3. Migration and Development: Causes and Consequences

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1. Introduction

With some notable exceptions, academic and policy attention for international migration has focused to a far greater extent on countries of destination than on countries of origin. Research projects have been motivated primarily by concerns of receiving societies, funded by agencies in destination countries and based on data collected on the receiving side. But it is clear that migration studies cannot do without in-depth understanding of the sending context. In turn, a relative knowledge gap in this area has become particularly salient in the beginning of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century as various receiving countries in Europe are increasingly acknowledging the importance of the ‘partnership with the countries of origin’ in devising migration policies (Communities 2000).

In this context, this chapter is focused on work on migration from a developing or sending country perspective. Until relatively recently, research evidence was largely negative about the relationship between migration and development. On the one hand, migration was often seen as a product of poverty; whilst at the same time, international migration and rural-urban migration within developing countries alike were seen as draining human capital from poor areas, creating or reinforcing dependence, and undermining regional development strategies in sending areas. In turn, despite some reviews in the early to mid-1990s that took a more critical stance (Papademetriou and Martin 1991; Durand and Massey 1992; Taylor et al. 1996) and the emergence of the ‘new economics of labour migration’ as a theoretical approach that seeks to explain why poor households invest in migration (Stark and Lucas 1988; Stark 1991) rather than acting out of desperation or dependence, public policy towards migration within the development field remained sceptical at best.

However, in the last few years, several new reviews have been carried out, which not only have taken a more positive stance towards the relationship between migration and development, but have started to influence development policy as well. From the academic side, influential
overviews have been provided by Skeldon (1997) and Massey et al. (1998). Impacts on policy have also been increasingly evident, especially where reviews have been funded by development cooperation agencies. For example, a study for the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) on the ‘migration-development nexus’ (Van Hear and Nyberg-Sørensen 2003), has been widely disseminated, helping to challenge the simplistic view that poverty ‘causes’ migration, in turn reinforcing poverty. Rather, Van Hear and Nyberg-Sørensen note that migration is increasingly seen as a viable ‘livelihood strategy’ by poor people, whilst poverty reduction can also make it easier for individuals to move. Their review also examines the complex interconnections between international mobility, poverty and conflict, with case studies of Somalia, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka highlighting how refugees overseas send significant sums in remittances not only to family at home, but also to relatives living in refugee and displaced persons camps.

Other European development cooperation agencies have followed suit, commissioning research studies and reviews, and/or funding new research to translate research insights into policy. One of the larger studies to emerge to date was funded by the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Lucas 2005) and focuses on case studies of migration to the EU, the movement of contract workers to the Persian Gulf from South and Southeast Asia, the ‘brain drain’ to North America and the migration transition in East Asia. Together with a parallel review by Ramamurthy (2003) on brain drain, remittances and labour market impacts in source countries, this work suggests that the benefits of migration for sending areas can be substantial, though they are highly context-dependent.

The UK’s Department for International Development (DFID) has also supported work in this area, drawing on evidence of the increasingly important role played by migrant remittances in poor peoples’ livelihoods (De Haan 2000). Here, in addition to funding a major research centre,² regional reports have been commissioned on migration and poverty in Asia (Skeldon 2003; Waddington 2003), sub-Saharan Africa (Black 2004) and the Middle East and North Africa (Al-Ali 2004). An interesting overview of the field from a policy perspective was also provided by a recent report of the UK’s House of Commons International Development Committee (House of Commons 2004), which argues that there are important opportunities for the UK government – and other northern countries – to enhance the positive benefits of migration for the poor, whilst minimising its risks and costs. In turn, interest has also spread to international organisations, notably the World Bank (Maimbo and Ratha 2005; Caglar and Schiff 2006).
One major reason for this renewed interest of development cooperation agencies in the field of migration is emerging evidence on the scale of remittances, which at over $100 billion each year are already around twice the global total of development assistance (Black 2003b). However, a plethora of reviews of the field that have emerged in the last few years, including for the UN Population Division (Skeldon 2004), the International Organisation for Migration (Hugo 2003; IOM 2003) and by the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM 2005), whose report includes a chapter on migration and development, stress a number of other important dynamics beyond remittances that are significant and worthy of policy attention. For example, Sriskandarajah (2005) suggests that we need to move not only ‘beyond remittances’, but also ‘beyond brain drain’ and ‘beyond simple models’, to acknowledge the varied impacts of growing mobility on sending areas.

