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Migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

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Introduction

1 Migration, development and the 2030 Agenda

Migration is one of the defining features of the 21st century. It contributes significantly to all aspects of economic and social development everywhere, and as such will be key to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Different opportunities and levels of development in origin countries can drive migration. At the same time, migration can increase development and investment in origin countries, fill labour gaps in host countries and contribute to development along the journey (or, in so-called ‘transit countries’). It is a strong poverty reduction tool – not just for migrants themselves, but also for their families and their wider communities. But migration can also negatively impact development, and though the relationship between the two is increasingly recognised, it remains under-explored.

We must ensure migration contributes to positive development outcomes and, ultimately, to realising the Goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (the ‘2030 Agenda’). To do this, we need to understand the impact of migration on the achievement of all SDGs, and – equally – the impact this achievement will have on future migration patterns. As the details of the Global Compact for Migration (GCM) are being debated, it is more important than ever to understand these relationships and their implications for policy.

In a series of eight policy briefings, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) analyses the interrelationship between migration¹ and key development areas: gender, health, urbanisation, climate change, social protection, education, citizenship and poverty. Each briefing explores how the links between migration and these different development areas affect the achievement of the SDGs, and offers pragmatic recommendations to incorporate migration into the 2030 Agenda and beyond to ensure it contributes to positive development outcomes.

1.1 Why the 2030 Agenda can be a useful policy framework for migration

The 2030 Agenda is well placed to reflect and exploit the links between migration and development for three reasons. For migration, the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs

represent an incredibly important step in development policy-making. The global Targets are the first to formally recognise migration in international development frameworks and processes. This highlights the importance of migration as an issue, and cements it as a factor which can contribute to development and poverty reduction.

The multi-disciplinary and cross-sectoral nature of the 2030 Agenda is a useful platform to assess the impact of migration and human mobility on a range of development areas (Lönnback, 2014). This is not just important in terms of problem analysis – for instance, in considering the effects of migration across different dimensions of development – but also offers opportunities for finding policy solutions. The SDGs’ multi-disciplinary nature increases the potential for multi-stakeholder collaboration in labour mobility (Mosler Vidal, 2017).

Crucially, the 2030 Agenda is supported by the necessary political ‘traction’ in different member states and in the multilateral system. The impacts of migration can be felt at all stages of the journey – notably in both origin and host countries – and as such it interacts with different sectors, requiring coordination between multiple actors and enhanced coherence across policies. This kind of coordination is only possible with high-level buy-in, something the SDGs have already secured.

1.2 Migration in the 2030 Agenda

The 2030 Agenda does explicitly refer to migration, and recognises the economic value of migrants: migrant workers are expressly considered in SDG 8 on economic growth and decent work; issues of trafficking noted as part of SDG 16 on peaceful societies; SDG 10 calls for a reduction in the transaction costs of remittances; and migrant status is mentioned in SDG 17 as a factor for disaggregation during review and follow up (Table 1). Finally, Target 10.7 – the cornerstone of migration in the 2030 Agenda – calls for the facilitation of ‘safe, regular and responsible migration’ and the implementation of ‘well-managed migration policies’.

But while migration and remittances are covered by several Targets (Table 1), the relationship between migration and development does not feature elsewhere in the Goals, nor has it been consistently explored.

1. The main focus of the project was on international labour migration, though the briefings also considered internal migration (notably the briefing on Urbanisation) and forced displacement (particularly the briefings on Climate change and Education).

Table 1: The Targets that mention migration

8.8	Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment.
10.7	Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies.
10.c	By 2030, reduce to less than 3% the transaction costs of migrant remittances and eliminate remittance corridors with costs higher than 5%.
16.2	End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children.
17.18	By 2020, enhance capacity building support to developing countries, including for Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and Small Island Developing States (SIDS), to increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.

Note: That is, those Targets which mention the word ‘migration’, ‘migrant’ or ‘trafficking’.

Migration is relevant to many of the other Goals. If countries are to achieve the SDGs, they need to consider the impact of migration at all levels and on all outcomes, beyond the migration-specific Targets. Our analysis, which has explored the links between migration and 13 of the 17 SDGs (Table 2), shows that migration is not a development ‘problem’ to be solved (as is the focus of SDG 10.7), but a mechanism that can contribute to the achievement of many of the Goals. To do this, governments must identify the linkages between migration and different Goals and Targets as shown in Table 2. Finally, countries must also recognise that migrants may be a particularly vulnerable group who should be considered under the general principle of ‘leaving no-one behind’.

2 Linking migration, development and the 2030 Agenda

Four main conclusions emerge from our analysis of the relationship between migration and different development areas:

1. Migration is a powerful poverty reduction tool, which can contribute to the achievement of the SDGs

Labour migration can reduce poverty for migrants themselves, their families, and their origin and host countries. Migrants and their families benefit from increased income and knowledge, which allows them to spend more on basic needs, access education and health services, and make investments – directly impacting SDG 1, SDG 3 and SDG 4. For female migrants, increased economic resources can improve their autonomy and socioeconomic status, impacting SDG 5. In origin countries, migration can lead to increased wages and greater economic growth through higher incomes, spending and investment of migrant households. In host countries, migrants can fill labour gaps and contribute to services and the fiscal balance, impacting on SDG 1, SDG 8 and SDG 9.

However, migration does not always achieve its full potential. Our analysis on migration and urbanisation finds that poor, urban migrants often work in the informal sector where the rewards of migration are lower (Lucci et al., 2016). In relation to poverty, our research reveals that the high costs involved in different stages of the migration process reduce financial payoffs, and that restrictions on mobility prevent those who would benefit the most from migrating in a regular and orderly way (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017b). Large and unexpected migration flows can also disrupt education systems, disadvantage migrant and refugee children, and create tensions in host communities (Nicolai et al., 2017).

2. The specific risks and vulnerabilities of migrants are often overlooked

The risks and vulnerabilities of migrants throughout the migration process are often overlooked in development processes, the 2030 Agenda included. Migrants experience both migration-specific vulnerabilities – that is, experienced by migrants only – and migration-intensified vulnerabilities – when migration exacerbates a disadvantage that can be experienced by all (Sabates-Wheeler and Waite, 2003). For instance, a migration-specific vulnerability is that female migrants, working in less regulated and less visible sectors, are at greater risk of exploitation and abuse, including trafficking (O’Neil et al., 2016). Or that migration due to climate change can lead to further risk accumulation in cities (Wilkinson et al., 2016). An example of a migration-intensified vulnerability is that migrants are more likely to live in informal settlements, lacking access to health, education, water and social protection services (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017a; Nicolai et al., 2017; Tulloch et al., 2016). Beyond SDG 16.2 (trafficking) and 8.8 (labour rights and secure work environments), these risks and vulnerabilities are not considered in the 2030 Agenda.

3. The implementation of existing programmes of support for migrants is often weak

In principle, three quarters of the world's migrants are entitled to some form of social protection through a multilateral, bilateral or unilateral agreement. But in practice, enforcement of these agreements is poor (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017a). Access to basic services, such as health, education and social protection, is key for migrants' livelihoods and development prospects. But while in some cases, migrants can access such services through existing or specifically designed programmes, the implementation of such programmes is often weak and levels of uptake low.

A number of factors contribute to this, including limited capacity in implementing institutions, funding gaps, a lack of political support and reluctance among migrants to participate. For instance, while migrants in Thailand are covered by the country's universal health care scheme, uptake is low due to language and cultural barriers, fear of discrimination, fear of losing work due to absence and poor employer compliance with the scheme (Tulloch et al., 2016). Likewise, while often eligible for education, immigrant students tend to face greater difficulties than their host country peers in accessing education and achieving good learning outcomes (Nicolai et al., 2017).

4. There are major data gaps

Finally, data is often not disaggregated by migrant status or comparable across different groups and countries. As a result, we do not know the share of migrants actually able to participate in social protection programmes, access health services or attend school. The collection and monitoring of this disaggregated data, accompanied by migrant-specific indicators, is vital to understand the vulnerabilities and needs of migrants. Only then can governments and NGOs design migrant specific and sensitive support. Unfortunately, there are no internationally standardised approaches for collecting this data, and coordination of the data that different actors have already collected is limited. Within the 2030 Agenda, there are two Targets that could facilitate the implementation of coherent policies and programmes to support better coordination and data. Target 17.18 focuses on data and monitoring, crucially including a call for disaggregation of data by migrant status. Meanwhile, Target 16.6 calls for the development of effective, accountable and transparent institutions through which migrants could have recourse to hold governments, service providers and individuals to account.

3 Implications for migration and development policies

Development policies and programmes can be part of a comprehensive strategy to better manage migration and make the most of its economic and social benefits. To do this, migration must be 'mainstreamed' in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda: the links, opportunities and challenges related to migration under specific Goals and Targets need to be identified and highlighted. Policy-makers need to consider, measure and take account of migration to harness its positive benefits and reduce potential challenges.

The multiple facets of the relationship between migration and development offer concrete policy entry points to help achieve the SDGs – including in specific sectors, such as health and education. For instance, the International Labour Organization's (ILO) decent work agenda is highly relevant to migration. Any programming as part of this agenda should consider the specific vulnerabilities of migrants in the workplace (see Lucci et al., 2016) and the specific barriers migrants face in accessing work-place social protection schemes (see Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017a).

3.1 The Global Compact for Migration: a unique moment of opportunity

The links between migration and development also have implications for migration policy and practice, particularly the Global Compact for Migration (GCM), which will be agreed by the UN member states in 2018. The GCM – an effort by states to work towards a common approach to address global migration – represents a unique moment of opportunity to put the nexus between migration and development on the global policy agenda. After years of debate that saw limited contact and collaboration between migration and development policy and practice communities, we are now at an important crossroads. Two years after the agreement of the SDGs and one year from the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, the GCM is a chance to contribute to real progress. The SDGs should be a part of this (Foresti, 2017).

The SDGs provide a holistic and comprehensive framework to ground the migration-development nexus in the GCM. It will be important not to limit the focus to specific Targets on migration and remittances, but rather consider the role of human mobility to achieve all the Goals (ibid.). And, while the GCM framework and aspirations are global and grounded in international cooperation, actions need to be locally led and rooted in specific contexts, countries, regions and markets where particular development opportunities and challenges exist (ibid.).

3.2 The need for a new narrative

But how to do development is as important as what to do. There is the risk that viewing migration through a development lens may reinforce or replicate unhelpful dichotomies of donor and recipient or origin and host country. For example, the fact that in some host countries (especially in Europe) development aid is being used as part of a broader strategy to deter migration raises many concerns; not only it is ineffectual (there is no evidence that aid can affect migration patterns) but it also risks misinforming the public about the positive relationship between migration and development. Instead, the SDGs are an opportunity to frame migration and development relationships between countries as reciprocal and mutual, under a global framework.

The GCM consultation process also highlighted the need for a fresh narrative that goes beyond the negative connotations and perceptions that are present in both migration and development debates. A new vocabulary could help achieve this, and avoid replicating common misconceptions. We propose three new ways to talk about migration and development to move the debate along (Foresti, 2017): investment, innovation and inclusion.

- **Investment.** Beyond aid or remittances alone, focus on investing in future societies for all, in line with the 'leave no one behind' imperative. This includes harnessing the potential of diaspora, civil society innovators and entrepreneurs as private sectors and civil society.
- **Innovation.** Build and expand on the initiatives that already exist especially at local and country levels: diaspora bonds, global skills partnership, extension of rights for citizens on the move, financial inclusion through digital technology/mobile money, training and skills matching/investment etc.
- **Inclusion.** It is key for development and migration policies to be inclusive and not targeted at specific groups alone. They also need to be explicitly aimed at expanding rights and opportunities. In practice, there is a need to broaden access to services, ensure portability of benefits and expand access to inclusive finance.



Moreover, while the 2030 Agenda provides a useful, broad policy framework with political traction, on its own it will not be enough to achieve change. We need to build coalitions and partnerships – between countries, cities, with development organisations and actors, with private sector – and to identify and work on realistic and politically viable objectives. Strategies should be flexible and modalities of intervention should adapt to specific needs and opportunities. It will be important to avoid 'blueprint' approaches and unrealistic promises if we are to make the most of bringing these two interlinked agendas together for concrete change.

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Table 2: The impact of migration on different SDGs and Targets

Goal	Target	Link with migration	Briefing
	1.1	Migration is a powerful poverty reduction strategy, for migrants themselves and their families in origin countries. It has substantial positive impacts on income and other areas of human development.	Poverty
		Increased immigration does not lead to higher poverty rates in host countries; in fact, migrants often add value to domestic economies.	Poverty
		Rural to urban migration contributes to economic development and to overall poverty reduction.	Urbanisation
		Access to education for migrants can lead to rising incomes.	Education
	1.3	Labour migrants can be a particularly poor and vulnerable group, but often lack eligibility for legal social protection and/or are not effectively covered. Where migrants are covered, benefits are often non-portable, further reducing coverage amongst a group that is highly mobile.	Social Protection
	1.4	Migration can help families in countries of origin to improve their wellbeing through increased income and consumption. Indirect effects include higher savings, investment and protection from shocks and stresses.	Poverty
	1.5	The poor are the most vulnerable to climate change. They are likely to live in high-risk areas, have fewer means to prepare, and lack information to anticipate, and respond to, a disaster. Yet they are also the people who will find it hardest to migrate.	Climate change
	1.a	Labour migrants present an opportunity to increase the tax base, and a greater number of contributors to social insurance-type schemes leads to better risk pooling and financial sustainability.	Social Protection
		Remittances and other forms of diaspora financing can be mobilised to improve infrastructure, services and development more generally.	Poverty
	2.2	Migrants are a particularly vulnerable group but may not be reached by assistance programmes aimed at improving nutrition.	Health
	3.1	Eligibility for health access is often tied to citizenship/permanent residency status, with only some countries opening up (emergency) health care to all, regardless of status.	Citizenship
		Migrants, particularly those without legal residence permits, sometimes experience higher maternal mortality and morbidity relative to the host populations.	Health
	3.8	As internal migrants are often in the informal sector they risk exclusion from coverage of insurance schemes and in many cases are not considered in universal health coverage programmes.	Health
	4.1, 4.2, 4.5,	Migration helps improve education access and educational outcomes for families in origin countries, yet migrant children in host countries often suffer disadvantages in accessing quality education.	Education
	4.1	Eligibility for primary and secondary school education can be tied to citizenship/permanent residency status, which means that migrant children can be prevented from accessing education, particularly children who are undocumented. Often this also includes second generation migrants.	Citizenship
	4.4	Internal migrants often lack the skills and training required to access decent jobs and as a result end up working in low-productivity jobs in the informal sector.	Urbanisation
	4.7	Education plays an important role in social integration, economic mobility and learning outcomes for migrant children.	Education
	5.2	Migrant and refugee women and girls can experience violence at all stages of the migration process, especially during transit (e.g. at refugee camps) or at their destination (e.g. by an employer).	Gender
	5.4	Many migrant domestic workers are female. Actions that increase the value of domestic work would reduce the burden of unpaid work and enhance the well-being, dignity and status of paid and unpaid care and domestic workers, including migrants.	Urbanisation

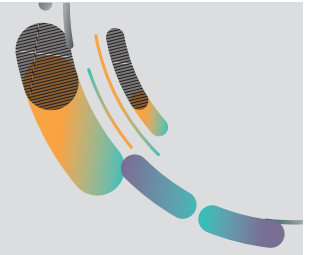
Goal	Target	Link with migration	Briefing
6 CLEAN WATER AND SANITATION 	6.1, 6.2	Large-scale movements of people could increase stress on fragile water supply systems.	Health
8 DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH 	8.5	Migration, in particular remittances, can lead to economic growth in origin countries. It can also lead to a reduction in unemployment and increase wages in countries of origin, also affecting poverty indirectly.	Poverty
		Female migrants and refugees may be prevented from working, or may experience de-skilling or being confined to 'feminine' jobs, often paid or valued less than other work.	Gender
	8.8	Low-skilled rural to urban migrants seeking better job opportunities in the city often end up working in precarious occupations in the informal economy.	Urbanisation
		Female migrants in stereotypically 'feminine' work (e.g. live-in care and domestic work) are frequently isolated and therefore more vulnerable to exploitation, violence and abuse.	Gender
9 INDUSTRY, INNOVATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE 	9.5	Migration leads to greater diversity in host countries, and this can foster innovation.	Poverty
		In origin countries, migration can also foster innovation through social remittances, skills transfers and return migration.	Poverty
10 REDUCED INEQUALITIES 	10.1	Migration can reduce global inequalities, among countries and people, as people migrate from low- to high-income countries, and send remittances back home.	Poverty
		Whether migration reduces inequality within origin countries depends on where migrants sit on the income distribution. In some contexts, migration can lead to higher inequality as the poorest are often unable to migrate. When the costs of migration are reduced, the potential to reduce inequality is also greater.	Poverty
	10.2	Education can improve the social, economic and political inclusion of migrant children, particularly if they are better educated regarding their host country and able to speak the majority language.	Education
	10.3	Removing legal barriers to accessing education – particularly for the children of irregular migrants and refugee children – would boost enrolment rates, as would ensuring that all people have a legal identity and the necessary paperwork to allow them to enrol in school.	Education
	10.4	Social protection policies often do not guarantee equal access to all workers, which means that labour migrants have lower eligibility for and take-up of social protection. If vulnerable groups are unable to participate in social protection, inequalities widen.	Social Protection
11 SUSTAINABLE CITIES AND COMMUNITIES 	11.3	Actions that take into account the needs of poor internal migrants, and the urban poor more generally, enhance their well-being and are more likely to maximise benefits of migration for the host city economy.	Urbanisation
13 CLIMATE ACTION 	13.1, 13.3	People affected by climate change will seek to diversify their livelihoods and rely on remittances from relatives elsewhere to cope with seasonal variation, extreme events and longer term trends. Adaptation policies can ensure income diversification into less climate vulnerable sectors.	Climate change
	13.2	Not taking into account rural-to-urban migration patterns in the future could result in incomplete adaptation plans, which fail to protect important economic sectors from climate change impacts.	Climate change
	13.3, 13.a	Better consideration of migration as a response to climate change – both extreme and slow-onset changes – and better financial planning are required to divert funds from adaptation to addressing a migration crisis.	Climate change

Goal	Target	Link with migration	Briefing
	16.2	Attempts to eliminate child labour, exploitation and trafficking through financial support to families are all likely to boost education for migrant children by freeing them to receive an education that they would not otherwise be able to have.	Education
		Irregular and young migrants are at greater risk of violence, trafficking and exploitation. Migrant girls are more likely to be trafficked or experience sexual exploitation than boys.	Gender
		When migrants, including second-generation migrants, cannot obtain citizenship or residency status, they are more vulnerable to exploitation by traffickers.	Citizenship
	16.7	Migration can contribute to making host countries more diverse and inclusive. Lack of citizenship or residency can prevent migrants from being full members of society, including access to services, and can lead to tensions and conflict.	Citizenship
	17.8	Data on migration, particularly on internal migration, is very limited. Improving the evidence base is fundamental in order to better understand the scale and impact of internal migration, and design better policies.	Urbanisation
		Data pertaining to migration background and education level should be collected together. This information should be used to support vulnerable groups, and not for reporting to security-related institutions.	Education
	17.18	There are no international standardised approaches for monitoring variables relating to the health of migrants. Development of data collection, monitoring and surveillance mechanisms is needed to understand migrant health needs.	Health

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SDGs covered | **5:** Gender equality
8: Decent work and economic growth
10: Reduced inequalities
16: Peace, justice and strong institutions
17: Partnerships for the goals



Gender equality, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Tam O'Neil, Anjali Fleury and Marta Foresti

Key messages

- Women migrate as much as men. Migration data must be disaggregated by sex and age, and migration policies must take account of how gender shapes different migrants' needs.
- Migration can increase women's access to education and economic resources, and can improve their autonomy and status.
- Female migrants and refugees are at greater risk of exploitation and abuse, including trafficking.
- Highly skilled women have high rates of migration but many are employed in low-skilled jobs.
- Unskilled female migrants work in less-regulated and less-visible sectors than male migrants. Most migrant domestic workers are women and adolescent girls.
- Migration creates empowerment trade-offs for individual women and girls, and between different groups of women and girls. These trade-offs matter for gender equality and for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals.

1 Introduction

This policy brief gives an overview of the opportunities, risks and vulnerabilities female migrants and refugees¹ face and the implications for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. It describes the realities of migration for women and adolescent girls, focusing on the experiences of those working in a range of ‘care’ professions, from domestic workers to nurses and doctors. Mobility and employment create opportunities for female migrants, but gender norms – shared ideas about the different capabilities and ‘natural’ roles of women and men, girls and boys – also create vulnerabilities, as do institutional failures to address discrimination. Gender norms, prevalent in all countries, are a root cause of the gendered division of labour (whether paid or unpaid work), violence against women and girls, and women’s lack of decision-making power – all of which have particular consequences for female migrants. While gender stereotypes and expectations also shape the migration experience of men and boys, this brief focuses on female migrants because they are most likely to be ‘left behind’ in progress towards the 2030 Agenda.

After briefly exploring current migration trends, Section 2 describes how gender norms and relations shape decisions about why and when women and girls migrate, and their experiences of migration. We highlight how the socioeconomic characteristics of individual female migrants and the countries they migrate from and to influence whether migration is likely to increase their capabilities and/or vulnerabilities, and how. In Sections 3 and 4 we use the concept of the global care chain to expand this discussion. We examine the experiences of skilled and unskilled female migrants and explore how the feminisation of labour leads to empowerment trade-offs for individual migrants, as well as between groups of women and girls.

In Section 5 we make recommendations about how the international community can ensure that female migrants and refugees are not excluded from the benefits of economic and social progress and the 2030 Agenda. We argue that migration can contribute to women and girls’ capabilities and freedoms, but can also expose them to new or increased risks. Migration policies must reflect the different needs and risks women and girls face, and actively manage these trade-offs.

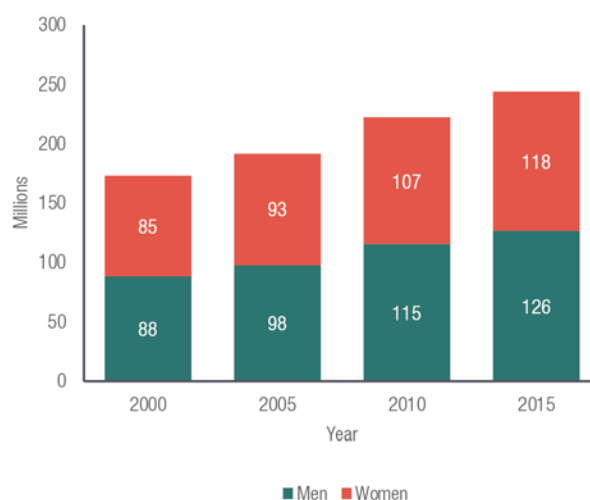
1.1 Migration trends

People have always moved across borders. In 2015, the global number of international migrants reached 224 million, up from 173 million in 2000. However, as a proportion of the world’s population, the number of migrants has remained relatively stable over the past 40 years at around 3%. Europe and Asia host the most international migrants (76 million and 75 million respectively), while southern Europe and Gulf States are the regions with the highest growth in labour migrants (UN DESA, 2016a).

In general, women migrate as much as men: in 2015, almost half (48%) of all international migrants were female (see Figure 1). From 2000 to 2015, women and girls’ migration to developing countries (15.8%) increased more rapidly than to developed regions (6.4%) (UN DESA, 2016b). The proportion of female migrants to Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Northern America and Oceania increased, but the proportion going to Africa and Asia decreased (UN DESA, 2016a).

Regarding forced displacement, in 2015 the number of refugees worldwide rose to 21.3 million – the highest level since the Second World War. Refugees comprise approximately 8% of the total number of international migrants, and 47% of refugees were girls and women in 2015 (UNHCR, 2016).

Figure 1: Total number of international migrants by sex



Source: UN DESA (2016b)

1. The term ‘migrant’ can refer to two different categories of people that should not be conflated: labour migrants who move for the purposes of employment, and refugees who – owing to fear of persecution, war or natural disaster – are outside their country of origin and are unable to avail themselves of protection from that country, Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Art. 1A(2), 1951). Given that this briefing focuses on women employed in care professions, we primarily use the term ‘migrant’ as we are mostly referring to women and girls moving for employment purposes (unless we are referring to refugees and asylum seekers, in which case we do so explicitly). Internal migrants are not included in this analysis.

2 Migration and the SDGs

The challenges addressed by the SDGs contain many important gender dimensions. Gender-specific actions and solutions are needed to reduce women and girls' poverty and insecurity and to promote their access to economic and sustainable growth, as well as to health, education, and justice. Policy-makers and practitioners must understand how gender inequalities influence progress on each goal and target. They should support measures that target harmful gender-related practices, reduce gender discrimination, and increase women and girls' choices and decision-making power.

A handful of the SDGs have targets that relate directly to migration. These include:

- Goal 5 on gender equality and women and girls' empowerment;
- Goal 8 on growth and decent work;
- Goal 10 on reducing inequalities;
- Goal 16 on peaceful, inclusive societies and access to justice for all; and
- Goal 17 on global partnership on sustainable development, which includes improving data.

Target 10.7, for example, is to 'facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies' (UN DESA, 2016c). However, this target is gender-blind; effective implementation requires a gender lens to capture the specific needs of

female migrants. Other targets are not related directly to gender and/or migration but are nonetheless relevant. For instance, Target 8.10 seeks to improve access to financial institutions, which is important for women's ability to receive and send remittances.

As Table 1 shows, SDG 5 and SDG 8 are particularly important to the wellbeing of female migrants and refugees in ensuring they are not left behind in progress towards the 2030 Agenda.

3 Gender norms and women and girls' migration

Men and women migrate for similar reasons – to get an education, to find work, to get married, or to flee persecution or harm. However, migration is very much a gendered phenomenon; gender norms and expectations, power relations, and unequal rights shape the migration choices and experiences of women and girls as they do men and boys.

Gender norms affect when and why people migrate. Women usually have less control over the decision to migrate than men – a decision more likely to be taken by their family (Yeoh et al., 2002). Where women and girls lack autonomy, this challenges the distinction between forced and voluntary migration – and particularly so for adolescent girls. Gendered expectations may also guide family decisions. For instance, families may believe that girls or young women are more likely than male family members to send home remittances regularly, or the eldest

Table 1: Gender equality, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Relevant SDGs and Targets	Link to migration
Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	
5.2: Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.	Migrant and refugee women and girls may experience violence at all stages of the migration process, whether at home or in the community. Gender-based violence or conflict-related sexual violence may force women and girls to migrate, and they may be subject to violence during transit (e.g. at refugee camps) or at their destination (e.g. by an employer). Irregular migrants and young migrants are at greater risk of violence, trafficking and exploitation. Migrant girls are more likely to be trafficked or experience sexual exploitation than boys (Temin et al., 2013).
5.3: Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation (FGM).	Girls facing harmful practices such as FGM or forced marriage may use migration as a means of escape (Temin et al., 2013). Migration can expose girls and young women to different social norms and practices (including FGM) in new locations (Goldberg et al., 2016). Migrant communities may use early marriage as a coping strategy in the face of girls' insecurity or economic hardship.
5.4: Recognise and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.	11.5 million (17.2%) of the world's 67.1 million domestic workers are international migrants; 8.4 million (73.4%) of migrant domestic workers are women or adolescent girls (ILO, 2015). Actions that increase the value of domestic work, including changes in underlying gender norms, would reduce women's burden of unpaid work and enhance the wellbeing, dignity and status of paid and unpaid care and domestic workers, including migrants.

Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all

8.5: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men.

Many host countries limit or bar refugees from employment opportunities. Similarly, migrant spouses may be prevented from working. Female migrants and refugees that do work may experience deskilling or be confined to 'feminine' jobs, often paid or valued less than other work. Ensuring full and productive employment and decent work requires access to work that is aligned with refugees' and migrants' skills and qualifications. It also means improving social and economic value afforded to work typically performed by women and girls.

8.7: Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking, and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour.

Migrants (particularly irregular migrants and children) are at risk of forced labour, trafficking, and exploitation and abuse. To eradicate these forms of labour requires improving labour standards, increasing the opportunities for decent work, protecting migrants, and prosecuting the perpetrators of such violations.

8.8: Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular female migrants, and those in precarious employment.

Protection of labour rights is particularly important for migrants, particularly women and children, who are at greater risk of exploitation or abuse. Female migrants in stereotypically feminine roles (such as live-in care and domestic work) are frequently isolated and therefore more vulnerable to exploitation, violence and abuse.

daughter may be expected to migrate so that the family has money to send her siblings to school (Kanaiaupuni, 2000).

Not all decisions for girls or women to migrate are taken by families. Indeed, some adolescent girls and women migrate in order to escape family control that can lead to harmful practices such as forced or early marriage or female genital mutilation (FGM) (Temin et al., 2013). At the same time, gender norms may limit women and girls' migration; at the household level, families may prevent them from migrating for fear of 'moral corruption' or

difficulties in marrying (Shaw, 2005). At the national level, rather than addressing the causes of gender discrimination or the risks female migrants face, some governments have banned female migration as a means to protect women and children – a measure that contravenes women's human rights.

Gender also shapes the migration experience, regardless of whether migration is voluntary or forced (see Box 1). Female migrants, particularly girls, have less information, less education, and fewer options for regular migration,

Box 1: Refugees and forced displacement

Refugee women and girls are subject to gender inequalities and discrimination. Conflict can exacerbate gender-based violence, and sexual violence is commonly used as a tactic of war. The state's failure to protect women and girls from gender-based violence can spur migration.

When they are displaced from their homes, women and girls are more vulnerable to violence and abuse, particularly if not accompanied by male relatives. The risk of human trafficking may also increase. When displacement results in female-headed households, women may struggle with the additional burdens of fulfilling both traditional male and female roles within the family. Female migrants (especially in cases of forced migration or displacement) may be forced into prostitution or sex work to survive or provide for their families.

Displacement can disrupt social and gender norms and bring added pressures for men and women alike, as well as increasing the vulnerabilities faced by women and girls. Male refugees in temporary camps may no longer be able to provide for their family as the breadwinner. Domestic violence by a spouse or family member can increase as families experience psychosocial trauma and as male refugees struggle with feelings of inadequacy and loss of control within the family.

Women and girls in refugee camps typically continue to be responsible for fetching the family's firewood and water, often going beyond the camp walls where they face increased risk of sexual and gender-based violence. Even within camps, women and girls are exposed to increased risks of violence from other refugees. As is the case among some Syrian and Rohingya refugees, for example, displaced families may choose early or forced marriage for their daughters as a strategy to cope with economic hardship or perceived risks of sexual violence. During times of crises, states may be less able to protect and provide adequate services, further disadvantaging vulnerable refugees, including women and girls.

Sources: Bukachi et al. (2010); UNHCR (2008); Women's Refugee Commission (2016); De Berry and Petrini (2011); UNHCR and World Bank Group (2015).

which puts them at greater risk of exploitation and abuse, including trafficking (UNFPA, 2015). Farah (2006) reported that 80% of trafficking victims were estimated to be female. Girls migrating alone are particularly vulnerable (Temin et al., 2013). Female migrants tend to be more averse to risk than men, however, and prefer to migrate through regular channels and when social networks are in place (Fleury, 2016). Migrants often establish networks for social support; this enables other women and girls from their community to follow (Temin et al., 2013) and reduces the stigma caused by breaking traditional gender norms (De Haas, 2009).

Gender norms and social norms in migrants' country of origin and destination also influence the outcomes of migration for women and girls. Such norms determine whether migration empowers women and girls and/or exposes them to harm, and in what ways. Women are more likely to migrate to countries with less discriminatory social institutions than their country of origin, which also tend to offer greater economic opportunities (Ferrant et al., 2014; Ferrant and Tuccio, 2015). However, there are also instances of women migrating from countries with very high levels of discrimination to countries with similarly high levels of discrimination, possibly because the decision to migrate may not have been solely theirs (Ferrant et al., 2014) or they were driven by economic hardship.

The act of migration may change social and gender norms, for migrants as well as for their home communities. In addition to improving women's autonomy, self-esteem and social standing, migration can also provide women and girls with new skills and their families with remittances. These new resources can change power dynamics within families and households. Migrants may also influence their home communities to adopt more equitable norms around education, marriage, fertility rates, and gender roles in the household and community. However, while migrant women may return home with new norms and skills, they may also face resistance or stigma and struggle to reintegrate into their families and communities (Sijapati, 2015).

When a woman migrates with her spouse, even to a more liberal country, discriminatory gender norms from the home community (such as restrictions on women's movement outside the home) may still govern household relations, leaving women more isolated and vulnerable. For example, Kabeer (2000) found that employment had greater empowerment effects for Bangladeshi women who migrated to cities to work in factories than for those that migrated to London and performed piecework in the isolation of their own homes.

Migration may also bring changes in gender roles for men. Women's migration may mean that men who stay behind take on more unpaid care responsibilities, though other female family members often take on the additional burden. Remittances from migrant workers also make a vital contribution to source economies and

to the household income and wellbeing of migrants' families (Fleury, 2016). However, realising the benefits of remittances depends on who receives and controls them; women are more likely to invest in children's education and health, while men tend to invest in assets such as cars (De and Ratha, 2005).

4 Gender norms, labour market segmentation and the global care chain

Gender is a key factor in the employment opportunities that are open to migrants. Most societies valorise men as natural leaders, decision-makers and breadwinners, placing them at the centre of the public and productive spheres, while women are relegated to the role of natural homemakers and carers, confining them to the domestic and reproductive spheres. In many countries though, simple productive-reproductive or public-private gender dichotomies have come under stress as women have entered the labour force in greater numbers. While it is now more acceptable that women perform productive roles, norms about reproductive and domestic work are, in some cases, proving very resistant to change and men are not doing their equal share of unpaid domestic and care work (Evans, 2016; Samman et al., 2016; Wojczewski et al., 2015). Time-use surveys show that women *in all countries* spend more time on unpaid care than men, ranging from around 2 weeks more in the Nordic countries to more than 10 weeks more in Iraq, Mexico and Turkey (Samman et al., 2016).

