skill emigration also may reduce underemployment or raise labour-market participation without significant wage increases. The wage response to emigration depends on the institutional setting in the labour market in the home country (such as the role of unions, public sector employment, and minimum wage laws); the extent of emigration relative to the domestic labour force; and the degree to which emigrants were productively employed before migrating.

*Migration of low-skilled workers is usually beneficial* - Whether emigration results in reduced underemployment, increased labour-market participation, or higher wages, low-skilled workers in the home labour market gain, either directly or indirectly, from additional remittance spending. Emigration of low-skilled workers thus can act as a safety valve for the failure to create appropriate employment at home. In general, however, the opportunity to send low-skilled workers abroad provides substantial benefits to origin countries because of the impact on labour markets and remittances.

*Low-skilled migration has contributed to poverty alleviation* - The reduced supply of low-skilled workers may help to alleviate poverty, if as a result of emigration, poor people receive higher wages or find new opportunities to work or receive remittances.

Low-skilled emigration also alleviates poverty to the extent that the people emigrating are poor. It is unlikely, however, that a large proportion of migrants to industrial countries are poor according to

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<sup>19</sup> OECD, Effects of migration, cit.

the World Bank's definition of poverty as living on less than \$2 a day— although certainly a very large share is poor compared to even the poorest in high-income countries. Most of the world's poor people live in countries that are far away from industrial countries (Bangladesh, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, and most of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa), so transportation is expensive. Moreover, many poor people lack the rudimentary skills required to obtain a job in industrial countries, as well as the social networks that would facilitate migration and provide assistance once in the destination country. Nevertheless, the limited data indicate that the very poor do move abroad to some extent.

## 2) *There is a sharp increase in high-skilled migration*

The emigration of high-skilled workers from developing countries has increased since the 1970s.<sup>20</sup> By 1990, the stock of high-skilled South–North migrants in the United States alone was more than eight times the total number of high-skilled migrants from developing to industrial countries over the 1961–72 period, not counting foreign students. The number of highly educated emigrants from developing countries residing in OECD countries doubled from 1990 to 2000, compared to an approximate 50% rise in the number of developing-country emigrants with only a primary education. Rates of high-skill emigration vary enormously among developing countries, from less than 1% (Turkmenistan) to almost 90% (Suriname) and by region, from 15% for Sub-Saharan Africa to 5% for Europe and Central Asia.

It is important to keep in mind this degree of diversity, as high-skill emigration can have very different effects, depending on the size and economic conditions in origin countries. The increase in high-skilled migration is partly due to the growing importance of selective immigration policies first introduced in Australia and Canada in the 1980s and later in other OECD countries. Major recruiting countries have increased their intake of skilled migrants and relaxed their criteria relating to labour-market testing and job offers. Some countries (for example, Germany, Norway, and the United Kingdom) have introduced new programs; others (such as Austria, the Netherlands, and Sweden) offer fiscal incentives to attract talent to specific sectors. These programs, and the migrants themselves, are responding to rising skill premiums in industrial countries that have tightened global competition for skilled workers. In some instances, high-skilled emigration has a negative impact on living standards of those left behind and on growth.

There are several reasons that migration of high-skilled workers may decrease living standards and growth. First, the total return to education may be greater than the private return, because highly educated workers may be more productive when interacting with similar workers, and they may help train other workers. Then, emigration of high-skilled workers may impose a fiscal cost. In most developing countries education is heavily subsidized by the state, so that the permanent emigration of educated workers represents a loss of fiscal revenues.

Finally, emigration of high-skilled workers will increase the price of services that require technical skills. It is difficult to provide comparable levels of service with low-skilled workers, and greater resources devoted to training may be lost through further emigration<sup>20</sup>.

### *But high-skilled migration is often beneficial for origin countries*

The costs of high-skilled emigration should be evaluated against the beneficial effects of migration, skilled and unskilled: increased remittances, higher wages (for migrants and workers who stay home), and benefits to destination countries. Moreover, high-skilled emigration will have a limited impact if it is difficult for high-skilled workers to find productive employment in the country of origin. Some recent articles have claimed that high-skilled emigration, even of productively employed workers, may benefit development.

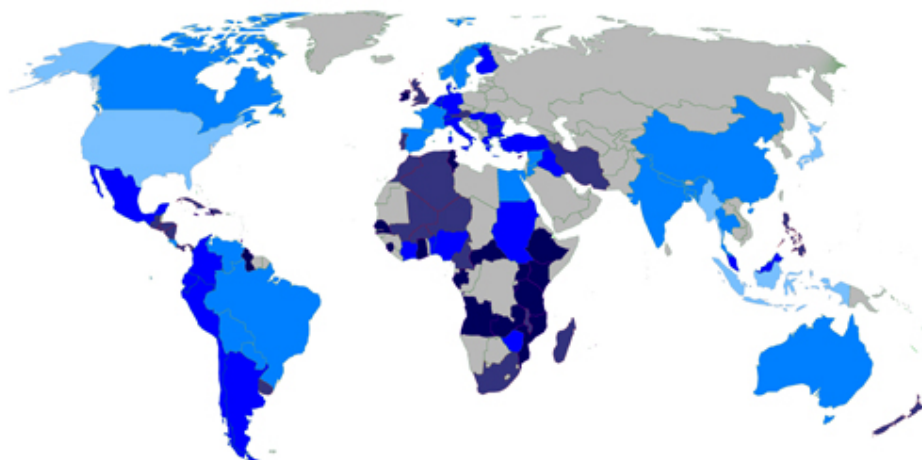
The opportunity to emigrate increases the returns to education, leading more individuals to invest in education with a view to emigrating. However, only some of the educated people will actually emigrate. If the increase in human capital of those unable to emigrate exceeds the loss from those who do emigrate, then society's human capital rises following the opening of emigration opportunities (a phenomenon known as the "brain gain"). The effect will be largest in countries with large stocks of emigrants (so that the probability of emigration is high). These models have been

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<sup>20</sup> OECD, *Effects of migration*, cit.

questioned, however, because they assume that foreign firms are not able to discriminate among educated workers (otherwise they would take the best qualified, and so destroy incentives for education by marginal candidates), and because these models do not apply where family reunification programs, unrelated to the skills, predominate.

Findings on the impact of high-skilled emigration are mixed. It is difficult to generalize about the impact of skilled migration. The dispute over gains and losses has remained largely conjectural and has not been settled by the available empirical studies. On balance, it is not possible at present to provide an aggregate, reliable estimate of the true impact of high-skilled emigration<sup>21</sup>.



Share of a country's nationals with a university degree living in an(other) OECD country<sup>22</sup>

- |                 |                |                 |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| ■ Less than 2%  | ■ Less than 5% | ■ Less than 10% |
| ■ Less than 20% | ■ Over 20%     | ■ Not included  |

Conventional wisdom suggests that international migration of the highly skilled from poor to rich countries — the so-called brain drain phenomenon — threatens development. Comparing emigration rates of the highly educated — the share of a country's nationals with a university education who live in the OECD — reveals that low-income countries suffer disproportionately from the brain drain. In parts of Sub-Saharan Africa and Central America, sometimes more than half of all university graduates migrate to OECD countries, with potentially serious consequences for critical sectors such as education, health and engineering.

Developing countries could even benefit from high-skill migration if partnerships between sending and receiving countries encourage a repatriation of skills and knowledge (brain circulation). Diaspora networks play a crucial role, as the example of start-up companies of returned Indian migrants demonstrates. Furthermore, aid targeted at critical occupational sectors may help to retain potential migrants<sup>23</sup>.

## 2.2 The impacts of migration on home country's development

Migration affects a migrant's home country in a variety of ways. In particular, shocks related to migration processes include changes in labour supply as well as changes in productivity. Migration processes also induce endogenous behavioural or policy responses as sending countries tend to

<sup>21</sup> OECD, Effects of migration, cit.

<sup>22</sup> Source: OECD website, Migration and the Brain Drain Phenomenon, [http://www.oecd.org/document/40/0,3343,en\\_2649\\_33935\\_39269032\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/40/0,3343,en_2649_33935_39269032_1_1_1_1,00.html)

<sup>23</sup> Source: OECD website, Migration and the Brain Drain Phenomenon, [http://www.oecd.org/document/40/0,3343,en\\_2649\\_33935\\_39269032\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/40/0,3343,en_2649_33935_39269032_1_1_1_1,00.html)

adjust to ongoing shocks. Both shocks and responses affect labour resource availability and productivity.