Our purpose here is not to duplicate these existing efforts to synthesise a complex research and policy field, but to highlight two themes of research within the IMISCOE network, as well as interesting routes for further research. This more limited aim highlights the contribution of European researchers to the field, as well as suggesting opportunities for collaborative European work to advance the debate on migration and development. In the sections below, we first consider research that seeks to explain the determinants and patterns of migration. Secondly we will turn to material on the extent and use of remittances and return migration. This represents only a sub-set of issues relating to migration and development, but is a useful starting point for entering the debate. The final section then concludes with reflections both on migration policy and on research gaps.

Research on the patterns and determinants of migration within IMISCOE has essentially followed two theoretical and methodological approaches. The first is a demographic and sociological one, as exemplified by the large-scale survey undertaken at the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI). This approach aims to identify individual variables, through statistical analysis, that determine migration behaviour. During the period 1995-1999, NIDI conducted surveys in five migrant-sending countries (Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, Senegal and Turkey) and two migrant-receiving countries (Italy and Spain). The project led to a large database containing information on migration histories and destinations, household economic situations, remittances, social and demographic characteristics, networks, intentions for future migration and attitudes/opinions on migration. In each sending country, over 1,500 interviews were conducted, covering both migrants and non-migrants (Schoorl et al. 2004). A similar approach is taken in re-
cent work at Sussex that has used existing sample surveys to explore the multiple determinants of migration choice in Albania (Reilly et al. 2004).

In comparison, the second approach is anthropological and aims to present patterns and histories of migration in a more holistic way through in-depth observation and qualitative analysis. The approach has three key characteristics:

- First, it sees migration as just one aspect of migrants' lives and emphasises that migration is strongly embedded in the local institutions of the sending community;
- Second, the approach is actor-centred and seeks to reveal the migrants' point of view. Such an approach may explain for instance why places that seem to be unlikely destinations for outsiders often attract sizable migrant flows for various reasons;
- Third, the approach has a historical dimension: contemporary patterns of migration are often indicative of established historical connections between sending and receiving countries.

An example of such an anthropological approach to studying migration is the four-year ethnographic research on migration from Fujian province in China conducted by COMPAS, which describes ‘the connections between the total sum of social institutions and practices in areas of origin, transit and destination that produce and sustain a particular flow of migrants’ (Pieke et al. 2004: 19). Findings from this research have illustrated how one community had resumed its emigration after a long break, whilst another without any tradition of out-migration (internal or international) suddenly embarked on migration to diverse destinations (Pieke 1998; Pieke 1999).

Following this second approach, Xiang’s work (forthcoming) on skilled migration from India details how resources are mobilized and various institutions are utilised or set up to facilitate emigration. His research identifies the marriage market, education institutes and (extended) family networks, along with the migration brokerage system, as strategic sites for the social production of emigration. Similar concerns, albeit with variations in approach, exist across the IMISCOE network. For example, in her work on Bangladesh, Gardner (1995) has used ethnographic methods to show how economic and social inequalities have shaped, but have also been redefined by international migration to Britain and the Gulf.

Despite the different approaches, these research initiatives share important substantive concerns, which are also linked to major debates in migration studies. In the following section we identify five main factors which are an important part of why people do, or indeed do not, migrate.
2. Determinants and patterns of migration

Poverty, Inequality and migration

An important issue in migration studies is the extent to which a poverty threshold effect exists, meaning that the poorest (measured in terms of perceived poverty or relative deprivation) either do not intend or are not able to migrate. This is currently a widely accepted assumption in migration studies, and NIDI’s research in Senegal, especially in the rural Tuba area, confirms this effect. However, the same study suggests that in other countries the poorest are migrating. In Egypt and Morocco, where the surveys included a question on relative deprivation, the perception of being worse off than other households was found to stimulate migration intentions (Schoorl et al. 2004). Meanwhile, Rogaly and Rafique’s (2003) research in eastern Indian shows that being landless is a clear driving force for out-migration, though their study deals with seasonal mobility rather than international migration. The work of Pieke et al. (2004) suggests that income levels do not have a determining effect on migration decisions and behaviour: well-off and poor members of a community both migrate. Xiang (2000) found that in the same village in southeast China, while out-migration started with more capable members of one clan, less well-off members were pioneer migrants for another clan. The difference was found to lie in the structures of the two clans rather than income differentiation. It seems clear that migration is not simply caused by poverty, but exactly how income levels affect migration decisions in different contexts remains to be explored. The tendency to focus on ‘homogeneous’ streams of migrants may also obscure the fact that migrants must negotiate complex webs of dependency and reciprocity with resource-rich individuals such as their employers. These webs may be as restrictive as they are enabling.