Furthermore, the labour market – including migrant labour – remains highly segmented by gender, as well as by class and ethnicity. Men are perceived as stronger and more capable of manual labour and, as a result, are more likely to work in mining, industry, transport, trade and construction. Men are also overrepresented in management positions. By contrast, women are perceived as nurturing and are concentrated in 'feminine' sectors related to care (e.g. health, teaching, cleaning, cooking, service industries) or entertainment, or in factory positions that prefer workers to be 'nimble' or meticulous (ILO, 2015; de Villard and Dey de Pryck, 2010; Ghosh, 2009; UNFPA, 2006; IOM, 2009, 2011). Gendered labour opportunities then influence where male and female migrants move to. Countries with higher demand for construction workers are more likely to recruit or attract male migrants, whereas countries seeking domestic workers and nurses will attract more female migrants (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003).

The gender segregation of labour and the feminisation of domestic and care work also mean that, even when female migrants have legal rights, they are less likely to be enforced than the rights of male migrants. This is because unskilled female migrants tend to be more isolated and less aware of their rights than unskilled migrant men working in relatively better-regulated, visible and better-paid sectors, such as construction, mining and agriculture (Garcia et al., 2002).

In sum, the intersection of gender norms and market economics has three consequences for female migrants:

1. They are concentrated in unskilled, undervalued and low-paid sectors, often employed as domestic workers in hard-to-regulate private homes;
2. Skilled and unskilled migrants often face intersecting gender and racial discrimination and have a triple burden of managing paid employment alongside unpaid domestic and reproductive responsibilities;
3. Female migrants are less able to advance their own interests than male migrants; they have less decision-making power within the home and – whether migrating alone or as a dependent – are less likely to have the time or capabilities to engage with political decision-making and policy processes (O’Neil and Domingo, 2016).

The expectation that women, not men, are responsible for unpaid domestic and care responsibilities therefore influences labour market segmentation and the economic opportunities open to women, including migrants. The feminisation of labour then intersects with inequality and discrimination based on class and ethnicity within and across countries, creating global care and healthcare chains. Both *societal* factors and the *individual* characteristics of women and girls therefore determine the empowerment effects of migration – particularly migrants’ socioeconomic status, and the sector they work in after migrating, as well as the type of work they do. Changing this situation requires a shift in gender stereotypes and expectations – one that changes harmful masculinities and limiting femininities – as well as addressing class and other forms of discrimination.

4.1 Unskilled female migrants and domestic and care work

Most migrant domestic workers are women and girls – approximately 75% of the 11.5 million estimated in 2013 (ILO, 2015). Indeed, domestic work is the most common employment for girls under the age of 16 (UN OHCHR, 2015). While nearly 80% of domestic workers are in low- and middle-income countries, 79.2% of *migrant* domestic workers are in high-income countries. South-East Asia and the Pacific is the region with the highest levels of female migrant domestic workers (24%), followed by northern Europe, southern Europe, and western Europe (22.1%), then Arab States (19%) (ILO, 2015). Levels of migration and destination vary by country of origin; for instance, 86% of female labour migrants from Sri Lanka are employed as domestic workers in the Middle East (IOM, 2015).

The feminisation of domestic and care labour creates a global care chain, a term coined by Arlie Hochschild to describe ‘a series of links between people across the world based on the paid and unpaid work of caring’ (Wojczewski et al., 2015: 131). As ageing populations and women’s increasing participation in the global labour force create

more demand for paid domestic and care work, the women who fill those positions then rely on female relatives to care for their own families, creating a chain effect (UN OHCHR, 2015). Migrants’ families (particularly female relatives such as mothers or eldest daughters) who take over unpaid domestic and care work may find that doing so limits their own ability to take up economic or education opportunities (Azcona, 2009; Wojczewski et al., 2015). Rather than leading men, employers or governments to play a greater role in the provision of domestic and care needs, the effect of women entering the workforce in greater numbers is to pull in even more women as paid carers.

Despite the high demand for and numbers of domestic workers in many countries, domestic and care work is less socially valued than other types of work – something that is reflected in lower pay and fewer labour regulations compared with other sectors (Petrozziello, 2013; Temin et al., 2013). For example, 40% of countries do not offer protection for domestic workers within national labour laws (UN Women, 2012). Some countries, like Mexico, include domestic work in labour laws but afford such workers fewer rights and protections than workers in other occupations (European Union et al., 2014). Other countries may include protections in national labour laws but invest little or no resources in enforcement. Enforcing the rights of domestic workers is particularly difficult given that many live in their employer’s home, hidden from public view.

Since paid domestic work mostly takes place in private homes, it increases the risk of abuse and mistreatment (Fleury, 2016; Oishi, 2002; Piper, 2005; Temin et al., 2013; UN OHCHR, 2015). Domestic workers often receive low pay, work long hours, may suffer from insufficient sleep and (depending on their employer) may have difficulty in receiving time off or pay (Temin et al., 2013; Piper, 2005; UN OHCHR, 2015). For example, in Ethiopia, migrant girls doing domestic work are more likely to experience sexual abuse and rape by employers than other girls, in part due to their social isolation and dependence on their employers (Temin et al., 2013). In Gulf countries, migrant women are often marginalised and experience difficulties claiming their wages and with their legal status (Wojczewski et al., 2015). Yet, despite these risks, women and girls are still driven to migrate, usually pulled by the potential for better economic opportunities and increased income (see Box 2).

4.2 Skilled female migrants and healthcare work

Skilled female migrants also face gender segregation and tend to work in ‘feminine’ professions, such as education, health, social work, and nursing (Piper, 2005). In high-income and upper-middle-income countries, various factors have combined to create a global healthcare chain – demographic changes (ageing populations and declining fertility rates), shifts in gender norms (more women entering the workforce) and gaps in health and social care systems (availability of trained nurses, adequacy

of welfare provision). Some countries have active, even ‘aggressive’ recruitment policies (UNFPA and IMP, 2004) and bilateral agreements to plug gaps in their healthcare system (Wojczewski et al., 2015). For instance, in the UK in 2012, 22% of nurses and 35% of medical practitioners were born abroad (Jayaweera, 2015). In addition to push factors in their countries of origin, the prospect of better wages and/or working conditions draws trained nurses, doctors and other healthcare professionals to wealthier countries in the global North (e.g. Canada, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand, the UK and the USA) and the global South (e.g. Saudi Arabia and South Africa).

Conversely, this migration of skilled workers can weaken healthcare systems in developing countries, sometimes referred to as ‘brain drain’. Since women from developing countries have less access to tertiary education and high-skilled positions, when they migrate there are higher relative losses of human capital than when skilled males migrate (Docquier et al., 2009), though the picture is mixed depending on the countries involved. The chain of displacement and replacement is not just in one direction, from developing to developed countries. For example, the demand for migrant workers in the UK’s National Health Service (NHS) is fuelled by a shortage of UK-trained nurses but also by their

Box 2: The global care chain and the experiences of unskilled female migrants

Many unskilled women and girls migrate for domestic work to improve their and their families’ economic wellbeing, but they also often face new or increased risks. These trade offs from migration vary in types and scale, however, and are informed both by individual and country characteristics.

Recently, there have been growing numbers of Ethiopian adolescent girls migrating to Middle Eastern countries like Saudi Arabia to do domestic work. The main driver is increased income, particularly given the pressures on sustainable livelihoods in Ethiopia – one of the world’s poorest countries – due to worsening agricultural cycles, shortage of land, limited job opportunities and increasing unemployment. However, poverty is not the only driver. For adolescent girls, migration offers an escape from early marriage, oppressive social norms, and the lack of control over their lives. Now, the established culture of migration, a growing reliance on remittances and peer pressure also motivate young Ethiopians to migrate.

Though migration brings many benefits, the costs can be high. Young migrant domestic workers risk serious violations of their human rights, including exploitation, physical and sexual violence, trafficking, abuse, isolation, incomplete wages or even non-payment, long work hours, racial and religious discrimination, and psychological and mental trauma. For Ethiopian girls in Saudi Arabia, these experiences are far too common, both in transit and when they reach their employer’s home. One returnee girl said: ‘I was beaten by the daughters in the house and the daughter next door. They would use their hands or whatever object they asked me to fetch – spoons, cans, whatever. The beating was daily – even if one daughter wasn’t beating me, the other was’. Young Ethiopian girls encounter the difficult trade-offs between economic gains and empowerment, and exploitation and abuse. With few options for a fulfilled life at home, many adolescent girls leave feeling optimistic that their experience will be a positive one.

Ecuadorian women migrating to Spain as domestic workers also face a trade-off – in their case, between increased economic opportunity and family income, and separation from their family and discrimination in the destination country. Domestic work in Spain provides a far superior income for Ecuadorian women than most job opportunities available to them at home, where they face age and gender discrimination when seeking employment. Women also have better, more stable opportunities in Spain than Ecuadorian men, so families often decide that it is best for women to migrate. Ecuadorian women are highly marketable in Spain given that they are native Spanish speakers and their general categorisation as nurturing carers and housekeepers. Migration also enhances Ecuadorian women’s autonomy, agency, and worth. By contributing financially to their families, women often gain greater decision-making power in the household. For single Ecuadorian women, migration also provides an alternative to marriage.

Many Ecuadorian women who migrate to Spain are themselves mothers who are forced to leave their own children behind as they care for other children abroad. This separation is one major cost of migration. In many cases, Ecuadorian women prefer other female relatives (a grandmother or aunt) to care for their children, rather than their spouse. Ecuadorian migrants also face discrimination as foreigners in Spain; like many migrant women, they experience deskilling and occupy lower-level positions, primarily employed as domestic workers regardless of their education or experience.

While Ethiopia and Ecuador both provide examples of female migration for domestic work, they illustrate how individual factors as well as the broader political and institutional context of the destination country influence women’s experiences of migration. Ethiopian adolescents in Saudi Arabia, for example, are especially vulnerable not just because of their age and lack of voice but also because of the lack of legal protection for women in the Middle East and the lack of recourse to justice when their human rights are violated.

Sources: Jones et al. (2014); Dudley (2013).

migration to the USA and other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries.

Today, rather than accompanying or joining spouses, women are more likely to be the 'lead migrant'. In fact, highly skilled migrant women not only have higher rates of migration than low-skilled women, they are also more likely to migrate than highly skilled men. The demand for skilled migrants can also incentivise people in developing countries to gain further education and professional qualifications, a phenomenon known as 'brain gain'. However, as

Arends-Kuenning et al. (2015) found in the Philippines, these societal gains have costs for individual families. Often it is a family decision to invest in private education and the pay-off on the investment is only realised if the individual family member is able to complete their training, migrate, and secure a high-skilled and well-paid job.

Migration to a wealthier country can provide improved career opportunities and skills acquisition for women, as well as a better quality of life and increased security (employment or otherwise) for themselves and their

Box 3: The global healthcare chain and the experiences of skilled female migrants

Despite skilled female migrants being the fastest-growing category of migrants, little attention has been paid to their experiences. There are few qualitative studies documenting the growing number of foreign-trained female doctors and the experiences of migrants working in the health sector, particularly those working outside Anglo-Saxon countries.

To fill this gap, Wojczewski and colleagues (2015) interviewed 34 migrants in Austria, Belgium, South Africa and the UK who trained as nurses or doctors in sub-Saharan Africa. Temporary 'deskilling' was a common experience, with validation of qualifications, retraining, and certification meaning that migrants were unable to practice as nurses or doctors for between two and 10 years. Doctors in particular reported having to do other jobs such as care work while they repeated lengthy training. Some reported permanent inability to work in their profession and 're-domestication' when financial, reproductive, or care responsibilities meant retraining was not an option.

Formal regulations and bureaucratic capacity in destination countries have a significant impact on migrants' experiences. For instance, interviewees complained that in South Africa, the validation of foreign certificates and registration with the nursing council could take two years. The recognition of qualifications was reported to take two to three times longer in Austria and Belgium than in the UK. Social attitudes and employment rights (and their enforcement) are also important. Many of the black (but not white) African doctors and nurses in the study reported experiencing racial discrimination from co-workers and patients.

In Greece, Lazaridis (2006) also found informal barriers (cultural, attitudinal, organisational and practical) as well as formal barriers to women's occupational mobility in her study of 'quasi-nurses' – people (often migrants and usually women) employed to care for families' elderly or sick relatives either in their own home or in hospital. Before the economic crisis, the demand for quasi-nurses was driven by three main factors: Greek women entering the labour market out of economic necessity; inadequate social welfare provision by the state; and social norms that frowned upon families who do not care for their elderly relatives at home. Families were also driven to hire quasi-nurses to care for their sick relatives during their hospital stays because of the shortage of nurses (doctors outnumbered nurses in Greek hospitals), and the overlap between the informal and formal care sectors in Greece, similar to other southern European countries.

A 'hierarchy of labour' in Greece based on intersecting forms of discrimination means that women from marginalised ethnic groups and without legal status experience the worst employment conditions. Many women (including skilled women) who migrate to Greece, particularly those without documents, have little choice but to work in the informal sector. Only one out of the 18 interviewed migrants working as quasi-nurses had nursing qualifications. All had higher education or professional experience but were unable to pursue their chosen career (e.g. accountancy, engineering, teaching).

The women reported experiencing discrimination and insecurity. According to a Bulgarian migrant, 'I came to Greece because I heard that whoever comes here makes money... It wasn't an easy decision to take as I left behind my husband and children... The job was to look after a family with three children; the money was very little, only 40,000 drachmas in the late 1990s, when other women were paid for similar job 120,000 drachmas, but I took it... When we fell out, they refused to let me have my passport back. I got it back only after I complained to the agency about it. The job was hard. I was not allowed to have a day off or to go out, because they were afraid that I would not return'.

The lack of solidarity among quasi-nurses and hostility between Greek and migrant workers undermined collective action to improve conditions. However, in some cases, interviewees reported that working in a private home sometimes led to a bond with the employer, based on the elderly person's dependence on the migrant employee, which enabled her to negotiate better wages and conditions.

Sources: Wojczewski et al. (2015); Lazaridis (2006).

families. If they do return home, migration can also transfer skills to less-developed countries (UNFPA and IMP, 2004; Lorenzo et al., 2005). At the same time, many highly skilled migrant women are employed in low-skilled jobs, indicating a gap between expectations and opportunities in destination countries. Migrant nurses and, in particular, doctors can face an extended process to get visas, have their qualifications validated and register with the relevant bodies, during which time they may need to take up less-skilled work (see Box 3). Employers may not recognise migrants' qualifications or experience and re-training may be necessary, or migrants may need to improve their language skills.

Deskilling and perceived devaluing of female migrants is common (Piper, 2005). Differences in national regulations may mean that migrant nurses are unable to continue to undertake routine duties in the destination country. Racial discrimination on the part of recruiters and co-workers may mean that they are forced to accept positions they are overqualified for, or do not have the same opportunities for career progression as co-workers (Ghosh, 2009; Wojczewski et al., 2015). Nursing and healthcare positions typically do not offer the same benefits (e.g. housing, relocation expenses) as male-dominated, white-collar positions (Piper, 2005). Female migrant workers therefore face a double penalty in terms of labour market segregation and discrimination; they are more likely to work in less well-paid and rewarded sectors because of their sex, and are more likely to work in lower-skilled positions in that sector because of their ethnicity and migrant status (European Commission and OECD, 2005).

Point-based immigration systems influence these dynamics. For example, when Canada awarded no or negative points to health qualifications in the 1990s, many trained Filipinos entered the country through domestic labour programmes instead (Kofman, 2004). When women migrate as dependents, the labour market or social norms may mean they are unable to continue to do a job they have been trained for (Ghosh, 2009). Governments also control the labour market through the issuing of professional licences and certificates: 'In Canada, certification requirements are often described as a form of systemic discrimination, in that criteria are created which are applied to the Canadian-born and foreign-born alike, but which disproportionately restrict the access of the foreign-born to trades or professions' (Piper, 2005: 9).

5 Conclusions and policy recommendations

Migration implies trade-offs for women and girls, in that it can offer new opportunities but can also expose female migrants and refugees to new or increased risks. For women and girls to benefit from mobility, policies must support the empowerment and economic benefits of migration *and also* increase protection of female migrants. This is especially important for the most vulnerable migrants and refugees, such as adolescent girls and low-skilled female workers in highly unregulated markets. Female migrants are also not a homogenous group; they have different socioeconomic characteristics. Policy will only amplify the empowerment effects of migration and mitigate increased vulnerabilities if the specific needs of different women and girls, as well as men and boys, in different countries are understood, and policy and programmes are tailored accordingly.

Migration is most likely to empower women and girls when it occurs through regular channels, when they can make informed choices, and when they have access to legal protection, services and social networks in countries of origin and destination. Achieving this requires actions at different levels – from the community to the international – and cooperation within and across sectors (international organisations, government agencies, the private sector and civil society). The recommendations below set out key actions for the SDG monitoring agencies, specialist United Nations (UN) agencies (e.g. the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)), relevant national government agencies (home offices, labour departments, national statistics agencies), and civil society organisations, but they are not exhaustive. In addition, countries vary greatly in their political context and leadership on gender and migration issues. Further work is therefore needed to analyse the political and social barriers to progress in different countries of origin and destination and to tailor strategies accordingly.

Conclusion 1: Women migrate as much as men, so migration policies must be gender-sensitive and data must be disaggregated.

Recommendation: get the basics right – data, policies and advocacy.

- Ensure that all key national, regional and global processes and mechanisms on migration (e.g. the Colombo Process and the Global Forum on Migration and Development) as well as advocacy organisations and agencies (e.g. IOM and UNHCR and key non-government organisations (NGOs) such as the International Rescue Committee (IRC)) focus on female migrants and recognise how gender affects migration experiences and outcomes. SDGs 5, 8, and 10 are important advocacy tools.
- Include specific objectives, targets and milestones on female migrants and refugees in key migration and asylum policies, programmes and monitoring systems, and specifically SDG 10 on inequality, and target 10.7 promoting orderly and safe migration.
- Work with international networks such as the Global Partnership for Sustainable Data Development and invest in the capacity of national agencies to collect and use sex- and age-disaggregated data on international migrants in countries with high levels of female migrants or where they are most exposed to risks.
- Target specific initiatives such as the recently established High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment to address female migration issues as part of decent work agendas and efforts to promote women's economic empowerment.
- Provide financial support and political backing to national campaigns and initiatives focusing on community education, awareness raising, networking and training to combat xenophobia and increase awareness of migrant and refugee contributions to society (paid and unpaid).

Relevant SDG Targets

10.7: Orderly, safe and responsible migration

17.8: Increase significantly the availability of high-quality and reliable data

Conclusion 2: Female migrants and refugees are less visible than male migrants but they are more vulnerable and exposed to greater risk.

Recommendation: prioritise and enhance protection policies and mechanisms.

- Ensure that opportunities to promote safe and regular migration consider gender factors and do not reinforce gender discrimination and disadvantage through a focus on traditionally male employment sectors.
- Introduce mandatory gender training for agencies that have most contact with female migrants, including immigration authorities, the police and health service providers.
- Support national and sub-national resource centres for migrants that provide advice, information and support services (e.g. legal advice, information on sexual and reproductive health services) for women and girls, regardless of their legal status.
- Increase access to basic services such as health, education, social protection and psychosocial support for all female migrants and refugees, including dedicated resources for returnees.

Relevant SDG Targets

5.2: Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres

5.6: Universal access to sexual and reproductive health and rights

8.7: Eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery

10.7: Facilitate orderly, safe and responsible migration, implement planned and well-managed migration policies

16.1: Reduce all forms of violence and death everywhere

16.2: End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all violence and torture against children

16.3: Promote the law to ensure equal access to justice for all

Conclusion 3: Female migrant workers are less likely than men to make the most of the economic and social opportunities of mobility.

Recommendation: regulate and improve working conditions for all female migrant workers.

- Improve monitoring and enforcement of labour standards, policies and legal frameworks for female migrant workers to support decent work, eliminate abusive and illegal employment, and reduce discriminatory practices in the workplace. The OECD and the International Labour Organization (ILO) are well-positioned to lead these improvements in high-income countries where most migrant domestic workers are found.
- Strengthen domestic and regional regulations to speed up access to and integration in the labour market for migrant women in destination countries, including regional collaboration for better recognition of qualifications.
- Support a global initiative and campaign to increase awareness and recognise the social and economic value of care and domestic work and to promote the equal sharing of unpaid work by men and women.
- Increase temporary and permanent work permits for migrants and refugees and their families (e.g. spouses of migrants, or refugees awaiting resettlement in camps or urban settings).
- Improve migrants' access to financial institutions for general financial inclusion and for sending/receiving remittances.

Relevant SDG Targets

5.4: Recognise and value unpaid care and domestic work

8.5: Achieve full and productive employment for all

8.8: Protect labour rights and promote safe working environments

8.10: Improve access to financial institutions, including remittance flows

10.c: Reduce transaction costs of migrant remittances

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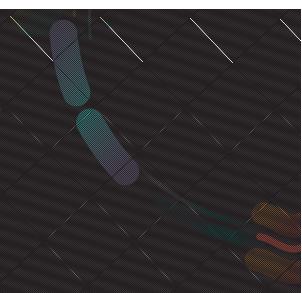
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SDGs covered | 1: No poverty
3: Good health and well-being
10: Reduced inequalities
17: Partnerships for the goals



Health, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Olivia Tulloch, Fortunate Machingura and Claire Melamed

Key messages

- There are fundamental policy gaps in addressing the health needs of migrants. Global, regional and national institutional arrangements could be improved to facilitate dialogue and collaborative problem solving.
- Migration is a determinant of health: it does not have a systemic association with public health security threats to host communities but migrants do face distinctive vulnerabilities to poor health. These are exacerbated by 'migrant-unfriendly or migrant-indifferent' legal frameworks and health systems. Resolving these will require intersectoral approaches.
- There are no international standardised approaches for monitoring variables relating to the health of migrants. Development of data collection, monitoring and surveillance mechanisms is needed to understand migrant health needs.
- Migration can have a positive effect on the development of health systems if the International Code of Practice is adhered to and if there is strong coordination between home and diaspora systems and professionals.

1 Introduction

This briefing presents an overview of health-related challenges faced by international migrants. Implicitly, the SDGs recognise the importance and interrelation between health and migration. SDG 3 aims to ‘Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages’, including that of migrants, while a number of other SDGs incorporate elements relating to health outcomes and migration. In this brief, we primarily focus on three distinct aspects of the interrelation. Firstly, migrants can be more vulnerable than other populations to exclusion from health services. Secondly, countries with high numbers of migrants with complex or hidden health needs may be hindering individual countries’ own efforts in reaching their SDG targets. These first two risks demand a critical reassessment of the capacities of both transit and destination health systems to manage the needs of migrants, as well as the policy frameworks that should be promoting the health of migrants. The third element is the impact of migration on health outcomes in sending countries, through remittances, technology transfer and behaviour change. The conclusion offers recommendations for better migration and health global governance, at both national and regional policy levels.

Migrants make a considerable net economic contribution in many countries. The good health of migrants has obvious intrinsic benefits, but is also essential if migrants are to fulfil the considerable potential economic and social benefits and contributions to their home and destination countries. Migrants should be able to live and work in safe and healthy conditions, enjoy access to health services and expect health outcomes similar to that of the rest of the population of their destination country. Yet when migration levels rise or health systems are stretched, decisions about who is responsible for the welfare of migrants becomes contentious in national and global policy debates. Migrants, by virtue of their mobility and status, are therefore at great risk of being invisible, deprioritised or even excluded from national health strategies. They are subjected to neglect, discrimination, ostracism and exploitation, the effects of which can curtail migrants’ life expectancies, increase mortality and directly affect social, physical and mental well-being. These effects are further compounded by legal and socio-economic barriers that impede migrant access to health care.

Two types of migrants are considered in this briefing: international economic migrants who move for the purposes of employment, and refugees who move because of fear of persecution, war or natural disaster. Internal migrants are not included in the analysis.

1.1 Migration trends

In 2015, the global number of international migrants reached 224 million, up from 173 million in 2000. However, as a proportion of the world’s population, the number of migrants has remained relatively stable over

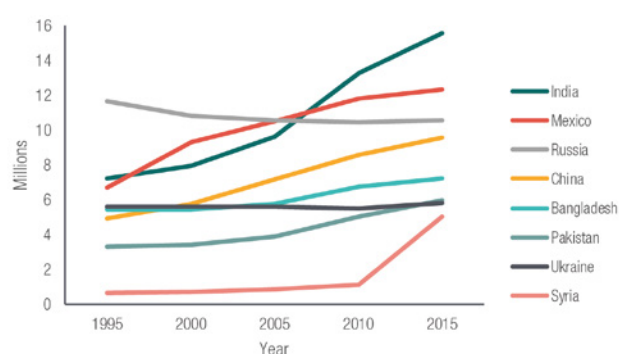
the past four decades at around 3% (UNDESA, 2016). Europe and Asia host the most international migrants (76 million and 75 million respectively), while southern Europe and Gulf states are the regions with the highest growth in labour migrants. Since 1995, the top sender countries have been consistent: India (15 million), Mexico (12 million) and Russia (11 million); with the most significant increase in Syria (0.6 to 5 million and continuing to rise).

Regarding forced migration, in 2014 the number of refugees worldwide rose to 19.5 million – the highest level since World War II. Refugees comprise approximately 8% of the total number of international migrants (UNDESA, 2016). Using 2014 data, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) found 30.4 million persons of concern, including both refugees and migrants. (See UNDESA, 2015; UNFPA, 2016; and UNHCR, 2016 for these statistics.)

2 Health and migration in the 2030 Agenda

Health is central to the social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainable development, both as a beneficiary and a contributor. In addition, health is considered an indicator of ‘people-centered, rights-based, inclusive, and equitable development’ (UN, 2015); a key aspiration of the 2030 Agenda is to ‘leave no one behind’, reflected in the Goals, nearly all of which state, ‘for all’. Achieving these Goals will require an inclusive approach that should include migrants by default. Although migrants are given special attention in some of the SDG targets, none relate specifically to their health status. Yet migration functions as a social determinant of health and will, crucially, affect the achievement of numerous targets across several Goals.

Figure 1: Origins of largest migrant populations worldwide between 1995-2015



Source: UNDESA (2015)

2.1 SDG 3: health and well-being

The health-related SDG 3 is underpinned by 13 targets that cover a wide spectrum of health and well-being for all populations. Migration flows intersect with this Goal through a number of different channels.

1. **Individual migrants.** One of the strongest features of the 2030 Agenda is universality. Leaving no one behind means including migrants in efforts to tackle poor access and inequity in health care. Migrants can be at higher risk of poor health from infectious diseases, non-communicable diseases and mental health problems due to a range of factors at different points before, during and after migration.
2. **National outcomes.** Migrants are less likely than other populations to access or fully benefit from their host country's health care system, which can result in poorer health outcomes when measured at the national level. For countries with large migrant populations and limited capacity in the health system, this will impede their ability to reach the targets in SDG 3.
3. **Health systems.** Migrant remittances are a critical source of household incomes and foreign exchange in several countries, and this income feeds into household and government level health spending. Returning migrants and those in diaspora communities can influence policy and practice in domestic health systems, help with crisis response during epidemics and influence health seeking behaviour at the individual level, often with a positive effect on health outcomes.

The vulnerabilities faced by migrants, and how they intersect with selected SDG 3 targets relating to health and well-being are summarised in Table 1.

One of the channels through which migration can affect health and the achievement of SDG 3 is through the impact on the health systems of the source country. As with the impact on individuals, there are many ways that this can play out in practice. However, three factors are key: the impact on resource flows, the impact on human capital and response to disasters.

1. **Resources.** Where migrant remittances are a large percentage of GDP, they boost government revenues through higher taxes, and will increase the resources available for public spending (e.g. remittances are more than 15% of GDP in Haiti and Honduras, nearly 30% of GDP in Nepal, and over 20% of GDP in Liberia and the Gambia (World Bank, 2014). Increased household income from remittances increases the funds available for out of pocket spending on health services, and several studies have found that receiving households spend more on health services than non-receiving households (e.g. UNESCAP, n.d.).
2. **Human capital.** A great deal of attention has been paid to the question of the 'brain drain' and the extent

to which migration can undermine health systems. Migration related shortages of human resources for health can hamper progress in health care delivery and improving population health (Mills et al., 2008). But, while every effort should be made to retain skilled people, the evidence that the 'brain drain' harms developmental outcomes is contested (Clemens, 2014). In addition, there are benefits to returning migrants who can bring skills acquired abroad to strengthen the domestic health system. A study in Ghana, for example, found that returning doctors, nurses and midwives brought with them skills in a range of medical techniques and systems management that were used either in the public health system or through setting up new private facilities, often with new investments from diaspora communities or other new sources (Adzei and Sakyi, 2014).

3. **Disaster relief.** Migrants and diaspora communities often respond strongly when a disaster strikes their home country. During the Ebola crisis in West Africa, for example, diaspora communities raised money for affected communities and donated equipment. However, the overall impact of these efforts was reduced by weak links to the public health system and to the donor-led relief effort (Chikezie, 2015).

Table 1 illustrates the multiple vulnerabilities migrants face and the SDG 3 targets which seek to alleviate them. It is important to recognise that the type and level of vulnerabilities change over time. Those who have settled long-term tend to have similar health needs to the wider population in host countries. Contrary to popular opinion in the west, there is a healthy migrant bias where first generation (non-refugee) migrants can have a lower crude mortality rate than the host population because the healthiest tend to migrate (Thomas and Thomas, 2004). However, refugees have a specific set of health needs which also evolve depending on the time elapsed since they took flight. These are described in Box 1.

2.2 Links to health across the SDGs

Health is implicit in almost all of the other 16 Goals, not just in SDG 3. Progress on many of the Goals will affect health and the achievement of the Goal can be used to incentivise progress on migrant health, in some of the ways detailed below. Improving the health of migrants and all vulnerable people will be dependent on equity, as countries work towards achieving all SDGs, particularly those relating to poverty, inequality, hunger and food insecurity, employment and peace (see Table 2).

The range of SDG targets should incentivise the development of intersectoral approaches that may help improve migrant health, alongside the health of other vulnerable groups. Different groups of migrants have specific vulnerabilities and needs according to the sector in which they work or live. The SDG targets can be

Table 1: Health, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Relevant SDGs and Targets	Link to migration
Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	
3.1: Reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to <70 per 100,000 live births	<p>Migrants, particularly those without legal residence permits, tend to experience higher maternal mortality and morbidity relative to the host populations. They tend to be more vulnerable to high blood pressure, poor nutrition, pre-eclampsia, premature or complicated delivery, fatigue and maternal suicide.</p> <p>Substandard or lack of services, patient delays, poor health worker-migrant communication, lack of knowledge about the transit or destination country health system can put expecting migrant mothers at risk. (See Esscher, et al., 2014; van den Akker and van Roosmalen, 2015; Fellmeth et al., 2016.)</p>
3.2: End preventable deaths of new-borns and children under 5 years of age.	<p>Migrants have greater difficulty accessing obstetric, antenatal and maternal health-care services.</p> <p>Poor health outcomes and higher mortality for migrant new-borns and children under 5 are related to overcrowding in low-quality housing, poor sanitation (both in communities and refugee camps), substandard health care, inadequate diets, the mother's educational attainment, and the migration process.</p> <p>Additional risk factors for poor migrant child health outcomes or life expectancy are poor mental health of migrant mothers, and residence in refugee camps (Racape et al., 2010, Rechel et al., 2013).</p>
3.3: End the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and neglected tropical diseases (NTDs) and combat hepatitis, waterborne diseases and other communicable diseases	<p>Migrants constitute nearly 40% of people living with HIV in the European Economic Area. The UNAIDS programme recognises migrants as one of the most vulnerable groups to HIV infection. They are also at increased risk of TB-related morbidity and mortality (IOM, 2012; Tomás, 2013).</p> <p>Although the global burden of malaria has substantially decreased, the cases among migrant populations within and between countries represent a high percentage of the total number of cases. E.g. In the Lao PDR, a surge in new cases between 2011-2015 was associated with economic migrant mobility.</p> <p>Limited access to health care services and preventative measures means migrants are less likely to receive treatment making fatalities from NTDs more likely.</p> <p>Although low in non-endemic countries, cases of NTDs are also common among migrants and often overlooked. Non-specific symptoms and inadequate knowledge among health care workers in non-endemic countries complicates diagnosis. (See ECDC, 2010; IOM, 2013; UNAIDS, 2014; Cairns, 2015; SASPEN, 2015; WHO, 2015b.)</p>
3.4: Reduce by one third premature mortality from non-communicable diseases	<p>Social and environmental factors interact with migration to form a complex pattern of determinants of non-communicable diseases (NCDs).</p> <p>Migrants in transit are at particular risk of not receiving continuous care for pre-existing chronic diseases. (See WHO, 2016).</p>
3.5: Strengthen the prevention and treatment of substance abuse, including narcotic drug abuse and harmful use of alcohol	<p>Stressful conditions can heighten tobacco use, alcohol and substance abuse as a form of coping mechanism. This can be further exacerbated by long-term separation from families and stress over lack of legal status, causing many migrants to develop mental health problems, depression and anxiety disorders.</p> <p>Seeking treatment for these disorders comes with individual-level barriers, including limited local language proficiency, work demands, and internalised stigma around substance abuse.</p> <p>Migrants often do not have access to psychosocial services, resulting in increased mental health disorders (See Negi, 2011; UNGA, 2013; Pagano, 2014).</p>
3.8: Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, and access to quality essential health-care services	<p>Universal health coverage (UHC) is an important means of achieving cross-cutting health SDGs. Although countries adopt different mechanisms for UHC progress, a common trend emerges: migrants are often neglected and/or excluded.</p> <p>Migrants risk exclusion from coverage of insurance-based schemes and those in the informal sector are often invisible to UHC programmes.</p> <p>Where UHC policies favour service provision free of charge in public health facilities, undocumented migrants often fail to access these free services because of registration barriers.</p> <p>Where government spending on health fails to match the increased demand for health services, migrants can struggle to raise the household out-of-pocket payments to access health care.</p>

used to advocate for change in a number of these areas. Two targets in particular, relating to inequality (10.4) and employment (8.8), are relevant to tackling known problems for migrants. Migrant groups are more likely to experience work-related accidents (e.g. the construction sector) or violence (e.g. domestic workers); or to be abused at the hands of unscrupulous employers, or immigration services (NNIRR, 2008; Long and Crisp, 2011). A focus on inequality can also be used to address the legal, discriminatory, cultural and linguistic barriers that many migrants face when accessing services. If a serious commitment is made to 'leave no one behind', then progress on many of the other Goals and targets will have a positive impact on migrant health, as well as the overall achievement of SDG 3.