Negative shocks in labour supply appear at early stages of migration, when a large number of people, mostly economic migrants, decide to leave their home country to seek employment and better living conditions elsewhere. These shocks may be positive at later stages of migration when return migration takes place and/or immigration may take over. Migration might even lead to depopulation or more often to massive departure of labour with specific levels and types of skills (e.g. nurses, doctors, teachers) which at least in the short-run may have severe adverse effects on the stock of human capital. In the medium run however, moderate migration can result in improved incentives for skill accumulation and replenishment, thus enhancing productivity. These changes in labour supply, induced by migration, constitute the first channel through which migration affects development.

A further major impact of migration on development comes through remittances which are sent by migrants to families and relatives who have remained in their country of origin. Both the labour supply eventually and the transfer shock affect poverty and growth directly through substitution and income effects and indirectly through productivity changes.

Migration-related shocks linked to labour supply changes lead to specific behavioural and policy responses depending on specific structural characteristics. These structural characteristics include labour and credit market conditions as well as the migrants' characteristics (gender, age, skill, regional origin). For example, in countries with a large supply of unskilled labour and a high rate of unskilled unemployment, migration of a proportion of this labour group will not have a major impact on productivity since unemployed or unskilled workers will fill in for migrant labour. However if the substitutability between migrants and natives is low, then migration could have a negative impact on output and productivity. In later stages of migration, when either migrants start returning back home or immigration is taking over emigration, the labour supply shock may be positive, and its impact would depend again on labour market conditions. Thus the skill composition of labour in the migrants' sending country and the effective substitutability of labour critically affect income and productivity. Even in cases where substitutability is low, however, productivity increases might eventually be substantial if the improved prospects associated with migration induce non-migrants to invest in education and skill accumulation in expectation of better future prospects abroad<sup>24</sup>

Migration may also have some effects upon sectoral restructuring, and through them, may also affect productivity. In the case of countries which went through the migration process some time ago, changes in the structure of the economy occurred through the mechanisation of agriculture shifting unskilled labour from agriculture to manufacturing. Structural labour supply shocks, characteristics and behavioural responses thus influence the impact effects of migration on sending countries.

The development impact of remittances is also conditional on structural characteristics and behavioural responses due to restructured incentives. Thus, credit market conditions, determine not only the cost of transferring money and thus the channel chosen by migrants to send remittances back home, but also the way remittances are invested. Indeed, the growth and development potential of remittances may be limited by local market imperfections, such as imperfect or absent rural credit markets in which case, recipients would be constrained to borrow against remittances or use them as collateral. Inefficient rural credit markets would also hamper the channelling of savings from households with remittances to those desiring to invest them in productive activities<sup>25</sup>.

### **2.2.a Remittances and their contribution to development**

Broadly speaking, migrant remittances are personal flows of money from migrants to their friends and families and represent the most tangible and perhaps the least controversial link between

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<sup>24</sup> According to this new strand of the skilled migration literature, the higher probability of migration increases the incentives to acquire education and through that the share of skilled population in the migrants' home country. This hypothetical increased human capital would have positive effects on productivity and subsequently growth. This outcome is possible under the assumption that not all skilled individuals will actually migrate and that access to education and training is feasible.

<sup>25</sup> OECD, Effects of migration, cit.

migration and development. They can play an effective role in reducing poverty, and they provide a convenient angle for approaching the complex migration agenda.

*Remittances<sup>26</sup> to developing countries reached \$251 billion in 2007..*

Newly released data from some important recipient countries reveal that remittance flows to developing countries reached \$251 billion in 2007, up from an earlier estimate of \$240 billion. These data show that remittances received by developing countries grew by 11% between 2006 and 2007, and have more than doubled since 2002<sup>27</sup>.

*..but in 2008 are slowing down in response to the financial crisis*

After several years of strong growth, remittances flows to developing countries began to slowdown in the third quarter of 2008. This slowdown is expected to deepen further in 2009 in response to the global financial crisis, although the exact magnitude of the growth moderation (or outright decline, in some cases) is hard to predict given the uncertainties about global growth, commodity prices and exchange rates. In nominal dollar terms, officially recorded remittance flows to developing countries are estimated to reach 283 billion \$ in 2008, up to 6,7% from 265 billion \$; but in real terms, remittances are expected to fall from 2% of GDP in 2007 to 1,8% in 2008.

This decline, however, is smaller than that of private or official flows, implying that remittances are expected to remain resilient relative to many others of resources flows to developing countries. In 2009, remittances are expected to fall by 0,9% (or, at the worst case, no more than 6%). Migration flows from developing countries may slow as a result of the global growth slowdown, but the stock of international migrants from developing countries is unlikely to decrease.<sup>28</sup>

*The Growing Importance of Remittances and Their Impact on Development*

The true size of remittances, including unrecorded flows through formal and informal channels, is believed to be even larger. They are almost as large as foreign direct investment, and more than twice as large as the official aid received by developing countries.

The doubling of recorded remittances over the past five years is a result of a combination of factors: better measurement of flows; increased scrutiny since the terrorist attacks of September 2001; reduction in remittance costs and expanding networks in the money transfer industry; depreciation of the US dollar (raising the dollar value of remittances in other currencies); and growth in the migrant stock and incomes<sup>29</sup>.

*Poor Countries Receive Relatively Larger Remittances*

In 2006, the top three recipients of remittances— India, China, and Mexico—each received nearly \$25 billion. But smaller and poorer countries tend to receive relatively larger remittances in proportion to the size of their economies. Expressing remittances as a share of GDP, the top recipients were Moldova (30%), Tonga (27%), Guyana (22%), and Haiti (21%). Remittances are thus more evenly distributed across developing countries than are private capital flows<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) interpretation, remittances are recorded in three different sections of the balance of payments:

i) Compensations of employees are the gross earnings of workers residing abroad for less than 12 months, including the value of in-kind benefits;

ii) Workers' remittances are the value of monetary transfers sent home from workers residing abroad for more than one year;

iii) Migrants' transfers represent the net wealth of migrants who move from one country of employment to another. While the IMF categories are well defined, there are several problems associated with their implementation worldwide that can affect their comparability. Source: OECD, International Migrant Remittances and their Role in Development, 2006, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/61/46/38840502.pdf>

<sup>27</sup> World Bank, Revisions to remittances trends 2007, Migration and Development Brief 5, 2008

[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/MD\\_Brief5.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/MD_Brief5.pdf)

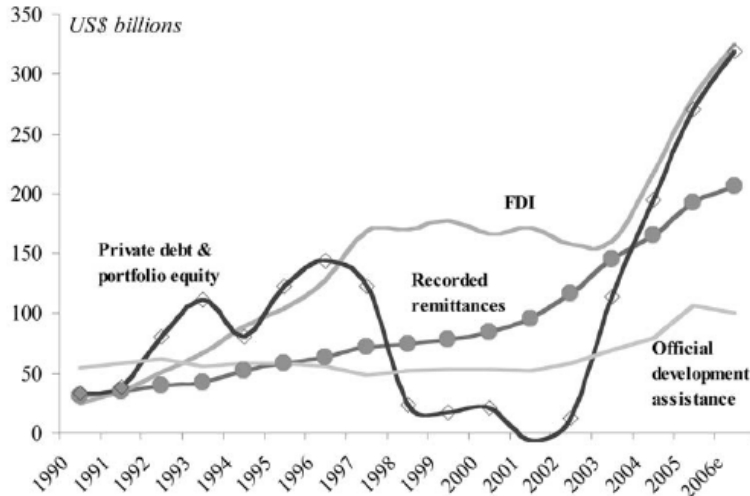
<sup>28</sup> World Bank, Outlook for remittances flows 2008-2010, Migration and development Brief 8, 2008

[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/MD\\_Brief8.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/MD_Brief8.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> Migration Policy Institute (MPI), Leveraging remittances for development, Policy Brief, 2007

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1100792545130/LeveragingRemittancesforDev.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> MPI, Leveraging remittances, cit.