The role of networks

‘Network’ has been a key word in the literature on migration since the 1980s and the notion that emigration, once started, would become self-sustaining with its own autonomy due to migrants’ networks has been well-established. The NIDI project again provides fresh material on this: while network effects turn out to be important in Ghana and Egypt, in Senegal and Morocco they appear much less significant (Van Dalen et al. forthcoming). In fact, for men in Morocco, the presence of relatives abroad even decreases their intention to emigrate (Heering et al. 2004). Pieke’s work also pays much attention to networks, but it does not take networks for granted. Rather it reveals how new networks are created and how old networks are reproduced, sustained and
turned to serve the needs of different groups (old and new migrants, local officials and those left behind). The case stories demonstrate how migrants consciously as well as accidentally transnationalise their networks (Pieke et al. 2004).

Xiang (forthcoming) argues that networks are important, not in themselves, but in that they bridge macro socio-economic situations with individual migrants. Furthermore, based on recent observation of migration from southeastern China, he proposes a hypothesis of ‘network failure’ (Xiang 2004). It is suggested that the perpetuation of irregular emigration from the region, particularly the deception and exploitation associated with it, is not because migrants’ networks are strong, but because of the opposite, namely migrants’ networks are too weak compared to professionalised and institutionalised human smuggling networks. Therefore, attempts to dismantle the migrants’ networks or even to criminalise entire emigrant communities may be counterproductive.

In explaining why networks do not appear important, the NIDI team turns to the concept of ‘migration culture’, which in their survey is operationalised as migration history (Van Dalen et al. forthcoming). Heering et al. (2004) define the ‘culture of migration’ as a culture where migration is considered to be the only way to improve one’s standard of living; that is, those who stay are believed to be losers, and those who leave are winners (Heering et al. 2004). Interestingly, it is found that in Morocco, networks affect women’s migration decisions but not men’s, and that at the same time the existence of a migration culture importantly promotes migration intentions for men, but not for women.

Pieke et al. (2004: 48) also agree that a historically informed cultural explanation, as well as an understanding of structural opportunities and constraints, is necessary in order to understand why people move about the globe. A major feature of this culture is a discourse on migration as a dominant strategy to enable social mobility. This discourse prescribes what constitutes success, as well as ignoring other local strategies that are not considered an option (Pieke et al. 2004: 194). They also argue that this culture of migration ‘renders current emigration patterns unintelligible in terms of a narrow cost-benefit analysis’. For example, the NIDI project reported a fairly sizeable group of youngsters who were neither working nor looking for work, but reported that they spent their time and energy in looking for ways to migrate, as they were convinced there were no alternatives for them in Morocco (Schoorl 2002). A culture of migration changes the formula of the potential migrants’ decision making process and thus the concept is critical for deeper understanding of emigration dynamics.4
The role of the state

It has been widely recognised that migration is as much about state sovereignty and policies as it is about the mobility of people. IMISCOE researchers have conducted various projects aimed at detailing connections between state interventions and migration dynamics particularly in sending countries. In line with Zolberg’s argument (1983) that the formation of ‘new states’ was one of the root causes of current refugee migrations, Kraler (forthcoming; 2004) links refugee flows in Africa to state formation. His work demonstrates that the processes of colonisation and decolonisation were crucial in producing large numbers of migrants and refugees.

Pieke et al. (2004) argue that increasing emigration from China should be understood against the background of the rise of China’s position in the world system at the macro-level as well as the efforts of local administration. They identify specific mechanisms through which the state plays a role in migration. In one community with a long emigration tradition, the local administration had sought donations from overseas communities and accorded the diaspora great honour, which highlights emigration as the best, even the only, avenue to true wealth, power and success. In contrast, in another village without established overseas communities, the local government from the county level down to the village ‘engineers’ emigration by providing information, simplifying procedures and other means (Pieke et al. 2004: 53-60). Curiously, local government’s ‘engineering’ of emigration coincides with a low prevalence of professionalised illegal emigration brokers, and it may be worth investigating whether there are any links between the two.

Xiang’s research on the emigration regime of China (Xiang 2003a) and his comparative study on emigration schemes from China and India (Xiang 2003b) suggests that active measures often yield unintended consequences but laissez-faire policies tend to work better. For example, in China the relaxation of exit controls (which Xiang calls ‘individualization of emigration management’) has increased the volume of emigration, but strict regulations on labour exports, though aimed at forbidding illegal migration, may have contributed to exactly such irregularity. State policies must have synergies with market mechanisms to ensure desirable policy outcomes and their sustainability.