3 Responding to migrants' health needs and meeting the SDGs

It is clear from the discussion above that there are several channels through which migration will impact on health and the achievement of the SDGs. This section describes three major strategies essential to aid countries' efforts to achieving the SDGs that have particular resonance for migrants.

3.1 Universal health coverage

Target 3.7 is 'Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to essential health care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all'. Not only is this a target in itself, but it will be a contributory factor in the achievement of all the other targets in SDG 3. UHC is intrinsically inclusive of the entirety of a population, including migrants. It is expected to cover all the promotive, preventive, curative, rehabilitative and palliative health services people need, with affordable services

Box 1: Refugees and forced displacement

Newly arrived refugees and displaced persons from communities affected by crisis have complex needs and a heightened risk of health problems related to their flight journeys. They are susceptible to a number of problems due to the likely exposure to physical and environmental threats, violence and trauma. As a result, they may face any and many of the following: loss of social networks and assets, poor language skills, knowledge and information in the new environment, decreased food security, and inadequate shelter, sanitation and access to safe water (FMO, 2016). Those who arrive in detention centres may also face abuse and ostracism (IFHR, 2008). As with other migrants, the varied experiences before, during and after displacement cause difficulties in creating mechanisms for gathering reliable health data, and particular difficulties in continuity of health care and record keeping. Many refugees lack access to any health records or continuity of service or provision for chronic conditions.

There is no evidence of systemic association with migration and public health security threats to host communities (WHO, 2016; European Parliament, 2016). However, the risks of infectious disease faced by refugees are exacerbated by poverty, poor sanitation and living conditions after arrival and there is potential for these risks to affect host populations in lower income countries if the public health and welfare systems are weak. The public health risks for refugees are difficult to address particularly when there are high inflows of people in a short space of time. Displaced people do tend to have a higher crude mortality rate (Thomas and Thomas, 2004). Child health is a major problem, as children tend to make up a large proportion of refugee numbers. Refugees' babies have lower birth weights and their children face increased risks of malnutrition, diarrheal conditions, infectious disease, anaemia, intestinal parasites, gastroenteritis, skin infections, wasting, stunting, delayed development and undiagnosed congenital anomalies (Tangcharoensathien, 2015).

A case study of refugees in Turkey, an upper middle-income country, provides a clear illustration of the difficulties in managing health care for refugees. Turkey is now guardian of the largest single refugee population in the world. Most of these refugees live outside camps, are unaccounted for and live in extremely challenging circumstances. Increasingly, they are considered 'permanent refugees'. Registered refugees have the right to free primary health care, but the protracted refugee situation means that many refugees are in a new state of flux as their long term status is unclear – they are far from receiving the benefits covered by a universal health care system.

Following the influx of migrants, the Turkish health system became overwhelmed by the increase in caseloads, resulting in overworked staff and a shortage of supplies. Consequently, the World Health Organization (WHO) took over functions of health coordination, management and core services, with 200 partners contributing to a Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) that includes health care services. Coordination and financial support remain persistent problems, with a significant proportion of pledged funds not arriving when planned.

The vast majority of migrants in Turkey are at risk of being invisible to the public health system. Among those outside of camps, female refugees are the most vulnerable, 40% of whom are estimated to lack access to services (UNFPA, 2015).

Table 2: Examples of major SDG Targets that have an impact on health outcomes for migrants

Target	Goal and Target (summary)
1.3	<p>Poverty: Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all.</p> <p>Key factor for migration: portability of social protection coverage across borders, or inclusion into national systems.</p>
2.2	<p>Hunger: End all forms of malnutrition, and address nutritional needs of key populations.</p> <p>Key factor for migration: ensuring migrants are reached by assistance programmes aimed at improving nutrition.</p>
5.2, 5.3 & 5.6	<p>Gender: Eliminate all forms of violence and harmful practices against women and girls, including trafficking and sexual exploitation, and ensuring universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights.</p> <p>Key factor for migration: addressing the specific vulnerabilities of female migrants (see ODI briefing on Gender and Migration).</p>
6.1, 6.2	<p>Water: Achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking-water, sanitation and hygiene.</p> <p>Key factor for migration: ensure that large-scale movements of people do not increase stress on fragile water supply systems, and address water and sanitation provision in migrant communities and refugee camps.</p>
8.8	<p>Employment: Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all, <i>including migrants</i>.</p>
10.4 & 10.7	<p>Inequality: Adopt fiscal, wage and social protection policies; facilitate safe, and responsible migration including through migration policies.</p>
16.1 & 16.9	<p>Peace: Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates. Provide legal identity for all.</p> <p>Key factor for migration: conflict is a major driver of migration. Legal identity for migrants is an important factor in the effective planning of response and establishment of effective support systems.</p>
17.18	<p>Implementation: Increase availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, <i>migratory status</i>, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.</p>

being understood as not exposing the user to financial hardship. Providing UHC is a major financial undertaking, it can be politically contentious and technically complex, particularly in developing countries that may already struggle to provide basic health services for the wider host population. However, it is essential to tackling the question of migration and health outcomes, at both individual and national level.

3.2 Health systems, health workforce and migration

There is a global shortage and poor distribution of the health workforce. Lower-income countries, many of whom host significant numbers of migrants have a wide gap between the need for health workers and supply. As these countries attempt to fulfil the SDG target for UHC, this gap is likely to widen. Upper middle-income countries are likely to face a similar widening as demands for health care from aging populations increase. This demand stimulates international migration from low- to high-income countries (WHO, 2015a). This is exacerbated by ‘push factors’ in source countries, such as low pay, lack of career paths and poor working conditions. The WHO Global Code of Practice on International Recruitment of Health Personnel ‘promotes a fair balance of the interests of the health workforce, so sending and receiving countries can help to address the challenges in the widening gaps in the health workforce’. But implementation of the code is suboptimal. Where the numbers are large enough, health

worker migration can have an impact on the economy of the whole country, for example, in the Philippines, the remittances from migrants, of which health professionals make up a significant part, contribute more than 8% to the gross national income (Guinto, 2015). Win-win situations may be possible if countries attracting migrant health workers adhere to the code, and the countries from where migrants come from organise their health profession education systems and labour markets so that local populations’ access to health care does not suffer.

3.3 Barriers to effective implementation: coordination and data

One of the first difficulties in being responsive to migrants’ health needs as countries implement the SDGs is the lack of data available. Health characteristics differ according to a multitude of variables including type of migrant, sex, age, host and destination country, epidemiological conditions, employment status and poverty. Migrants are heterogeneous, their experiences and the reasons they leave or flee their home countries are multifaceted and there are inadequate data that give a digestible and accurate picture of their health needs (Thomas and Thomas, 2004; FMO, 2016). There is a great deal of anecdotal and case study evidence suggesting migrants have specific health needs that could limit achievement of the SDGs if they are not tackled. However, there is currently no international standardised approach for monitoring data variables

and indicators related to the health of migrants, and many countries do not include migrant status variables in their health statistics, which makes tracking outcomes very difficult. This is not a problem confined to poorer countries. In the UK, a report from the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford remarked, ‘it is currently difficult to gain a comprehensive account of the health of migrants because much existing evidence on health includes ethnic group but not migration variables’ (Jayaweera, 2014). Without targeted evidence, the policies, strategies and institutional arrangements to support migrant health are likely to remain inadequate at the national, regional and global levels.

A second challenge for implementation is the need for inter-agency and intersectoral coordination and cooperation, both within and between countries and regions. The action required to include a health lens in the number of areas influencing migrant health is complex. For example, in South Africa, achieving the SDG target relating to communicable diseases will be a major challenge. South Africa attracts the largest migrant population in Africa, mostly from countries in southern and eastern Africa where the burden of communicable diseases is already high and HIV incidence is the highest in the world. Migration has been a key feature of the economy of the country and the region as a whole, with migrants making up about 6% of the population of South Africa. TB incidence and the HIV burden are particularly high in sectors in which migrants work (mining and agricultural labour), among migrants and non-migrants alike. Migration also had an impact on malaria incidence: the International Organization for Migration (2013) reports that in South Africa, almost half (48%) of all confirmed Malaria cases recorded between 2001-2009 in one border province were found in migrants from Mozambique. Tackling the communicable disease burden in South Africa will require a multifaceted approach that takes into account migrants. It can only be addressed through sustained, multi-sectoral collaboration across the region between ministries of labour, mining and health, and private industry (Mberu et al., 2016).

There are two SDG targets which may facilitate implementation of coherent policies and programmes to support better coordination and data. Target 17.18 focuses on data and monitoring, crucially including a call for disaggregation of data by migratory status. Reaching this target is essential in order to collect meaningful data to monitor outcomes informing health financing, human resources for health and health care coverage of migrants, and monitoring of the means of implementation. While target 16.6 works towards the development of effective, accountable and transparent institutions through which migrants could have recourse to hold governments, service providers and individuals to account on matters relating to their health and well-being.

Box 2: Migrants and universal health coverage

Thailand is a UHC pioneer for middle-income countries. There is a tradition of progressive health policies in Thailand and it was the first country in the world to integrate the needs of all migrants (including irregular and undocumented migrants) into its health system through a compulsory migrant health insurance scheme. UHC policy for Thais was introduced in 2002, and not long after, migrants too became entitled to the same health care rights. There is an immigrant population of nearly 4 million (constituting 6% of population) and migrants from three neighboring countries make up 5% of the Thai labor force. The government recognised the migrant contribution to the economy, considering health care a human right and concerned that without health services, migrants would exacerbate control efforts against communicable diseases.

This system *should* mean that Thailand is in a good position to achieve the SDG 3 targets for the whole population, including migrants. Yet uptake of the scheme remains quite low. The reasons appear to be language and cultural barriers, fear of discrimination, fear of losing employment due to absence and poor employer compliance with the scheme. Though the original UHC policy may provide a useful model, there is a need for greater understanding on how to improve its implementation with regard to migrants.

Countries considering UHC packages that integrate migrants would need to take action beyond simply extending the existing service coverage to migrants. This should involve consideration of advocacy with migrants and health promotion, feasibility of an annual fee, monitoring of implementation, transferability of health insurance between health facilities and quality of services for migrants (including non-discrimination). This also requires a good understanding of the social and cultural influences, language barriers on health outcomes and health seeking behaviour for the specific migrant groups.

4 Conclusions and policy recommendations

As people migrate, the socio-economic and political drivers of migration intersect. This intersect is increasingly complex, blurring the separation between voluntary and forced forms of migration. This briefing highlights that within this complex landscape, there is a clear and urgent need to reassess the capacities of both transit and destination health systems to manage the needs of migrants. Migrants frequently experience inadequate access to health care, and though there are pockets of progress, such as Thailand's Compulsory Migrant Health Insurance Scheme, many other countries are yet to consider migrants or refugees in their health care systems. In doing so, these countries are hindering their own efforts to achieve their SDGs, as well as preventing migrants from fulfilling their considerable potential in contributing to the net economy and the health systems of host and home countries. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development identifies migrants, refugees and internally displaced people as vulnerable populations that 'must be empowered' (UNGA, 2015). For health, as for other sectors, migrants face specific challenges that must be addressed if the world is to meet the aspiration to 'leave no one behind'.

The evidence reviewed suggests a number of issues which need to be tackled to ensure that migration contributes to, and does not undermine, the achievement of the SDGs. We make the following policy recommendations to achieve these aims.

Conclusion 1: There are fundamental policy gaps in addressing the health needs of migrants. Global, regional and national institutional arrangements could be improved to facilitate dialogue and collaborative problem solving.

Recommendation: establish a formal, well-defined role within UN-based multilateral institutional arrangements that specifically monitors the implementation of migration and health policies.

- Formal multilateralism must be pursued in areas where migration specifically intersects with identified health issues, including maternal and neonatal mortality, HIV/AIDS, UHC, vaccination and other targets under SDG 3.
- This will involve reaffirming the stewardship role of WHO on health and IOM on migration, but will also require new ways of collaborating to ensure that the two institutions, and others such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and UNHCR, can effectively lead a joint global response to the health needs of migrants.

Recommendation: support networks and organisations working on migration globally and regionally.

- Support and promote non-binding and flexible regional consultative processes within and between regions. Policy-makers, representatives from planning ministries, health ministries and other relevant sectors need a forum to discuss common challenges relating to migrants, and share important context-relevant best practice and inevitable trade-offs.
- Recognising that many countries still ignore migrant health, encourage training, peer exchange programmes and sensitisation of government and non-governmental organisations involved in the delivery of health care and migration-friendly policies.
- Establish networks that can respond quickly in the event of sudden population movements such as a new influx of migrants caused by conflict or environmental disaster.
- Other institutions involved in advocacy and delivery of health intervention (such as the Global Fund or Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance) should be encouraged to ensure that migrants' needs are recognised in their global and regional planning processes.

Relevant SDG Targets

3.1: Reduce maternal mortality.

3.2: End preventable deaths of newborns and children under 5 years of age.

3.3: End the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and neglected tropical diseases and combat hepatitis, water-borne diseases and other communicable diseases.

3.4: Reduce premature mortality from non-communicable diseases and promote mental health and well-being.

3.7: Universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services.

3.8: Universal health coverage, access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all.

10.7: Orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility.

Conclusion 2: Migration is a determinant of health: it does not have a systemic association with public health security threats to host communities but migrants do face distinctive vulnerabilities to poor health. These are exacerbated by ‘migrant-unfriendly or migrant-indifferent’ legal frameworks and health systems. Resolving these will require intersectoral approaches.

Recommendation: domesticate international migration law standard and practices into national health strategies and other development and poverty reduction plans.

- Integrate migration relevant aspects when designing national health strategies and plans.
- Promote ‘Health in All’ policies, an approach to cross-sector public policies that takes into account the health implications of policy decisions, forges synergies and avoids harmful health impacts to improve population health and health equity, and addresses the wider social determinants of health.
- Ensure that health policies are consistent with country obligations under international laws relating to migration.

Recommendation: harmonise social protection legislation for better inclusion of migrants in state-provided health services.

Through regional (economic) communities (e.g. East African Community or ASEAN) or coordination by bilateral and multilateral agencies (e.g. WHO, IOM, ILO, or World Bank), countries should agree to harmonise legislation and policies related to social protection or UHC. This may result in better inclusion of migrants into state-provided health services. To achieve this, we recommend a three-tiered process:

- Conduct a mapping exercise to identify national legislation on access to state-provided health services and social protection
- Review practical challenges for implementation, and barriers to access by migrants in different contexts
- Make recommendations for harmonisation between countries, and improvements for local implementation to increase inclusion of migrants into national systems.

Recommendation: Ensure that countries with large migrant populations following conflict or environmental disaster get adequate support from the international community to address the health needs of migrants without compromising services to the local population.

Relevant SDG Targets

- 1.5:** Build the resilience of the poor and those in vulnerable situations.
- 3.1:** Reduce maternal mortality.
- 3.2:** End preventable deaths of newborns and children under 5 years of age.
- 3.3:** End the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and neglected tropical diseases and combat hepatitis, water-borne diseases and other communicable diseases.
- 3.4:** Reduce premature mortality from non-communicable diseases and promote mental health and well-being.
- 3.7:** Universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services.
- 3.8:** Universal health coverage, access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all.
- 10.7:** Orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility.

Conclusion 3: There are no international standardised approaches for monitoring variables relating to the health of migrants. Development of data collection, monitoring and surveillance mechanisms is needed to understand migrant health needs.

Recommendation: collect, track and review disaggregated data of all migrants to evaluate and support their health needs.

- National health information management systems, and monitoring and surveillance systems must collect disaggregated data by age, gender and location of all migrants. Only then can we begin understanding migrant health needs in detail to inform migrant-friendly policies and action.
- Such disaggregated data needs to be protected by adequate data protection, privacy and confidentiality measures.

Recommendation: integrate and dedicate resources for infectious diseases surveillance and monitoring migrants within national and regional programmes.

- Transit and destination countries to support the integration of infectious diseases surveillance and monitoring (e.g. for HIV/TB, malaria).
- With committed resources, transit and destination countries to support access to diagnostics, treatment and care for migrants within national disease control programmes.

- Migrants must have access to TB and HIV treatment, as well as support and care regardless of legal migration status. This will involve improvements in the portability of health information to facilitate the continuation of treatment, and clinical testing efficiency.

Recommendation: support local accountability mechanisms and build grassroots capacity to track and monitor the protection of migrant health rights and safety.

- Local faith-based, charity and volunteer groups, NGOs, and other local-level entities in sending countries should take the responsibility of educating and equipping migrants with relevant health information.
- In transit and destination countries, similar groups including the diaspora community must also document abuses and campaign with and on behalf of migrants for their health rights.
- Local groups can equip leading government ministries, employers and health service providers with knowledge, and support the means for increased intervention.

Relevant SDG Targets

- 3.1:** Reduce maternal mortality.
- 3.2:** End preventable deaths of newborns and children under 5 years of age.
- 3.3:** End the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and neglected tropical diseases and combat hepatitis, water-borne diseases and other communicable diseases.
- 3.4:** Reduce premature mortality from non-communicable diseases and promote mental health and well-being.
- 3.7:** Universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services.
- 3.8:** Universal health coverage, access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all.
- 10.7:** Orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility.
- 17.18:** Increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics.

Conclusion 4: Migration can have a positive effect on the development of health systems if coordination is improved between home and diaspora systems and professionals

Recommendation: support and enforce policies that help to retain, incentivise and remunerate the health workforce.

- Addressing poor wages and improving career opportunities can help to alleviate the ‘push factors’ of migration in the health workforce.
- Implementation of the WHO Global Code of Practice on the International Recruitment of Health Personnel can help to address the challenges of the widening gap in the health workforce.

Recommendation: support engagement between health professionals in diaspora communities and local health systems

- During epidemics, encourage systematic collaborations between diaspora communities and government, NGOs and donors to ensure that resources and expertise can be mobilised and used effectively in a way that is aligned with national strategies.
- Encourage twinning and other arrangements to increase collaboration and knowledge sharing between diaspora and home medical professionals.

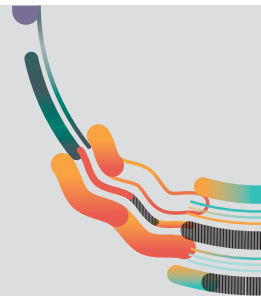
Relevant SDG Targets

- 3.1:** Reduce maternal mortality.
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- 3.7:** Universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services.
- 3.8:** Universal health coverage, access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all.
- 3.c:** Substantially increase health financing and the recruitment, development, training and retention of the health workforce in developing countries.

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Climate change, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Emily Wilkinson, Lisa Schipper, Catherine Simonet and Zaneta Kubik

Key messages

- Climate change and disasters are, and will continue to be, major drivers of migration and displacement.
- The poor are the most vulnerable to climate change. They are likely to live in high-risk areas, have less means to prepare, and lack information to anticipate, and respond to, a disaster. Yet they are also the people who will find it hardest to migrate.
- National adaptation strategies must help those who are forced, or choose, to migrate as result of climate change. They must inform migrants of risk and build their capacity to cope in new locations.
- For those who are forced to move internationally, bilateral agreements and international frameworks must protect their rights.
- Migrants can put additional pressure on infrastructure and services at destination. National policies need to factor in the needs and impact of new climate-induced migrants.

1 Introduction

This briefing looks at the anticipated impacts of climate induced migration on efforts to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) on climate change – SDG13. More specifically, this brief describes the SDG targets relating to climate change, and the particular challenges to each in the context of increasing climate-induced migration.

In this Introduction, we offer a definition of climate-induced migration. Section 2 examines the migration trends in climate-vulnerable locations, focusing on least developed countries (LDCs) and the Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Although there are few studies on migration trends in response to climate risks, there is an observable increase in external migration flows from countries most vulnerable to climate change. Section 3 explores the main international frameworks for addressing climate-induced migration: the Paris Agreement, Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and the Nansen Initiative and Protection Agenda. We conclude that none wholly captures the complex dynamics of climate-induced migration, and the different causes and motivations for leaving or staying. In Section 4, we discuss how the achievement of the SDGs – in particular, SDG13 – might face challenges due to the lack of strategies and plans that directly tackle climate-induced migration. None of the SDGs make the explicit connection between climate change and migration. Yet climate-induced migration must be included in national and international policy to ensure that those who are forced or choose to leave, and those who stay, are not left behind. Finally, Section 5 offers three sets of conclusions and recommendations to build climate resilience for all, through measures aimed at helping people to adapt and minimise risk, wherever they live.

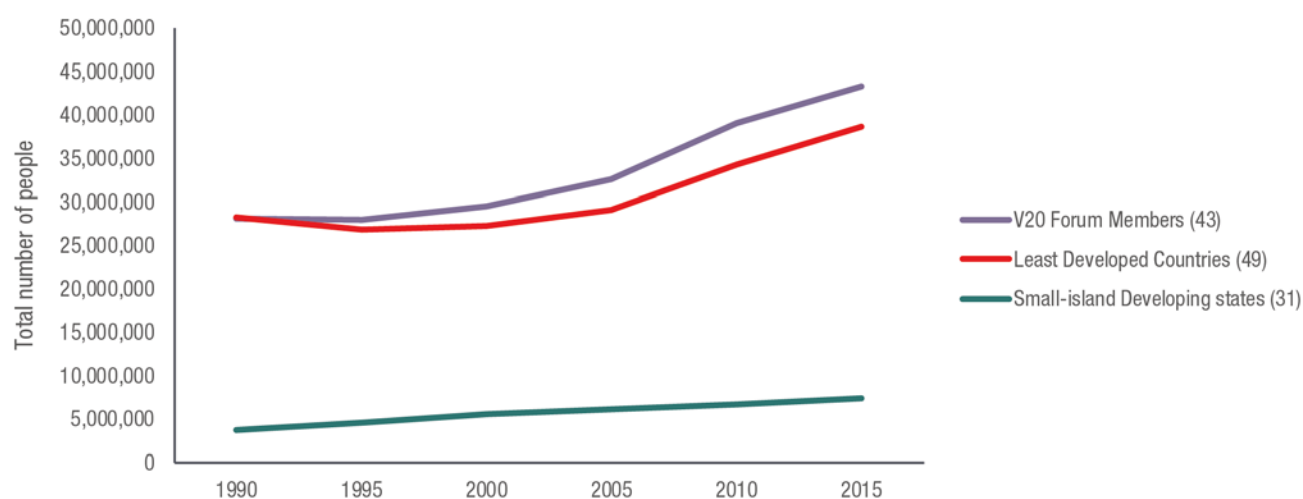
1.1 What is climate-induced migration?

There is no universally agreed definition of climate-induced migration. In this brief, we use the concept to refer to four broad categories: those displaced by climate-related disasters, who often move temporarily; those forced to migrate more permanently due to recurrent events; those forced to migrate to avoid worsening slow-onset deterioration of the environment; and those who ‘choose’ to move as an adaptation strategy, in response to environmental pressures and other factors.

Disasters have always driven people to leave their homes in search of safety. Between 2008 and 2015, an average of 25.4 million per year were displaced by disasters within and across borders. The large majority (85%) of these were climate-related disasters (extreme weather and related events such as flooding). Some people moved across borders but the vast majority move within their own country (Nansen Initiative, 2015; IDMC, 2016). Those that are forced to move often lose property, crops and other resources in the disaster and during the move (Wilkinson and Peters, 2015). However, this kind of displacement tends to be temporary: for example, major floods in 2010 in Pakistan displaced nine million people but most returned home within a year (Brickle and Thomas, 2014). For some, however, the displacement is repeated or for longer periods of time, particularly when flood events become more frequent (IDMC, 2016).

This line is further blurred in the context of slow-onset environmental changes associated with climate change such as changes in rainfall predictability, salt water intrusion, desertification and sea level rise. Migration can be ‘forced’ when the situation is unbearable. Leaving can also be a survival strategy or more ‘voluntary’, where a tipping point

Figure 1: Migration flows from economically and environmentally vulnerable groups of countries



Source: Authors' calculation using WDI and Global Bilateral Migration Database (downloaded on 15/11/2016).

Note: The V20 are the 20 countries considered most 'climate vulnerable'. The numbers in brackets are the number of countries considered in each category.

is reached in the steadily deteriorating conditions and in response to opportunities elsewhere (Renaud et al., 2011).

Across the world, sea level rise will force people from their homes in order to avoid severe deterioration in habitat and resources and even risk to lives. These people may be unable to return due to the physical loss of land, or may need to alter livelihood practices in order to return. This is likely to be the case in some SIDS where land will be lost along the coasts and coastal livelihoods affected by salinisation and coastal erosion.

Climate change will be a major driver of displacement in the future. An increasing number of people will be forced to move as a result of deteriorating environmental conditions, loss of habitat and livelihoods, and extreme weather events (Milan et al., 2015). While projections of climate-migrants are unreliable and vary between 25 million and 300 million by 2050 (Gemenne, 2011), it is clear that migration and displacement in the future will be heavily influenced by climate change impacts.

To avoid average global temperatures increasing beyond 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, significant climate change mitigation is needed as well as measures to enhance the resilience and adaptive capacity of communities already suffering the negative impacts of climate change. Efforts on both fronts will be affected by the growing numbers of people moving and the changing patterns of migration

2 Migration trends in climate-vulnerable places

The relationship between climate change and migration is complex and there are few reliable global studies of past and current migration trends in response to climate risks (Gemenne, 2011; Beine and Parsons, 2014; Cattaneo and Peri, 2015). Nonetheless, there is a marked increase in external migration from countries that are highly vulnerable to climate variability and climate extremes over the period 1970-2000 (the period for which we have data on migration flows). Over this 30 year period, flows of migrants doubled, with the 20 countries considered most 'climate vulnerable' (known as the 'V20') having the highest outflows (see Figure 1).¹ In these countries, on average 10% of the population migrated in 2000. The trend is also increasing within LDCs. The LDC category of countries is highly exposed to climate hazards because it includes both SIDS, with high exposure to cyclones, storm surge and sea-level rise (Wilkinson et al., 2016a) and landlocked countries, many of which are semi-arid and exposed to desertification and drought (Simonet 2014;

Guillaumont and Simonet, 2011; Guillaumont et al., 2015; Istanbul Declaration, 2014).

In SIDS too, migration levels have been high, rising fivefold over the period 1960-2000. This group of countries has seen the highest growth in out-migration per capita (see Figure 2). Future climate change poses a real existential threat in countries like Kiribati and Tuvalu – reportedly 70% of households would consider migrating to another country (UNU-EHS, 2014).

Over the last 50 years, migration has increased in absolute and relative size. However, the migration patterns remain similar: one-third of those moving from developing countries have migrated to the same ten countries (i.e. the destination countries change very little year on year) and most migration is regional and south-south. The migration flows data (Figure 1) represents the number of migrants moving from one country to another each year. The upward trend in migration flows from V20 countries, LDCs and SIDS (1960-2000) is also confirmed by the migrant stock data (the number of migrants in host countries, by place of origin). After 2000, the number of migrants from these countries rose even more sharply (see Figure 3).

The impacts of climate change on migration patterns are better understood within countries, where effects such as lower crop yields can be observed alongside decisions by families to diversify income and reduce risk through migration to other rural areas or often also to cities (see Box 1).

3 Climate-induced migration in the Paris Agreement and Sendai Framework

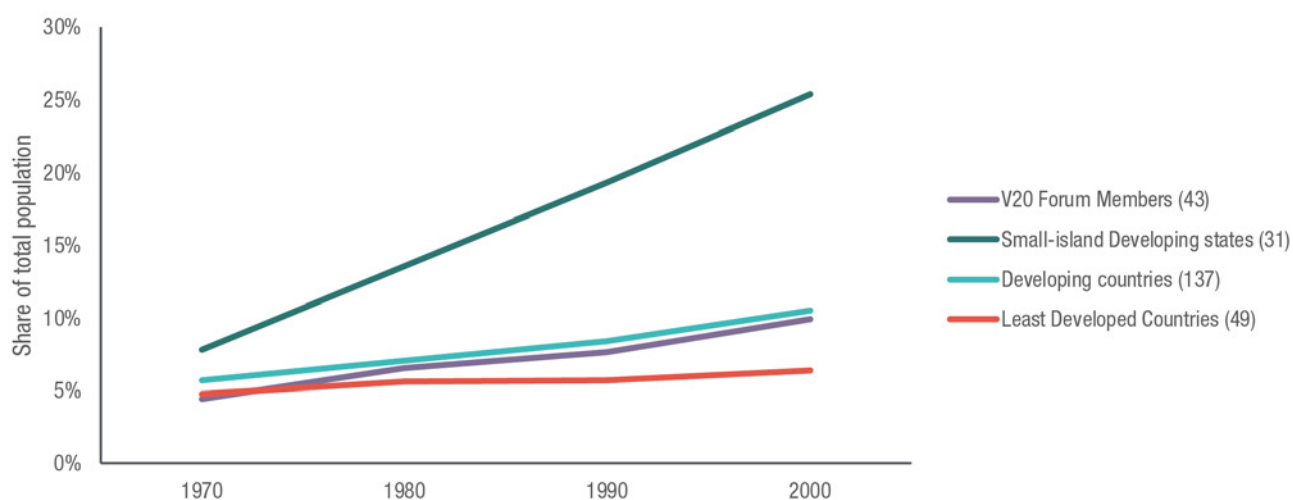
As work begins to implement the Paris Climate Change Agreement and Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction in national contexts, it provides an important opportunity to take stock of the implications of climate-induced migration for achieving goals and targets on climate change adaptation, resilience and disaster risk reduction (DRR).

3.1 The Paris Agreement

The Paris Agreement includes mention of the vulnerability of migrants (UNFCCC, 2015). Under the text on Loss and Damage (paragraph 50), there is a request to establish 'a task force [...] to develop recommendations for integrated approaches to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change' (UNFCCC, 2015). However, it does not specify whether movement is in response to extreme events or gradual

1. In 2015, the twenty member countries of the Climate Vulnerability Forum launched an official bloc for the climate change negotiations, known as the 'V20'. The V20 countries define themselves as countries disproportionately affected by the consequences of global warming: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Kiribati, Madagascar, Maldives, Nepal, Philippines, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Tanzania, Timor-Leste, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Vietnam. The V20 group refers to DARA Climate Vulnerability Monitor Data Portal and the CAIT Equity Explorer portal via the World Resources Institute to assess climate change vulnerability. Nonetheless this criteria doesn't seem to be an eligibility criteria to become member of the group; countries considering themselves as vulnerable to climate change can apply to be member of the group.

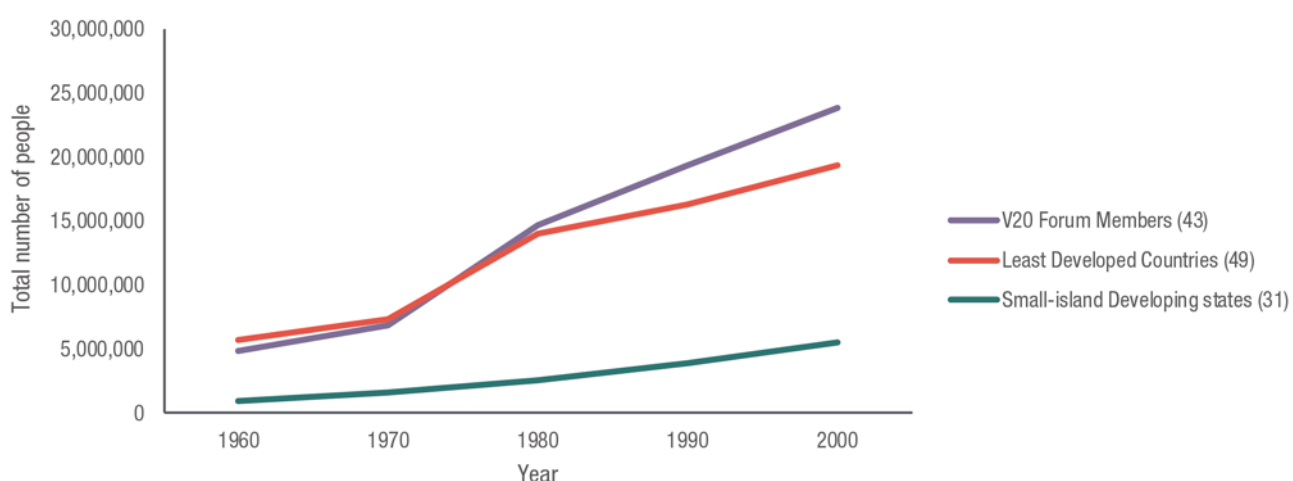
Figure 2: Migration flows as a share of total population from economically and environmentally vulnerable groups of countries



Source: Authors' calculation using WDI and Global Bilateral Migration Database (downloaded on 15/11/2016).

Note: The numbers in brackets are the number of countries considered in each category.

Figure 3: Migration flows from economically and environmentally vulnerable groups of countries



Source: Authors' calculation using United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2015).

Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Destination and Origin (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2015).

Note: The numbers in brackets are the number of countries considered in each category.

changes; or if it is within or across national borders. Critically, there is also no mention of the positive effects of migration and therefore no recommendation to Parties on how to harness these.