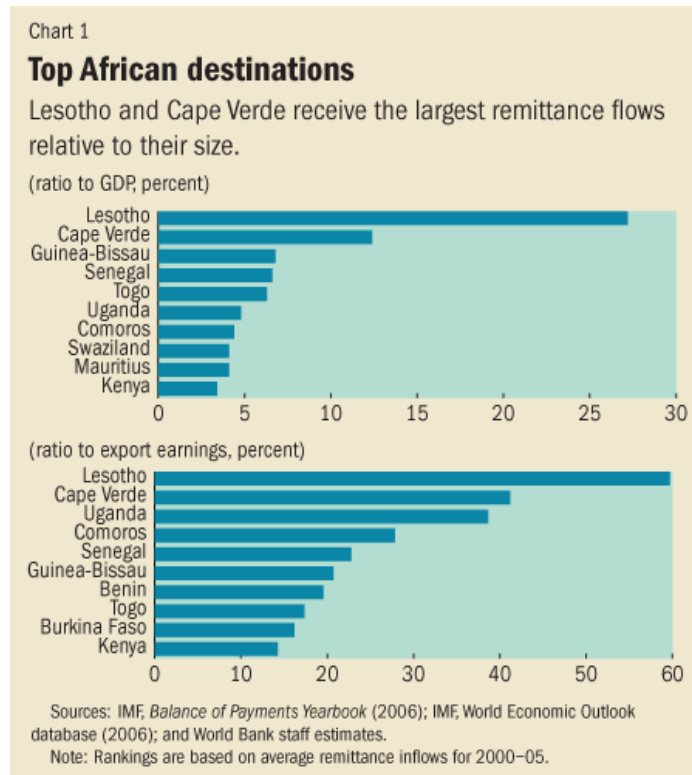


Source: Author's calculation based on *Global Development Finance 2007* and *IMF Balance of Payments Statistics Yearbook 2006*.

### Remittances and capital flows to developing countries<sup>31</sup>

#### Remittances flows to ACP countries: some data

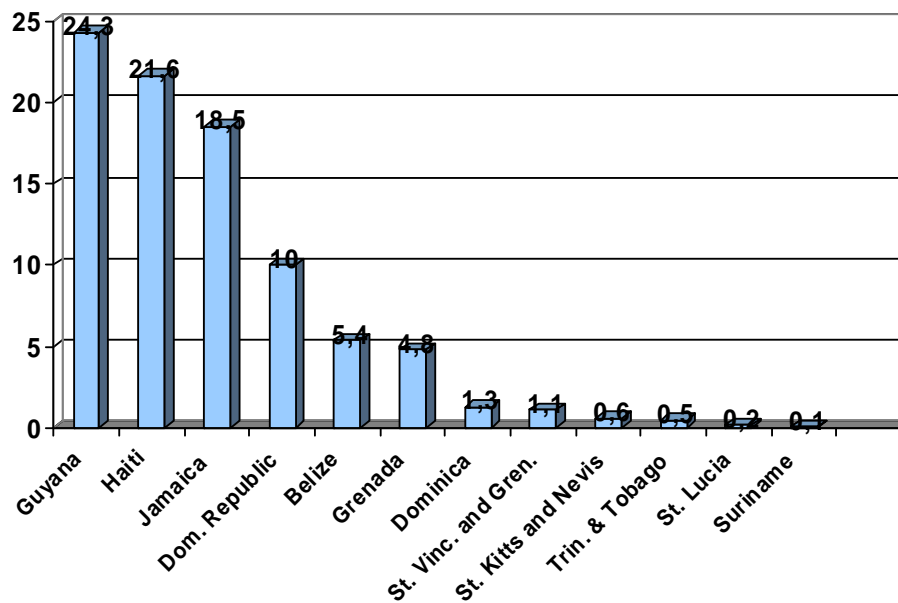
##### Sub-Saharan Africa



### Average remittances inflows in 2000-2005<sup>32</sup>

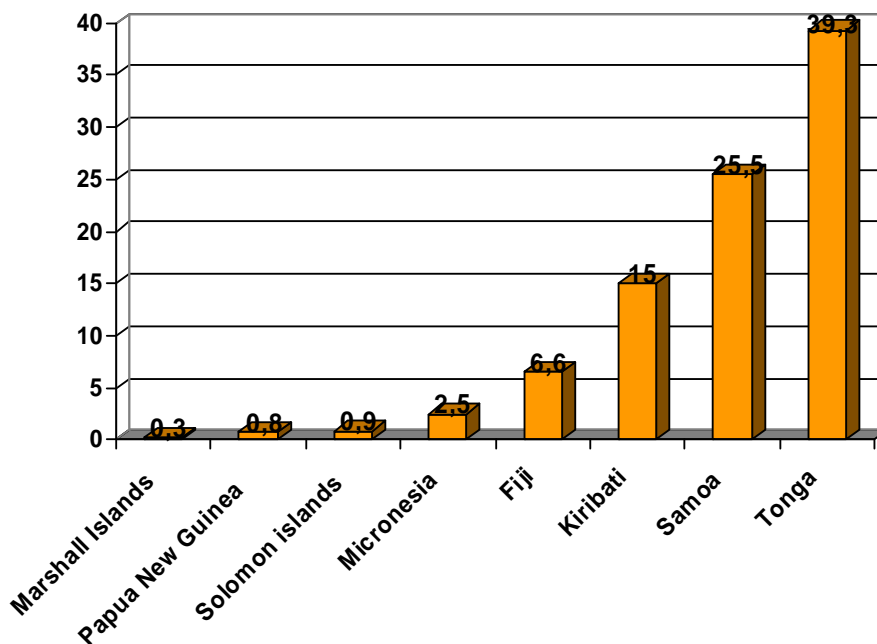
<sup>31</sup> Migration Policy Institute (MPI), *Leveraging remittances for development*, Policy Brief, 2007  
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1100792545130/LeveragingRemittancesforDev.pdf>

## Caribbean region



Officially recorded remittances in 2006 as a % of GDP<sup>33</sup>

## Pacific Islands



Officially recorded remittances in 2005 as a % of GDP<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Source: IMF, Making Remittances work for Africa, IMF Finance and Development quarterly, vol. 44, n. 2, June 2007, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2007/06/gupta.htm>

<sup>33</sup> Elaborated from World Bank, Migration and Remittances Factbook 2008, <http://go.worldbank.org/59JJA306X0>  
The table reports officially recorded remittances. The true size of remittances, including unrecorded flows through formal and informal channels, is believed to be larger.

### *Remittances are stable or even countercyclical*

Remittances tend to be more stable than private capital flows, and may even be countercyclical relative to the recipient economy. They tend to rise when the recipient economy suffers a downturn in activity, an economic crisis, natural disaster or a political conflict, as migrants may send more funds during hard times to help their families and friends. In Somalia and Haiti, for example, they have provided a lifeline for the poor. In addition to bringing the direct benefits of higher wages earned abroad, migration helps households diversify their sources of income and thus reduce their vulnerability to risks<sup>35</sup>.

### *Remittances reduce poverty*

Remittances directly augment the income of recipient households. In addition to providing financial resources for poor households, they affect poverty and welfare through indirect multiplier effects and also macroeconomic effects. These flows typically do not suffer from the governance problems that may be associated with official aid flows.

Regression analysis across countries worldwide shows the significant poverty reduction effects of remittances: a 10% increase in per capita official remittances may lead to a 3.5% decline in the share of poor people. Recent research indicates that remittances reduced poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, although with effects that vary across countries.

Household survey data show that remittances have reduced the poverty headcount ratio (percent of population below the national poverty line) significantly in several low income countries—by 11 percentage points in Uganda, 6 percentage points in Bangladesh, and 5 in Ghana. In Nepal, remittances may explain a quarter to a half of the 11 percentage-point reduction in the poverty headcount rate over the past decade (in the face of a difficult political and economic situation).

The analysis of the poverty impact of remittances must take into account the loss of income that the migrant may experience due to migration (for example, if the migrant has to give up his or her job). Such losses are likely to be small for the poor and unemployed but large for the middle- and upper income classes.

Very poor migrants may not be able to send remittances in the initial years after their migration. Also, the remittances of very rich migrants may be smaller than the loss of income due to migration. But for the middle- income groups, remittances enable recipients to move up to a higher income group<sup>36</sup>.

### *Remittances Finance Education, Health, and Entrepreneurship*

Remittances are associated with increased household investments in education, entrepreneurship, and health—all of which have a high social return in most circumstances. Studies based on household surveys in El Salvador and Sri Lanka find that children of remittance-receiving households have a lower school dropout ratio and that these households spend more on private tuition for their children. Several studies also show that remittances provide capital to small entrepreneurs, reduce credit constraints, and increase entrepreneurship<sup>37</sup>.