Lacroix (2004) calls attention to local politics in understanding the impacts of migration on sending communities. Emigrants’ village development associations have made significant contributions to the development of southern Morocco. These associations have flourished not only because of emigrants’ efforts, but also because they provide new sources of power for local elites who have been excluded from the
formal administration since the 1970s. They reclaim their status based on the position of being 'in-between' the state and the migrant community. This again shows that migration is deeply embedded in local institutions and intertwines with other phenomena.

**Gender differences in migration intentions**

Gender differences in migration intentions are also a crucial element of migration patterns (Van der Erf and Heering 2002; Van Dalen et al. forthcoming). One of the more robust findings of work in this area is that there is a significant difference in migration intentions between men and women, with men more likely to wish to emigrate from the study countries than women. The NIDI research, referred to above, suggests that these differences are much more pronounced in Morocco and Egypt than in Ghana and Senegal, possibly reflecting gender norms that are influenced by Islam in the former two countries. For both men and women, economic reasons (such as unemployment or insufficient income or more generally the desire for an improved standard of living) dominate over family and other reasons like education, adventure etc. in the wish to migrate. However, women’s motives appear to be more diverse than those of men. Women more often mentioned family-related reasons than men – reflecting the higher number of women than men accompanying or following their spouse abroad. Meanwhile, women may also see independent migration as a way out of their traditional dependence on men and their obligations to male kinsmen (Heering et al. 2004; Schoorl et al. 2004). In Morocco, women with a paid job who judged their financial situation negatively were found to have the highest migration intentions of any group (Heering et al. 2004).

A more detailed analysis of the NIDI data reveals a number of interesting correlations. For example, higher financial expectations and lower anticipated job search costs were found to be statistically significantly associated with having the intention to migrate in all four countries, but this effect was stronger for women than for men. Meanwhile, more educated women, at least in Egypt and Ghana, were found to be much more set on emigration than less educated women and much more so than higher educated men. In contrast, in Ghana, no relationship was found between the intention to migrate and educational attainment amongst men, whilst in Egypt, the correlation was much weaker for men. This reinforces the conclusion that women may see migration as a way to achieve more independence, especially in Egypt, where migration of women is strongly frowned upon (Schoorl et al. 2004; Van Dalen et al. forthcoming).
3. Remittances and return – determinants and effects

The previous section has considered some of the main current debates in terms of the determinants of migration, but a key factor influencing migration decisions is also the intended outcome of this decision for many sending communities – the receipt of remittances and eventual return. Remittances from migrant workers can be broadly defined as transfers in cash and kind to households back in the country of origin. Even without the problem of ‘in kind’ transfers, measuring remittance flows worldwide or even for a particular country still remains a somewhat tricky task. To a great extent, the ease of measurement is determined by migrant workers’ choice between the formal banking system and other, informal channels when remitting their earnings. When predominantly informal channels are used for these transfers, government has no direct access to the foreign exchange and government policy may be constrained. Further, when the true magnitude of remittances from nationals abroad remains imprecisely known, the result may be a distorted view of macroeconomic impacts (Choukri 1986).

The significance of unrecorded remittance flows is only now becoming apparent. The big change came in 2002-03, when a re-examination of how the flow of money from migrant workers was calculated showed that differences in definitions from country to country were keeping much of the funds out of the headline numbers (Ratha 2003). On a global basis, the reworking of the numbers came up with a total of as much as $80 billion for 2002. For 2003, some reports put the figure at $140 billion. That could well still be a sizeable underestimate, partly because the moneys transferred through informal channels are not included. A recent IMF study estimated that such informal transfers of remittances could amount to $10 billion per annum (El-Qorchi et al. 2003). However, others have cautioned that such estimates are excessive (cf. Rosenzweig 2004).

As estimates of global remittances by migrant workers have risen – Ratha’s figures suggest that they now exceed global development assistance and are on a par with net foreign direct investment in the developing world – it is not surprising that the phenomenon is of growing interest to development policymakers. One major question that has emerged amongst policymakers is how to maximize the beneficial impact of remittances on development and especially on poverty reduction and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (Black 2003b).

This section reviews existing knowledge on migrant remittance behaviour paying special attention to contributions to the literature by IMISCOE researchers. It is organised around four main questions: why and how much do migrants remit; how are migrant remittances...
used and what are the effects; what are the specific impacts of migration and remittances on gender relations within the family; and what is the role of return migration in the development process?