At the national level, countries have developed Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs), making commitments to actions they will take after 2020 (when the Kyoto Protocol ends) to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and put CO₂ back into the atmosphere through actions like reforestation. The collective contributions of all

country's INDCs make up the overall global commitment to climate change mitigation from 2020-2030. Post-Paris, these national-level commitments are now being converted into Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), which include more detail on how the INDCs will be implemented – including the contributions of different sectors like transport and industry. Of the 162 INDCs that were submitted, only 34 referred to human mobility (see Figure 4). No European countries mentioned migration in their INDCs, suggesting that they did not think it would

Box 1: Climate change and rural-urban migration in Tanzania

Tanzania is a LDC exposed to extreme weather events, such as recurring droughts and flooding, as well as slow-onset changes, such as rising temperatures and decreasing rainfall. Climate projections predict a temperature increase of up to 2.2°C by 2100 (Agrawala et al., 2003), a shortening of the growing season (Hulme et al., 2001), and altered cropping patterns (URT, 2003). Tanzania is highly dependent on rain-fed agriculture: the sector employs 70% of the labour force but accounts for only 23% of GDP (URT, 2016). Climate change is expected to decrease crop yields (Rowhani et al., 2011) and will therefore put additional pressure on the rural population. Given this context, climate change impacts are likely to impede poverty reduction efforts in the country (Ahmed et al., 2011).

To mitigate this impact, emphasis is on agricultural policies, such as increasing the use of fertiliser, irrigation or alternative farming systems (URT, 2007). However, progress has been slow because of a lack of funds at the national level (Norrington-Davies and Thornton, 2011). Opportunities for diversification into non-agricultural activities in rural areas are also hampered by the poor links between farm and off-farm sectors, as well as insufficient access to credit and infrastructure (Lanjouw, Quizon and Sparrow, 2001; Bah et al., 2003; Katega, 2013). For many Tanzanian households affected by weather shocks, migration is therefore seen as a risk management or adaptation strategy to climate change. Migration enables families to spatially diversify income and therefore reduce the risk that the entire household income will be affected by weather events (Liwenga, Kwazi and Affi, 2012; Kubik and Maurel, 2016).

Migration in Tanzania takes place mainly within rural areas. However, climate change can alter mobility patterns and foster migration from rural to urban areas, especially towards big cities such as Dar es Salaam (Liwenga, Kwazi and Affi, 2012; Kubik, 2016), which can offer better opportunities (See: Mbonile, 1996; Beegle, De Weerd and Dercon, 2011). However, many households don't have the funds to make such a move (Kubik and Maurel, 2016). In addition to acting as a push factor, weather shocks also undermine people's ability to move by reducing crop yields and eroding assets (Hirvonen, 2016). Climate change can therefore intensify the poverty trap experienced by rural populations.

Those who are forced into cities by adverse weather shocks may not be easily absorbed by the urban labour market – rural poverty can transform into urban poverty (WB, 2015; Kubik, 2016). It can also put additional pressure on insufficient urban infrastructure, pushing migrants into overpopulated informal settlements and further increasing environmental risks. Evidence of these effects can be seen in Dar es Salaam, where 70% of the population live in unplanned settlements, including those in low-lying areas susceptible to coastal erosion and regular flooding (Casimiri, 2009). The number of people directly exposed to these risks is expected to more than triple by 2050 (Kebede and Nicholls, 2012).

affect their ability to meet their commitments around reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) are the main government planning instrument for adaptation. They are currently being developed as a way of assessing how climate change will affect development progress and to identify adaptation opportunities within national development and sectoral plans. Few NAPs have been finalised but their predecessors, the National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs), which were undertaken by LDCs only, commonly referred to migration as an impact of climate change. Two-thirds of all NAPAs referred to migration as a negative impact, with many seeking to limit rural-to-urban migration and a few identifying planned relocation, whereby people are moved to other sites to avoid impacts (Warner et al., 2015).

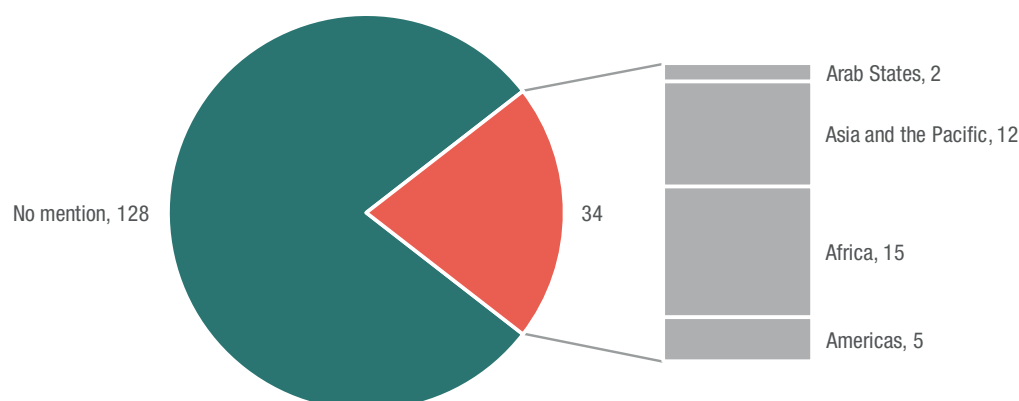
3.2 The Sendai Framework

The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, 2015-2030 (SFDRR) (UNISDR, 2015) focuses on displacement in response to extreme events. It focuses less on those people moving due to/in anticipation of gradual changes

in climate. Serving as a global blueprint for efforts to build resilience to natural hazards, SFDRR represents an evolution in the way human mobility is considered within global policy dialogues. Its predecessor, the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015 (HFA) (UNISDR, 2005) only recognised that forced migration, and efforts to address it, could increase exposure and vulnerability.

In contrast to the HFA, the SFDRR addresses a range of topics, including climate and non-climate-induced displacement after disasters as well as migrants' contribution to resilience at their destinations, all of which is missing from other global dialogues. The complex relationship between disasters and human mobility is well articulated but the SFDRR too fails to highlight the exacerbating effect of climate change and the likelihood of increased forced migration in the future. Desertification and repetitive drought in the Sahel, glacial retreat in the Andes, water and soil erosion in low-lying coastal areas around the world are just some examples of the types of environmental risks that are not necessarily classified as disasters or extreme events.

Figure 4: Inclusion of migration in national climate change commitments



As well as being considered in climate action and DRR, climate-induced migration is considered a protection issue and is addressed in this way through the 2015 Nansen Initiative Protection Agenda (See Box 2).

4 Climate, migration and the SDGs: SDG13

This section explores SDG13 on climate action (UN, 2015). SDG13 does not mention migration or displacement, or recommend the inclusion of this important phenomenon in climate policies. Other SDGs, specifically SDGs 8, 10 and 17, point to the need for

facilitated, planned and well-managed migration policies – but do not make the connection with climate change. Therefore, the ways in which migration may be altered by climate change and the challenges this poses for policy and planning are not directly addressed in the SDGs. Nor are the broader challenges that human mobility presents to meeting goals on mitigating and adapting to the impacts of climate change.

SDG13 is exclusively focusing on climate change, and requires governments to ‘Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts’. The goal is to be achieved through five targets. These focus heavily on the

Box 2: The Nansen Initiative and the Platform on Disaster Displacement

Established in 2016, the Platform on Disaster Displacement addresses the protection needs of people displaced across borders as a result of disasters and climate change. The Platform aims to follow up on work started under the 2015 Nansen Initiative, which revealed a general lack of preparedness leading to ad hoc responses, and implement the recommendations of Protection Agenda.

The Platform is built on three pillars: a Steering Group, an Advisory Committee, and a Coordination Unit, and has four Strategic Priorities:

1. Address knowledge and data gaps.
2. Enhance the use of identified effective practices and strengthen cooperation among relevant actors.
3. Promote policy coherence and mainstreaming of human mobility challenges.
4. Promote policy and normative development in gap areas.

Knowledge and data gaps persist, especially on cross-border movements, human mobility in slow-onset disaster contexts, disaggregated data, solutions and future risks. The Platform aims to address these gaps by mapping and consolidating existing data, and utilising existing data gathering mechanisms.

In most cases, people who are forced to leave due to disasters and climate change will not be considered refugees under current international law. Rather than calling for a new convention, the Platform supports an approach that focuses on the integration of effective practices into existing normative frameworks.

Finally, the enormous challenges that cross-border disaster-displacement generates are diverse. International cooperation as well as regional and national engagement is crucial. To this end, the Platform promotes coherence and enhanced cooperation across relevant global policy dialogues.

adaptation needed to deal with climate change impacts, and emphasise mainstreaming climate change in policies and plans, requiring capacity building, awareness raising and mobilising funding. SDG13 is supported by Target 1.5 under SDG1, ‘End poverty in all its forms everywhere’, which relates to building resilience of the poor to climate-related extreme events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters.

Migration will affect progress on SDG13. However, given the uncertainty surrounding migration projections and where migrants will go in the future, it is hard to anticipate the precise impact of human mobility on achieving these targets. This section looks at some of the challenges for SDG13 posed by existing patterns of migration as well as those anticipated in the future, including away from coastal areas particularly in SIDS.

Target 13.1: Strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity to climate-related hazards and ‘natural’ disasters in all countries

DRR and climate change adaptation policies can build the resilience and adaptive capacity of individuals and communities and help them to prepare for and prevent displacement due to climate extremes. Therefore, policies aimed at reducing disaster risk can limit displacement. DRR policies commonly include structural measures to protect people and assets (such as dykes and sea walls) and land-use planning and relocation policies to limit exposure to hazards. People displaced by disaster often end up in hazardous urban areas where housing fails to comply with planning and building regulations, and basic services are lacking or provided irregularly (UN-Habitat, 2015; Wilkinson et al., 2016b). This increases the challenge for DRR. While measures to strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity will be confronted with further difficulties in assessing the level of disaster risk (vulnerability or risk assessments usually being the starting point for identifying suitable policies), and in providing effective early warnings of climate hazards and related health risks.

Pushing up levels of risk

New arrivals are particularly vulnerable to climate change impacts for a number of reasons, including the fact that they are less connected to support networks and services than established city dwellers. In addition, the UK Government Foresight Report found that those migrating in ‘illegal, irregular, unsafe, exploited or unplanned ways’ are more likely to find themselves migrating to areas of high environmental risk, such as low-lying areas in mega-deltas or slums in water insecure, expanding cities (Government Office for Science, 2011: 104). They also come from other environmental, social and cultural settings and therefore, may be unfamiliar with how to respond to the unfamiliar climate extremes. For example, new arrivals in Indian cities were less experienced in

responding to heatwaves and were among those most affected by the high temperatures of 45-48°C across cities and towns in the region in May 2015 (Burke, 2015).

Similarly, those left behind in places where outgoing migration is high may become even more vulnerable to climate change. In Bangladesh, coastal farming is being increasingly affected by sea-level rise and storm surges introducing saline water. The high levels of migration to urban areas as a result of this, is having a negative economic and social impact on those left behind, particularly women and children who are less able to manage the farming activities and deal with floods and other extreme events (Lazar et al., 2015).

Difficulties understanding risk

Risk assessments form the basis of national-level policies and plans designed to manage disaster risk and adapt to climate change. However, these are usually a snapshot of circumstances at a given time to identify where people are living in relation to hazards and their vulnerability or sensitivity to these – they do not reflect the dynamic nature of vulnerability and exposure.

Risk assessments rarely take into account migration patterns and fluctuation in demographics and any migration will affect the level of risk. There is some evidence that people who cope well with changes in climate are less likely to migrate (Koubi et al., 2016). Yet those who decide to migrate often do so because their livelihoods become unsustainable (Koubi et al., 2016). Farming practices in semi-arid areas, for example, are becoming less and less viable as drought periods lengthen. Understanding why people migrate – in any given context – is key to understanding the level of risk.

It is difficult to untangle the causes of migration because the relationship between vulnerability to climate change and migration is circular. People displaced by an extreme event will often return home (Oxfam International, 2016), but this may change in the future as climate extremes become more frequent (Field et al., 2012), while this movement and loss of assets will make people more vulnerable to future climate change impacts.

Furthermore, like risk assessments, early warning systems for climate extremes are commonly based on past data of the types of hazards that occur and the population that might be affected. Migration can create new risks with people inhabiting hazard-prone and previously uninhabited areas, without drainage or sanitary services causing secondary health risks when there is heavy rainfall and drains are blocked and floodwater contaminated. The effectiveness of early warning systems for floods and related health risks will be severely affected by changes in population and by the likelihood of migrants not understanding the warnings and/or knowing how to respond.

Box 3: Taking account of internal climate-induced migration in Tanzania

Tanzanian authorities have not, as yet, recognised migration as an adaptation response to climate change. The only official document that explicitly takes into account migration in the context of climate change is the National Adaptation Program of Action (URT, 2007). Migration is also viewed as a vulnerability, and not a potential adaptation activity. The Program of Action further stipulates relocation of vulnerable communities, in principle from coastal areas subject to sea-level rise, emphasising again the forced and not voluntary dimension of migration.

Tanzanians are already migrating as a response to climate change. Policy-makers need to integrate this reality into official climate strategy to better facilitate the movement of people. Furthermore, climate-related strategic interventions, as exposed in the Climate Change Strategy (URT, 2013) should, where relevant, take into account the migration perspective, including the upgrading of unplanned settlements and peri-urban areas. Employment-related solutions are also needed for integration of migrants into the local labour markets. The current Five Year Development Plan, which is focused on industrialisation, is a good starting point for this integration.

Despite extensive work on planning a climate strategy, the Tanzanian government has been less effective in its implementation (Daly, Yanda and West, 2015). These commitments need to be binding and further international financial assistance will be important to achieving this.

Box 4: Taking account of internal climate-induced migration in Kenya

Unlike other countries facing climate-change related risks, Kenya has recognised migration as a coping strategy. Several official documents, including the National Climate Change Response Strategy (Republic of Kenya, 2010), National Environmental Policy (Republic of Kenya, 2013a) and National Climate Change Action Plan 2013-2017 (Republic of Kenya, 2013b), refer to rural-urban migration as a response to deterioration of rural livelihoods due to environmental change, emphasising the challenges this might present for those left behind.

Some policies have been put in place to address disaster-related displacement and planned relocation (Republic of Kenya, 2012), including a special Resettlement Policy Framework (Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries, 2016). The government considers voluntary and forced climate-induced migration as issues to be addressed in adaptation strategies rather than as separate problems requiring their own set of policies. The government acknowledges the need to understand these coping mechanisms and to identify alternatives to allow people to remain in their communities (Republic of Kenya, 2013b).

Kenya now needs to make these commitments binding. The recently signed Climate Change Act (Republic of Kenya, 2016), the first such legal framework in East Africa, although not referring to migration directly, could be a first step in this direction. Kenya's participation in the EU-funded project 'Migration, Environment, and Climate Change: Evidence for Policy (MECLEP)', is another encouraging sign of commitment to this issue.

Recognising migration as an adaptation strategy

Migration is not necessarily a last resort for people confronting environmental change and can be a powerful adaptation strategy (IOM, 2016). Yet facilitating migration when people decide to move voluntarily to seek more resilient livelihoods will require recognition of the challenges posed by migration and better infrastructure planning. Decision-makers will need to consider whether adaptation policy should help people become more resilient in a given location, or help people in leaving. For example, smallholders in fragile environments, for whom agriculture is already a tremendous challenge, will find it even more difficult to have a decent harvest in the future. The question is then whether investments in irrigation, more tolerant crop varieties and alternative crops are required, or whether these investments will only increase vulnerability over the long term. If these new crop varieties

fail to produce or sell, people may become worse off and indebted if they have taken out loans to purchase new seeds or technologies. In these cases, support to migrate could be more effective.

Target 13.2: Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning

For many years, the international climate change community has been arguing for national development plans to incorporate climate change mitigation and adaptation. Countries can only hope to reduce the impact of climate change on development by considering climate change impacts in policies, strategies and plans. Development plans and investments that do not take into account migration as an impact of climate change are likely to cost more, be less effective, and potentially increase people's vulnerability to climate change. Local

development plans, in particular, will need to take into account how people move in response to climate change – whether this is permanent, temporary or seasonal – and how these patterns might change in the future (see Box 3 and 4).

Adaptation undermined by rural abandonment

Not taking into account rural-to-urban migration patterns in the future could result in incomplete adaptation plans, which fail to protect important economic sectors from climate change impacts. Agricultural policies that incorporate projections of warmer weather in the future, will be ineffective if people end up moving out, resulting in a loss of both resources and skills. An example of this can be seen in Rwanda, where a team of researchers are working with the agricultural ministry to incorporate climate information into existing plans to expand the coffee and tea sectors (CDKN, 2014). The economic development of the country is linked to these exports but both tea and coffee will be heavily affected by climate change in the future. With the increase in temperatures projected over the next few decades, the low-lying areas of current production of tea (around 1700 metres) will become less suitable for optimal production of high quality tea (CDKN, 2014). Adaptation plans consider climate change scenarios and direct impacts on crop yields, but not the indirect impacts of the decisions of farmers if they were to relocate to urban areas. Lack of adequate drinking water during dry periods, flash floods and landslides will affect all communities living in these areas – not just those working in coffee and tea plantations, and many may choose to migrate to cities where there are more stable sources of income. If adaptation plans do not address the multi-dimensional vulnerability of those living in rural areas – not just those of a particular farming activity – investments to adapt these farming practices may be wasted.

Failure to meet targets for GHG emissions

Migration, particularly large flows of migrants driven out of areas affected by disasters and conflict, could have an impact on GHG reduction targets outlined in country NDCs, although how significant this will be remains unclear. Rural-to-urban migration leads to higher incomes and greater CO₂ emissions, as seen in China (Ru et al., 2015). Urban low-carbon development plans will need to include population projections to ensure that GHG reduction targets can be met as the urban population expands. New residents will also put pressure on services, particularly transportation and energy: there may be a growth of vehicles transporting people from city centres to sub-urban areas, as well as greater demands for goods and services, all of which result in increased energy

consumption. Planning for low-income settlements should include measures to increase use of LPG gas rather than fuelwood.

Target 13.3: Improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning

Skills and knowledge, whether traditional or learned, are crucial in helping people adapt to climate change and cope with natural hazard impacts (Agrawal, 1995). However, migrants arriving in a new location may not have appropriate skills or understand their new contexts sufficiently to be able to overcome unfamiliar challenges. Education and awareness-raising must ensure that those new to an area gain the knowledge necessary to thrive. This may mean providing education in additional languages or with different, more culturally appropriate messages. This will include providing information to ‘invisible’, undocumented people whose children may not be able to attend school, so that they too are aware of the risks to which they might be exposed, and what they can do to reduce their vulnerability. Spurring cultural change is necessary in some situations. For example, in Pakistan, women often cannot leave the home without a male relative – even in a flood (Drolet et al., 2015). In order to save lives, policy-makers will need to address these cultural barriers directly.

Targets 13a and 13b on means of implementation (finance and institutional capacity)

Financial support for climate-induced migration

The direct implications of climate-induced migration for climate finance are unclear and identifying appropriate measures to be funded by the Green Climate Fund (GCF)² will be made more difficult by changes in population and energy use. Ideally, UNFCCC-related funds could be used to support climate-induced migration, helping people to move when they choose to do so, to help people adapt in destinations, and to ensure that costs of low-carbon development associated with new arrivals would be covered.

Funding is a crucial trigger for action, but sometimes measures are taken with incomplete knowledge. It is important to consider whether DRR and adaptation investments are actually limiting mobility and promoting activities that prevent resilience to climate change in the future – something that is referred to as ‘maladaptation’.

2. The GCF is one of several funds operated by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Box 5: Funding to support climate-induced migration

To-date, programmes financed by climate funds rarely address aspects of voluntary and forced climate-induced migration (IOM, 2016). The V20 Group, which brings together finance ministers to mobilise and stimulate climate funding, has identified migration as critical area of action. This is a promising step for allocating funds to address climate-induced migration in V20 countries. In addition, a number of countries – Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Egypt, the Maldives, Mali, Nepal and Peru – have applied to the IOM Development Fund (2001) to launch pilot projects that integrate migration and responses to climate change.

Migrants themselves offer a source of funding for adaptation activities through remittances. Asian countries have received high levels of remittances and in Nepal, which is particularly vulnerable to climate change, remittances accounted for 29% of GDP between 2013-2014. Around the world, remittances are used for basic needs, such as food, housing and healthcare, and are invested in assets (De Haan 2000; Banerjee, 2016). However, it is unclear to what extent these remittances are invested in measures that build resilience and adaptive capacity (Banerjee, 2016). The Nepalese Government has emphasised the role that governments and local authorities should play in supporting these transfers and in offering options for them to be used in concrete adaptation investment (IOM, 2016).

Capacity challenges in SIDS

In some contexts, capacities to respond to climate change will need to be higher – in particular, in LDCs and SIDS. Many factors make it difficult for people to migrate. However, there are also a large number of people considered to be ‘trapped’ – unable to migrate due to a lack of resources even when they would like to leave (Black and Collyer, 2014). In some SIDS, migration away from coastal areas will be essential and some islands will have to be abandoned entirely due to sea-level rise. This migration needs to be facilitated by governments in places of origin and destination, and will likely involve planned relocation (see Box 6).

Forced migration will require internationally agreed solutions and institutional arrangements to support those needing to move. The Loss and Damage Mechanism, under the UNFCCC, is expected to do this, potentially including a means to compensate countries for climate change impacts. Yet agreement on how this will work remains in the distant future. Beyond simply ensuring that people are free to move, action needs to be taken before we reach the point of no return: people should be helped before they have depleted all of their capital, health and mental wellbeing.

Box 6: Avoiding the worst impacts of climate change: planned resettlement in the Maldives

After the 2004 tsunami in the Maldives, a government programme was put in place to move communities from smaller islands to larger ones. A total of 20,000 people were evacuated to other islands after the tsunami, and half returned to their homes a few weeks later. Many remained displaced because of the damage to the island. The government designed three types of durable solutions for those affected:

1. Rebuilding houses and facilitating return but in safer locations, where possible
2. Building houses on islands where people were temporarily displaced, and facilitating integration
3. Where returns and resettlement were not possible, building new villages and infrastructure on uninhabited islands.

Source: Duvat and Magnan, 2014.

5 Conclusions and policy recommendations

Building ‘resilience for all’ is akin to leaving no one behind. It will help to reduce the number of people displaced by disasters or forced to leave as a result of deteriorating environmental conditions and support those that do so in maximising opportunities and limiting the creation of new risks. For national policymakers, this means that adaptation policies should include awareness raising, capacity building and education on climate change to ensure that people understand the risks they face and the impacts that their behaviour might have on the environment, wherever they live.

National governments will need to negotiate durable solutions on resettlement and local integration to address the needs of those permanently forced out due to irreversible environmental change, including from some SIDS (Wilkinson et al., 2016c). International agreement around a Loss and Damage Mechanism is making slow progress, but will most likely focus on forced migration and displacement, where the climate change drivers are clear.

The following conclusions on implementing SDG13 are drawn from the research and evidence presented in this brief. Based on these conclusions, we make further recommendations aimed at national and local governments in climate vulnerable countries for future policy consideration.

Conclusion 1: Forced climate-induced migration and displacement can lead to further risk accumulation in cities.

Investments in building resilience and adaptive capacity could help reduce displacement and forced migration, limiting the impacts of environmental change, where it is not an existential threat. Displaced populations in particular often end up living in hazardous urban areas and their unfamiliarity with climate risks in these places makes them particularly vulnerable. At the same time, migrants often take crucial resources, skills and knowledge with them, leaving communities behind with insufficient capacity to respond to climate change impacts in those places. Investment in DRR and adaptation can help to reduce migration and the associated ‘risks’ by tackling the causes.

Recommendations:

- Diversify livelihoods in places that are likely to be most affected by climate change. People affected by climate change will seek to diversify their livelihoods and rely on remittances from relatives elsewhere to cope with seasonal variation, extreme events and longer-term trends. Adaptation policies can ensure income diversification into less climate vulnerable sectors.

- Promote livelihood options that are less risky. Measures to strengthen resilience need to go beyond helping people adapt within their current livelihood activities. These measures need to enable livelihood options that are less risky. This might include a switch to predominantly off-farm activities, and ensuring that people living in rural areas are better linked up to markets.

Conclusion 2: Climate policies do not take future migration into account because the timing of forced migration and displacement is unpredictable.

In some places, solutions are needed for whole communities forced from their habitats. The most extreme example is in SIDS, where residents of some islands will simply no longer have any land to live on, and will be forced to move. Unplanned, forced migration for which governments and destination locations are not prepared, will create problems for national and local governments that could result in humanitarian crises. With greater foresight and preparedness planning, significant financial and human costs could be avoided.

Recommendations:

- Ensure DRR and adaptation measures are flexible and take into account how movement of people – whether planned or voluntary – could affect these measures. Consider how disaster response measures and provisions can quickly expand in scope and reach to include new arrivals with different cultural backgrounds. Ensure adaptation and DRR strategies can incorporate undocumented migrants – i.e. not just those on an electoral or housing register.
- Policy-makers and planners to consider projections of future climate conditions and migration trends. Projections of migration patterns and population changes can be generated through models by looking at potential climate change impacts with and without adaptation investments. This would provide a more compelling case for investing in adaptation.
- Data gaps still exist, in particular on forced migration related to slow-onset changes in the environment, the role of remittances and the demographic dynamics of migrants. Data collection needs to be enhanced alongside improved understanding of these phenomena, to allow better planning for these changes.

Conclusion 3: Voluntary climate-induced migration can be supported and planned for as an adaption strategy.

For some people, migration is an adaptation strategy, helping families to diversify their incomes and reduce their vulnerability to climate change impacts. In the context of some SIDS, the ability to move is existential and greater support to facilitate these individuals and families' decision to move is important.

Recommendations:

- Funding should aim to avoid vulnerability traps where climate change impacts deplete people's assets to the extent that they cannot afford to move. Better consideration of migration as a response to climate change – both extreme and slow-onset changes – and better financial planning is required to divert funds from adaptation to addressing a migration crisis.
- Consider whether development investments are making mobility more difficult and potentially leading to maladaptation. Measures specifically designed to keep people in place must also consider the consequences if they fail. For example, facilitating people's access to off-farm labour opportunities now may make them less dependent on failing agriculture in the future.
- Policies and funding is needed to support resettlement and integration of migrants into DRR systems so they are informed about the hazards, and can avoid behaviour that might even introduce new hazards or settling in places that actually increase their exposure.

Relevant SDG Targets

13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts

13.1: Strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity to climate-related hazards and natural disasters in all countries

13.2: Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning

13.3: Improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning

13.a: Implement the commitment undertaken by developed-country parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to a goal of mobilizing jointly \$100 billion annually by 2020 from all sources to address the needs of developing countries in the context of meaningful mitigation actions and transparency on implementation and fully operationalize the Green Climate Fund through its capitalization as soon as possible

13.b: Promote mechanisms for raising capacity for effective climate change-related planning and management in least developed countries and small island developing States, including focusing on women, youth and local and marginalized communities

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SDGs covered | 1: No poverty
3: Good health and well-being
4: Quality education
5: Gender equality
8: Decent work and economic growth
10: Reduced inequalities
11: Sustainable cities and communities
17: Partnerships for the goals



Urbanisation, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Paula Lucci, Dina Mansour-Ille, Evan Easton-Calabria and Clare Cummings

Key messages

- Internal migration and population growth drive urbanisation in many countries. How urbanisation is managed, and the types of jobs and services that migrants can access, are crucial to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
- Rural to urban migration can open up job opportunities, improve livelihoods and contribute to poverty reduction. Those who remain behind also benefit through remittances and non-financial transfers, such as improved knowledge and skills.
- Despite their potential, internal migrants are often neglected in government policies and lack access to adequate social protection or basic services.
- Poor, urban migrants often work in the informal sector which is badly regulated in many cities.
- More and better jobs, entrepreneurial opportunities, improved work standards and protection in cases of abuse would increase the opportunities available to migrants.

1 Introduction

Rapid urbanisation in developing countries is a defining feature of the 21st century, driven by internal migration and population growth. How urbanisation processes are managed and the types of jobs that internal migrants can access will have a great bearing on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

This policy briefing focuses on the economic integration of internal migrants arriving to cities in rapidly urbanising countries. It highlights two important SDGs, from migrants' perspectives: the promotion of full, productive employment and decent work for all (Goal 8), and making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable (Goal 11). This briefing synthesises the evidence on the impact of internal migration on migrants' livelihoods, host cities' development and overall poverty reduction. We assess how both migrants and 'host' cities can benefit from migration. We then put forward the policy instruments at city and national level that could help in achieving the SDGs.

Our main focus is on internal, rural to urban migration – one of the key pathways of urbanisation. People often move from poor rural areas to cities in the hope of escaping poverty. It is conventional economic wisdom that cities – because they concentrate economic activity and labour markets – are places of economic opportunity that hold the keys to further economic development and poverty reduction (Asfaw et al., 2010; Beegle et al., 2011; Tacoli et al., 2015). Indeed, in many Latin American and East Asian countries, urbanisation happened concurrently with industrialisation and access to higher productivity jobs. However, in some developing countries, particularly in Africa, urbanisation is happening without industrialisation and alongside an expansion of the informal economy. Despite this, people still prefer to move

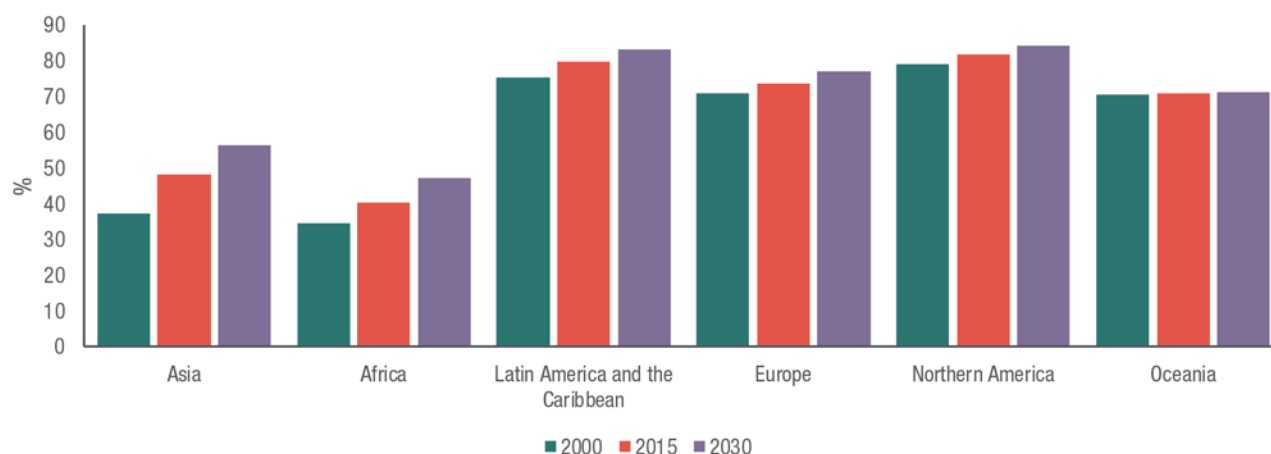
and stay in cities, which suggests that even in cases where poor rural migrants move from agricultural activities to precarious informal jobs in the city, they may still be better off. This briefing analyses the existing evidence to consider why this is.

After reviewing the main trends of internal rural to urban migration, Section 2 highlights the SDGs on which we focus. Section 3 provides an overview of the available evidence on the impact of internal rural to urban migration on migrants' livelihoods, on the cities that they migrate to, and on overall poverty reduction. Section 4 goes on to illustrate these impacts with two case studies across different regions (Dhaka in Bangladesh, and Accra and Kumasi in Ghana). Section 6 concludes with policy recommendations targeted at maximising the benefits of rural to urban migration and that go towards achieving the SDGs on decent jobs and inclusive, integrated urbanisation.

2 Internal migration trends

While international migration receives a lot of attention, internal migration is larger in terms of scale. In 2013 there were an estimated 763 million internal migrants worldwide (Bell and Charles-Edwards, 2013), three times the number of international migrants. Given that the costs of moving internally are much lower than those of crossing borders, internal migration and remittances are more likely to involve poorer people (Deshingkar, 2006; Migration DRC, 2006). As such, internal migration also has the greater potential to reduce poverty. Even if internal remittances are likely to be smaller, these individual transfers can reach a much larger number of poor households. For example, Castaldo et al. (2012) found that internal remittances in Ghana and India appear to be greater in magnitude than international ones.

Figure 1: Percentage of people living in urban areas



Source: UN DESA, 2014.

Urbanisation is defined as the increasing share of population living in urban areas, and it is primarily the result of internal migration (Tacoli et al., 2015).¹ Currently, Asia and Africa have 48% and 40% of their population, respectively, living in urban areas. They remain among the least urbanised regions and are expected to experience the fastest urban growth in coming decades (UN DESA, 2014; Figure 1). Asian countries, such as China, Thailand, Laos, Bangladesh and Indonesia, have experienced a large increase in the share of their population living in urban areas over the last 15 years, and are expected to continue doing so between now and 2030. In Africa, countries including Namibia, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Rwanda, Mali and Ghana have also experienced a similar increase (UN DESA, 2014).

There are limitations to using the existing data on urban populations in sub-Saharan Africa, which often rely on out-of-date censuses. As a result, claims of recent rapid urbanisation in the region have been overestimated, with the reality being much more nuanced. Only some countries, such as Ghana, Cameroon and Burkina Faso fit this trend (Potts, 2013). Furthermore, census data can hide circular or temporary migration, people moving back from urban centres to rural areas as a result of seasonal work or extreme urban informality (ibid.).

Urbanisation materialises as growth in various types of settlements. Mega-cities – in particular, cities of 10 million plus residents – have received a lot of attention, in part because they are a relatively new phenomenon. There are 28 mega-cities today, up from just two in 1970, with 41 projected by 2030 (UN DESA, 2014). Many of the fastest growing mega-cities are in China and India; some are also located in fragile states, such as in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Nigeria, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Egypt. Despite the attention on mega-cities, the fastest-growing agglomerations are medium-sized cities and those with fewer than 1 million inhabitants located in Asia and Africa (UN DESA, 2014). Even though they receive significant numbers of migrants, these secondary cities often receive less political attention, have fewer resources and poorer quality basic services (Ghosh, 2012). This dimension of urbanisation adds to the complexity in considering internal migration and how to better support it.