### *Remittances May Cause Currency Appreciation*

Large remittance inflows, like any other foreign currency inflows, can cause an appreciation of the real exchange rate and raise the international price of traditional exports while making imports more expensive. Although empirical evidence of such “Dutch disease” effects of remittances is still lacking, the impact is likely to be large in small economies. Several countries, including El Salvador, Kenya, and Moldova, are concerned about the effect of large remittance inflows on currency appreciation. The traditional “sterilization” technique used to prevent currency appreciation due to natural resource windfalls, however, is not appropriate for addressing the currency appreciation due to remittances. Unlike oil windfalls, remittances persist over long periods. Trying to sterilize their impacts year after year can be very costly. Countries have to learn

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<sup>34</sup> Elaborated from IMF, Remittances in the Pacific Region, Working Paper 07/35, 2007, Table 1.

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2007/wp0735.pdf>

<sup>35</sup> MPI, Leveraging remittances, cit.

<sup>36</sup> MPI, Leveraging remittances, cit.

<sup>37</sup> MPI, Leveraging remittances, cit.

to live with these persistent flows. Government spending on infrastructure and efforts to raise labour productivity can to some extent offset the currency appreciation effects of remittances<sup>38</sup>.

#### *The Effect of Remittances on Growth Is Mixed*

To the extent that remittances finance education and health and increase investment, remittances could have a positive effect on economic growth. In the economies where the financial system is underdeveloped, remittances may alleviate credit constraints and act as a substitute for financial development. On the other hand, large outflows of workers (especially skilled workers) can reduce growth in countries of origin. Remittances may also induce recipient households to choose more leisure than labour, with adverse effects on growth. Remittances may be more effective in a good policy environment. For instance, a good investment climate with well-developed financial systems and sound institutions is likely to insure that a larger share of remittances is invested in physical and human capital. Remittances may also promote financial development, which in turn can enhance growth. Empirical evidence on the growth effects of remittances, however, remains mixed. In part, this is because the effects of remittances on human and physical capital are realized over a very long time. This is also partly due to the difficulty associated with disentangling remittances' countercyclical response to growth, which implies that the causality runs from growth to remittances, when in fact the correlation between the two variables is negative.

Finding appropriate instruments for controlling such reverse causality is a challenge. It would be easy to conclude that remittances have a negative effect on growth, but that would be erroneous. Also, to the extent that they increase consumption, remittances may raise individual income levels and reduce poverty, even if they do not directly impact growth<sup>39</sup>.

#### **2.2.b The role of diasporas**

The term "diasporas" refers to expatriate groups which, in contrast to "migrants", applies to expatriate populations abroad and generations born abroad to foreign parents who are or may be citizens of their countries of residence<sup>40</sup>.

#### *A large diaspora can expand market access for origin countries*

A potent benefit of high-skilled emigration is the creation of a large, well-educated diaspora, which improves access to capital, information, and contacts for firms in countries of origin. Immigrants play a role in facilitating trade by providing information and helping to enforce contracts and by acting as intermediaries that can match buyers with reliable local suppliers. Some studies emphasize that diasporas can act as "first movers" who catalyze growth opportunities and make connections between markets that otherwise would not exist. Others cite the importance of diasporas in generating possibilities for codevelopment between firms in the countries of origin and destination, and expanding technical cooperation. However, despite the broad agreement on the importance of diasporas and the many anecdotal comments on how they have assisted development, it is difficult to quantify these benefits<sup>41</sup>.

#### *Diaspora and Brain Drain*

Along with financial flows, international migration is an important channel for the transmission of technology and knowledge. However, the direction and scale of technology flows that result from international migration are less clear than for financial flows.

On the one hand, the out-migration of better educated citizens of developing countries can result in the so-called "brain drain", which is acute in some (mainly smaller) developing countries. On the other hand, return migration and the immigration, albeit often temporary, of managers and

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<sup>38</sup> MPI, Leveraging remittances, cit.

<sup>39</sup> MPI, Leveraging remittances, cit.

<sup>40</sup> IOM, Engaging Diasporas as Development Partners for Home and Destination Countries: Challenges for Policymakers, 2006,

[http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published\\_docs/serial\\_publications/MRS26.pdf](http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/serial_publications/MRS26.pdf)

<sup>41</sup> World Bank, Global Economic Prospects, cit.

engineers that often accompanies Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) and contact with a country's technologically sophisticated diaspora are positive sources of technology transfer<sup>42</sup>.

Brain drain - Emigration rates of the university-educated tend to be higher than for the general population in developing countries. This is even greater for scientists, engineers, and members of the medical profession. High rates of skilled outmigration from developing countries imply a net transfer of human capital and scarce resources (in the form of the cost of educating these workers) from low- to high-income countries. For some countries, the brain drain represents a significant problem: emigration rates of highly educated individuals exceed 60% in some small countries. In addition, the emigration of professionals who make a direct contribution to production, such as engineers, may result in reduced rates of domestic innovation and technology adoption. However, given the lack of opportunities in many developing countries, the contribution that out-migrants would have made had they stayed home is uncertain.

Brain gain - In countries with more moderate out-migration rates, the creation of a vibrant and technologically sophisticated diaspora may be beneficial in net terms, especially when domestic opportunities are limited, because of technological transfers from the diaspora and because most migration is not a one-way flow. For example, a large number of foreign students from developing countries who earn their doctorates in the United States return home, bringing with them a great deal of technological and market knowledge that represents an important technological transfer in favor of the developing country. The share of recent doctoral graduates from developing countries who remain in the host country varies significantly across countries of origin. In part, these cross-national differences reflect differences in opportunity costs<sup>43</sup>.

#### *The diaspora as a brain bank*

Repeated waves of emigration have led to the creation of vibrant diasporas that possess cutting-edge technology, capital, and professional contacts. For example, developing countries accounted for three-quarters (approximately 2.5 million) of the 3.3 million immigrant scientists and engineers living in the United States in 2003. Moreover, because out-migration rates are higher for high-skilled individuals than for low-skilled individuals, on average, the diaspora is much more skilled than the home country population and represents an important concentration of expertise. Notwithstanding the size of the diaspora, relatively little rigorous empirical research exists on whether and to what extent it influences technology adoption and creation in emigrants' home countries. The primary evidence of diaspora contributions to knowledge transfers comes in the form of case studies. At a minimum, the technical, market, and marketing knowledge of national diasporas is a huge potential technological resource.

Returning migrants can be a major source of entrepreneurship, technology, marketing knowledge, and investment capital. The diaspora also contributes to technology transfers and adoption by strengthening trade and investment linkages. Moreover, technology appears to diffuse more efficiently through culturally and nationally linked groups, and shared ethnicity appears to counteract the kind of home bias effects that underpin the geographic network or the cluster effects that give high-density R&D zones an innovation advantage<sup>44</sup>.

#### *Remittances can promote technology diffusion by making investments more affordable*

As noted above, remittances to developing countries have grown steadily in recent years, reaching an estimated \$240 billion in 2007, and are now larger than FDI and equity inflows in many countries, especially small, low-income countries. Remittances can support the diffusion of technology by reducing the credit constraints of receiving households and encouraging investment and entrepreneurship.

Remittance flows have also contributed to the extension of banking services (often by using innovative technologies), including microfinance, to previously unserved, often rural sectors. This

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<sup>42</sup> World Bank, International Migration and Technological Progress, Migration and Development Brief 4, February 1, 2008, [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/Migration&Development\\_Brief\\_4.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/Migration&Development_Brief_4.pdf)

<sup>43</sup> World Bank, International Migration and Technological Progress, cit.

<sup>44</sup> World Bank, International Migration and Technological Progress, cit.

has improved household and firm access to financial services, and their ability to purchase and invest in technology. For example, remittance revenues may have enabled Ghana's ApexLink bank to expand its networks and services. Cell phone money transfers and card-based remittances are becoming prevalent in a number of countries, including Mozambique and South Africa, and are likely to expand to other countries in the coming years. Remittances have also helped domestic banks foster links with banks in high-income countries. In turn, such links have fostered technology transfers as banks in high-income countries have helped local partners to upgrade their systems to comply with the anti-money-laundering, antiterrorism and know-your-customer regulations in developed countries<sup>45</sup>.

### **2.3 Social Effects of Migration on Sending Countries**

Although the economic effects of migration have been extensively studied, the social effects have received less attention. However, they are very important and often closely linked with the much more studied economic effects of migration. Migration may impact on social life in several ways and the impact will be different for different types of migration as well as different stages of the migration cycle. For instance, the selection of family members into migration, at early stages, will have an impact on family roles. At later stages, the impact may change since family reunion takes place or new members of the family may have the chance to migrate independently.