Remittances: quantity and motivation

At a micro-level, there is an impressive body of literature that endeavours to understand remitting behaviour and migrants’ motivations to remit. It distinguishes three main motives: altruism, exchange and co-insurance.

- **Altruism.** Becker (1974) was amongst the first economists to model altruistic behaviour in the context of household, arguing that the utility of one household member, the ‘donor’, is positively affected by the well-being of another household member, ‘the receiver’. The basic prediction derived is that an increase in the income gap between ‘the donor’ and ‘the recipient’ increases the probability and the size of the transfers whereas a reduction in the income gap has the opposite effect.

- **Exchange.** Another conceivable motive is that of exchange between household members. Cox (1987), relying on the idea of exchange, formalises a model where private transfers are treated as payments for services rendered. The model predicts that an increase in the income of the donor is associated with an increase in both the probability and size of transfer. However, if the recipient’s income increases the probability of transfer decreases, and as the opportunity cost of providing the service increases, the transfer, depending on the elasticities of demand for and supply of recipient’s services, may end up being higher or lower than before the change of the income. Thus, a negative correlation between the likelihood of transfer and recipient’s income is consistent with both motives (i.e. altruism and exchange), whereas a positive correlation between the size of transfer and recipient’s income is consistent with exchange only.

- **Co-insurance.** Lucas and Stark (1985) have proposed a theory of migrants’ motivations to remit, known as *Tempered Altruism or Enlightened Self-Interest*. The theory views remittances as part of inter-temporal, mutually beneficial contractual arrangements between the migrant and the household in the origin area. Such contractual arrangements are based on insurance and investment and they are voluntary and, hence, must be self-enforcing. Considerations for self-enforcement can be mutual altruism but also the aspiration to inherit, the desire to return home and the need to have reliable agents to assist in the accumulation and maintenance of assets. Lia-nos (1997) attempts a critique of that theory suggesting that remittances should be understood as the result of a rational agent’s beha-
viour acting freely but constrained by his loyalty and commitment to his family. Moreover, remittances are related to different circumstances of the migrant. The objective of the migrant and his decisions will determine the share remitted.

Poirine (1997) has proposed an alternative approach based on the notion that informal financial markets function within families, in which remittances represent repayments on an informal loan agreement. The would-be migrants receive loans to invest in human capital before migrating and remittances constitute the payback of these loans to the family. Later on, emigrants continue to remit, though not to repay the loan but to finance the education of the next cohort of migrant members of the family.

Empirical analysis of migrant remitting behaviour provides support for both altruism and exchange motives. Johnson and Whitelaw (1974) and Banerjee (1984), analysing internal migration remittances in Kenya and India respectively, provided evidence for altruistic motives. In contrast, Lucas and Stark (1985) and Hoddinott (1994) utilising data respectively from Botswana and Kenya found support for exchange motives. Merkle and Zimmermann (1992) analysing remittance and saving behaviour of immigrants in Germany found evidence for exchange motives as well. However, later work (see Stark 1991; Brown 1997; Secondi 1997; de la Brière et al. 2002) suggests that different remittance motivations should not be considered mutually exclusive. Germenji et al. (2000), using data from a rural household survey in Albania in 2000, provide little evidence of altruism while the evidence for exchange is stronger.

Turning to work by researchers at IMISCOE institutions, Liu and Reilly (2000), using data on male migrant workers, drawn from the Jinan Municipality in Shandong province, China, in the summer of 1995, estimate remittance functions. Their results fail to provide evidence of altruistic behaviour while evidence for exchange and co-insurance theories is mixed. Migrant earnings proved the most robust determinant of the level of remittance and the remittance/labour income (wage) elasticity calculated is found to be at the top end of the range of estimates obtained in the literature.

Markova and Sarris (2002), utilising individual data sets on Bulgarian migrants in Greece, found that immigrants who transfer money – either regularly or sporadically – do not have any other family members residing in a third country and have a more ‘cohesive’ family unit; they are married and larger shares of their families reside in Bulgaria. The larger the share of family members in Bulgaria, the larger the share of income transferred. Migrant women were found to remit more, whilst remittances were shown to be part of a family strategy.
The notion that remittances form part of a family strategy is echoed in findings from a project undertaken at the University of Sussex on ‘Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa’ (TRANSREDE). Amongst returnees to Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire, those most likely to have remitted money whilst abroad, and to have done so on a more regular basis, were already married prior to emigrating. They also maintained higher levels of contact with relatives at home and spoke of remittances in terms of an obligation to them, a finding which lends further weight to the ‘exchange’ hypothesis outlined above. The project concludes with the suggestion that migration be considered not so much as a means for the migrant to combat poverty, but for their parents or children to do so (Black et al. 2003).