3 Internal economic migration and the SDGs

How urbanisation is managed by both city and national policy-makers, and the types of livelihoods that internal migrants can access in the city, will have a great impact on sustainable development. Goals 8 and 11 speak directly

to the issues of jobs and inclusive cities. We consider them from a migrant perspective.

Goal 8 seeks to promote decent work and protect labour rights for all workers, including migrants. Target 8.8 states, ‘Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers’. Poor, internal migrants tend to work in the informal economy, often in risky environments and with no access to social protection. Policies that support decent job creation and entrepreneurship in such settings are critical to strengthening the opportunities available to new arrivals, as are those interventions seeking to improve work standards and provide protection and assistance in cases of abuse.

Goal 11 aims to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable for migrants and others. In particular, target 11.3 seeks to promote inclusive city planning and management, while target 11.a sets out ways of implementing this goal by supporting positive economic and social links between rural and urban areas through regional and national planning. The aim is for city and national policy-makers to include new arrivals in economic and spatial planning, and in the delivery of services. Goals 8 and 11 are inherently interrelated.

Other SDGs also relevant to the economic integration of internal migrants are included in Table 1.

4 Evidence on the impact of internal migration on livelihoods and poverty reduction

4.1 How does internal migration impact migrants’ livelihoods?

The economic benefits for migrants

Broadly speaking, evidence suggests that rural to urban migrants (hereafter, urban migrants) benefit economically from moving to cities (Deshingkar, 2006). A study of internal migrants in Cambodia found that almost all were able to save money, and many also developed skills in areas such as tailoring or construction, allowing them to earn an income in both cities and rural areas (Godfrey et al., 2001). This study, like many others, suggests that, in general, urban migrants are ‘winning’ through migration. Wages and the ability to earn an income are also generally higher in urban areas than in rural ones (World Bank/IMF, 2013). Further still, using a wider measure of well-being, UNDP has found that internal migrants have a higher quality of life than non-migrants (UNDP, 2009).

1. Note that there is often confusion between urbanisation (increasing the share of the urban population) and urban population growth (the result of natural increase in populations).

Table 1: Urbanisation, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Relevant SDGs and Targets	Link to migration
Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all	
8.3: Promote development-oriented policies that support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation, and encourage the formalisation and growth of micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, including through access to financial services.	Policies that support job creation and entrepreneurship are fundamental to guarantee decent work and better work conditions for migrants, and the urban poor more generally. There are debates about the extent to which formalisation is feasible in the short to medium term in cities with a large informal economy. Therefore, there is a need to also consider policies that can support better conditions in the informal economy in the short term.
8.5: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value.	Low-skilled rural to urban migrants seeking better job opportunities in the city in fast urbanising developing countries often end up working in precarious occupations in the informal economy.
8.8: Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment.	
Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	
11.3: By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanisation and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries.	Actions that take into account the needs of poor internal migrants, and the urban poor more generally, enhance their well-being and are more likely to maximise benefits for the host city economy.
11.a: Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban ² and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning.	Effective management of the challenges posed by urbanisation and internal migration require an understanding of the links between urban, peri-urban and rural economies. However, an understanding of these links is often missing in rapidly urbanising countries.
Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere	
1.1: By 2030, eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere, currently measured as people living on less than \$1.25 a day.	The evidence suggests that rural to urban migration contributes to economic development and to overall poverty reduction (Ravallion et al., 2007).
1.2: By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions.	Due to their lack of formal registration in the city, many (poor) internal migrants cannot access social protection systems.
1.3: Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable.	
Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	
3.8: Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, and access to quality essential health-care services	As internal migrants are often in the informal sector they risk exclusion from coverage of insurance-based schemes and in many cases are invisible to universal health coverage programmes (Tulloch et al., 2016)
Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all	
4.4: By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship	Internal migrants often lack the skills and training required to access decent jobs and as a result end up working in low-productivity jobs in the informal sector.
Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	
5.4: Recognise and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.	Many migrant domestic workers are female. Actions that increase the value of domestic work, including changes in underlying gender norms, would reduce women's burden of unpaid work and enhance the well-being, dignity and status of paid and unpaid care and domestic workers, including migrants (O'Neil et al., 2016).

2. Peri-urban areas are largely defined as the areas that surround our metropolitan areas and cities – neither urban nor rural in the conventional sense.

Relevant SDGs and Targets	Link to migration
Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries	
10.7 Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies	Some countries explicitly discourage internal migration for work. The policies put in place to manage migration have a direct impact on migrants' well-being and on the host city and country economies.
10.c By 2030, reduce to less than 3% the transaction costs of migrant remittances and eliminate remittance corridors with costs higher than 5%.	Internal remittances to poor households are often sent through informal channels as poor internal migrants do not have access to bank accounts. Such services can be riskier and more expensive.
Goal 17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development	
17.8 By 2020, enhance capacity-building support to developing countries, including for least developed countries and small island developing states. This will significantly increase the availability of high quality, timely and reliable data, disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.	Data on migration, particularly on internal migration, is very limited. Improving the evidence base is fundamental in order to better understand the scale and impact of internal migration, and design better policies.

The informality of work

Migrants from poor rural areas may find prospects in the city more financially rewarding than in the rural areas they migrated from. However, most gain employment in precarious conditions within the informal sector, often as self-employed workers,³ home-based workers, street vendors (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004), or domestic and construction workers (de Haas, 2006; Mitra, 2010; Pattanaik, 2009; Picherit, 2012).

Incomes in the informal sector can be unstable. In Tianjin, China, only 7.3% of urban migrants have permanent jobs versus 31.8% of non-migrants, while over 50% of migrant workers have no work contract compared to 14.4% of urban workers (Lu and Song, 2006). The common practice of sending remittances to family in rural areas can contribute to a loss of income that could otherwise be used to increase a migrant's standard of living (Tacoli et al., 2015). Income instability can also be exacerbated by a number of issues, including illness or injury, discrimination in labour markets, debt bondage, bonded labour, and long-term indebtedness (for the latter, see examples on India in Brehman, 1996 and Mosse et al., 2005).

Given the informal arrangements, migrant workers can be subject to exploitative or dangerous working conditions. For example, construction workers in Kathmandu, Nepal face harsh working conditions that put them at high risk of injury and sickness (Adhikari and Deshingkar, 2015); while female domestic workers in Asia have few rights in the workplace and are one of the least protected urban migrant groups (Siddiqui, 2012). Moreover, migrant workers are often not eligible for social or employment protection. Even when they are, they may not be able to obtain it because of complex and costly registration

requirements, portability constraints (rather than being able to move with the worker, many social protection programmes require permanent residency) and lack of enforcement of existing laws (Hopkins et al., 2016; Adhikari and Deshingkar, 2015).

Government policy on the informal sector, particularly at city level, can have significant consequences on the livelihoods of urban migrants. Few cities have coherent regulations and policies. Instead, police and other authorities 'deal with' informal workers in haphazard ways (Bhowmik, 2004; Mitullah, 2004). In Kampala, Uganda, a 2011 law enforced by the Kampala City Council Authority prohibits the selling of goods in public spaces without a business license or permit. Yet many urban migrants cannot afford business licenses, and some migrants end up paying even more than urban residents due to their migrant status. Such laws restrict the livelihoods of locals and migrants, and increase insecurity. For example, women who now sell wares at night and are therefore more at risk of rape and theft (Easton-Calabria, 2016).

The informality of residence

On top of vulnerabilities in the workplace, many urban migrants also live in fear of eviction, as the majority live in informal settlements. Many governments still perceive evictions as the main way to address inappropriate living conditions in slum areas, instead of seeing a result of the failure of planning and service provision. For example, in Zimbabwe, poor slum dwellers, many of them migrants, have been evicted from slums in Harare (UNDP, 2009). Similarly, in Ghana, migrants living in the slum area of Old Fadama in Accra are vulnerable to evictions, which are sometimes violent (Awumbila et al., 2014).

3. Entrepreneurship in the informal sector is highly gendered, with women often working as petty traders, food vendors, and hair dressers. Men often create work as artisans, construction workers, and motorbike drivers (Awumbila et al., 2014).

Informal settlements in the poorest areas of cities often lack access to basic services, such as water and sanitation. This can affect both migrants' livelihoods and incomes, as they often have worse health than non-migrants (Afsar, 2003) and must pay in order to obtain (typically, poor quality) basic services. For example, about 92% of urban migrants in a neighbourhood in Ghana lack access to water within their residences, meaning they have to pay to buy water and bathe (Awumbila et al., 2014). In Nairobi, Kenya, urban migrants often experience a lack of sanitation, high crime rates and malnutrition (Oucho et al., 2014). However, in Accra, Ghana, although migrants live in slums with little formal social protection, they still overwhelmingly believe their overall well-being in addition to their livelihoods, has been improved through migration (Awumbila et al., 2014).

4.2 What is the impact of internal migration on the host city?

The economic benefits for the city

There is an increasing recognition of the benefits of urban migrants, including their ability to fill labour gaps as a cheap labour force, and their resulting contributions to economies (IOM, 2015). Many industries are reliant on migrant labour, such as garment manufacturing or construction – in India, almost 90% of construction work is estimated to be carried out with migrant labour (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004). The informal sector, where most migrants work, can also be a major area of entrepreneurship. Again, in the case of India, it accounts for over 99% of establishments in the manufacturing sector (Ghani and Kanbur, 2012).

Despite this, it is important to note that the positive outcomes of urban migration are contextual – they depend on individual countries' economic prospects, characteristics of employment sectors and migrants' skill levels. While some research suggests that migrants may struggle more than non-migrants to find work in cities (Oucho et al., 2014), research from Bangladesh found that three out of every five migrants in Dhaka found work within one week of arrival (Afsar, 1999). A study on Dhaka estimated that the unemployment rate for working-age members of migrants' households was only 4% – half that of non-migrants in the same age range (Hossain et al., 1999). This low unemployment rate stems from a variety of factors, including Dhaka's economic and political climate and migrants' high drive to find work, which sometimes leads them to accept lower-paid jobs than locals will. Urban migrants also have high employment rates in particular cities and suburbs of Vietnam, in part due to direct recruitment from rural areas. For example, in Binh Chieu, an industrial zone ringing Ho Chi Minh City, an estimated 65% of workers are migrant labourers (Taylor, 2011).

To further increase the positive economic impact from the informal sector, some municipal and national

governments have adopted policies targeting professional training to upskill micro-entrepreneurs and regulate apprenticeships, which include both the formal and informal sector. Beginning in the mid-1990s, the local government in China's Yanbian district developed policies to harness the productive capacity of both international and internal migrants, including through pre-migration skills training, encouraging capital transfer, and supporting return migrant entrepreneurship (Luova, 2014). The high remittances and other capital transfers received in Yanbian is attributed in part to these programmes, and is impressive given the low-education level of most labour migrants from the region (ibid.).

Increasing pressures on services

If local governments do not have the capacity to plan for services to meet increasing demands (or apply restrictive policies based on negative views of internal migration), this can lead to the rise of informal settlements with poor access to water, sanitation and basic amenities. Pressures on city finances compound the situation; the informal economy is rarely taxed, and there is often little redistribution from national government to the city level to deal with the backlog in the provision of amenities. In addition, poor service provision for urban migrants can affect not only new arrivals but local residents as well, and can exacerbate existing inequalities (Tacoli et al., 2015; Awumbila, et al., 2014).

For instance, in the case of Brazilian urbanisation, internal migrants and other low-income urban residents were left to live in informal settlements (*favelas*) with very limited access to services. Now that the country's urban transition has been completed, the country has introduced policies, such as urban rights in its Statute of the City (Rolnik, 2013; Santos Carvalho and Rossbach, 2010), to reduce urban inequalities. However, these inequalities ultimately stem from how low-income migrants were treated during past urbanisation (Tacoli et al., 2015).

4.3 The wider picture: how does internal migration affect poverty reduction?

Urbanisation is, generally, a positive factor in overall poverty reduction (Ravallion et al., 2007). Rural to urban migration opens up new job opportunities to migrants (in urban areas and in rural areas), and through the role of remittances also increases the living standards of those who remain behind (Ravallion et al., 2007). Increasing evidence demonstrates the role of the informal sector in contributing to national GDP in many developing countries (Chen, 2012; WIEGO, 2013). In the case of Mexico, the informal economy is understood to have contributed about 25% to its GDP for the years 2003-2012, demonstrating its relevance to national economic growth (WIEGO, 2013).

There is also some evidence of the positive effects of entrepreneurialism on the communities that urban migrants originate from. Entrepreneurship among

returning migrants has been found to be small, but the businesses they do create post-migration can have a large impact on their community through the creation of jobs, the buying and selling of local supplies, and increased trade networks to rural regions (Murphy, 2002). Similarly, many Igbo entrepreneurs – an ethnic group widely cited as the most entrepreneurial in Nigeria – purposively invest in rural areas (Osuji, 1983). Rural poverty in Igboland has declined due to the high level of entrepreneurial activities, investment, and community development in rural areas (Chukwuezi, 2001). A further positive effect of male out-migration is that left-behind women also become entrepreneurs, creating their own independent incomes (Moldova, 1997; Georgia, 1997).

Internal remittances too, play an important role in poverty reduction. Despite internal remittances being smaller in comparison than international remittances (de Haan, 1999), internal remittances can potentially play a greater role in reducing poverty (Castaldo et al., 2012). Internal migration is more common than international migration among poor households as they often lack the resources to send a family member abroad (Deshingkar, 2006). In India and Bangladesh, poverty rates in households with an internal migrant have fallen by about 50% (UNDP, 2009). Even in cases where remittances do not directly reduce poverty, they are likely to help sustain rural livelihoods and prevent people from further impoverishment (Deshingkar, 2006).

In addition to material benefits through remittances, there are further positive outcomes in other dimensions of well-being. For example, rural to urban migration can improve migrant-sending households' living standards, and can positively impact health and sanitation in the areas of origin through migrants' increased knowledge about hygiene practices (Adhikari and Deshingkar, 2015). Families of migrants are also more likely to send their children to school, using remittances to pay fees and other costs. In Guatemala, internal migration increases educational expenditures by 45%, particularly on higher levels of schooling. Mexican children in households with an internal migrant were 30–45% more likely to be in an appropriate school grade for their age (UNDP, 2009).

National and local policies that seek to curb rural to urban migration on the basis that it increases urban poverty are problematic, and are largely based on a crude measure of poverty that fails to capture the dynamics – many of them positive – behind the movement of poor people to urban areas, such as access to more remunerative opportunities and the beneficial impact that this has on their families. A more balanced and nuanced understanding of the inter-linkages between causes and impacts of rural to urban migration and its role in poverty reduction is required (Awumbila et al., 2014).

5 Case studies

How do the positive and negative dynamics of rural to urban migration play out on the ground? Case studies from Dhaka in Bangladesh, and Accra and Kumasi in Ghana provide an illustration of the impacts of internal migration on migrants' livelihoods, the host city and wider poverty reduction discussed above. Bangladesh and Ghana are two of the fastest urbanising countries in Asia and Africa, and a number of studies have been carried out on these two countries, which provide readily available evidence on the impact of internal migration at micro and macro levels.

5.1 Dhaka, Bangladesh: migration into an unsupported, unregulated hive of activity

Dhaka is the world's fastest growing megacity and the 11th largest in the world. With an estimated 15 million inhabitants, the city's population has increased fourfold in the last 25 years. Approximately 300,000 to 400,000 migrants arrive in Dhaka each year, most of whom are poor and from rural areas (Sanderson, 2012). As agricultural production has declined, landless rural inhabitants fleeing floods, climate and food disasters have also sought livelihoods in the urban areas.

Upon arriving in Dhaka, most urban migrants become part of the urban poor. Overwhelmingly, they live in slums (*bastees*) and work in the informal sector (70% of employment in Dhaka is informal: IOM, 2010). Common jobs include street vending, rickshaw driving, petty trade, daily construction labour, hairdressing, and carpentry. Migrants who find work in the formal sector mostly work in the rapidly growing ready-made garment industry – most of Bangladesh's garment industry is in Dhaka and the flow of economic migrants is considered a key factor in the sector's success. Other migrants find work in the construction sector, or as private domestic help (BPP, 2015).

Government policy towards rural to urban migration at both national and local levels is ambivalent. While there are no restrictions on movement to cities, national government policies and programmes do not specifically support migrants. For example, national targeted poverty reduction programmes, as well as those led by NGOs, tend to only register people living at their place of official residence. Once people become migrants, they are largely unable to access these forms of support due to both legal requirements and a need for good contact with the officials distributing entitlements. Urban migrants are thus often excluded from development and social programmes that could help lift them out of poverty (Afsar, 2005).

Furthermore, street-trading is illegal and urban authorities often harass and evict street traders, many of whom are migrants. Urban migrants are also vulnerable to eviction as most can only afford to live in informal settlements (BBS, 2014).

Due to the rapid increase of migrants, Dhaka faces a shortage of housing, an increased cost of living, overall lack of access to social services, and environmental strains such as a decreasing amount of potable water (Islam, 2015). The worsening socioeconomic conditions that have resulted from an increasing urban population are even perceived by some municipal officials as a means to deter potential urban migrants, due to the low quality of life in informal settlements (UNDP, 2011).

In sum, people migrating from declining opportunities in rural areas to Dhaka face a number of difficult challenges in establishing a life in the city, yet the overall impact on their livelihoods is positive. Despite negative attitudes towards the informal sector – threats of eviction and a lack of social protection – most migrants who arrive in Dhaka are able to survive in the informal urban economy. Moreover, internal remittances sent to family members (up to 60% of migrants' income: Deshingkar, 2006) have a significant impact on rural economic growth and play a role in reducing poverty both directly and indirectly. Institutionalising internal remittances, such as incorporating them into the country's Deposit Pension Scheme, could further increase both rural development and the savings of the rural poor (Afsar, 2003).

5.2 Accra and Kumasi, Ghana: economic policies driving labour migration to urban areas

Accra and Kumasi are the two largest cities in Ghana. Accra, the capital, has an estimated population of 2.27 million (CIA, 2012) and is the country's economic hub. Accra is the most popular destination for migrants in Ghana, who make up an estimated 55% of the city's population (Pescina and Ubaldo, 2010). Kumasi, known as the 'hinterland capital', also attracts many migrants from northern Ghana (Litchfield and Waddington, 2003).

Ghana's economic policies have played a role in incentivising the migration flow from rural to urban areas. National government liberalisation and structural adjustment programmes removed fertiliser and social service subsidies, which made engaging in agriculture less economically viable (Awumbila and Momsen, 1995; Awumbila, 1997). In addition to this, national policies favouring urban development through industrial protection meant that income levels and social conditions were better in urban than rural areas (Anarfi et al., 2003). Consequently, rural inhabitants facing declining incomes in agriculture have become a large labour supply for urban industries, mainly in and around Accra and Kumasi (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

The majority (71.2%) of migrants arriving in Accra work in the informal sector (Awumbila et al., 2014). Common jobs include ice water and ice cream sellers, second-hand clothes hawkers and wholesalers, electronic waste pickers, hairdressers, maize retailers and wholesalers, construction workers, and domestic services (Overa, 2007; Osei-Boateng and Ampratwum, 2011).

While migrants may be able to create a livelihood in their host city, they experience many vulnerabilities. It is common for migrants to face frequent harassment by city authorities due to the illegal status of their work and homes (Awumbila et al., 2014). The upgrading of markets, such as the Agbobbloshie and Nima, located in migrant-dense areas of Accra, would allow many more migrants to earn a living without risk of harassment on the street (Awumbila et al., 2014). Furthermore, at least half of the migrants in Ghana live in temporary shelters in informal settlements (Awumbila et al., 2014) and can face discrimination in accessing housing due to their migrant status (UNESCO, 2013). Female migrants and unaccompanied child migrants are especially vulnerable. Female migrants may resort to sex work as a means to support themselves or in exchange for housing (Osei-Boateng and Ampratwum, 2011), while child migrants commonly end up living on the streets (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Molini et al., 2016; GSS, 2003).

Until recently, the Ghanaian national government did not have any policies explicitly targeting migration and there have often been contradictory policy responses at national and city levels. For example, while national level policies call for urban renewal and upgrading, city authorities in Accra continue to harass street vendors and pursue slum clearance (Awumbila et al., 2014). But in 2014, a National Migration Policy was introduced which sought to address these challenges through promoting 'fair settlement planning' in urban areas. This included the provision of adequate infrastructure, and managing the causes and consequences of migration flows (GoG, 2014). Similarly, the recent National Policy on Migration (2016) and implementation plan aim to increase the benefits of both internal and international migration, in part through policy coherence (GoG, 2016).

The impact too of internal migration on migrants' households appears to be positive. It appears that, on average, households receiving remittances have a 77% higher consumption level than non-migrant households (Molini et al., 2016). A recent survey of migrants in Ghana suggests they overwhelmingly believe their overall well-being, in addition to their livelihoods, have been improved by migrating (Awumbila et al., 2014).

6 Conclusions and policy recommendations

The movement of people within and across borders in search of better living and working conditions has been an integral part of human history. During the Industrial Revolution, rural to urban migration helped turn cities into constantly growing and transforming industrial hubs, and created opportunities for future generations.

As with international migration, internal migration occurs for a variety of reasons. In most developing countries, the search for employment and the drive to escape poverty remain the primary factors of voluntary

Box 1: Access to work for refugees

While the focus of this briefing is on internal migration for economic reasons, it is useful to establish parallels with access to work for refugees. It is particularly relevant given the current large numbers of refugees and the policies that governments and cities are actively pursuing to integrate refugees into their labour markets.

In Europe, cities have demonstrated greater flexibility and creativity than national governments in responding to the influx of refugees, introducing a number of job-matching and integration projects (Eurocities, 2016). Milan created reception hubs overseen by municipal employees, volunteers and NGOs to receive asylum seekers and provide them with shelter, support and information. Barcelona declared itself a 'City of Refuge' last September, with mayor Ada Colau, stating that 'It may be that states grant asylum, but it is cities that provide shelter' (Pescinski, 2016; Eurocities, 2016). In March 2016, Barcelona negotiated an innovative city-to-city agreement with three cities: Athens, Lesbos and Lampedusa. This pilot initiative aims to alleviate the pressures on these major receiving hubs by welcoming more asylum-seekers into Barcelona. London provides an example where socially-responsible businesses can address the struggles of the forcibly displaced trying to find work. The social enterprise 'Transitions' is providing refugees with job-matching services and information while the ethical underwear business 'Who Made Your Pants' is providing refugees with sewing and English classes, among other services (Forrest, 2015).

Cities and towns in the Middle East, in countries such as Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon, have to cope with far larger numbers of refugees than in Europe. In these countries, there are also examples of endeavours by governments in cooperation with other partners, to provide humanitarian assistance and to promote self-reliance and inclusion. Indeed, earlier this year, Jordan granted Syrian refugees the right to apply for work permits. This is part of a wider programme among the Jordanian government, donor countries and development actors to improve the investment climate (World Bank, 2016). Yet, after a three-month grace period ending in July 2016, fewer than 13,000 Syrians had obtained work permits out of an expected 50-100,000 (Patchett, 2016).

In other cases, there are examples of how refugees themselves can drive urban development and build parallel informal economies. For instance, Dadaab in Kenya hosts close to 300,000 refugees (Laing, 2016; UNHCR, 2016) making it the world's largest refugee camp. The difficulties of leaving the camp led to the development of an informal camp economy as Dadaab's residents opened their own businesses and started to provide services to residents and those in the host community (McKenzie and Swails, 2015). Today, Dadaab is not only considered to be Kenya's third largest 'city', but also a commercial hub with refugees running successful businesses from bakeries to boutiques providing services, products and a ready market for locals as well as a substantial tax return to the Kenyan government (Hujale, 2016). There are also a number of organisations providing livelihoods support. For instance, the Norwegian Refugee Council provides vocational training courses and recorded that 58% of its graduates are currently running successful businesses.

movement. Facilitating the movement of people within borders has the potential to improve the livelihood of individual migrants and their families through remittances and non-financial transfers, such as improved knowledge and skills. Yet despite their potential, internal migrants are often neglected in formal government policies at local and national levels. Urban migrants often end up working in the informal sector, lacking access to social protection and basic services. Host cities, in turn, experience a range of rural to urban migration effects, from potentially strengthened economies, as a result of an influx of workers, to the potential strains on infrastructure from increasing demand.

Many of the benefits of internal migration remain unrealised due to policy barriers affecting population movement, inadequate legislation enforcement to protect

the rights of the poor, and social exclusion on the basis of ethnicity, caste, tribe and gender as well as an incomplete understanding of migration patterns (Deshingkar, 2006). More inclusive policies are needed to advance the economic potential of urban migration, and address migrants' insecurity of work and residence.

The recommendations below set out key actions for local and national government agencies, civil society organisations, the private sector – particularly in fast growing urban centres of the South, and those agencies in charge of monitoring the SDGs. Ultimately, how cities and government policies respond to urbanisation is crucial to unlocking and maximising the positive impacts that urban migration can have on both migrants and 'host' cities, and to achieving the SDGs, particularly those linked to access to decent jobs and inclusive urbanisation.

Conclusion 1: Internal migration is more common than international migration and has a larger poverty reduction potential.

Recommendation: create policies at local and national levels to enable a more balanced and fact-based understanding of the causes and impacts of rural to urban migration, and its role in poverty reduction.

- Improve the data on internal migration and remittances to challenge assumptions linking rural to urban migration with increasing urban poverty. A better understanding of complex migratory patterns, including circular migration, is needed to inform better policies. Work with existing global networks (e.g. the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data) to improve the capacity of national statistics offices and local governments to collect this data.
- Advocate for policies that support well-managed, internal migration. Government, local bodies and civil society organisations should support advocacy efforts at all levels – for example, in the implementation of the SDGs and at the UN Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III). This will enable more balanced debates around internal migration.
- Governments should include analysis of urbanisation and its consequences at all levels of policy planning and implementation, and ensure coherence between them. This would allow for a better understanding of factors that drive migration in different areas, and how to better support them.

Relevant SDG Targets

1.1: By 2030, eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere, currently measured as people living on less than \$1.25 a day.

1.2: By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions.

10.7: Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies.

11.a: Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and development planning.

17.8: By 2020, enhance capacity-building support to developing countries, including for least developed countries and small island developing states, to increase significantly the availability of high quality, timely and reliable data, disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.

Conclusion 2: The economic potential of internal migrants is underutilised.

Recommendation: improve livelihood support to internal migrants to maximise their economic potential.

- Local governments should include the needs and vulnerabilities of informal workers in policy planning. For instance, cities' urban planning often excludes the issue of supporting infrastructure and services for informal workers, which frequently results in the informal sector clashing with city authorities. Supporting measures by city authorities could include the upgrading of markets, which serve the job and income needs of migrants (Awumbila et al., 2014).
- The informal sector should be decriminalised in both municipal and national policies. This should also include implementing or increasing labour rights and protection for internal migrants. Examples include free legal advice and rights awareness training, particularly in sectors common for migrants such as construction work and domestic help. Where state protection is lacking, civil society organisations have a role to play.
- Internal migrants/temporary residents and returning migrants should be supported through local and national government channels, with help ranging from job searches to pre-migration training. Increase access to education and training for both rural and urban workers in line with the needs of the economy, as this has a positive influence on the wider economy and the job opportunities they can access.
- Government should work with the private sector to create banking services for the poor. This includes formalising remittance services (i.e. sending remittances through banks) and reducing their cost, especially because remittances are likely to be sent by poor internal migrants currently using informal channels that are expensive and risky. Consider institutionalising internal remittances, such as by incorporating them into the country's pension scheme (Afsar, 2003).

Relevant SDG Targets

8.3: Promote development-oriented policies that support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation, and encourage the formalization and growth of micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, including through access to financial services.

8.5: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men.

8.8: Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment.

10.c: Reduce to less than 3% the transaction costs of migrant remittances and eliminate remittance corridors with costs higher than 5%.

4.4: By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship.

11.a: Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and development planning.

11.3: Enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanisation and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries.

Conclusion 3: Internal migrants are often neglected in local and national policies. They end up living in informal settlements without adequate social protection and basic service provision.

Recommendation: create and improve protective legislation and social security for migrants, including access to basic services.

- Extend state protections to the informal sector, where most migrants from poor rural areas work (e.g. pensions, access to healthcare for informal workers, including female domestic workers). Help informal workers access programmes they are already eligible for (e.g. by simplifying bureaucratic requirements and removing requirements to have resident status). Internal migrants are, by definition, a highly mobile population so they need to be able to access social benefits that are portable.

- Focus on enforcing existing legislation, improving knowledge on social protection among migrants and making registration requirements easier to meet (e.g. not needing formal rental contracts).
- End informal settlement evictions. Many rural to urban migrants live in informal settlements and face intense disruptions to both their home life and livelihoods through the threat of eviction. Increase the capacity of local governments and programmes to upgrade informal settlements and orientate urban planning that supports access to basic services and affordable housing. Neglecting informal urban communities will not deter urban migrants from settling in these areas, as the existing conditions give them no other choice but to settle there.
- Redistribute tax revenues so that poorer localities housing more internal migrants have the capacity to provide adequate local public services.

Relevant SDG Targets

1.3: Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable.

3.8: Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, and access to quality essential health-care services.

5.4: Recognise and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family.

10.7: Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies.

11.3: By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanisation and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries.

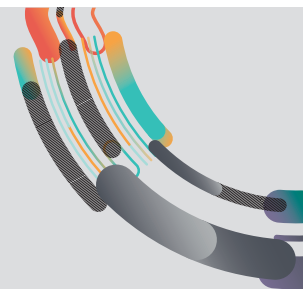
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SDGs covered | 4: Quality education
10: Reduced inequalities
17: Partnerships for the goals



Education, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Susan Nicolai, Joseph Wales and Erica Aiazzi

Key messages

- 31 million school-aged children are international migrants, and this number is set to grow. Their education is therefore a long-term strategic priority and investment.
- Educating migrant children is essential to meet SDG 4, and more broadly to achieve economic and social benefits such as improved livelihoods, better health outcomes, reductions in gender inequities and enhanced political participation.
- Large and unexpected migration flows can disrupt education systems, disadvantage migrant and refugee children and create tensions in host communities. To combat this, a combination of forward-planning and contingency funding is needed.
- Education plays an important role in social integration, economic mobility and learning outcomes. Migrant children should not be placed in segregated classes or schools, nor solely taught in their native language.
- There is limited data on the education of migrant and refugee children. Government and international institutions need to collaborate to collect such data, and use it to support vulnerable groups.

1 Introduction

This briefing explores the challenges and opportunities related to primary-school education for migrants – especially in host countries – and the implications for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. It focuses mainly on international migrants, but also includes a brief discussion of education for refugees.

In 2015, around 244 million people were international migrants¹ (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2016), including 31 million children below the age of 18 (UNICEF, 2016). This means that roughly one in 70 children worldwide live in a country different to that of their birth. Asia and Africa host the largest numbers of migrant children. Migrant populations in Africa are notably younger – one in three migrants is under the age of 18, a figure twice the global average. While migrant populations tend to be younger in low-income countries and older in high-income countries, it is striking that Europe, North America and Oceania host a disproportionate number of migrant children compared to their share of all children globally (see Figure 1) (UNICEF, 2016). These patterns demonstrate that the challenge of meeting migrant education needs is a matter of importance for both high- and low-income countries.

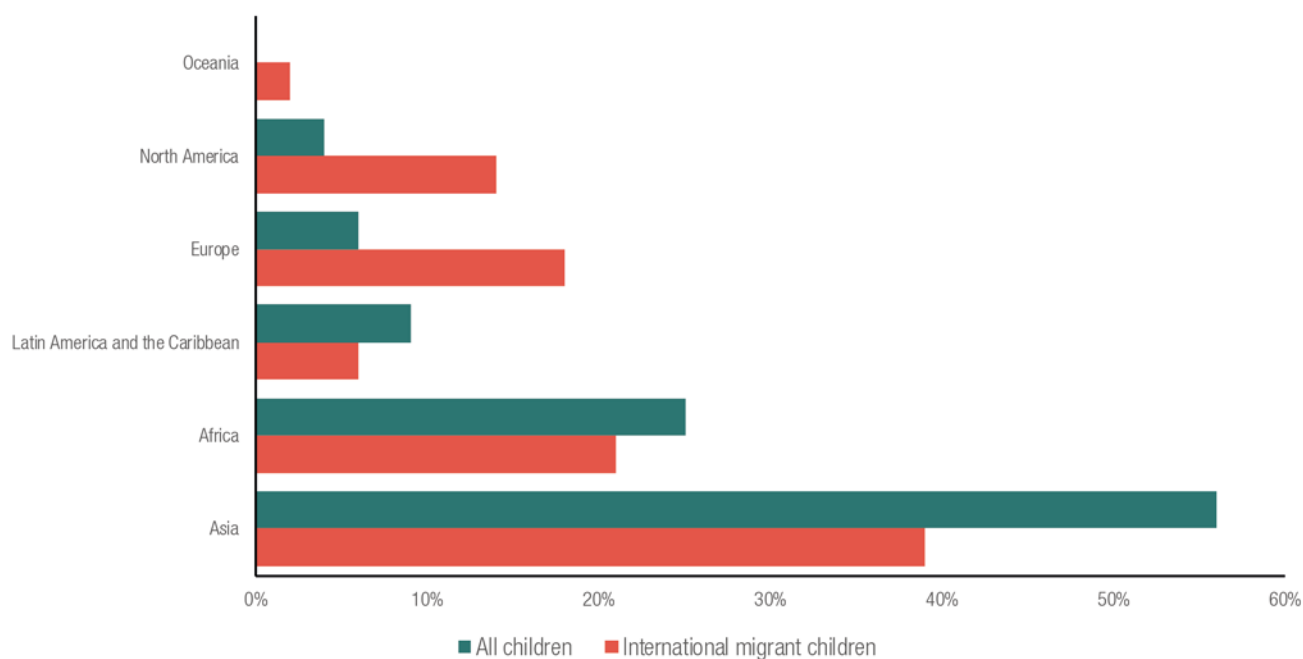
The right to education for migrant children is protected by several legal instruments, including the 1990 Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrants

and Members of Their Families, and the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, the extent to which these commitments are implemented in practice varies considerably. Moreover, they are particularly valid for primary education, with the right to secondary and tertiary education less protected by legal instruments.