The social effects of migration consist of changes in family composition, in gender roles, child outcomes in terms of labour, health and education, cultural effects and issues related to crime. In this section, we will attempt a short description of these effects and a brief review of the existing literature on selected social effects of migration.

One may identify two main possible effects of migration on outcomes for children. First migration, through remittances, increases household income which may lead to reduced child labour and increased educational attainment. On the other hand, migration also alters family composition and roles within the family which may have adverse effects on educational success and educational outcomes for children in migrants' households. Children in migrants' families often grow up in single parent families and are confronted with problems of family disintegration and family stress. Moreover migration may cause a shift in adolescents' orientation, in the sense that children may consider migration as their ultimate goal and decide to pursue further education in order to increase their migration prospects and probability (e.g. migration alters the structure of incentives for human capital accumulation). These could have direct, positive, impacts on schooling outcomes and educational attainment. Under the hypothesis that not all of these individuals will leave the country, this may increase the stock of human capital for future generations.

Migration may have an important impact on migrants' household lives in terms of family roles and gender roles within the family. In particular the selection of migrants within the household (whether it is the father, the mother or older children who migrate) will have an impact on the family members who stay behind and their roles within the household after migration has started. Most importantly the role of women in the household and subsequently in the society may change. In this sub section, we review the limited empirical evidence on these matters.

A very important factor determining the social outcomes of migration is who migrates in the household. At early stages of migration in many countries, men (and in particular men aged 30-50) are the most likely to be the first to migrate. At later stages though, women may follow them either as accompanying members or as independent migrants. Once the head of the household has gone abroad, informal negotiations take place within the family to elect the person who will serve as the representative of the household.

In general for women whose husbands migrate, the outcomes of migration are mixed and depend on the existing cultural practices and soft institutions, the flexibility of gender roles and family organization. Research by the IOM suggests that migration may have an empowering impact on women through their physical and financial independence and their self esteem gained by being perceived as family providers by the community. However this is not always the case as women might encounter difficulties in the accessing labour market and in earning their living. In successful cases, women can become drivers of change in family relations and structure. In addition the

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<sup>45</sup> World Bank, International Migration and Technological Progress, cit.

empowering of women can play a crucial role in the way remittances are spent back home. Moreover, by modifying the traditional gender roles in the family, migration may also have an impact on community activities and operations depending on women's role and participation in the community <sup>46</sup>.

#### *The broader socioeconomic effects of migration*

Other socioeconomic effects of migration that differ from the pure effect of remittances include (but are not limited to) the following. There is lost income of a migrant, which may or may not be offset by lower consumption needs (absence of an "eater"). Household labour supply might change. So can the set of opportunities. Moreover, migrant households may face different prices of community participation, e.g. by raising expectations that a migrant would contribute more or help others. Migration can disrupt family life by putting emotional stress on children, leaving them with less supervision or forcing them to take up more household work – all with negative consequences for their learning. Successful migration of others can change expectations of returns to education and (positively or negatively) influence schooling decisions. Migrants can transfer knowledge about better technologies (leading to more income and less poverty) or bring more awareness of health/education issues (leading to better human development outcomes). All these channels should be acknowledged <sup>47</sup>.

### **3. Remittances and rural development**

It is increasingly recognised that migrants constitute an invaluable resource for development and poverty reduction in their home countries. For many developing countries, remittances from overseas migrants exceed development aid and foreign direct investment volumes. Moreover, remittances from migrant relatives, either internal or international, are often the main component of rural households' incomes.

Unlike aid, remittances flow directly to individual households and unlike loans they incur no debt. Besides contributing to household livelihoods, remittances can foster longer-term development through investment in education, land and small businesses.

In some places, migrants' associations channel part of the remittance inflows into community development projects, such as schools, health centres and wells. At the same time, migration creates new challenges. First, in agriculture-based economies where a significant portion of the adult population is absent on migration, labour shortages may make the local economy highly dependent on remittances, raising concerns for its sustainability in the longer term. Secondly, migration may increase inequality, as households receiving remittances are able to buy land and other key resources, set up new businesses and improve their children's education.

Conversely, households not benefiting from this precious source of income may see their access to such resources and livelihood strategies reduced. Thirdly, inflows of remittances may exacerbate competition and even conflict, as individuals and groups seek to buy scarce valuable resources such as residential land in urban areas, and may foster corrupt practices by central and local government officials seeking to gain from that competition. Finally, in urban and peri-urban areas, substantial remittance inflows and lack of effective local planning may lead to unregulated urban expansion into previously agricultural lands without adequate service provision.

Despite extensive work on both migration and development, the links between the two remain little understood by policy makers and development practitioners. Little is known for instance of the role that remittances play regarding access to land and other natural resources in the home countries, and of the factors and policies that can help maximise their social and economic outcomes. In recent years, new research has started to address this knowledge gap, and governments have begun to reflect on ways to harness resources from the diaspora to promote development and poverty reduction at home <sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>46</sup> OECD, Effects of migration on sending countries. What do we know? OECD Development Centre working Paper n. 250, 2006, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/24/54/37053726.pdf>

<sup>47</sup> World Bank, Migration, Poverty and Human Capital, cit.

<sup>48</sup> FAO, Till to tiller: Linkages between international remittances and access to land in West Africa, Livelihood Support Programme (LSP) Working Paper 14, 2004, <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/007/i2815e/i2815e00.pdf>

### 3.1 Remittances and land: exploring the linkages

Within the highly diversified livelihood strategies of rural households, land constitutes a key asset. The linkages between remittances and access to land are extremely complex and likely to vary considerably from place to place, depending on local socio-cultural factors, on the local economic and ecological context, and so on. They can take many different forms, from land purchases funded through remittances to a variety of other land access mechanisms (rentals, administrative allocations, loans, etc). They raise a range of issues, such as effects on land use patterns, on land competition and disputes, and on land access for non-migrant households. The land related effects of remittances may take decades to materialise.

*Land purchases* - Studies from across the world show that purchases of agricultural land constitute a frequent form of remittance use. Land purchases may be formal transfers of land ownership, or informal transactions where the seller is not the legitimate owner (e.g. as land may be owned by the state) or has no land title to prove his land rights.

*Looking beyond purchases* - The relatively small body of literature on the linkages between remittances and land seems to focus on land purchases. However, evidence suggests that remittances may directly or indirectly improve access to land in many other ways. More research is needed better to understand these different aspects of the remittances-land linkages. Here are just a few examples:

- Increasing the security of existing land access. Examples include paying for the procedure to obtain title over family land; releasing land by paying out mortgages and, more generally, making more productive use of land through hired labour and agricultural inputs (in many Francophone West African countries, land rights are conditional upon productive land use – “mise en valeur”).
- Leases and rentals. Migrant households keen to invest remittances in agriculture (hired labour, agricultural inputs, etc) but without access to sufficient land may improve their land access through rentals and long-term leases. These are particularly useful where land sales are prohibited, or where individuals or groups are not prepared to sell customary land (e.g., on Ghana)
- Land allocations. Migrant households may apply for land to institutions responsible for land allocation, whether customary or statutory, by showing their increased capacity to cultivate more land through remittance-supported hired labour and agricultural inputs. In this scenario, relevant issues include mechanisms to ensure the representation of migrants before land management institutions, to protect the interests of non-migrant households and to ensure the transparency of the land allocation process.

*Land use changes* - The existing literature seems to pay relatively little attention to changes in land use associated with remittance-supported land purchases and more generally with remittance inflows. Questions to be investigated include for instance whether migrant households use the newly acquired land for subsistence farming or for commercial agriculture; in the latter case, whether they cultivate “traditional” crops or new types of crop; whether they mainly rely on family labour or hire farm workers; whether these processes affect the relations between farming and herding; and so on.

A claim that is sometimes made is that out-migration and the ensuing labour loss may result in a reduction of land under cultivation. However, in some cases remittances may help tackle this issue, by enabling households to recruit hired labour to cultivate the fields.

*Gender* - Migration is a gendered phenomenon. While both men and women migrate, the extent to which they do so and the nature of their migration (duration, type of occupation, etc) tend to vary along gender lines. Where migrants leave women and their households behind, women’s responsibilities for household livelihoods and for agriculture increase. Some authors suggest that this increased burden is accompanied by greater decision-making power within the household.