Lacroix (2004) has studied the determinants of remittances of Moroccan rural migrants in France, based on migrants’ own perceptions and experiences. His results show that explanations of remittances are directly linked to explanations of migration. As far as migrants are concerned, their departure is a means to achieve a personal project and improve their social status; for the household, it allows diversification of income sources; for the community, it is a way to find elsewhere the resources to sustain its own reproduction, including the reproduction of its socio-political order. The money sent to the family or given during the summer visit home is considered a duty rather than a gift.

Groenewold and Fokkema (2002) analyse data on migrant-sending households in Egypt, Morocco and Turkey based on the large-scale NIDI dataset referred to above. Their work seeks to determine why some households receive remittances whereas others do not, and they conclude that emigrant characteristics, especially employment status in the host country, are the most important determinants of remittances. Emigrants’ commitment to their household was higher when the migrant was male and married. Poorer households received less than richer households.

Remittances are now well recognised as part of an informal familial arrangement that goes well beyond altruism, with benefits in the realms of mutual insurance, consumption smoothing and even alleviation of liquidity constraints.

**Use and effects of remittances**

Not only are remittances critical to the foreign exchange position of many migrant-sending countries, they are also vital to the consumption and investment behaviour of migrant households themselves. At the household level, a longstanding literature has suggested that remittances are often put to ‘unproductive’ uses – satisfying basic consumption, buying medicines, building a house for the migrant’s retirement
or spending on ‘conspicuous consumption’ in festivals and funerals as well as daily life. Such expenses, though, can have a number of multiplier effects in the local economy (Russell and Teitelbaum 1992). Black et al. (2003) show that even highly qualified returnees to Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire sent remittances whilst abroad primarily to supply the basic subsistence needs of parents and siblings.

More ‘productive’ use of remittances is usually considered to involve investments in small-scale enterprises concentrated in the retail and services sectors (Van Doorn 2002). Here, policy measures to encourage the productive use of remittances include preferential conditions to import equipment or to access capital goods, business counselling and training services and entrepreneurship programmes (ibid.). However, evidence from Ghana produced by Black and Castaldo (2005) suggests that more attention might be paid to the work experience and social networks that migrants are able to build up whilst away as factors promoting entrepreneurial activity.

At a macro-level, the short-run effects of remittances have been analysed mainly within the framework of trade-theoretic models (Djajic 1986; McCormick and Wabha 2000). At the same time, a series of studies have demonstrated the growth potential of migration in the context of capital market imperfections, with remittances allowing members of households at the middle-to-bottom end of the wealth distribution to migrate (Lucas 1987; Rozelle et al. 1999). For example, Groenewold and Fokkema (2002) found that receipt of remittances had a positive net effect on emigration intentions of potential emigrants in Morocco where remittances were interpreted as indicators of emigrants’ financial success abroad. In the cases of Egypt and Turkey, the effects of remittances on the development of emigration intentions actually reflected the quality of interpersonal relationships between receivers (potential emigrants) and senders of remittances.

One interesting strand of literature has been concerned with the impact of remittances on inequality at origin. For instance, Adams (1989) found that international migration, through remittances sent back, tends to worsen economic inequality in rural Egypt, while the same author found neutral effects in rural Pakistan (1992). In the case of rural Mexico, Taylor and Wyatt (1996) showed that remittances were distributed almost evenly across income groups, hence inducing a direct equalising effect in terms of economic inequality. For a small coastal city in Nicaragua, Barham and Boucher (1998) found that remittances actually increased income inequality, although this conclusion was dependent on imputing the lost domestic earnings of remitters, rather than viewing remittances as an exogenous transfer for migrant households.
The effect of migration on inequality is not limited to the economic sphere. Research in Morocco by Lacroix (2004) highlights how the transfer of money is seen as subversive to the social order (e.g. local villagers were resistant to ‘improvements’ in infrastructure brought by remittances). Evidence on the effects of migration on these and other aspects of inequality – including social and political inequality – in sending societies, has recently been reviewed by Black et al. (2005).