Overcoming barriers to migrant education is key to achieving not only the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 on education, but also a range of other Goals. There is a strong evidence base showing that education contributes to improved livelihoods, more rapid economic growth, better health outcomes, reductions in gender inequities, strengthened support for democracy, higher levels of tolerance, enhanced political participation and greater concern for the environment. Providing education to migrant children is therefore of utmost importance – increasingly so given the likelihood of future growth in migrant flows (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2016; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2014).

This briefing first highlights why education matters for migrants and their host countries. It then goes on to discuss trends in primary education for migrant groups, as education at this level has important repercussions for educational achievement at upper levels and for joining the workforce. It examines how migrant education contributes to SDG achievement, particularly SDG 4 on education

Figure 1: Distribution of international migrant children and all children by region, 2015 (%)



Source: UNICEF (2016).

1. International migrants are defined as people living in a country than the one in which they were born. In countries where this precise data was lacking, it was proxied for by the number of people with foreign citizenship. However, different sources of data in the brief might use slightly different definitions of international migrants, for example excluding short-term migrants from the statistics concerning migrants. We have tried to clarify where this is the case.

and sub-goals on children in vulnerable situations. It explores some of the major challenges, particularly in terms of integration into education systems and the kind of education provided. The analysis examines how migrant education issues may differ between low-, middle- and high-income countries, and concludes by drawing out detailed recommendations.

1.1 Why does education matter?

Education brings a range of benefits for both individuals and societies. It provides children with skills that enable them to be more productive later in life, which leads to higher incomes and the possibility of breaking out of cycles of chronic poverty. It also shapes the way that citizens understand their society and engage with each other. These benefits are particularly important for migrants. Education creates opportunities to understand and better integrate into their host country, particularly when considering areas such as language, laws and customs. Being able to speak the language of the host country is especially important; across a range of surveys, respondents in host countries see it as a primary concern for effective integration (Dempster and Hargrave, 2017). More educated populations also tend to be more supportive of democracy, more likely to participate in politics, and more tolerant of differences (UNESCO, 2016) – all of which will help the host country to better manage the opportunities and challenges that migration creates.

Research finds that investment in this sector also produces strong returns for countries (Pritchett, 2006 quoted in UNESCO, 2016; Schäferhoff et al., 2016). Estimates suggest that every US\$1 invested in an additional year of schooling for children in low- and middle-income countries generates benefits in earning and health gains of US\$10 in low-income countries, US\$4 in lower-middle-income countries and US\$2 in upper-middle-income countries (International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity (Education Commission), 2016). Education is also likely to generate remittances, which tend to strengthen education in countries of origin.

1.2 Trends in migrant education provision

Globally, there have been significant gains in education – particularly primary – since the early 2000s. However, these have largely been in terms of access, which has become compulsory in most countries, with more limited progress made on quality and equity (Education Commission, 2016). A major challenge in mapping education trends for migrant children is the absence of internationally comparable data, particularly in low- and middle-income countries, partly due to the diversity of migration flows (see Box 1). Where data is available, it suggests that immigrant students face greater difficulties than their host-country peers in accessing education and achieving good learning outcomes (OECD, 2015).

Box 1: Data challenges in migrant education

In countries where official data collection is limited, only key variables such as age and gender are captured, and migration status is rarely recorded. Even if migration status is added to existing surveys, the ‘rareness’ of migrants may restrict a Ministries’ ability to collect meaningful data (Bilsborrow, 2016). While international organisations might collect information concerning the education of refugees residing in camps, little is known about those residing in urban areas due to the challenges in reaching them.

Politics can also play a role in preventing the collection of migration data, for example if governments wish to downplay the figures of immigrants and asylum-seekers. Moreover, even countries with well-functioning data-collection systems may be unable to produce precise estimates of children of irregular migrants. Schools themselves might face difficulties in collecting information on their students, even if they can persuade parents in legally vulnerable situations that such data is aimed at supporting their children, rather than reporting them to security authorities (Bartlett et al., 2015).

Large immigration flows can also have an impact on education systems, particularly if the host country does not have the infrastructure and resources to include a significant number of new students quickly. Demographic changes and rising demand for education caused by migration flows may lead to overcrowding in schools and falling education quality, larger class sizes and the emergence of a more complex mix of student language, existing skills and social norms. For example, the rapid increase in the number of refugees in Jordan and Lebanon led to the introduction of second shifts in the afternoon for Syrian students, with negative effects on both students and teachers (Dryden-Peterson and Adelman, 2016; Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2016; see Box 4).

However, if managed well, migrant influxes can have a positive impact, for example by revitalising depopulated schools or, as in London, being linked to improvements in school and student performance (Burgess, 2014). Important strategies to facilitate the rapid integration of new students include prompt availability of funding for language classes (Hickmann et al., 2008), as well as the availability of extra funds for local authorities to match a rise in local migrant numbers (IPPR, 2014).

1.3 Trends in migrant education outcomes

Evidence from selected low- and middle-income countries also highlights challenges for migrant education (see Box 2). Immigrants and children in immigrant households in Côte d’Ivoire and the Dominican Republic are less likely to attend school than their host-country peers; this is also

the case for children in Costa Rica who were born abroad. However, migrants are not always at a disadvantage: in Burkina Faso no significant differences in attendance were found (OECD, 2017).

Evidence from six OECD countries² found that immigrant students³ tend to perform worse in standard assessments of reading, science and mathematics than their host-country counterparts and, in some countries, are more likely to repeat a grade, attend vocational schools or drop out of secondary education (see Box 3). They are more likely to attend schools in major urban centres with student populations who are from less advantaged socio-economic backgrounds and, in some countries, are less

Box 2: Education and migration to low- and middle-income countries

The examples of South Africa and Thailand, middle-income countries with significant immigration, show that migrant inclusion in the primary-education system is an urgent issue and one that generates a variety of challenges and coping strategies.

In South Africa, research shows that children of Zimbabwean migrants face discrimination when trying to access school, which results in migrant children having lower enrolment rates than South African children. This is partly a function of schools being requested to undertake policing functions and report undocumented migrants to the Department of Home Affairs, which makes them an unwelcoming environment for migrant children (Crush and Tawodzera, 2014). Moreover, the country experiences a high number of unaccompanied children who migrate for work, for whom no education is provided outside of their working hours (Save the Children UK, 2007).

In Thailand, despite the legal right of all children to access education irrespective of their status, access to school for migrant children – particularly Burmese migrants – is very difficult due to fear of the authorities, the cost of books and uniforms, a lack of accreditation, and language barriers. In some areas, these challenges are overcome through co-operation between schools and civil society. For example, the Foundation for Rural Youth operates in a southern Bangkok district with a high number of migrant families and has successfully collected data on the whereabouts and profiles of many out-of-school children. This data allowed them to engage in awareness-raising activities with families about the right to education in Thailand (Save the Children, 2015).

likely to have attended early-childhood education (OECD, 2010; OECD, 2015).

This performance gap is largely explained by parents' occupations and educational background, and the language spoken at home. Other factors include better educational resources at home, early reading at home, early-childhood education activities, a more advantaged socio-economic composition of schools and communities, more hours for learning language at school, and school accountability measures (i.e. informing parents of student performance and the use of performance data) (ibid.).

Migrant children are also likely to face linguistic barriers that impact on their achievement. Many first- and second-generation migrants do not speak the testing language at home (see Figure 2) and Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) data suggests that this has a strong influence on their reading-comprehension scores – in part explaining the performance deficit with host-country students (OECD, 2015a).

The characteristics of education systems and schools also play an important role in migrant children's school

Box 3: Education and migration to high-income countries

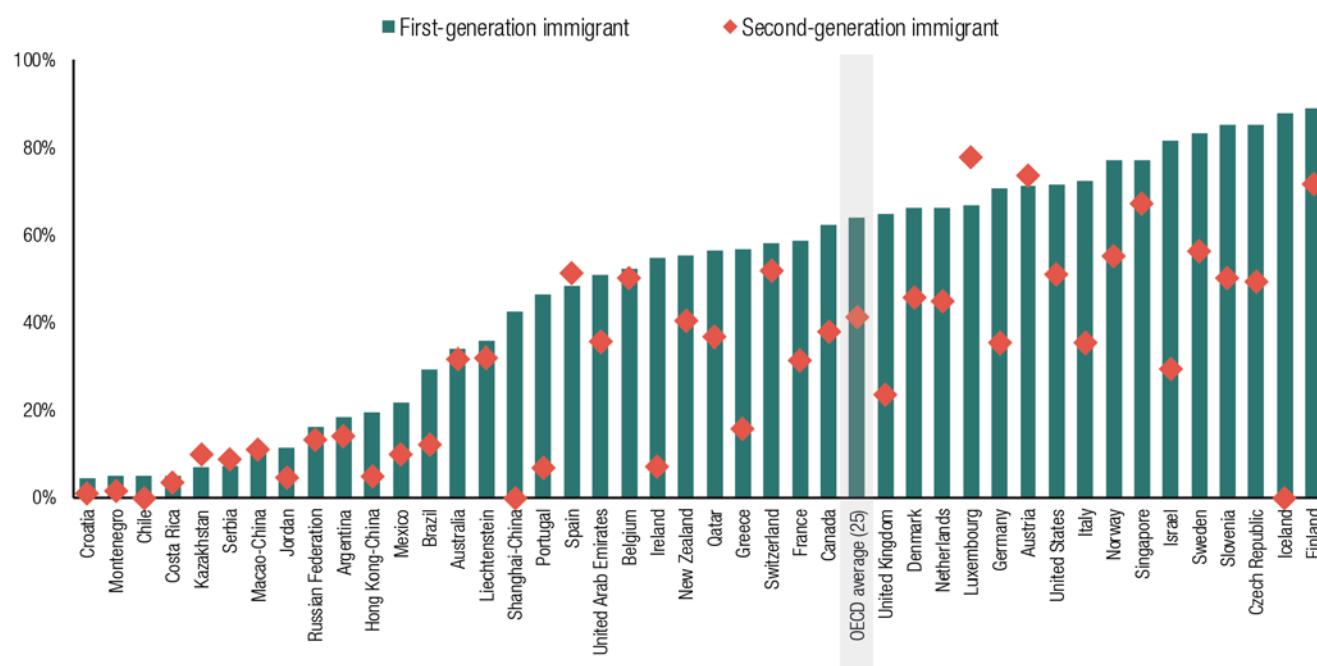
With access to primary school less of an issue in high-income countries, the main debates about inclusion of migrant children relate to the balance between their native language and culture and that of the host country. The OECD describes countries as using three different models: the ethnic-identity model, which values mother language and culture; the language-assimilation model, which focuses on the acquisition of the host country's language; and the language-integration model, which values both languages equally (Taguma et al., 2010).

Choices about integration stem from the countries' histories of immigration. Different integration models, such as fostering multiculturalism or assimilation, also influence the way in which the education system has responded to the challenge of migrant students. For example, Sweden belongs to the language-integration model, having policies that promote supporting migrant children in their learning through their native language. On the contrary, in France it is illegal to collect information about the migration background of students, which shows the importance that the country gives to the assimilation of children in the French culture through French language (Escafré-Dublet, 2014).

2. Austria, Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden.

3. The definition of immigrant children varies based on different countries' definitions. These could be both foreign-born children or children who are born in the host country, but who are considered foreign nationals per host-country law.

Figure 2: Percentage of immigrant students who do not speak the language of assessment at home



Source: OECD (2015a). Note data sourced from high-income countries; comparable data is not available for low- or middle-income countries.

results. Migrant students from the same countries of origin and similar socio-economic backgrounds have been found to perform very differently depending on the schools that they attend. For example, the performance of Arabic-speaking migrants in the Netherlands is higher than the achievement of students from the same countries who emigrated to Qatar, after accounting for socio-economic status (OECD, 2015).

2 Education, migration and the SDGs

Overall, improving education provision for migrants will impact the achievement of a range of SDGs. SDG 4 calls for inclusive and equitable education and lifelong learning for all. It specifically references an aspiration to meet the needs of children in ‘vulnerable situations’ – a group that includes migrant children, refugees and other displaced populations. Migrant children are often excluded from education due to language or socio-economic barriers (SDGs 4.1 and 4.5). Moreover, SDG 4.2 calls for their inclusion in quality early-childhood education, essential to prepare migrant children for primary school. Content focusing on socio-emotional learning, human rights and citizenship education in school curricula (SDG 4.7) can foster the inclusion of migrant children and enhance intercultural understanding among host-country children.

Other SDGs address migrant children’s inclusion in the education system; foster gender equality (SDG 5.1); and target the wider integration of migrant children and their

families within host communities (SDG 10.2). Inclusive and high-quality education can protect children from harmful practices such as early marriage, child labour and human trafficking (SDGs 5.3, 8.7 and 16.2) and has a positive effect on the health of migrants (SDG 3). These Targets are not specific to migrants, but as migrant populations are subject to socio-economic and legal vulnerabilities, they are at risk of harmful practices and lack of access to healthcare. Finally, greater education is linked to a lower incidence of poverty and boosts income growth (SDG 1.1 and 10.1). These dynamics and other links are outlined below in Table 1.

3 Integration of migrant children in education systems

This section explores a range of efforts to support the full integration of migrant children into education systems, and the barriers to achieving integration, specifically legal, socio-economic and technical aspects.

3.1 Educational integration of migrants

The integration of children in schools plays an important role in the social integration of their families within the host community, which in turn has a positive bearing on educational experiences (Moskal, 2010; Sacramento, 2015). This is challenging in practice, however, particularly for irregular migrants who may be wary of interacting with

Table 1: Education, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Relevant SDGs and Targets	Link to migration
<p>4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.</p> <p>4.1: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes.</p> <p>4.2: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and preprimary education so that they are ready for primary education.</p> <p>4.5: By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations.</p> <p>4.7: By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development.</p>	<p>Reducing the barriers to migrant children accessing education is vital to meeting this Goal, as is improving the quality of the education they receive. This holds true for SDG 4 sub-goals of ensuring free access to education, improving education equity, raising levels of access to quality early-education programmes, and increasing the proportion that achieve certain benchmarks in literacy and numeracy – all areas of challenge for migrant children.</p> <p>It is important to develop more inclusive, intercultural school curricula, with a focus on socio-emotional learning, and to train teachers in these skills. It is also important to enhance the social and intercultural skills of host-country children.</p> <p>Achieving quality education for all (including in source countries) may lead to increases in migration, as there is a positive link between education levels and propensity to migrate. However, this varies across contexts, depending on opportunities available. In contexts where overall education levels are low, the link between migration and education levels is weaker, possibly due to a preponderance of low-skilled migration (OECD, 2017).</p>
<p>1.1: By 2030, eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere, currently measured as people living on less than \$1.25 a day.</p> <p>8.1: Sustain per capita economic growth in accordance with national circumstances and, in particular, at least 7 per cent gross domestic product growth per annum in the least developed countries.</p> <p>10.1: By 2030, progressively achieve and sustain income growth of the bottom 40 per cent of the population at a rate higher than the national average.</p>	<p>Improving the education of migrant populations both in the developed and developing world is pertinent to these economic-related targets, as education can lead to rising incomes and reduced poverty for migrants, and boost growth rates and government revenues in their host countries.</p> <p>Migrant education may also indirectly contribute to these goals if their rising incomes translate into higher levels of remittances, and if remittances are partially invested in better education for family members at home. This impact is likely to be increased if SDG 10.C – on reducing the costs of sending remittances – is achieved.</p>
<p>3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages.</p>	<p>Education has a strong impact on the future health outcomes of the student and their families, particularly in the case of female education. There may also be indirect impacts if migrant children can access and navigate the health services of their host country better because of improved knowledge of the country and its majority language.</p>
<p>10.2: By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status.</p>	<p>The integration of migrant children into education systems is closely linked to their broader integration into their host country and community, as well as that of their parents and immediate family. Education can improve their social, economic and political inclusion, particularly if they are better educated regarding their host country and able to speak the majority language.</p>
<p>5.3: Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation.</p> <p>8.7: Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms.</p> <p>16.2: End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children.</p>	<p>The enrolment of migrant children in education systems provides them with more protection and access to resources to resist these practices, and allows host-country governments to monitor and intervene more easily where needed.</p> <p>Attempts to eliminate child labour, exploitation and trafficking through financial support to families are all likely to boost education for migrant children by freeing them to receive an education that they would not otherwise be able to have.</p>

Relevant SDGs and Targets	Link to migration
11.1: By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums.	Achieving these housing and infrastructure targets would improve the basic ability of migrant children and refugees to access education services and to ensure that their home life was more conducive to achieving strong learning outcomes successfully.
11.2: By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons.	
10.3: Ensure equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard.	Removing legal barriers to accessing education – particularly for the children of irregular migrants and refugee children – would boost enrolment rates, as would ensuring that all people have a legal identity and the necessary paperwork to allow them to enrol in school.
16.9: By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration.	

staff at their child's school due to concerns about revealing their legal status (Bartlett et al., 2015).

Educational integration of migrants can also have powerful generational effects. For example, a comparative study of Turkish migrants in several European countries showed social systems that support migrants are associated with greater economic mobility for second-generation migrants (Schnell, 2014). PISA data on the performance of second-generation migrant students finds that their scores correlate strongly to their parents' educational background. This suggests that integrating first-generation migrants into the education system successfully can lead to a virtuous circle of integration in the host society across generations (Dustmann et al., 2011).

3.2 Barriers to access

Legal barriers

While many countries grant access to basic education for children of irregular migrants (UNESCO, 2017), the type of migration strongly influences the legal barriers migrant students might face; irregular migrants, unaccompanied children, stateless children, children without identity documents, and seasonal migrants face more barriers (see Box 2). Countries take different approaches to this. In some countries, such as Malaysia, irregular migrants are legally barred from government schools, while in other contexts the children of undocumented migrants may find themselves unable to enrol, despite having a legal entitlement (Lumayag, 2016; Insan Association, 2015).

Within Europe, irregular migrant children attend school in 23 out of 28 countries. In 10 of these⁴, the legislative framework has a specific reference to the entitlement of children with irregular status to attend schools (Spencer and Hughes, 2015). When law prevents access, civil society can step in to provide non-formal education to excluded children, as in the case of Malaysia (Lumayag, 2016). However, accreditation of non-formal education remains a problem and can prevent children from proceeding to the next education level.

Meeting enrolment requirements can also be an issue for unaccompanied and stateless children. In the US, unaccompanied children face challenges with proof of residency or guardianship, as they live with other families who are not their legal guardians (American Immigration Council, 2016). In addition, changes in citizenship laws in the Dominican Republic denationalised many citizens of Haitian descent, which prevented their children from enrolling in primary education (Georgetown Law Human Rights Institute Fact-finding Project, 2014).

Strict rules on age limits for enrolment can also prove a challenge for migrant children who lack formal education and the knowledge necessary to enter the level of schooling appropriate for their age, but are too old to enrol in the level of schooling appropriate for their existing knowledge (American Immigration Council, 2016).

Socio-economic barriers

Socio-economic barriers can impact upon migrant inclusion in education systems in two main ways. The first is that the children in question may be engaged in labour of some type – either to meet their own needs or those of their family, or due to trafficking or forced labour. Under these circumstances, migrant children are unlikely to attend school (Child Protection Working Group (CPWG), 2015). Children engaged in seasonal migration for work or in nomadic and pastoralist movements may be migrating to work during the school term. Seasonally sensitive education policies have been introduced in countries such as Brazil, Colombia and the Gambia to reduce the impact of this phenomenon (Hadley, 2010).

The second way is the de facto segregation of migrant and host-country children that may occur because of socio-economic differences. First-generation immigrants tend to be poorer and are likely to be concentrated in urban areas. Thus, they are more likely to attend schools in cities with student populations who are, on average, from less-advantaged socio-economic backgrounds and more likely to be first- or second-generation migrants. This can reinforce disadvantage for both groups.

4. Belgium, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Romania, Spain, Sweden and Slovenia for primary education.

Box 4: Education for refugees

In 2015, there were 11 million children under 18 who were refugees or asylum seekers⁵, representing just over half the total global refugee population (The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), 2015). Estimates suggest that 1.75 million primary-school aged refugee children – or half of that population – are out of school. The proportion of those out of school varies from 80% in Egypt and Yemen to 40% at refugee sites in Pakistan⁶ (UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), 2016). This has a compounding effect on secondary education, contributing to the 80% of refugee adolescents (1.95 million) not enrolled in secondary education (UNESCO, 2016b; UNESCO, 2016). These percentages contrast with a secondary-school enrolment rate of around 75% worldwide and 40% in low-income countries (UIS, 2016).

Countries have adopted a range of strategies to integrate refugee children into their education system, shaped by the local context and type of emergency. The main differences are whether they integrate refugees into the national school system, and what curriculum they use.

Some countries integrate refugees in schools with native children, others set up separate schools in refugee camps. While integrating refugees avoids segregation, refugee children might face bullying and teaching might not be tailored to their language or psycho-social needs (Shuayb et al., 2014). If there are no schools within refugee camps, or refugees are in remote locations, transportation to school can be a major barrier to enrolment. When schools are set up in refugee camps, they often suffer from a scarcity of qualified teachers and the resources to pay for teachers' salaries. Many teachers therefore work on a voluntary basis, which could have negative consequences for the quality of the education provided (UNHCR, 2016).

The choice of whether to use the host-country curriculum or that of the refugees' country of origin is an issue in refugee settings. While the curriculum of the country of origin helps to maintain ties with the home culture and facilitates later repatriation, it isolates refugees from the host community and makes it difficult for them to access higher levels of education or employment due to a lack of accreditation. Examples include Congolese refugees in Tanzania and students at two refugee camps in Djibouti, who have faced problems with accreditation of school certificates in the host countries and so been unable to continue their education (UNHCR, 2016). Conversely, the host country's curriculum facilitates integration, but can present knowledge barriers and the challenge of translating the curriculum into another language. Overall, UNHCR favours use of the host country's curriculum in the context of protracted emergencies and displacement (UNHCR, 2015a).

Innovative and flexible financing mechanisms are being developed to respond better to the needs of refugee children. These are often based on cooperation between multiple donors, as in the case of the EU Regional Trust Fund in response to the Syrian crisis and the Jordan Compact, a partnership between the Jordanian government and the international community (European Commission (EC), 2016; Reliefweb, 2016).

Evidence from some high-income countries shows that the enrolment of a significant number of migrant children in schools can cause host-country children to move to other – often private – schools (Bloem and Diaz, 2007; Fairlie and Resch, 2002). To reduce this tendency towards segregation, the Danish municipality of Aarhus created a quota approach that sets a cap of 20% of students eligible for linguistic support for each school. If the number of students in need for linguistic support is higher, some of these students are moved to another school (Jørgensen, 2014).

Linguistic and technical barriers

The language of instruction can act as a major barrier to migrant students' integration, even if they are enrolled and attending school. In the US, there are concerns at the number of English-language learners amongst second-generation migrant students with at least one parent born in the US. It suggests that their parents, despite having

been born and educated in the US, have not learnt English fully nor passed on the language – a potentially significant barrier to the broader integration of both parents and children (Fix and McHugh, 2009).

Early-childhood education plays a particularly important role in primary school readiness for children who do not speak the majority language at home, as their interaction with majority-language staff and students allows them to reach primary school with better language skills. Training pre-school staff to interact better with families of different backgrounds can help foster bilingualism amongst students by encouraging the family to use the majority language with the children alongside their native language (UNICEF, 2009).

However, migrant families tend to have less physical access to high-quality early-childhood education (Leseman, 2007). Programmes such as the Migrant and Seasonal Head Start Program (MSHS) in the US can help by providing transportation to early-childhood education

5. Per UNHCR, a refugee is 'someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence' while asylum seekers are those who 'apply for asylum – the right to be recognized as a refugee and receive legal protection and material assistance' (UNHCR, 2017)

6. This is in contrast to gross enrolment rates of native populations in host countries at above 97% in Egypt and Yemen and above 92% in Pakistan.

centres, mitigating the difficulties faced by migrant workers due to their working hours and limited access to transport.

Another aspect of education systems that affects their level of inclusivity is how selective they are and how early the selection is made. Evidence from some high-income countries shows that migrant children are often streamed into educational paths that lead to vocational training instead of higher education. This has been observed in Germany which has a highly selective education system where only 23% of foreign-born students attend a grammar school (gymnasium) compared to 46% of German-origin students, and 1.8% German-origin students leave school before graduation compared to 14.2% of foreign-born students (Bendel, 2014).

4 Quality education and life skills

This section looks at the challenges of ensuring quality education and securing life skills for migrant students. It will examine some of the major barriers affecting provision and the strategies that have been adopted to overcome them.

Despite the challenges that migrant children face compared to host-country students, migrant students and their families often show higher educational aspirations than their counterparts (UNICEF, 2009; UNESCO, 2017). They therefore have the potential to thrive if education systems offer the necessary support. To improve educational opportunities, systems should focus on the presence of institutional and teacher discrimination, choice of languages of instruction, content of the curriculum, and teacher training, including attention to social and emotional learning, and teaching of the majority language.

Discrimination

Feeling discriminated against affects the psychological wellbeing of children, as well as their social relations and academic outcomes (Spears Brown, 2015). Discrimination of migrant students has been observed across very diverse school contexts. For example, it has been reported by Haitian students in the Dominican Republic and by Colombian students in Ecuador, in both cases with detrimental effects for the students (Bartlett et al., 2015). The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) also found that lower expectations from teachers towards migrant students have a negative impact on students' education. Moreover, discrimination based on cultural practices, such as the prohibition of wearing a headscarf in France, might also lead to exclusion or segregation in schools allowing such practices (EUMC, 2004).

Learning support in native language

It is estimated that around 40% of the global population does not have access to education in a language that they speak or understand, an issue that mainly concerns

Box 5: Education and the role of remittances

Remittances that migrants send home to their families are widely acknowledged to have a positive impact on education (Gindling and Poggio, 2012). Remittances lead to improved financial security – this means migrant families can spend more on education, and free children from income-earning opportunities (Amakom and Iheoma, 2014). This impact may be particularly important for girls (Elbadawi and Roushdy, 2010). Potential earning power abroad may also lead families to prioritise improving the human capital of their children (Gyimah-Brempong, 2014).

There is considerable evidence that the remittances migrants send back to their families are used to increase investments in education. Studies show that children whose families receive remittances are more likely to attend school, to reach higher levels of education and to attend private schools, when these are perceived to be of better quality (OECD, 2017; Elbadawi and Roushdy, 2010). A randomised experiment in El Salvador found that for every US\$1 received by beneficiaries, education expenditures rose to US\$3.72 (Ambler et al., 2015).

Still, the positive influence of remittances on education cannot be assumed. Firstly, the gender of the household head can have a bearing on how remittances are allocated; a study in Ghana found that remittances to female-headed households increase education investments more than those to male-headed households (Gyimah-Brempong, 2014). Secondly, remittances might have no effect, or even a negative effect, on education. For example, when there are low-skilled jobs that can help sustain migrants' families at home without additional investments in education, remittances may discourage reaching higher levels of education. For example, the availability of low-skilled jobs in the US may act as a disincentive to further education for Mexican citizens who plan to migrate (Latapí and Martin, 2008).

countries with a high diversity of languages, which often also deal with many migrant children. Some of these countries are taking steps to recognise the importance of instruction in children's native language, and their best practices could be used as examples for the primary education of migrant children as well (UNESCO, 2016a). For example, in 1977 Sweden introduced programmes of teaching in the native language of migrant children, encouraged by diversity policies already in place towards the Sami and Finnish minority groups (Jacobs, 2013).

The choice of language in education affects the ability of children to acquire better learning skills. Indeed, some examples show that the use of migrant students' native languages in support of their learning can boost

their self-esteem and increase their school achievements (Taguma et al., 2010). Countries differ in the way they approach heritage-language teaching, with some of them centralising it through national directives and others leaving it to private initiatives (EC, 2009).

Curriculum and teacher training

Including elements related to the child's native culture in the school curriculum is helpful for development, as it allows migrant children to feel valued (Heckmann, 2008). Diaspora schools, and collaborations between countries of origin and destination of migrants, can play an important role in fostering teaching of native languages and culture. For example, many European countries have bilateral agreements with migrants' countries of origin that sponsor teaching on specific subjects through embassies, consulates and cultural associations (Jacobs, 2013). A downside of this approach is the risk that they highlight differences that can hinder integration of the students within the host community.

Stressing diversity and social and emotional learning within the curriculum can also help, especially when the migration process has been traumatic (International Rescue Committee (IRC), 2014). Similarly, including peacebuilding activities in the curriculum, and ensuring teachers have the skills to carry out such activities, not only fosters learning related to peace and sustainable development in situations of conflict, but also promotes social cohesion in non-conflict contexts (UNICEF, 2014).

Teachers therefore play a central role. The ability of school staff to manage diversity touches different levels.

- At the individual student level, teachers should be trained and able to adapt their style to individual learning needs;
- At the classroom level, teachers should be able to deal with the interaction between different cultural backgrounds, showing students the strengths that derive from multicultural contexts; and
- At the 'school life' level, teachers should include parents and communities, which requires sensitivity to different cultural practices and intercultural communication skills. This also enhances the role of schools in effective integration (OECD, 2010a).

Inclusion in mainstream classes

Research broadly agrees that migrant children are better facilitated by support-oriented education systems than by those focused on selectivity. However, there is a strong debate as to whether migrant children should be included in mainstream classes immediately, or separated initially in special classes. In 2015, the OECD concluded that migrant students who are immediately immersed in normal classes tend to score higher in PISA data at 15 years old (OECD, 2015). However, other evidence points to benefits arising from migrant students attending accelerated

language-learning classes before being streamed into normal classes. One caveat with this approach is the need to distinguish between language-support classes and classes for students with learning disabilities. Migrant children are often included in the latter by default, even when they do not present any learning difficulty, thus fostering their exclusion from the mainstream education system (UNICEF, 2009; Waslin, 2016).

5 Conclusions and policy recommendations

Globally, there are tens of millions of school-age children that migrate each year. Their experience varies tremendously, depending partly on where they are coming from and where they move to, but also on other socio-economic factors such as the employment and educational background of their parents. Regardless, education is a crucial determinant shaping their and their families' lives.

There is limited data on the extent to which migrant children can access education, the teaching-learning experiences available to them, and their learning outcomes. It is clear, though, that certain challenges cut across contexts and complicate education opportunities. This includes legal, socio-economic and linguistic barriers to access, alongside poor learning outcomes and limited focus on life skills as part of the curriculum. These issues are present in low-, middle- and high-income countries. Moreover, the challenges for refugee children are often acute, whether education provision is through host communities or in separate camp schools.

Conclusion 1: Educating migrant children is essential to meet SDG 4 and plays an important role in achieving other Goals.

Recommendations:

- Children should be able to access school irrespective of their migration status. Eliminate legal barriers that prevent the children of irregular migrants from enrolling in schools. Adopt a flexible approach to documentation requirements for unaccompanied minors to maximise enrolment levels (Lumayag, 2016). Flexible education programmes should be in place for working children, and for children belonging to pastoralists and nomadic groups (Save the Children UK, 2007).
- Introduce a combination of forward-planning and contingency funding to account for surges in migration rates, both at national level and through multi-donor funds. These are essential to minimise disruption to the education system, maximise the extent of access and achievement amongst migrant students, and prevent the emergence of tensions between host and migrant communities (Hickmann et al., 2008). This should involve early investment in developing suitable curricula and teacher-training modules for engaging with new

arrivals, and the flexibility to channel resources to schools that see a rapid rise in the number of migrant students.

- Do not view migrant education in isolation, but pursue a range of coordinated strategies to maximise its overall impact (Schäferhoff et al., 2016) and impact across other areas of the in the 2030 Agenda. These should include a focus on employment, health, family and social-protection policies and programmes so that gains in education are translated into the labour market; close links between schools and other social services to ensure protection; and lowering the costs associated with transferring remittances back to migrants' home countries to allow investment into the education of children staying behind.

Relevant SDG Targets

4.1: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and Goal-4 effective learning outcomes.

4.2: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and preprimary education so that they are ready for primary education.

4.5: By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations.

4.7: By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development.

4.a: Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, nonviolent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all.

10.2: By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status.

4.a: Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, nonviolent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all.

10.2: By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status.

Conclusion 2: Education is strengthened by policies that prioritise integration.

Recommendations:

- School segregation hinders both social cohesion and migrants' rapid improvement in the majority language. Put in place measures to avoid segregation, for example by attracting native students to schools with migrants through the offer of special programmes. Include local communities as beneficiaries when additional resources are spent in schools with a high number of migrants to avoid making native residents feel neglected.
- Improve access to quality early-childhood care and education for migrant groups and foster bilingualism amongst children that do not speak the majority language of the host country at home. This will enable children from migrant families to integrate more easily (UNICEF, 2009).
- Develop and invest in remedial education programmes for migrant students, focusing as quickly as possible on majority-language skills, as well as gaps between their skills and knowledge and those anticipated in the national curriculum for their age group. This should be paired with ongoing learning support in their native language (Taguma et al., 2010). Children should not stay in special classes with accelerated learning programmes for longer than needed, to avoid segregation.
- Teachers should be trained and supported in managing diversity, both before they start to teach and through in-service training. Develop resources and networks giving teachers and schools access to learning materials and modules that will allow them to integrate references to migrants' national home culture into lessons (Heckmann, 2008).
- Both the curriculum and school staff should provide psychosocial support to foster children's wellbeing (IRC, 2014). This may involve a specific curriculum on intercultural issues or peace education. School staff should emphasise children's potential, for example by not lowering expectations towards migrant children.

Relevant SDG Targets

4.1: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and Goal-4 effective learning outcomes.

4.2: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and preprimary education so that they are ready for primary education.

4.5: By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations.

4.7: By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development.

4.a: Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, nonviolent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all.

4.c: By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing states.

10.2: By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status.

Conclusion 3: There is limited data available on the education of refugee and migrant children, making it more difficult to design policies and programmes to support this group.