*Some contribution of remittances to rural development*

Improved access to land enables households to expand their agricultural activities, either for subsistence or for commercial purposes. In both cases, this contributes to their income. However, improving access to agricultural land is only one of the many possible uses of remittances, and by no means the most common. Basic needs aside, housing seems to be the most common form of remittance use.

In this regard, some studies show possible differences in the perception of needs and priorities between migrants and families back home. Thus, while for migrants land is usually not a priority, the livelihoods of their families may substantially depend on it. In these cases, where remittances are sent to support the family rather than for an individual project of the migrant, land-based uses of remittances (including reclamation of land lent to others, use of agricultural hired labour, etc.) may be decided by the family with a substantial degree of autonomy from the migrant.

Further analysis is needed of the development outcomes from improved land access achieved through remittances. Where this happens the contribution in terms of increased agricultural production and rural development is evident <sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> FAO, *Till to tiller*, cit.

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## Glossary<sup>50</sup>

**ASYLUM** - The grant, by a state, of protection on its territory to (a) person(s) from another state fleeing persecution or serious danger.

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in its Article 14 (1): "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in another country asylum from persecution." This reference also appears in a number of national bills of rights or constitutions. Asylum encompasses a variety of elements, including non-refoulement, permission to remain on the territory of the asylum country, and humane standards of treatment. International standards of reference are spelled out in the 1951 UN Refugee Convention which is the main international instrument defining refugees legally and international human rights law. Asylum is a specific form of protection. The common-language use of the term often blurs the legal requirements for asylum to be granted (reality and nature of the persecution or serious danger) but a defining characteristic of asylum remains the protection being granted by a given state. Diplomatic asylum in the broad sense is used to refer to asylum granted by a state outside its territory, particularly in its diplomatic missions. Territorial asylum can be defined as asylum granted within the territorial limits of the state offering asylum. The 1967 UN Declaration on Territorial Asylum outlines a number of principles on which states should base themselves in their practices relating to territorial asylum. Access to the asylum procedure, protection and assistance for children whether accompanied, unaccompanied or separated, outside their country of origin is covered by the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 22) and the General Comment No 6 of the Committee on the Rights of the Child (Treatment of unaccompanied and separated children outside their country of origin, 2005).

**ASYLUM SEEKER** - A person expressing in any manner the wish to seek international protection outside his/her country

In countries with individualised procedures, an asylum-seeker may be defined as someone whose claim for refugee status has not yet been finally decided upon by the country in which he or she has submitted it. However the general understanding is broader and reflected in the definition above. A person does not need to have submitted an asylum application and/or be awaiting decision on his or her claim for refugee status under relevant international or national instruments to be considered an asylum-seeker. Not every asylum-seeker will ultimately be legally recognised as a refugee, but every recognised refugee is initially an asylum-seeker in the sense of the proposed definition. International protection refers essentially to refugee protection but is arguably broader. Access to the asylum procedure, protection and assistance for children whether accompanied, unaccompanied or separated, outside their country of origin is covered by the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 22) and the General Comment No 6 of the Committee on the Rights of the Child (Treatment of unaccompanied and separated children outside their country of origin, 2005).

**COUNTRY OF ORIGIN / TRANSIT / DESTINATION - Country of origin:** A country where a person or a group of persons originate(s), i.e. country of his/her nationality or in the case of stateless persons the country of usual residence.

**Country of transit:** A country through which a person or a group of persons travels, possibly involving temporary settlement, on the way to a given country of destination.

**Country of destination:** A country that is the destination for a person or group of persons.

It should be noted that identifying the country of origin, transit or destination of a specific person or group of persons can depend on the perspective one takes. The terms are sometimes also understood to be qualifications of the countries per se, indicating the predominant feature of a country's migration profile. Although this use of the terms remains relevant, their distinction may in practice be slightly arbitrary in the face of the growing complexity of global migration routes and patterns. Research shows that countries are often simultaneously countries of origin, transit and destination. In the context of long term migration, the terms country of settlement or country of residence are often used as synonymous with country of destination, although the first may refer to an ongoing process. A person's country of usual residence can be defined as "that in which the person lives, that is to say, the country in which the person has a place to live where he or she normally spends the daily period of rest. Temporary travel abroad for purposes or

<sup>50</sup> Sources: UNHCR, Master Glossary of Terms, 2006; IOM, Glossary on Migration, 2004; OCHA, Glossary of Humanitarian Terms, 2003; UNESCO, People on the move. Handbook of selected terms and concepts, <http://www.thehagueprocess.org/upload/pdf/PDFHandbookWEBSITE.pdf>

recreation, holiday, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage does not entail a change in the country of usual residence” (UN Statistics Division, “Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration, Revision 1”, 1998).

The terms sending, receiving or host country/state should be used carefully. They may occasionally suggest a proactive involvement of national authorities or societies at some point of the migration process which is not always evident. However it is worth noting that these terms sometimes appear in bilateral agreements between countries.

**DIASPORA** - Populations outside their country of origin usually sustaining ties and developing links both with that country of origin and across countries of settlement/residence

The notion of diaspora is a very elusive one and consensus does not exist at present on a single definition. What usually unites members of a diaspora is the consciousness and the claim of a specific identity, the existence of a political, religious or cultural organization of the dispersed group and the various links, material and/or symbolic, with the territory or country of origin but also between countries of settlement/residence. From a development-oriented perspective the term diaspora can refer to individuals originating from one country, living outside this country, irrespective of their citizenship or nationality, who, individually or collectively, are or could be willing to contribute to the development of this country (Source: GFMD background documents, Brussels 2007).

In its broadest sense and definition, the term is increasingly being used to refer equally to persons who remain citizens of their country of origin and to those taking on the citizenship of their host country. A number of definitions are available, so care should be taken to analyse the specifics of each situation. Use of the term should not downplay the diversity of actors it covers and their potentially conflicting interests.

**ENVIRONMENTALLY DISPLACED PERSON** - Person whose migration movement is of a forced nature and decisively induced by an environmental factor.

There is no generally accepted definition of the term. It is used as a slightly more neutral alternative to the term environmental refugee, also used to describe people displaced through natural and man-made disasters or environmental degradation. Both terms demand to be used with care as they tend to imply a unique cause to the displacement which may be misleading. Although more frequently used, the latter term is particularly problematic. The term “refugee” usually implies the crossing of state borders, whereas movements concerned here may be occurring within the borders of a state. In addition, it poses a significant risk of diluting the concept of “refugee” as legally defined in the 1951 UN Refugee Convention even though it may rightly point to the forced character of the movement. Use of the term environmental refugee is therefore not recommended, even though it is frequently used.

The term climate refugee, though it refers more specifically to movements induced by climate change, raises similar difficulties. The term environmental migrant is also used as “persons or groups of persons who, for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad” (Source: IOM). However the expression environmental migrant itself may lead to confusion as the term “migrant” is generally used to cover cases of voluntary migration (unless further specification is introduced i.e “forced migrant”). Environmentally Induced Population Movements (EIPM) are receiving growing attention in both political and academic circles.

**FAMILY REUNION/ REUNIFICATION** - The process of bringing together family members, particularly children, spouses and elderly dependents.

Family reunion/reunification enables persons to exercise their human right to family life outside of their country of origin (in the context of migration). The right to respect for family life is found in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 16). In addition, several international legal instruments, such as the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the 1990 UN Migrant Workers Convention, stress the importance of family life and encourage family reunification. The 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child advances family reunion as a right, from the perspective of the child’s interest. It states that “applications by a child or his or her parents to enter or leave a State Party for the purpose of family reunification shall be dealt with by States Parties in a positive, humane and expeditious manner” (Article 10 par. 1). From an administrative and policy perspective, family reunification is a ground for allowing immigration of family members to the country were a family member resides. The requirements to be eligible for family reunification vary internationally and may change overtime through legislation.

Family formation is sometimes used to refer to situations where relationships are established following migration. It does not imply the pre-existence of a family structure. Refugee status may be extended to the spouse and dependents of persons who meet the criteria for the status of refugee. If such cases, they then benefit from a so-called derivative refugee status.

**FEMINISATION OF MIGRATION** - Phenomenon of general increase in the relative share, implication and active role of women in migration.

The term feminisation is generally used to refer to the fact that an increasing proportion of the world's migrants are women, and that a rising proportion of them migrate independently. Awareness of feminisation as a key feature of contemporary migration trends has emerged recently as a result of growing data availability. Mainstreaming of the term denotes increasing attention to the previously neglected or underplayed role of women in migration and attendant policy challenges and implications for societies, governments and other stakeholders in the field. These challenges relate notably to specific protection gaps and situations of forced migration and include cases of exploitation and trafficking of women. Other challenges relate to the overall social and economic impact for countries of origin and settlement and the empowerment of migrant women and their families.