Migration, remittances and gender relations

One way in which migration and remittances affect home societies is that they influence gender relations in particular and family life more generally. For example, Venier (2003) focuses on migrants as main actors of social and territorial transformations in Kerala, South India. From localities of high emigration, known as ‘Gulf pockets’, the increase of migration flows in the 1990s has entailed a large spatial diffusion in the state itself. More than a million people from Kerala are directly involved in migration and one in every eight married women has a husband in the Gulf. Focusing on the roles and responsibilities of the wives of male emigrants who left to work in the Gulf, Venier observes that women generally gain autonomy when their husbands are migrants, in terms of household management (including what remittances are spent on), as well as increased activities outside the house. Migrant couples in the research communicated on a regular and intense basis via mail and telephone. The improved level of education throughout the state of Kerala has also facilitated more equal communication between spouses.

Venier also found that migrant families invest more in the education of their children and in particular their daughters than non-migrant families. This investment of the migration benefits in the next generation gives an opportunity to reach a better socio-economic status through marriage. As a result of household and state investment in the education of girls, women are now on average better educated than men (and women of migrants better educated than their spouses). These investments in education are partly paid back by higher dowry prices. International migration has in this context contributed, and still contributes, to raising the level of education of the population, as well as maintaining the structure of dowry as a means to ensure returns on investment in girls’ education and even increasing the amount payable. Dowry values have increased tremendously and the financial part of the dowry has gained importance in the total dowry bundle. At the same time, as working conditions and revenues in the Gulf area have deteriorated, it has become much more difficult to raise the resources for dowries. The marriage market has changed as a result of these de-
developments with a more prominent role for financial and educational value that is transferred to establish the alliance between families. However, other research has shown different patterns: for example, work by Gamburd (2000) in Sri Lanka shows how young women migrate to the Gulf independently in order to raise money for their own dowries. An overview of other relevant literature is provided by Waddington (2003b).

**Migration, return and development**

Remittances represent one form of transfer back to sending communities, but they are not the only form. First, it is important to consider transfers of social and human capital, as well as financial capital in analysing the impact on home communities (Ammassari and Black 2001). In addition, each of these forms of capital may be taken back as migrants return, rather than being ‘sent’ from abroad. Indeed, in the Copenhagen Consensus papers on migration, one of the few things on which all three authors agree is that return is beneficial to emigration countries – although this conclusion might be called into question (Black and Gent 2004).

One example of how public policy might usefully try to harness the transferred capital of returning migrants is provided by Venier (2003), who reports how Kerala, after the housing boom and transformation of the land market in the 1980s, saw a rise in the number of small industries and the development of services such as banking, education and health in the 1990s as migrants returned from the Gulf. Each of these areas – small and medium enterprises, health and education – represents a potentially fertile sector in which public policy could intervene to assist returnees (Tiemoko 2004), especially where these new facilities are oriented towards the population as a whole, rather than simply the returnees.

However, work on return to West Africa suggests that migration, remittance and return represent family strategies in which it may be relatively difficult for public policy to intervene in order to increase the beneficial impact of remittances and return on poverty and inequality (Black and Castaldo 2005). Meanwhile, a salutary reminder of the difficulties faced is provided by Lacroix (2004), who reports that it is mostly retired emigrants who return to southern Morocco. It is rare that migrants of working age would return for good. He highlights the failure of a French government initiative to co-finance small-business projects in West Africa. In particular, returnees would not participate in projects set up on the condition that they could not subsequently return to Europe.
4. Outlook on future research

In this review we have highlighted research by IMISCOE researchers in two key themes – the determinants and patterns of migration and migration consequences, especially linked to remittances. There is certainly complementarity in the research findings, but there are also a number of issues within these themes that remain to be further explored. These include particularly the role of networks, the nature of links between internal and international migration and the concept of a ‘culture of migration’. As to the role of networks, we have seen contradictory findings on how they generate or facilitate migration and its proliferation. Important questions for future research remain here, including: under what conditions does emigration as a choice and practice influence others in the population and locality to migrate, and under what conditions does it not? And what are the patterns of mechanisms of the spreading?

Second, in terms of the links between internal and international migration, Pieke et al. (2004: 23) have argued that ‘migrants often consider international and internal migration alternatives to each other, or use one to support or generate the capital for the other.’ Their work also demonstrates how international migration networks were created through internal migration and how international migration in turn increases internal migration. In Morocco, improved access to education brings about a shift from external to internal migration (Van der Erf 2003). In Albania, remittances from international emigration have often provided the finance for family members to move from the countryside to major cities (King and Vullnetari 2003). More work is needed to establish whether such mechanisms are contingent or structural.

Third, the concept of migration culture helps explain certain migration behaviours that cannot be explained by conventional notions. But the concept needs to be (1) better operationalised, so that it can be compared across contexts and be both verified and falsified; (2) better analysed (e.g. to identify when and how a community produces a culture of migration); (3) elaborated in terms of its policy implications.