Recommendations:

- Data pertaining to migration background and education level should be collected together, as further analysis on the link between education and migration status is necessary to improve service provision. To do this, more coordination is needed among the institutions collecting the data, including Ministries of Education, central statistics offices and international organisations collecting data in refugee camps and elsewhere.
- The international community should provide more data-collection resources, especially where national governments are having to deal with other urgent priorities.
- Data collection on the migration backgrounds of students should be used to support vulnerable groups, and not for reporting to security-related institutions. A lack of trust in how personal information will be used can jeopardise not only the collection of valuable data, but also families' trust in schools, which can negatively impact their children's enrolment and learning (Bartlett et al., 2015).

Relevant SDG Targets

17.18: By 2020, enhance capacity-building support to developing countries, including for least developed countries and small island developing States, to increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.

17.19: By 2030, build on existing initiatives to develop measurements of progress on sustainable development that complement gross domestic product, and support statistical capacity-building in developing countries.

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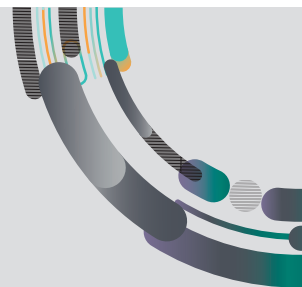
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SDGs covered | 1: No poverty
5: Gender equality
10: Reduced inequalities
16: Peace, justice and strong institutions
17: Partnerships for the goals



Social protection, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Jessica Hagen-Zanker, Elisa Mosler Vidal and Georgina Sturge

Key messages

- Expanding social protection coverage of migrants is integral to achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, specifically Goals 1 and 10.
- Yet coverage for labour migrants remains low. 22% of migrants are not covered, including less than 1% migrants moving between low-income countries.
- Globally, 55% of migrants are entitled to access social protection benefits, but cannot take these benefits home, or to another country (the 'portability' of benefits).
- States should therefore ensure labour migrants are eligible for, and participate in, social protection, and that they can transfer benefits they have contributed towards.
- To be able to create, implement and enforce effective social protection for migrants, national bodies need better data and more support.

1 Introduction

This briefing considers the extent to which international labour migrants¹ are covered by social protection, and the implications this has for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2030 Agenda). More specifically, this brief shows that social protection coverage of international labour migrants varies considerably, and outlines how this has a bearing on the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) related to social protection.

Social protection is the set of policies and programmes that aim to reduce poverty and vulnerability and to enhance the capacity of people to manage economic and social risks, such as unemployment, sickness, disability and old age. It includes **social assistance programmes**, which are not conditional on having previously made contributions (e.g. cash transfers to poor households) – and **social insurance programmes**², which are conditional on past contributions (e.g. contributory old-age pensions). There is a large evidence base showing the positive impact social protection programmes can have on reducing poverty and child labour, and on improving health and education outcomes and investment in productive assets (e.g. agricultural tools) (Babajanian et al., 2014; Bastagli et al., 2016; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2011). As such, social protection is seen as a priority area for achieving the 2030 Agenda, specifically in its contribution to Goal 1 (No Poverty) and Goal 10 (Reduced Inequalities), and their Targets³.

Several international agreements governing social protection systems already make reference to the eligibility of migrants. The International Labour Organization (ILO) has long championed universal eligibility to social protection. Their 1952 Convention No. 102, which required equality of social protection treatment, has been ratified by 55 countries (ILO, 2017). More recently, they passed Recommendation No. 202, known as the *Social Protection Floor*. This sets out four basic social protection guarantees to all residents and children. Furthermore, several blocks of countries have agreed to guarantee social protection access to migrants moving within them, the best-known example being Regulation (EEC) 1408/71 for European Union (EU) migrant workers. Globally, there

are also hundreds of bilateral and multilateral agreements between specific countries. The Addis Ababa Action Agenda of 2015, for example, commits UN member countries to improving ‘access to and portability of earned benefits [social insurance]’ (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA), 2015).

In spite of these agreements, both the legal and effective social protection coverage of international labour migrants remains low⁴. Section 2 of this briefing discusses existing agreements and their legal coverage. Section 3 explores the factors that lead to low legal coverage for migrants and exclusion from effective coverage. Section 4 links the analysis to the 2030 Agenda, showing why these issues need to be considered for governments to meet the SDGs, in particular Targets 1.3, 1.a and 10.4. Finally, Section 5 concludes and offers recommendations to improve legal and effective social protection coverage of migrants.

2 Legal coverage varies considerably, but tends to be low

Social protection programmes differ in two main respects: the extent to which migrants can access them in their host country, and whether their benefits can be withdrawn in another country, in other words whether they are *portable* (see Figure 1). Social assistance programmes are often funded through general national taxation (for example, maternity allowances) or through external funding such as official development assistance (ODA). These programmes are usually not portable (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2011).

Labour migrants should have legal access to a host country’s social protection system if there is:

1. A bilateral or multilateral agreement enabling eligibility for, and portability of, social protection between countries.
2. Unilateral programmes, provisions of equality of treatment or access to voluntary insurance in their host country.
3. More rarely, labour migrants may be covered by unilateral programmes from their origin country, such as a fund for overseas workers.

1. This briefing will focus on international labour migrants (or ‘migrant workers’), defined as individuals who moved from one country to another for the purpose of employment (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2011). Where the briefing refers to other types of migrants, for example internal migrants, this will be stated explicitly.

2. These types of programmes are also sometimes called ‘social security’.

3. SDG 3.8 on universal health coverage is also often considered a priority target for social protection, but this goal is dealt with in a separate briefing paper on health, migration and the 2030 Agenda (Tulloch et al., 2016). This briefing also does not cover the decent work aspects of social protection (SDG 5.4, SDG 8.5 and SDG 8.B).

4. There is a distinction between *de jure*, or legal, coverage of migrants, meaning official social protection coverage of migrants under relevant agreements and mechanisms, and *de facto*, or effective, coverage, which may differ to this due to issues in ratification or implementation of these agreements, or practical access and take-up issues. As there is limited data on effective coverage, this briefing will mainly focus on legal coverage.

2.1 Frameworks for labour migrants' access to social protection

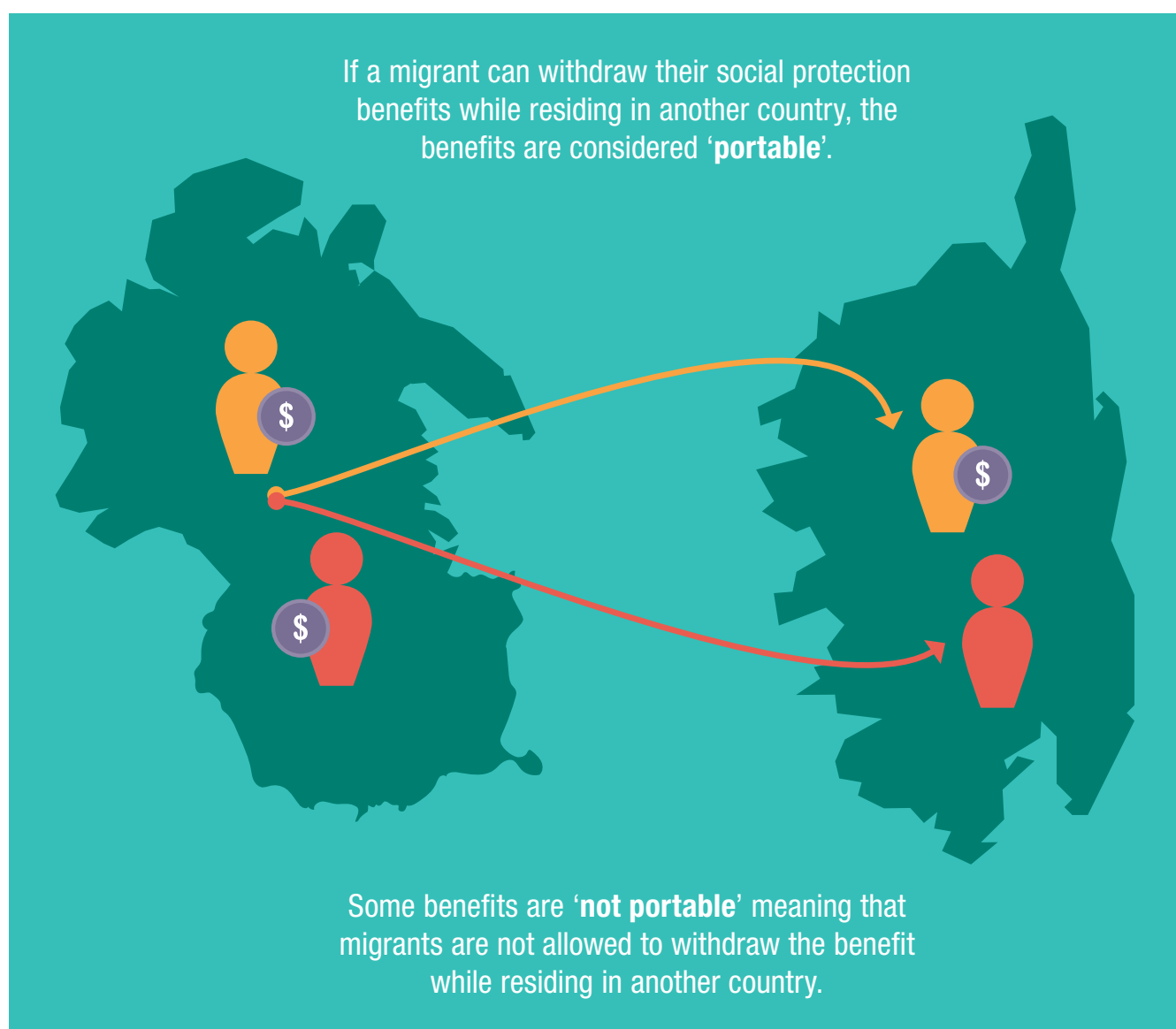
This section describes the nature of migrants' legal access to social protection, firstly considering entitlement while residing in a country and, secondly, considering portability of accumulated entitlements upon moving country.

A **bilateral portability agreement** between two countries sets out social protection entitlements to a citizen of one country who is resident in the other. Most bilateral agreements are between high-income countries (such as those concluded between the United States and 27 high- and upper-middle-income countries⁵). Bilateral agreements covering South-North migrants are sometimes designed around temporary labour migration, such as Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) (Holzmann and Pouget, 2010). Certain EU countries have

agreements with Turkey and Morocco allowing labour migrants' contributions into national social insurance schemes to accumulate across countries (Holzmann, 2010). Bilateral agreements also exist between low-income countries, although these are more rare and less extensive in legal coverage. One example is that between Malawi and Zambia, which provides healthcare for temporary mine workers from Malawi through the Zambian Workers Compensation Fund (Avato et al., 2009).

Multilateral agreements provide a framework for coordinating portability at the regional level. For instance, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) allows social security contributions to accumulate across member states, helping labour migrants to meet state-pension contribution thresholds (Taha et al., 2015, van Ginneken et al., 2013). The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has a regional legal

Figure 1: The portability of social protection benefits



5. https://www.ssa.gov/international/agreements_overview.html

framework for pension portability and other entitlements for all migrants from member states (van Ginneken, 2013). The Ibero-American multilateral agreement between Spain, Portugal and 20 Latin American countries provides a pension floor for labour migrants (Taha et al., 2015). The East African Community (EAC) gives its nationals and all migrants from member states equal rights to national social security systems; however, its member states have mostly under-developed systems to begin with and migrants lose their accumulated contributions upon returning to their country of origin (ibid).

Social protection can be made accessible to migrants through **unilateral measures of destination countries**. For example, third-country nationals legally resident in the EU for five years become entitled to equal treatment with EU nationals⁶. Canada, Australia and New Zealand also have generous entitlements for permanent resident migrants (and temporary migrants in New Zealand). Such measures are much more rare in low-income countries. For example, labour migrants arriving in member states of the GCC or the Southern African Development Community (SADC) are not granted any right to access social protection. One exception is Barbados, where labour migrants can participate in the national social security system even if they lack a work permit (Taha et al., 2015; Morlachetti, 2015). Host countries' laws can also permit portability, for instance Australia and Malaysia refund contributions accrued as a lump sum when a migrant departs the country.

Migrants from the global South may be covered by a **unilateral programme from their origin country**. A notable example is the Philippines Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) (see Box 1). Sri Lanka has a similar voluntary, contributions-based fund for overseas workers, with the benefits paid out to family members left in Sri Lanka (Taha et al., 2015), while Mexico has a voluntary national social insurance programme for emigrants to the US (ibid.).

Finally, irregular labour migrants and those working in the informal economy tend not to be covered by national social protection systems. Asylum seekers and refugees outside high-income countries are also rarely covered, but instead may receive humanitarian support offering short-term or ad-hoc protection (e.g. Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017).

2.2 Data showing migrants' legal social protection coverage

While specific data is not available for most countries, Avato et al. (2009) have compiled a database of migrant stocks by destination and origin country, and paired this information with whether a bilateral or multilateral portability agreement covers each migration corridor⁷. Most agreements concern the benefits of contributory systems such as disability, survivors' and old-age pensions. They also estimate the number of migrants who are not covered by portability agreements but are entitled to social protection access in their host country through a unilateral programme. This category could include access to non-contributory social assistance. When it comes to those who are not covered, official data sources only tend to capture those with regular status, while the stocks of undocumented migrants must be estimated⁸.

Box 1: Migrant welfare funds

Some countries of origin such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand use migrant welfare funds to protect their labour migrants abroad. These funds are contributory schemes funded usually by employers, recruitment agencies and/or migrants, which provide a range of services to migrants while overseas. They commonly include life and medical insurance, loans and repatriation services (Ruiz and Agunias, 2008). They also provide government with funds to finance other migrant programmes such as pre-departure rights education, and can support migrants' families at home (Jones, 2015).

The OWWA is the most developed of these funds. Managed by a government agency within the Department of Labor and Employment, OWWA is funded by a mandatory membership fee of US\$25 paid prior to migration, either by the employer, recruitment agency or migrant. The fund pools these contributions to offer services to migrants including life and accident insurance, legal assistance and on-site help at embassies (Ruiz and Agunias, 2007). As of 2013, OWWA membership was over 1.6 million and had raised over US\$300 million (OWWA, 2013). These funds allow origin governments to support migrants abroad; as such they offer a potential solution to financing migrant social protection.

6. EU Directive 109/2003.

7. Based on data from 2000/2001.

8. Undocumented migrants are typically excluded from social protection provision by law and are unlikely to take up any that they are entitled to for fear of exposure and the harassment or legal consequences that might ensue (Taha et al., 2015). The figures quoted here include estimates of undocumented migrants included in the data compiled by Avato et al. (2009).

Migrants therefore fall into three categories:

- those that move between countries and are covered by a bilateral or multilateral agreement (23%)
- those that move between countries without an agreement but are still entitled to some social protection (55%)
- those that have no access to social protection (22%).

Firstly, around a quarter of all migrants move between countries with a **bilateral or multilateral agreement** in place, meaning that in principle some migrants are entitled to social protection and portability of benefits (Avato et al., 2009). However, as Figure 2 shows, while 90% of high-income to high-income movers fall into this category, less than 1% of migrants moving between low-income countries are legally covered. Overall, around 17% of

those migrating from low- or middle-income countries to high-income countries are covered by a bilateral or multilateral social protection agreement. Some countries have secured bilateral agreements that result in higher coverage of their emigrants, notably Morocco (89% of emigrants), Algeria (87%) and Turkey (65%); however this is only for documented migrants, as we explore further in the next section. This is compared to a coverage rate of 0.5% among Mexico's 1.1 million emigrants, who migrate largely to the United States.

Secondly, in the absence of formal agreements, migrants **may still be entitled to some form of social protection in their host country**, although these benefits are unlikely to be portable. In fact, most migrants fall into this category (55% globally). While this situation is better than having no access at all, it is still precarious. Some within this category migrate to high-income countries where they are

Figure 2: Most migrants moving between high-income countries are legally covered by social protection, whereas coverage of migrants moving between low-income countries is low



Source: Authors' own calculation based on data compiled by Avato et al. (2009) and hosted by the World Bank <http://go.worldbank.org/NCO9EJABP0>. The figure shows the percentage of migrants (size of 'bubble') who are legally covered by a bilateral or multilateral social protection portability agreement, split by the income classification of their origin and destination country.

generally entitled to a full range of social protection, even if the benefits are not portable. The majority within this category, however, are migrating between low- and lower-middle-income countries where national social protection systems are generally weak.⁹

Finally, the most vulnerable group are arguably the remaining 22% of migrants who **are neither legally covered by a bilateral/multilateral agreement nor entitled to social protection by host-country law**. As Holzmann et al. (2015) have noted, these migrants may have access to some short-term provisions but are denied long-term or equal access as citizens. Almost all these migrants originate in the global South and the majority move to another low- or middle-income country. However, a large share (around 42%) of those moving with no access to social protection are moving to high-income countries and this category includes large numbers of undocumented migrants.

3 Why are migrants not covered by social protection?

A range of factors affect legal and effective social protection coverage of labour migrants including non-eligibility, barriers to take-up and portability constraints. Further, these factors often interact with others including gaps between policy design and implementation, practical barriers to participation, and political sensitivity.

3.1 Eligibility

Labour migrants can be ineligible for social protection in two ways. First they may lose eligibility for social protection in their home country if they work in another country. Second, they can be legally ineligible for social protection in host countries. Although many countries have committed to equality of treatment between nationals and migrants¹⁰, this is not always followed in practice¹¹. Some countries limit access by residency and/or nationality requirements (Hirose et al., 2011). For example, many countries in the Gulf only provide pensions to nationals and have no provisions for migrant workers (Avato et al., 2009). In addition, this can affect internal migrants. For instance, rural-urban migrants in China are ineligible for China's biggest social assistance programme – the

Minimum Living Standards Guarantee Programme – and must meet stringent requirements to access social insurance programmes (Hopkins et al., 2016).

Some eligibility requirements mean access to social protection is cut off for certain groups of migrant workers, such as the self-employed or those earning too little (Taha et al., 2015; ISSA, 2014). For example, while Canada's SAWP gives labour migrants the same social protection status as other groups, in practice it is difficult for seasonal migrant workers to meet eligibility requirements for unemployment benefits¹² (Holzmann and Pouget, 2010 in Taha et al., 2015). Immigration status and formality of employment also affects access: for example, the European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers excludes irregular migrants from its scope (Council of Europe, 2004)¹³. Further, informal economy employers are unlikely to extend social protection to their workers (van Ginneken, 2013). Many migrants are both undocumented and work in the informal economy, which can compound their weak legal and social position in a host country.

Migrants can also be excluded due to political sensitivities. In host countries, negative public attitudes tend to highlight concerns about migration increasing job competition, placing downward pressure on wages, and adding pressure on public services (ISSA 2014; Ford and Heath, 2014; Ford and Lowles, 2016). This is linked to perceptions that migrant workers 'take advantage' of a country's welfare system, even though the empirical evidence shows that this is mostly not the case (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2013).. For example, 37% of European citizens support migrants receiving benefits and services only after they have acquired citizenship of a host country (Dustmann and Frattini, 2013).. This climate can be a constraint in extending social protection to migrant workers, through a lack of political commitment from the host government.

3.2 Legislation implementation and enforcement

Even when there are social protection arrangements in place for labour migrants, the implementation and enforcement of these can be ineffective (van Ginneken, 2013 in Taha et al., 2015; Box 2). There is evidence that some national and multilateral social protection

9. A more recent study by van Panhuys et al. (2017) found considerable regional variation in whether countries had laws in place granting equality of treatment to non-nationals for contributory social security and healthcare. It finds that Latin America had the highest proportion of countries granting equal legal treatment to non-nationals, although this may not reflect effective coverage.

10. A recent ILO study shows that of 120 countries, more than 70 have made provisions in the law granting equality of treatment between national and non-nationals with regards to contributory social security (Van Panhuys et al., 2017).

11. Countries make distinctions, for example, between the rights of migrants with permanent, temporary or irregular residence status. Further distinctions and restrictions of rights based on the migrant's specific citizenship and purpose of residence (e.g. work vs. family reunion) are common (Ruhs, 2009).

12. To be eligible, workers must show their employer paid employment insurance either for 600 insurable hours in the past 52 weeks or since their last claim, whichever is less. This excludes many seasonal workers, as they only work for part of the year (Holzmann and Pouget, 2010).

13. One common exception to this is emergency healthcare; in many European countries hospitals are obliged to treat individuals for free even if they are undocumented. Some countries, such as Bulgaria, provide social benefits to irregular migrants as for natives (though this tends to be the exception rather than the rule), while others do not explicitly link benefits access to regularity of employment (Council of Europe, 2004).

instruments for migrants are not properly enforced. For example, implementation of relevant Indonesian legislation is weak due to lack of coordination between central and regional government. The CARICOM agreement has been applied infrequently, which is thought to be due to design inconsistencies and lack of public awareness (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2010; Pasadilla and Abella, 2012; Fortaleza, 2010 in Holzmann and Pouget, 2010).

Administering social protection to migrants can be difficult. For example, if benefits are means-tested, it may be necessary to obtain information on the financial situation of the migrant worker's family abroad to assess eligibility. This can be costly or even impossible to secure (ISSA, 2014). Further, documentation to process claims can require knowledge of another country's system (*ibid.*), and officials in countries of origins must be aware of the detail of agreements (Holzmann, 2016)¹⁴.

Finally, employers of migrant workers do not always enforce relevant arrangements, knowingly or otherwise. For example, while documented Moroccan migrant workers can accrue portable social protection and retirement benefits in Spain, there is evidence that many of their employers do not provide migrants with relevant documentation for this (Arango and Martin, 2005 in Taha et al., 2015).

3.3 Barriers to take-up

Even if programmes are accessible and implemented effectively, knowledge gaps, language and financial barriers, time constraints and lack of representation can affect migrant take-up (see Box 3 for a case study). Furthermore, time and travel costs associated with the application process may prove a deterrent. For example, one study found that Mexican and Jamaican workers had difficulty accessing available health benefits in Canada due to lack of information on available services, language barriers, and long working hours limiting their access (McLaughlin, 2009 in Holzmann and Pouget, 2010).

Social protection can also incur more direct financial costs such as monthly contributions or ad-hoc payments, which can be a barrier for many, particularly those in low-skilled or low-wage labour (Hopkins et al., 2016). This affects labour migrants in the informal economy especially. As their work can involve low and irregular income, their capacity and willingness to contribute to social protection financing programmes can be limited, especially if they do not perceive these to meet their most important needs (Sabates-Wheeler and Waite, 2003).

3.4 Portability constraints

As highlighted above, the benefits received from social protection systems can be **portable**, **not portable**, or lie somewhere in between. For instance, some of the world's largest migrant-sending and -receiving countries – Bangladesh, China, Mexico, Russia – have almost no arrangements in place for social protection portability (van Panhuys et al, 2017). Some countries limit the portability of pensions by applying different rates to people from different countries, or by banning pension payments to selected countries. For example, Germany and the UK apply reduction rates to pension payments for nationals of countries with which they have no social security agreement, and the US bans pension payment to selected countries (Holzmann et al., 2005). The most common issues are summarised in Figure 3.

Box 2: Fragmented enforcement of legislation in Southern Africa

Regional efforts to harmonise cross-border social protection, while encouraging, can have a limited impact due to institutional and political factors. The 2014 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Employment and Labour contains provisions on the coordination of social security schemes and portability of benefits, however it has not yet been ratified by member states. The effects of an earlier non-binding Code on Social Security are also limited and social protection systems across SADC remain highly fragmented and tend to exclude migrants (Olivier, 2009; Millard, 2008). The SADC's institutional weakness and limited resources, as well as the absence of an accompanying policy framework on regional movement of labour, limit its enforcement capability (Dodson and Crush, 2015; Olivier, 2009). Therefore, migrant social protection continues to be decided at the national level in SADC, which can be problematic (Dodson and Crush, 2015).

For example, South Africa, a primary destination for SADC migrants, largely excludes migrant workers from its national social protection system (Fish, 2013; Millard, 2008; Mpedi and Nyenti 2013). Its bilateral agreements with other SADC states do not usually include social protection and where they do, for example with Mozambique, relevant mechanisms can be poorly enforced and employers' compliance low (Mpedi and Nyenti, 2013; Olivier, 2009). This has been linked to negative anti-immigrant attitudes; 90% of respondents in a 2010 national survey felt there were too many foreigners in South Africa (Crush et al., 2013 in Dodson and Crush, 2015).

14. The ILO has formalised the exchange and provision of administrative assistance through international labour standards with respect to migrants and social protection, namely the Equality of Treatment (Social Security) Convention, 1962 (No. 118), Maintenance of Social Security Rights Convention, 1982 (No. 157) and the Maintenance of Social Security Rights Recommendation, 1983 (No. 167).

Box 3: Bureaucratic requirements affecting take up of social protection in India

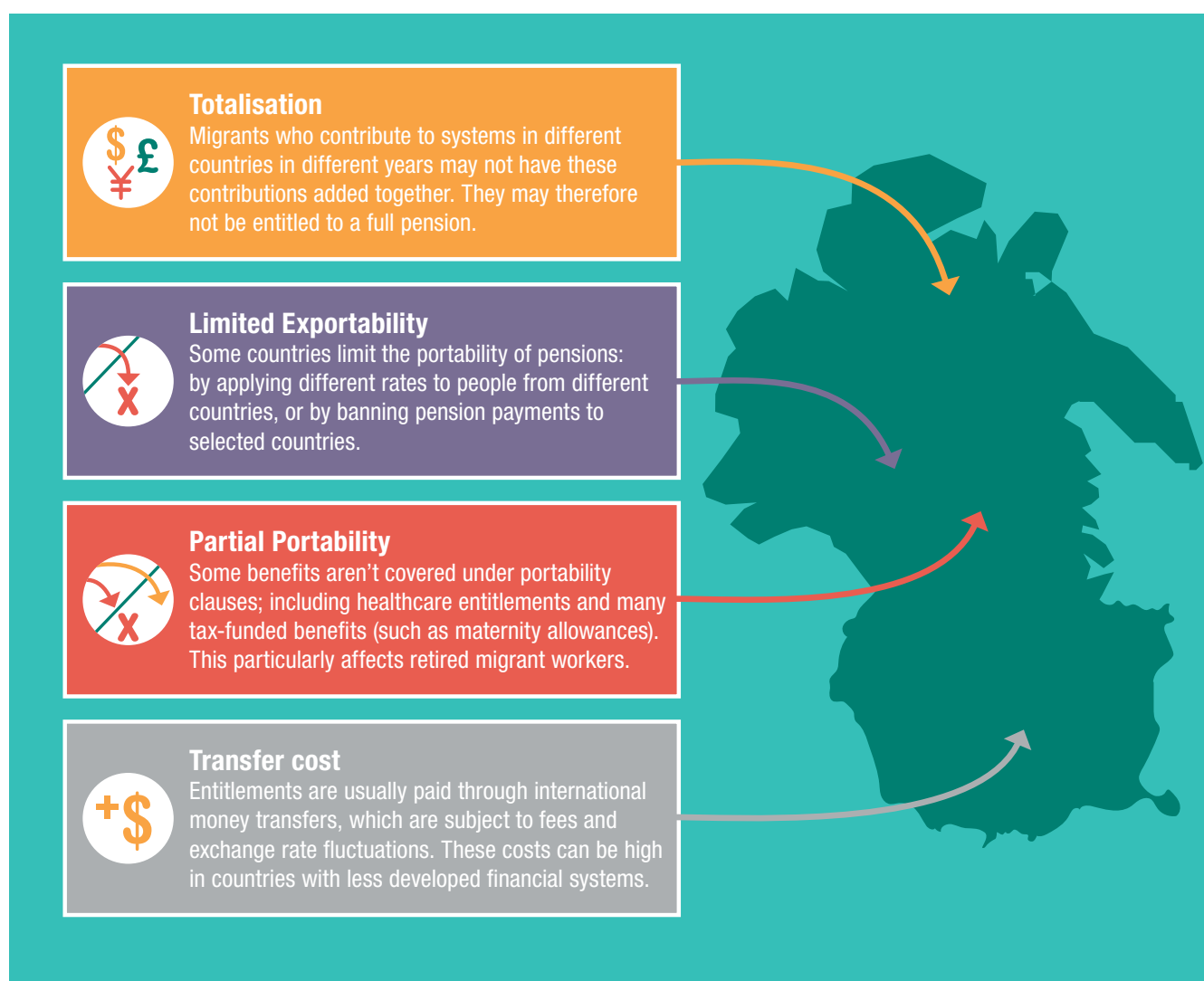
Programme registration requirements can prove an additional barrier to take-up. Such requirements may unintentionally make it harder for migrants to participate. This is the case in India where, despite legal access to the Public Distribution System (PDS), which offers access to subsidised food to poor households, internal migrants can be excluded through complicated regulations and administrative requirements (MacAuslan, 2009, 2011). Eligibility for PDS and other Indian social protection programmes is linked to residency and registration status. For example, to access PDS, residency criteria mean migrants must reapply with every move across certain boundaries. Different forms need to be filled out and attested to by government officials, and limited knowledge of local bureaucracies and weaker social networks leads to reluctance amongst migrants to apply.

5 Relevance to the 2030 Agenda

The 2030 Agenda advocates safe and orderly migration and the expansion of legal and effective social protection coverage, though it does not explicitly link the two. However, we argue that migration affects the implementation of the three main Targets on social protection (see Table 1), as well as several other Targets and Goals, and that these cannot be met effectively if these links are not considered.

Target 1.3 calls for the implementation of nationally appropriate social systems, measures, including floors, and for social protection systems to achieve ‘substantial coverage of poor and vulnerable groups’. Labour migrants are often a vulnerable sub-group, particularly those with irregular status or those in informal employment. In some circumstances, migrants are more likely to have physical (Tulloch et al., 2016) and mental health issues (Sabates-Wheeler and Waites, 2007). Migrants can also face discrimination in access to labour markets and housing (Lucci et al., 2016), as well as stigma or harassment.

Figure 3: The most common portability constraints



Therefore migrant workers may have a particularly salient need for social protection. Those working in dangerous working environments have a greater risk of work-related accidents or ill health and hence require sickness, disability or work-injury benefits. Often being in irregular and badly paid employment can mean migrants have a strong need for unemployment benefits. Furthermore, working in a new and foreign environment, often without family support and with weak social networks, migrants can lack information as well as informal support (ISSA, 2014). Failing to include labour migrants in conceptualising and implementing Target 1.3 will negatively affect the Target's outcome as it will exclude one specific poor and vulnerable group; this undermines the general principle in the 2030 Agenda of 'leaving no-one behind'.

One particularly vulnerable sub-group of labour migrants is that of domestic workers (see this series' gender briefing for a detailed discussion (O'Neil et al., 2016)). As this group often lacks regularised status or access to social insurance through their employer, it is likely to have low effective social protection coverage – though data on this is lacking. This directly impacts **Target 5.4**, which calls for the recognition of domestic work through public services, infrastructure and social protection policies.

Many labour migrants can lose access to social protection when they move to another country or back home. This could reduce return migration and/or decrease payments of social security, as the incentives to stay in the host country and to move into the informal economy and/or into an irregular migration status may be higher. This would make it harder to monitor migration flows and implement evidence-based policy, negatively impacting **Target 10.7** on 'safe and orderly migration'. The Addis Ababa Action Agenda also emphasises that access to and portability of earned benefits is part of ensuring safe, orderly and regular migration (UN DESA, 2015).

If limited portability disincentivises return migration, this could deprive origin countries – many of them developing countries – of the beneficial development effects of migration. Migration can be an important contribution to economic development in origin countries, for instance through remittances, investment and knowledge exchange (see Clemens, 2011), so this could also impact the success of other SDGs, for instance **Goal 8** on sustainable and inclusive economic growth.

Labour migrants can contribute to the achievement of **Target 1.a**, which calls for 'significant mobilization of resources' [...] to implement programmes and policies to end poverty', including social protection.

Table 1: Social protection, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Relevant SDG Target	Link to migration
Goal 1: No poverty	
1.3: Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable.	Labour migrants can be a particularly poor and vulnerable group, especially in terms of work and health-related risks, but often lack eligibility for legal social protection and/or are not effectively covered. Where migrants are legally covered by a social protection mechanism, benefits are often non-portable, further reducing coverage amongst a group that is highly mobile.
1.a: Ensure significant mobilization of resources from a variety of sources, including through enhanced development cooperation, in order to provide adequate and predictable means for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, to implement programmes and policies to end poverty in all its dimensions.	Labour migrants present an opportunity to increase the tax base, and a greater number of contributors to social insurance-type schemes leads to better risk pooling and financial sustainability. However, high immigration can at first lead to increased costs for host countries if immigrants are eligible for tax-funded benefits and take-up is high. Due to political sensitivities around migration, with many countries (especially low-income countries) already having limited resources for social protection, it can be difficult to justify expansion of eligibility to labour migrants.
Goal 10: Reduced inequalities	
10.4: Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality	Social protection policies often do not guarantee equal access to social protection, particularly for 'non-natives', which means that labour migrants have lower eligibility for, and, where eligible, lower take-up of social protection. If vulnerable groups (such as labour migrants) are unable to participate in social protection, inequalities widen. The design of social protection policy can fail to account for mobility of beneficiaries, with portability being a key constraint for labour migrants in accessing benefits they have contributed towards.

Besides their direct social security contributions, labour migrants generate additional resources for governments to deliver social protection programmes, for instance through personal income tax and indirect taxes such as consumption taxes. Research has shown that migrants often make net fiscal contributions to host countries (Dustmann and Frattini, 2013), paying more in taxes and social insurance contributions than they take out in benefits. Likewise, a study by OECD (2013) showed that the majority of OECD countries drew a positive balance from migration in their social security systems.

However, high levels of mobility by migrant workers can make their contributions less predictable. Significant labour-market informality in many low-income economies acts as a constraint to increases in tax revenue through social security contributions. Initiatives either to formalise such sectors or to include informal-sector workers (including migrants, who are heavily represented in this group) in contributory social protection can expand the tax base (Bastagli and Hagen-Zanker, 2014). The potential resources to be gained from this are high: the United States Social Security Administration, for example, has acknowledged that mostly non-reimbursable contributions by undocumented workers represented a US\$12 billion annual net gain to the US accounts in 2010 (Goss et al., 2013)¹⁵.