**FORCED MIGRATION** - Migration in which an element of coercion predominates.

Forced migration can be conflict-induced, caused by persecution, torture or other human rights violations, poverty, natural or manmade disasters (non exhaustive listing). As repeatedly stated by UNHCR, the distinction between voluntary and forced migration continues to be of relevance. It still constitutes an essential element in the distinction of asylum and immigration policy and the persons they respectively concern. Migration as a general phenomenon relates to a variety of situations engaging forced and voluntary decisions. Elements of choice and coercion can be overlapping but in the case of refugees and other displaced persons, compelling factors are decisive. The same migration routes are sometimes travelled by persons with different protection needs. The expression mixed migration is used in this context to refer to complex movements involving at the same time asylum seekers, refugees, displaced persons as well as migrants in general. The expression mixed flows is also used but not recommended as the term "flow" conveys the notion of uncontrolled and uncontrollable movements.

**GOVERNANCE OF MIGRATION** - System of institutions, legal frameworks, mechanisms and practices aimed at regulating migration and protecting migrants.

The governance of migration is widely understood to engage an increasingly wide range of actors, including local, national and international governments, international organisations, businesses and civil society. The term migration management will often be used as an equivalent to the governance of migration, although migration management is also sometimes used to refer to the narrow act of regulating cross-border movement at the state level. Both terms can be interpreted differently, partly because they encompass a plurality of actors, objectives and tools in a complex field where policy and institutional fragmentation is usually a highlighted feature. There is therefore a need for further specification.

**INCLUSION** - A process designed to allow and achieve the full participation of all in economic, social, political and cultural life of a given community or society.

There is no commonly agreed definition of inclusion. The term social inclusion is increasingly being used by local authorities and national as well as international bodies. The 1995 UN Social Development Summit referred to the term social integration, its aim being "to create a society for all, in which every individual, each with rights and responsibilities, has an active role to play". It adds reference to a number of benchmarks: "An inclusive society must be based on respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms, cultural and religious diversity, social justice and the special needs of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, democratic participation and the rule of law" (Chapter 4, Point 66). Assimilation refers to the adaptation of one ethnic or social group – usually a minority – to another – usually a majority. The term is however politically loaded but its meaning differs widely depending on the society and context in which it is used. The term integration is sometimes used as synonymous with assimilation or differently to refer to a process of mutual adaptation engaging all parties. Understanding should be explicit. Participation is – as both means and end – often considered a core dimension of social inclusion. A participatory approach is an approach which permits and values the involvement and contribution of all key stakeholders - especially the proposed beneficiaries.

Participation should be embedded throughout all stages from analysis and planning to implementation and monitoring of the action or policy.

**INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSON(S)** - Person(s) or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border. (Source: Paragraph 2 of the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement; E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2, 1998)

The two defining characteristics of the concept are forced movement and movement within the borders of a given state. As stated by OCHA, there is no single international legal instrument that sets out the rights of the internally displaced and the obligations of governments and other actors towards them. However, international human rights and humanitarian law do provide protection for displaced persons and were used

as the basis for the “Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement”, adopted by the UN in 1998. The document outlines the rights of the internally displaced at all stages of their displacement, up to their safe return or resettlement, and also covers the prevention of displacement. Although the principles are not as such legally binding, they often represent existing international human rights obligations and provide valuable practical guidance for governments, authorities, international, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. The umbrella term displaced persons is used in certain countries to cover both internal and cross-border cases of forced migration.

**INTERNATIONAL MIGRANT** - Person who changes his/her country of usual residence. (Source: UN Statistics Division, “Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration, Revision 1”, 1998).

The UN Recommendations define a person’s country of usual residence as “that in which the person lives, that is to say, the country in which the person has a place to live where he or she normally spends the daily period of rest. Temporary travel abroad for purposes or recreation, holiday, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage does not entail a change in the country of usual residence”. The same recommendations outline categories of migrants according to duration of stay: A short-term international migrant is defined as “a person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least 3 months but less than a year (12 months), except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visit to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage”. A long-term international migrant is defined as “a person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence.”

The proposed definition of long-term international migrant tends to present international migrant as a fixed or permanent condition beyond the one-year criterion. Strictly following the definition, one can remain and be considered an international migrant for an indefinite period of time. Other definitions restrict the term international migrant to persons who remain non-national or noncitizens of the host country. A number of agencies or institutions will use the foreign-born criterion, also for reasons of data access and international comparability. This complexity suggests further specification as to persons concerned for any sound (policy) discussions in the field.

**IRREGULAR MIGRATION** - A process of moving across an international border or within a state without the necessary documents or permits.

Irregular migration refers to a movement that is not in conformity with the regulatory norms of countries of origin, transit and/or destination/settlement. It follows from the diversity of situations where this definition may apply that persons engaged in irregular migration should not be considered a homogeneous group. As stated by the GCIM in its 2005 Final Report, the people concerned “include migrants who enter or remain in a country without authorization, those who are smuggled or trafficked across an international border, unsuccessful asylum seekers who fail to observe a deportation order and people who circumvent immigration controls through the arrangement of bogus marriages”. These and other forms of irregular migration are often clustered together under the alternative though not strictly synonymous headings of unauthorized, undocumented or illegal migration.

**LABOUR MIGRATION** - Migration for the main purpose of employment or work.

Some approaches to labour migration may be focused on international movements. In addition to governing and regulating the entry of migrant workers, national migration policies may aim to regulate outward labour migration. It is thus necessary to specify the field covered when using the term labour migration – e.g. international, internal, temporary or sector-specific. The term brain-drain refers to the negative effects associated with the emigration of individuals whose skills are scarce in their country of origin. The term underlines negative effects, focusing on the loss of skills and human capital for countries of origin. Such movements and their consequences vary across countries and are often relevant to a specific professional sector (e.g. healthcare, education, and engineering). They may however entail other positive effects or opportunities for the country of origin, for instance in the form of remittances, investments or skill acquisition in the case of migrants returning. The term brain drain should therefore be used with care. Brain-gain generally refers to the immigration of skilled individuals to a country resulting in a benefit for that country. Yet it is also used in reference to the country of origin, in the case of return from individuals who gained skills abroad through temporary migration.

The term should also be used with care. Brain circulation also emerged recently as a term describing the on-going mobility of individuals with skills in demand. It usually implies a shared benefit, in contrast with the terms brain-drain and brain-gain. States’ selective immigration policies are often based upon sector or skill-based distinctions. A frequent distinction is the one between highly-skilled, semi-skilled or low-skilled labour migration/ migrants although there is no common standard for criteria. Such terms are also essentially related to a utilitarian perspective and should be used with care.

**MIGRANT** - A person undergoing a (semi-)permanent change of residence which involves a change of his/her social, economic and/or cultural environment.

The proposed definition covers both internal and international migration and has core geographic criteria. There is in fact no comprehensive or universally accepted definition of the term "migrant", though it is widely used also in policy circles.

Although this is not directly reflected in the proposed definition, the term migrant is commonly understood to concern people whose decision to migrate is/was voluntary, that is taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of 'personal convenience' and without intervention of an external compelling factor, unless specified (e.g. "forced migrant"). This understanding was supported in reference to the 1990 UN Migrant Workers Convention which refers to the term "migrant" in its article 1.1 under the expression migrant worker. A valuable recommendation seems therefore to systematically specify persons considered when speaking of "migrant(s)". Use of the term may otherwise be detrimental to concrete policy discussions.

The proposed definition makes no reference to the point of departure or space of origin. The terms emigrant or immigrant refer respectively to migrant from the perspective of the country of origin/departure and the country of destination/settlement. These terms are generally used in the context of international migration, though not exclusively.

**MIGRANT WORKER** - Person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national. (Source: Article 2.1 of the 1990 UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families).