Meanwhile, the wider debate on migration and development also encompasses much more than these themes – not least the growing circulation of skilled workers within a global labour market, the increasing significance of irregular migration and the emerging phenomenon of transnationalism. The issue of global circulation of skilled workers has clear consequences for sending countries, but is dealt with elsewhere in this volume, and for this reason will not be touched on here. However, the other two issues do deserve mention, not least because they are often not seen through a sending country lens.
Firstly, the irregular nature of much movement to Europe over recent years has important implications for development that are still in the process of being unravelled. Three key themes emerge of significance to development and developing countries: first, the growing unplanned nature and irregularity of migration; second, the impact of policies of control around Western welfare states and labour markets; and third, the rise of trafficking and smuggling. It is generally assumed that irregular movement is in the interests of neither migrant nor sending or receiving countries, since it often involves dangerous conditions of travel and work, exploitation and high risks. Yet the consequences of elevated risk for patterns of movement, levels of remittances and commitment to development in home countries have rarely been measured, whilst we know little about the effects of regularisations of migrant workers, or indeed the criminalisation of certain types of migration on outcomes for sending areas.

Secondly, transnational activities of migrants and their associations should be scrutinized for their development potential. Its impact may not only be traced along direct economic or political lines, but can also be linked to changing identities and the juxtaposition of national and transnational forms of belonging – which in turn affect the determinants of further migration. In this sense, understanding transnationalism is central to the project of understanding migration more generally. In our case, the IMISCOE network has started to focus on one particular country (Morocco) and area (North Africa) to explore, in close collaboration with researchers from that country/region, its impact by focusing on:

1. Influences on integration. This theme beholds a diachronic, divergent comparison of Moroccan migrants in the variety of EU destination countries, particularly focusing on the different generations of migrants to assess differences between 1960s labour migration and current migrants.

2. Sending country context. Within this theme, migration and significant political, economic, social and cultural processes within Morocco are linked. This will include an assessment of the diverse range of conditions influencing migration, the effects of migration on these conditions and attempts to alter them with the aim of influencing migration patterns.

3. Transnational links and processes. This theme concerns an assessment of the transnational links sustained by Moroccans residing abroad on the individual, associational and national-institutional level.

Finally, as a more general note, the field of study that we are in here asks for a conscious effort to develop comprehensive methodologies.
Work has been done on this, for example by Groenewold and Bilsborrow (forthcoming) who summarise the methods and research design of the survey, particularly their stage-wise sampling method, and by Pieke et al. (2004: 21) who detail the multi-sited ethnographic research process and the lessons learned on how to better grasp migration which becomes increasingly transnational in scope and fluid in nature. However, as Black (2003a) has pointed out, Europe does not have an initiative similar to the ‘Mexican Migration Project’ in the US, which has provided for Mexico-US migration a substantial longitudinal database that combines breadth and depth of information on migrants and their sending communities (Massey et al. 1994).

In this context, the IMISCOE network arguably has a unique position to build on its mix of quantitative and qualitative approaches to migration and development. Both approaches are valuable, but where they can be combined, this can lead to greater research strength. Only when we examine variables of statistical significance in real contexts and link them to other factors can we make full sense of these variables. At the same time, in-depth observation needs statistical data to generate conclusions with more general significance. The importance of such large-scale and integrated data for devising evidence-based policies has been increasingly recognised.

Notes

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3 We realise that several other theoretical and methodological approaches exist in the literature on migration and development. In addition to the ‘New Economics of Labour Migration’ approach mentioned above, these include migration systems theory (Kritz et al. 1992); Appleyard’s trilogy on emigration dynamics (Appleyard 1998), as well as work by African and Asian scholars: (Abella 1993; Adepoju 2000; Aguilar 1999; Go, 1998; Gonzalez 1998) and the work of Philip Martin (Martin 1991; Martin and Straubhaar 2002; Martin and Taylor 2001). The theory of the migration transition is worth examining here too (Amjad 1996; Lim 1996; Zelinsky 1971).

4 For another description of the culture of migration, see: Kandel and Massey (2002) on Mexican migration.


6 Focusing on the hawala system of informal transfers, this IMF study of 15 countries estimated that about $35 billion per annum of remittances was transmitted through informal channels in the early 1980s, falling to $10 billion per annum in more recent years (El Qorchi et al., 2003). The decline was attributed to the disappearance of the black market exchange premiums in many developing countries in the 1990s.


**Literature**


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