This definition is widely used and accepted, although the 1990 UN Migrant Workers Convention which incorporates it is not universally signed or ratified to this day. The term often implies the existence of a work contract, permit or visa although the definition proposed above is not restrictive in that sense. The abovementioned Convention identifies several specific categories of migrant workers in Article 2. Seasonal worker refers to "a migrant worker whose work by its character is dependent on seasonal conditions and is performed only during part of the year". Frontier worker refers to "a migrant worker who retains his or her habitual residence in a neighbouring State to which he or she normally returns every day or at least once a week". Project-tied worker refers to "a migrant worker admitted to a state of employment for a defined period to work solely on a specific project being carried out in that state by his or her employer". Other specific categories of migrant workers are also listed and defined in the Convention. The term economic migrant is sometimes used to specify the motive for migration, namely economic opportunities, employment or work. Depending on the context, this use can become reductive, if neglecting the importance of other factors in the decision to migrate or other aspects of the migrant's activity or contribution.

**MIGRANT WITH IRREGULAR STATUS** - Person entering, traveling through or residing in a country without the necessary documents or permits.

The term irregular migrant is widely used. The GCIM, in its 2005 Final Report reasonably concurs with the assertion that an individual person cannot be "irregular" or "illegal", and prefers the expression migrant with irregular status. The latter expression rightly underlines the fact that irregularity is not a fixed condition, rather one defined by administrative rules and likely to change over time. The term undocumented/non-documented migrant is self-explanatory but not equivalent to migrant with irregular status. It does not cover situations where migrants overstay their visa or engage in prohibited work or travel with inappropriate or false documents. Hence also a need to distinguish, when appropriate irregular entry from irregular stay. The 1990 UN Migrant Workers Convention refers to migrant workers "non-documented" or "in an irregular situation" as persons not complying with the conditions to "be authorized to enter, to stay and to engage in a remunerated activity in the state of employment pursuant to the law of that State and to international agreements to which that state is a party" (Article 5). Illegal migrant/alien and clandestine migrant, roughly equivalent in use, are normative terms which should be considered inadequate in so far as they blur the distinction between the person and his/her status. Stranded migrant is a general term sometimes used to refer to a person unable to return to his/her previous country of residence or of origin and compelled to remain in a country of transit or destination/settlement. This situation might be due to circumstances in the country of origin, a position of prolonged detention or practical difficulties. Stranded migrants may be individuals whose claim for refugee status has been rejected. They may experience irregularity of status although not systematically.

**MIGRATION** - A process of moving, either across an international border, or within a state which results in a temporary or (semi-) permanent change of residence.

Defining migration is difficult, given the complex nature of the phenomenon. In the proposed definition, migration is distinguished from the larger umbrella term of human geographic mobility, which encompasses any kind of movement of people, regardless of length, composition and causes. Temporary travel abroad for purposes of recreation, holiday, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage, which do not entail a change of residence, are generally not considered as migration movements. One can introduce several

distinctions by space, by length of stay or by purpose or circumstances (see also all migration related entries). Immigration and emigration respectively describe the move relative to the destination and to the point of departure. Moreover, the term immigration is often used to refer to the process leading to long-term or permanent residence, whereas the term migration may be used to cover both short-term and long-term movements. Internal migration refers specifically to a population movement within the borders of a given space -usually a state- while international migration implies border crossing. Transnational migration stresses an international migration movement whereby an individual develops ties in more than one country, and engages economically, socially, politically and/or culturally- in both his/her country of origin and residence.

**NON-NATIONAL / NON-CITIZEN** - A person who does not enjoy the nationality/citizenship of the state in which he/she resides.

The terms foreigner or alien are sometimes used as synonymous to non-national and non-citizen. They may be used in a legal context but tend in public discourse to bear a negative connotation, suggesting an artificial distance and essential "otherness". These terms should therefore be used with care.

**REFUGEE** - Person outside his country of origin who cannot return to this country because he/she has a well-founded fear of persecution or is unable or unwilling to return there owing to serious and indiscriminate threats to life, physical integrity or freedom resulting from generalized violence or events seriously disturbing public order.

The definition most referred to is set out in Article 1 Section A (2) of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention which defines a refugee as a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." According to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, persecution must be discriminatory in order to qualify for refugee status and linked to at least one of the five specified grounds: race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group and political opinion. Regional refugee law instruments have interpreted the term 'refugee' as also encompassing threats arising in situations of conflict and public disorder without having to demonstrate that the criteria of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention are fulfilled. Two usual references in that respect are found in Article I of the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa of the Organisation of African Unity and in the non-binding 1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees.

The common language use of the term refugee often simply implies forced migration but is not necessarily legally grounded. It therefore differs significantly from the legal and international definitions mentioned above. Its use can raise issues as in the case of the expression economic refugee which emerged in the media to suggest that economic reasons for fleeing may be sometimes as compelling as political ones. Under certain conditions the lack of access to economic and social rights can also qualify for refugee status, for example if access to resources is denied on a discriminatory basis. However, in general terms such association of terms may blur necessary distinctions and should therefore be rejected.

**REMITTANCES** - Earnings and material resources transferred by international migrants or refugees to recipients in their country of origin.

Statistically, remittances are often defined as the sum of workers' remittances, compensation of employees, and migrants' transfers. Workers' remittances are current private transfers from migrant workers residing in a given country to recipients in their country of origin. If the migrants live in the country of settlement for a year or longer, they are considered residents, regardless of their immigration status. If the migrants have lived in the country of settlement for less than a year, their entire income in the host country should be classified as compensation of employees. (Source: International Monetary Fund, Balance of Payments Manual). The measured growth in the volume of remittances is one of the important related features of contemporary (international) migration. The development impact and potential of remittances is receiving growing attention, with available data suggesting that these are now surpassing the volume of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and potentially Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) as well.

**RETURN MIGRATION** - Movement of a person returning to his/her country of origin or usual residence.

We can distinguish between voluntary return migration and involuntary or forced return migration. Forced return is a return migration in which an element of coercion predominates. It generally covers, but is not limited to, the policy of expulsion. Voluntary return logically implies that choice to return has been made freely, although it must be noted that the line between the two can be difficult to draw. In the context of labour migration and development, and as a policy, assisted voluntary return is often regarded as a means to increase the positive impact of migration for countries of origin.

Right to return: The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights defines in its article 13(2) a right to return: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country". A similar provision is found in Article 12 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Repatriation is used for the return of refugees (voluntary repatriation) and well as in the broader context of migration for assisted return.

**SOCIAL CAPITAL TRANSFER** - Competencies, skills, knowledge, practices and ideas transmitted by international migrants to their country of origin.

The term knowledge transfer is another generic term often used in this context. Social remittances is also used as a synonym to social capital transfer and in contrast to the common definition of the term remittances. It refers to the ideas, practices, identities and social capital sent from a country of residence to a country of origin by individual migrants or migrant communities. Social capital transfers tend to be a neglected local-level counterpart to macro-level global monetary flows. Yet, they also contribute to the social transformations brought about by migration movements worldwide.

**TEMPORARY MIGRATION** - A non-permanent migration implying return or onward movement.

Such movements concern students, trainees, seasonal workers and other persons who are not granted a long-term or permanent residence permit or do not hold citizenship of the country of the concerned stay. Circular migration has recently emerged as a popular term in policy debate and is at the cutting edge of the debate on migration and development. The process of "circular migration" implies circularity, that is, a relatively open form of (cross-border) mobility. A proposed development oriented definition is that of the "fluid movement of people between countries, including temporary or more permanent movement which, when it occurs voluntarily and is linked to the labour needs of countries of origin and destination, can be beneficial to all involved" (GFMD background documents, 2007). However this definition is also policy-oriented and does suggest a clear distinction with temporary migration.

**Transit migration**, although it lacks an authoritative definition, can be broadly defined as the movement of people entering a country or region where they have no intention to remain or settle permanently. It is in fact an umbrella concept that merges transit and migration and implies a temporary movement. The term is most relevant as a categorisation following movement, as migration intended as temporary may become permanent, and vice versa.

**TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS/HUMAN TRAFFICKING** - The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation or the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (Source: 2000 UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime).

The 2000 UN Palermo Protocols are helpful in introducing a distinction between trafficking and smuggling. According to the protocols, the term 'trafficking' tends to describe movements of individuals against their will, whereas smuggling implies consent or a transaction. Coercion and exploitation are the two fundamental defining characteristics of trafficking. The same definition of trafficking was adopted for the "Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking" which were developed by OHCHR in 2002. These provide "practical, rights-based approach policy guidance on the prevention of trafficking and the protection of trafficked persons with a view to facilitating the integration of a human rights perspective into national, regional, and international anti-trafficking laws, policies and interventions". Because trafficking is predominantly a forced process, victims of trafficking can be identified and may be need of international protection. Trafficking, in contrast to smuggling, can be either internal or cross border.