At the same time, if migrants are eligible for and receive tax-funded benefits, this could lead to increased costs for host countries. If needed, additional resources can be mobilised by designing programmes that share the costs of delivering social protection to migrants. For example, social insurance programmes tend to involve contributions from workers, employers and the host state. A greater number of contributors also leads to better risk pooling and financial sustainability of the system. Country-of-origin governments can be involved, for example through Migrant Welfare Funds, which are funded through contributions by employers, recruitment agencies and/or labour migrants (see Box 1).

Finally **Target 10.4** calls for social protection to ‘progressively achieve greater equality’. On the one hand, social protection has been shown to tackle income inequality and unequal access to basic services (UN ESCAP, 2015). For example, one study found that cash transfers alone reduced the Gini coefficient (a measure of inequality) in six Latin-American countries by 1%-9% (Lustig et al., 2013). On the other hand, as discussed in Section 3, social protection policies do not guarantee equal access, with ‘non-natives’ having lower eligibility and lower take-up when eligible. This implies that if vulnerable groups (including labour migrants) are excluded from social protection coverage, inequality remains the same or widens.

Policy design can widen this inequality, in particular with regards to portability. As shown in Section 3, some labour migrants may acquire entitlement to social protection by fulfilling their host country’s national requirements, only to have these reduced or barred if they move back to their origin or another country. As a result, these migrants subsequently experience unequal access to social protection in both origin and host countries.

6 Conclusions and policy recommendations

The 2030 Agenda highlights the importance of social protection in reducing poverty and inequalities. It sets out specific targets for improving coverage amongst vulnerable groups and for mobilising funds to implement social protection programmes. International labour migrants are a vulnerable group, yet they often lack access to social protection, particularly those coming from low-income countries, those with irregular migration status and/or those working in the informal economy.

Improving social protection for labour migrants goes hand in hand with better management of labour migration. Providing legal channels to migrants and including them in national social protection systems expands the base of potential contributors. At the same time, increasing social protection coverage is tightly linked with bringing migrant workers into the formal economy (ISSA, 2014) and, as such, also increases the ability of states to manage migration. Increased formalisation of workers also leads to higher tax contributions and a more productive workforce (ibid). Finally, guaranteeing portability of benefits removes some of the constraints to the mobility of labour so migration flows can be more closely matched to the supply and demand for labour. Effective coverage and portability are also important to ensure wellbeing and prevent vulnerability through the whole of a migrant’s life.

The recommendations below set out key actions for national governments, international institutions and civil-society organisations to improve social protection for international labour migrants. Ultimately, increasing their participation in social protection is not only important to protect migrants, but also plays an important role in maximising the potential benefits of labour migration for migrants, origin and host countries.

Conclusion 1: Legal and effective social protection coverage is important for labour migrants, but is very patchy outside high-income countries.

Most labour migrants moving to high-income countries are covered by a social protection agreement or provision giving some degree of access and portability. However, the proportion of those moving between low-income countries

15. Furthermore, expansion of social security coverage is argued to be an effective tool to reduce exploitation and abuse of workers through the formalisation of working practices (ISSA, 2014).

that are legally covered is less than 1%. These countries tend to have under-developed national social protection systems that also leave large shares of their native population uncovered. Furthermore, low legal coverage is especially prevalent among undocumented migrants and those working in the informal economy.

Recommendation: increase eligibility through new agreements and make it more feasible for migrants to participants in social protection.

- Host countries can increase labour migrants' eligibility for social protection by building on existing measures and by concluding new agreements. Particular attention must be paid to improving legal coverage of migrants from low- and middle-income countries.
- Migrants in the informal economy are often in irregular work and unable to make regular social protection contributions. These factors need to be taken into account when designing the scope of benefits, financing mechanisms and administrative procedures for informal workers. In addition, governments, organisations and employers can provide effective informal protection for informal workers, for example by holding preventive health-education workshops or empowering informal worker alliances in certain industries (Lund, 2009).
- Where labour migrants are not legally or effectively covered through other measures, country-of-origin governments should consider migrant welfare funds for emigrants. These funds provide basic protection through contributions from employers, recruitment agencies and migrants. They can be a good bridging measure, when integration into social protection systems in the host country is not yet feasible.

Relevant SDG Targets

1.3: Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable.

1.a: Ensure significant mobilisation of resources from a variety of sources, including through enhanced development cooperation, in order to provide adequate and predictable means for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, to implement programmes and policies to end poverty in all its dimensions.

5.4: Recognise and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.

10.4: Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality.

Conclusion 2: Some migrants are legally covered by social protection in the host country, but lose these benefits when they move again.

Even if a labour migrant is legally eligible to contribute to and receive benefits from their host country's social insurance system, their entitlements may not be transferrable when they move back home or to another country. This increases the migrant's vulnerability and reduces their incentives to contribute to social insurance systems. Some benefits that are in principle portable, such as pensions, carry limitations such as high transfer fees or not being transferable to certain countries.

Recommendation: extend and improve social protection portability for migrants.

- Continue to negotiate bilateral and multilateral social security agreements along key migration corridors and within regional groupings of states, extending portability practices of pensions and other benefits to more countries. Focus on extending these to include low-income countries. Timely ratification of these agreements between states should also be encouraged to ensure they are operational as soon as possible.
- Lift any restrictions on existing portability arrangements by origin countries. This includes enabling the transfer of benefits to all countries and ending the practice of applying reduction rates to entitlement transfers to certain countries.
- Decrease the financial burden of transferring social protection benefits to countries of origin. Countries can do this by introducing fixed transfer fees for certain entitlements to keep these low, requiring transfer operators to disclose fees, tax charges and exchange rates to increase transparency, and/or ending any exclusivity arrangements with banks or agents to encourage operator competition (Watkins and Quattri, 2014).

Relevant SDG Targets

10.4: Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality.

10.7: Facilitate orderly, safe and responsible migration, implement planned and well-managed migration policies.

10.c: Reduce transaction costs of migrant remittances.

Conclusion 3: The implementation and enforcement of social protection arrangements for migrants can be ineffective.

Even with bilateral social protection portability agreements in place, many migrants continue to be left without effective coverage as the implementation and enforcement of these can be inadequate. The administration and financing of well-intentioned portability agreements can be beyond the capacity of under-funded national social protection departments. Further, take-up can be low amongst labour migrants due to burdensome and confusing documentation requirements, language barriers, and financial or time constraints.

Recommendation: strengthen the capacities of national bodies to design and enforce social protection arrangements better.

- Make portability agreements legally binding, ensuring regional and bilateral portability efforts are enacted at the national level. Increase the enforcement capabilities of national social security administrations and other relevant bodies to implement and enforce these agreements. For example, where possible ensure that monitoring mechanisms for social protection arrangements include both national agencies and non-governmental organisations, to give a fuller picture of compliance.
- Introduce compliance procedures for employers and appropriate oversight mechanisms. For example, governments can introduce mandatory social protection provisions in work contracts which set out entitlements in detail. They can also improve protection of labour migrants against legal reprisals from employers by ensuring that effective and timely complaint, appeal and redress mechanisms are available to migrant workers free of charge. Such mechanisms should also be available in languages spoken by migrants and through channels accessible to them.
- Encourage social protection take-up by labour migrants. Tools for doing this include information campaigns that raise awareness on existing rights and entitlements (in different languages), greater efficiency and clarity in administrative procedures (including through better trained staff), and establishing more flexible rules and procedures to incentivise joining (ILO, 2014). Adopt a more migrant-centric approach by including migrants and migration organisations in the design process (Ratel et al., 2013).
- There is very little data on coverage of labour migrants, which exacerbates the ineffectiveness of social protection arrangements in place. This is partly because irregular migrants are usually missing from official population statistics, but also because even regular

migrants are not always clearly identified in either data or legislation. Countries should work towards collecting data to help estimate effective, or de facto, social protection coverage of labour migrants. National data on social protection programmes should disaggregate by citizenship and residence status (a strong proxy for migrant status), so as to manage the financial implications of benefits becoming portable.

Relevant SDG Targets

1.3: Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable.

16.6: Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels.

17.18: By 2020, enhance capacity-building support to developing countries, including for least developed countries and small island developing States, to increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.

Conclusion 4: Expanding legal social protection coverage can be politically and financially challenging.

All too often, migrants are perceived as taking advantage of national welfare systems (Ford and Heath, 2014), which makes the expansion of legal coverage to migrants politically challenging. The expansion of a social protection system does carry a cost, especially where benefits are funded from general taxation, yet labour migrants have the potential to be a financial and economic asset for host countries. Indeed, host countries often draw a positive fiscal balance from labour migration, depending on demographic characteristics of migrants and status of national labour markets (OECD, 2013).

Recommendation: recognise the economic and fiscal contributions of migrants and use these to expand social protection eligibility.

- To fund improved legal social protection coverage, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (UN DESA, 2015) proposes that governments broaden and diversify the tax base. By allowing migrants to work formally and to contribute towards national social insurance systems, destination countries can grow their tax base and spread risk across a larger pool.

- Strengthen the political will to increase social protection eligibility for migrants, particularly in key destination countries. Policy-makers should be encouraged to use reliable, empirical evidence on the economic and fiscal contribution of migrants to host countries (Dustmann and Frattini, 2013; OECD, 2013) and the consequences of (not) granting migrants access to national social protection systems in order to help them make decisions in a polarised political context.
- Make efforts to shift public attitudes towards favouring migrant access to national social protection systems, by targeting specific groups with information about the economic and fiscal benefits of migration (Dempster and Hargrave, 2017).
- Governments need to cooperate to facilitate payments into and out of migrant welfare funds (for example, overseas workers funds) based in a migrant's origin country. Facilitation measures could include lowering transfer fees on remittances into social protection funds and host countries allowing administration offices for such funds to operate there.

Relevant SDG Targets

1.3: Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable.

1.a: Ensure significant mobilisation of resources from a variety of sources, including through enhanced development cooperation, in order to provide adequate and predictable means for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, to implement programmes and policies to end poverty in all its dimensions.

10.4: Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality.

16.6: Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels.

17.18: By 2020, enhance capacity-building support to developing countries, including for least developed countries and small island developing States, to increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.

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SDGs covered | 1: No poverty
8: Decent work and economic growth
10: Reduced inequalities



Poverty, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Jessica Hagen-Zanker, Hannah Postel and Elisa Mosler Vidal

Key messages

- International labour migration can reduce poverty for migrants themselves, their families, and their host and origin countries. It is therefore crucial to achieving Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 1.
- Yet, migration does not always achieve its poverty reduction potential. This is due to the high costs involved, poor conditions in host countries, and barriers to mobility.
- To reap the benefits, states should increase and diversify safe, regular and orderly migration pathways in line with demand for migrant labour, and make these easier to access.
- Remittances are a powerful poverty reduction instrument. They should be encouraged by origin countries and the private sector. Transfer costs should be lowered. States should also lower the costs and bureaucratic requirements for those wishing to migrate.
- Evidence is needed on the mechanisms through which migration impacts on poverty. Better longitudinal data would help understand these pathways and target policies effectively.

1 Introduction

This briefing considers the extent to which international labour migration can reduce poverty, and the implications this has for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2030 Agenda). Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 1 calls for ‘ending poverty in all its forms everywhere’. Labour migration can help achieve this goal, having been described as ‘the most effective contribution we can make to improving the lives of the world’s working poor’ (Rodrik, 2007). In this briefing, we show that international labour migration is a powerful tool to reduce poverty, for migrants themselves, their families, and their host and origin countries.

In 2015, over 243 million people (3% of the global population) lived outside their country of origin. The growth of financial transfers made by these migrants (‘remittances’) has rapidly accelerated. Remittance flows to developing countries are now four times larger than official development assistance (ODA) (Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD), 2017) and are estimated to touch the lives of over one billion people. In certain settings, migration has been shown to be more effective at reducing poverty than other development programmes (Gibson and McKenzie, 2014).

Tackling the different facets of poverty is one of the key aims of the 2030 Agenda. Poverty is multidimensional; encompassing both monetary measures and other dimensions such as living standards, health, and education access and quality (Alkire and Santos, 2010). Labour migration¹ can reduce poverty for migrants themselves, their families, and their host and origin countries. Migrants and their families benefit from increased income and knowledge, which allows them to spend more on basic needs, access services, and make investments. In host countries, immigration can have positive economic effects through increased production and labour-market specialisation. In origin countries, migration can lead to higher economic growth through increased incomes and spending, investment by migrant households, and knowledge transfers. However, migration does not always achieve this potential, nor are the outcomes always beneficial, due to a number of barriers. These include the financial costs of migration itself, conditions in host countries, and barriers to mobility.

The beginning of this briefing presents evidence demonstrating the potential of migration to reduce poverty. Section 3 links this evidence to the 2030 Agenda, arguing that migration should be considered a means to meet the SDGs, especially Goals 1, 8 and 10, and their Targets, especially 1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 1.5, 1.a and 1.b. Section 4 considers why migration’s poverty reduction potential is not always met, and what to do about it. Section 5 concludes, and offers recommendations to boost this potential.

2 How can migration reduce poverty?

Migration can result in positive economic and social benefits, for migrants themselves, their families, and their host and origin countries. In particular, migration is a powerful poverty reduction tool, with the potential to substantially increase incomes for migrants and their families.²

2.1 Impacts on migrants and their families

Migration can reduce poverty of both migrants themselves and their families in countries of origin. It can do this through remittances, as well as other mechanisms, including knowledge and norm transfers, in-kind transfers (e.g. assets) and changing household dynamics.³ While most studies focus on South-North migration, similar mechanisms hold for South-South movements; effects will of course vary based on context, but likely not enormously.

Labour migration can have a direct, immediate and substantial effect on the poverty of migrants themselves due to increases in income. A typical worker from an average developing country would earn 2.5-3 times their income if they moved to the United States (US) (Clemens et al., 2009). Migration resulted in a 263% income gain for Tongans in New Zealand (McKenzie et al., 2010; Box 4); and 1,400% for Haitians migrating temporarily to the US (Clemens and Postel, 2017; Box 1). Migration within the global South can also result in income gains of up to 60% (Ratha and Shaw, 2007). The families of the migrant can also experience gains in income, mainly through remittance receipts.

These income gains can lead to poverty reduction. For example, international migration reduced the level of poverty among migrant households in Ecuador by

1. This briefing focuses on international labour migrants (or ‘migrant workers’), defined as individuals who moved from one country to another for the purpose of employment (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2011). Where the briefing refers to other types of migrants, for example internal migrants, this will be stated explicitly. Most of the evidence focuses on migration to the global North, although we do also include examples of South-South migration.

2. In this briefing we include studies considering the income and welfare gains from migration, which are an indicator of its *potential* to reduce poverty. However, it should be kept in mind that they may not always translate into a reduction of poverty at the national level.

3. The impacts of migration are difficult to measure as migrants are not randomly selected but self-select into migration. Therefore migrant-sending households can have underlying differences to non-migrant-sending households (e.g. they may be wealthier or more willing to take risks), which means comparing them may capture differences in these underlying differences instead of migration effects (Démurger, 2015). This section only cites studies that account for selection bias; where this is not the case this will be stated.

Box 1: A pilot programme using labour mobility as a tool to reduce poverty

After an earthquake devastated Haiti in 2010, the Center for Global Development (CGD) proposed a novel way to help Haitians rebuild their livelihoods: help them migrate. This required opening new legal migration pathways between the US and Haiti, a process that culminated five years later when the US Department of State made Haitians eligible for temporary work visas. A pilot programme matching Haitian workers to US farms in need of agricultural labour soon followed: between 2015 and 2016, 68 workers arrived to work in the US.

The results of a small-sample survey assessing the programme's impact showed the project differed from traditional development aid in three major ways: the size of the income gains; the direct benefit to poor families; and the mutual economic benefit to both countries. On average, one month of seasonal agricultural work by a male Haitian in the US raised his current wage by approximately 1,400% (Clemens and Postel, 2017). This led to a doubling of annual household income in Haiti, with 2-3 months of overseas work by one household member. Furthermore, all migrant households reported being able to invest in durable goods and livelihoods, including in farming tools and home construction. These gains are much larger than for other poverty-reduction policies, which at the high end have been measured at 20-30%.¹² And in comparison to aid, where only a portion of total project funding reaches the poor, income earned by Haitian seasonal workers in the US went directly to Haitian households.

The programme had effects beyond the household level: for every month of overseas work, approximately US\$1,700 will eventually be spent in Haiti. These expenditures ripple through the Haitian economy, adding an estimated US\$3,300 to Haiti's GDP. Haitian agricultural work also adds value to the US economy by filling seasonal workforce needs. By supporting the productivity of US farms, one worker-month of Haitian agricultural labour adds approximately \$4,000 to US GDP.

These results suggest unexplored potential for temporary labour mobility as a tool for development and poverty reduction. The programme described here faced substantial informational and bureaucratic barriers, but was able to operate without any changes to existing legislation in either country. If successfully scaled, 10,000 Haitians working in the US for three months a year would add approximately US\$100 million annually to the Haitian economy.

between 17% and 21% (Bertoli and Marchetta, 2014).⁴ This is a substantial decrease, especially when compared to other development programmes – a rigorous review of cash transfers showed that impacts on poverty reduction range from four to nine percentage points (Bastagli et al., 2016). Remittances can also be seen as an informal insurance mechanism, helping households cope with economic shocks (Stark and Lucas, 1988; Yang, 2008) and preventing them from falling deeper into poverty. In addition, migrants and their families can become wealthier through the accumulation of assets and the ability to make more investments (Yang, 2008; de Brauw and Rozelle, 2008; Mansuri, 2007).

Migration can influence whether family members in origin countries work, and the type of work they do. The evidence is mixed and context-specific. In some cases, family members work less.⁵ This effect is often gendered; labour-force participation tends to fall more for women in households that receive remittances (as Amuedo-Dorantes

and Pozo, 2006 show for Mexico). Whether this results in an increase or decrease in poverty depends on how far remittances compensate for work-related income loss. Crucially, migration and remittances can reduce child labour, especially among poorer and low-skilled households (de Paoli and Mendola, 2017)⁶, which has important implications for long-term poverty reduction.

Access to education and health are also aspects of multidimensional poverty; moreover, they are important determinants of long-term poverty. Migration leads to improved health, education access and outcomes,⁷ particularly for children.⁸ Migration can also result in 'social remittances' or norm transfers (Levitt, 1998) that can have positive effects on individual and family wellbeing. For instance, Mexican women whose partners migrated internationally had lower smoking rates and healthier pregnancies than average through norm transfers (Frank, 2005). Having household members working in urban areas and abroad was associated with improved

4. See also Jimenez-Soto and Brown, 2012 for Tonga.

5. See Adams, 2011 for a review of evidence on this in various countries; Grigorian and Melkonyan, 2011 for Armenia; and Abdulloev et al., 2014 for Tajikistan.

6. See also Acosta, 2011 for El Salvador; Yang, 2008 for the Philippines; and Mansuri, 2006 for Pakistan.

7. For more information, see two other briefings in ODI's *Migration and the 2030 Agenda* series: on health (Tulloch et al., 2016) and education (Nicolai et al., 2017).

8. However, there is also some evidence that the migration of parents or caregivers can have negative impacts on education and health of children and the elderly (e.g. Giannelli and Mangiacchi, 2010 for Albania).

knowledge of sexual health in rural Guatemalan women (Lindstrom and Muñoz-Franco, 2005). Again, this has important implications for long-term poverty and the 2030 Agenda more broadly, with migration enabling households to become healthier and better educated.⁹

2.2 Impacts on origin countries

The previous section discussed how migration has the potential to reduce poverty for individuals and households. These effects ripple through national economies in origin countries: raising incomes, protecting against exogenous shocks, and enabling increased economic activity (see also Boxes 1 and 4 for effects on national-level gross domestic product (GDP)). In fact, most of the benefits to national economies accrue through the aggregate effect of migration on individual households. Increases in income through remittances can result in reductions of poverty at the macro-level if poorer households become relatively better off: in other words, by changing national inequality distributions. This is not a given, however. It depends on how income is originally distributed and where migrants fall on this spectrum (McKenzie and Rapoport, 2007).

Most macro-level analyses investigating cross-country national-level poverty rates find that migration (often proxied by remittances) does cause a reduction in poverty. However, the size of this effect varies considerably by study and may be overstated in some cases due to methodological concerns. In one study of 10 Latin American countries, for every 10% increase in the ratio of remittances to GDP, poverty fell between 0.04% to 0.5% (Acosta et al., 2008).¹⁰

Other studies sum the benefits accrued by individual households to estimate the effects on national-level poverty.¹¹ This approach reflects the logic explained above, that individual- and household-level poverty reduction from migration has national impacts in aggregate. For instance, a 10 percentage-point increase in international remittances in the Philippines caused a 2.8 percentage-point decline in the likelihood that a migrant household will be in poverty (Yang and Martinez, 2006). This benefit also spills over to non-migrant households in high-migration regions, where aggregate poverty rates fell by 0.7 percentage points. In Ecuador, one study found that migration reduced poverty incidence among migrant households by between 17.4% and 20.8% (Bertoli and Marchetta, 2014). Along similar lines, studies on internal migration in Vietnam and China have found a small yet significant effect on poverty rates

(De Brauw and Harigaya, 2007 for Vietnam; Yang et al., 2005 for China).

Emigration can lead to increased wages for non-emigrants in origin countries, particularly in the short-term, which can affect national poverty levels. However, this is mainly experienced by those with similar skills to emigrants; non-emigrants with complementary skills can experience a wage decline (Elsner, 2015).

2.3 Impacts on host countries

Migration can also reduce poverty and increase growth in host countries; through increased productivity, new demand for and supply of goods and services, and more labour-intensive production. As described in Box 1, a programme of temporary agricultural work for Haitians added value to the US economy of around US\$4,000 per worker-month. Under New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employment programme, employers reported increased production through access to a more productive, stable workforce. Immigrants also add value to host countries through their skills and innovation, fostered by diversity; for example, the number of patents applied for by immigrants in the US is far greater than their share in the population (Hunt and Gauthier-Loiselle, 2010). The literature agrees that immigration may encourage natives to take up more highly skilled jobs to take advantage of skills complementarity; native workers in Denmark originally displaced by new refugee arrivals eventually earned 3% more through increased specialisation in more complex tasks (Foged and Peri, 2015).

3 Why migration matters for the 2030 Agenda

As shown, international labour migration is a powerful poverty reduction tool, for migrants themselves, their families, and their host and origin countries. Therefore, migration can be a vital weapon in the arsenal to fight poverty, affecting the implementation of SDG 1, as well as several other Targets and Goals (see Table 1). These Targets cannot be met successfully unless their links to migration are considered.

Targets 1.1 and 1.2 call for an end to poverty around the world. As we have seen, migration can be an effective instrument in reducing poverty. This is especially the case

9. For examples of positive effects of migration on investment in education and access for families in countries of origin, see Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2017 and Ambler et al., 2015.

10. See also Anyanwu and Erhijakpor, 2010; Fajnzylber and Lopez, 2007; and Gupta et al., 2007. The most cited study in this research space is Adams and Page (2005), but it does not correct for migrant selection bias.

11. Interestingly, the most cited statistics in this area (five percentage points of poverty reduction in Ghana, six percentage points in Bangladesh, and 11 percentage points in Uganda) are untraceable to the original source or methodologically less rigorous (e.g. Lokshin et al, 2010; Adams and Cuecuecha, 2013), implying that the magnitude of poverty reduction effects may be overstated).

12. 38% to 41% for grants to start-up businesses (Blattman and Niehaus, 2014); 20% to 25% for anti-sweatshop activism in Indonesia (Harrison and Scorese, 2010); 10% to 30% for productive asset transfers for the ultra-poor (Banerjee et al., 2015).

regarding income, where the potential gains are very large for migrants and their families, leading to wider positive spillover effects. However, labour migrants themselves can be highly vulnerable and may need specific support.

Target 1.4 calls for greater access to economic resources, financial services and basic services. Labour migration can help families in origin countries invest in assets and access financial services. Migration can be a form of self-insurance; protecting migrant families experiencing shocks and stresses. This is relevant for **Target 1.5** which calls for greater resilience and insurance for individuals and families.

Target 1a calls for better and smarter mobilisation of resources for development. We have seen that remittances dwarf aid. Remittances, and other forms of diaspora financing and investment, can be mobilised to improve infrastructure, services and development more generally at a community level (see Gelb, forthcoming). Migration should be included as a poverty reduction strategy in non-migration policy frameworks, as called for in **Target 1b**.

Migration also affects multidimensional poverty (SDGs 1, 3 and 4), economic growth and employment (SDG 8), and innovation (SDG 9), which can have indirect effects on poverty. Finally, it can lead to increases or decreases in inequality, relevant to SDG 10.

4 Why migration's poverty reduction potential is not always met, and what to do about it

The financial costs¹³ associated with the migration process can reduce migration's impact on poverty reduction. Further barriers include conditions in host countries, which can entrench poverty amongst migrants, and barriers to mobility, which often prevent those who would benefit the most from migrating from doing so.

4.1 The financial cost of migration can be high

Migration can incur high costs, even prior to departure. This includes the costs of procuring passports¹⁴, a visa, work permit and/or the recruitment process more generally. Migrants may secure the services of a travel agent, migrant broker or smuggler, and the costs of the journey itself can be high, especially if protracted and/or irregular. These costs can be excessive – low-skilled migrants often pay more than a year's worth of future income (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2017; KNOMAD, 2017), reducing their ability to send remittances. Migration costs tend to be higher for the low-skilled (ILO, 2017; KNOMAD, 2017) and are more likely to prevent the poor from migrating. Migration costs also tend to be higher

Table 1: Poverty, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Relevant SDGs and Targets	Link to migration
Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere	
1.1: By 2030, eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere, currently measured as people living on less than \$1.25 a day.	Migration is a powerful poverty reduction strategy for migrants themselves and their families in origin countries. The benefits of migration are greater for those travelling through regular migration channels, with costs and risks higher for those migrants with irregular status (see Section 4). Furthermore, the poorest are often unable to benefit from migration, owing to the high costs involved.
1.2: By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions.	Labour migrants in host countries may need specific support as they often face unique poverty challenges, for instance because of discrimination and poor working and living conditions (see Lucci et al., 2016). Migrants often send a high share of their disposable income as remittances which can make them impoverished. Increased immigration does not lead to higher poverty rates in host countries; in fact, migrants often add value to domestic economies.
1.4: By 2030, ensure that all men and women, in particular the poor and the vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, natural resources, appropriate new technology and financial services, including microfinance.	Migration can help families in origin countries improve their wellbeing through increased income and consumption. Indirect effects include higher savings, investment and protection from shocks and stresses. Migration can lead to family members accessing and using financial services for the first time (Anzoategui et al., 2014). It can also improve their ability to invest in assets, including land ownership, and increase access to basic services like education and healthcare.

13. There may also be psychosocial costs of migration, however these are not discussed here. For an overview of migrant happiness and wellbeing, see IOM (2013) and Hendriks (2015).

14. Passport costs vary widely, costing as much as US\$300; in at least 14 countries a passport costs more than 10% of average annual per-capita income (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011a).

Relevant SDGs and Targets	Link to migration
1.5: By 2030, build the resilience of the poor and those in vulnerable situations and reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate-related extreme events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters.	Migration strengthens households' resilience. It helps families in times of crisis by strengthening their ability to cope with economic risks and shocks, through informal insurance strategies. Remittances have also been shown to increase at times of national shocks and stresses (for instance in the Philippines after natural disasters).
1.a: Ensure significant mobilization of resources from a variety of sources, including through enhanced development cooperation, in order to provide adequate and predictable means for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, to implement programmes and policies to end poverty in all its dimensions.	<p>Remittances and other forms of diaspora financing can be mobilised to improve infrastructure, services and development more generally at community level (see Gelb, forthcoming). These have been shown to lead to poverty reduction on a national level as well. At the same time, remittances, as private funding, do not replace aid.</p> <p>This is recognised in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (June 2015), which states the 'positive contribution of migrants for inclusive growth and sustainable development in countries of origin' (United Nations (UN), 2015).</p>
1.b: Create sound policy frameworks at the national, regional and international levels, based on pro-poor and gender-sensitive development strategies, to support accelerated investment in poverty eradication actions.	Migration tends to be overlooked as a poverty reduction strategy in policy frameworks, with some policies in origin and host countries limiting mobility. Conditions in host countries can also reduce the poverty-reduction potential of migration. Sound policy frameworks should consider migration's role in reducing poverty and strive for policy coherence across different sectors.
Other Goals	
Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages.	Migration improves healthcare access and health outcomes for families in origin countries. However, migrants in host countries often lack access to health services (see Tulloch et al., 2016).
Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.	Migration helps improve education access and educational outcomes for families in origin countries. However, migrant children in host countries often suffer disadvantages in accessing quality education (see Nicolai et al., 2017).
Goal 8: Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all.	<p>Migration, as proxied by remittances, can lead to economic growth in origin countries. It can also lead to a reduction in unemployment and higher wages in origin countries (Mishra, 2014).</p> <p>Labour migrants often face difficult working conditions (see Lucci et al., 2016), with stronger regulations and monitoring needed around working conditions and recruitment processes (see also Box 3) to achieve decent work for all migrants.</p>
Goal 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation.	<p>Migration leads to greater diversity in host countries and this can foster innovation.</p> <p>In origin countries, migration can also foster innovation through social remittances, skills transfers and return migration (Debnath, 2016). This has implications for long-term poverty reduction in these countries. In some contexts, outflows of the highly skilled could have negative impacts for origin countries in certain sectors (for example, shortages of healthcare workers, Mills et al., 2008). However, evidence that a so-called 'brain drain' harms development in origin countries is mixed once the net effects are considered. High-skilled migration often generates positive externalities such as increased investment in education, a more educated domestic workforce, and returnees bringing back skills acquired abroad (Adzei and Sakyi, 2014; Docquier and Rapoport, 2011).</p>
Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries.	<p>With people migrating from low- to high-income countries and sending remittances back home, migration can reduce global inequalities among countries, and among people (Milanovic, 2016).</p> <p>Whether migration reduces inequality within origin countries depends on where migrants sit on the income distribution. In some contexts, migration can lead to higher inequality as the poorest are often unable to migrate. When the costs of migration are reduced, the potential to reduce inequality is also greater.</p>

for migrants from more remote areas, who are also more likely to be poorer (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011). This relationship holds at the national level as well: countries with low GDP per capita have lower emigration rates (OECD, 2016), to some extent due to aspiring migrants being unable to finance migration.

Loans can facilitate the payment of pre-departure and recruitment costs. However, with imperfect credit markets in poorer areas, this can result in aspiring migrants borrowing high sums of money¹⁵ from informal lenders, often at exorbitant interest rates. This places poor households in a risky situation, and raises the stakes for the migrant: an ‘unsuccessful’ migration, which produces low returns (and hence low remittances), makes it difficult for the household to meet loan repayments and eventually free itself from debt. The most vulnerable can get caught in debt-bondage when they are trapped in exploitative work situations after taking a loan to pay for recruitment costs and/or an advance (e.g. Zeitlyn et al., 2014 on India).

Studies have shown that migration becomes more pro-poor when costs decrease, e.g. through strengthened migration networks (McKenzie and Rapoport, 2007; Gibson and McKenzie, 2011). The policy discussions in this area have mostly focused on fair recruitment (see Box 3), but have also considered how to improve access to pre-departure migration loans. For instance, at the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) in 2009, bank-non-governmental organisation (NGO) partnerships were discussed, where banks would provide loans at reasonable interest rates, as well as transparent information about the migration process (Martin, 2009). In Bangladesh, the NGO BRAC has funded close to 200,000 migration loans, also providing additional pre-departure services such as contract reviews (BRAC, 2016). The policy recommendations of former UN Special Representative for Migration Peter Sutherland (the ‘Sutherland Report’) call for migrant welfare funds to issue such loans.

Finally, the cost of sending remittances back home can lower their potential for reducing poverty. Studies have shown that fees for migrants remitting to sub-Saharan Africa average 12% of the amount transmitted (Watkins and Quattri, 2014). These excess fees cost the African continent US\$1.8 billion a year, which would cover the primary-school education of 14 million children in the region (ibid.). The need to reduce remittance fees is now firmly rooted in policy discussions, being an explicit target in the 2030 Agenda (see Target 10.C) as well as more specifically in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda and the ‘Sutherland Report’. Mobile remittances are seen as one way forward to reduce costs (Box 2).

Box 2: Mobile remittances to reduce costs

One innovative way to reduce the cost of remittances is to use mobile money-transfer options. A recent study on using mobile transfers found that it drastically reduces costs: using mobile transfers is on average more than 50% cheaper than using money-transfer operators (MTOs); in 45 country corridors surveyed, the average cost of sending US\$200 using mobile money was 2.7%, compared to 6% with MTOs (GSMA, 2016).

Mobile remittances have the potential to be more inclusive than other transfer methods, as they allow smaller remittance values to be sent more cheaply, which is important for poorer migrants. The same study showed the average value of mobile money transfers was US\$82, while across other channels this was approximately US\$500 (ibid.). Moreover, mobile money can foster greater financial inclusion, by tapping into migrants’ ownership and usage of mobile phones to include them in digital financial services. Finally, the increasing use of mobile money fosters competition in the market, leading to greater transparency and further driving down transfer costs. This includes traditional MTOs, which tend to lower their fees when forced to compete against mobile-money competitors.

4.2 Poor conditions in host countries can undercut expected benefits from migration

Migration doesn’t always offer the rewards anticipated. Conditions in host countries can entrench poverty of migrants, including poor living conditions and limited access to services,¹⁶ low wages, and poor working conditions.

Sometimes, wages paid by employers are lower than promised, or not paid at all (see Donini et al., 2013; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2014; Maher, 2009). Wages can be irregular, particularly for those in the informal economy, making it difficult for migrants to sustain themselves in the host community and send remittances back home. Female migrant workers are especially over-represented in lower-paid, irregular work (ILO, 2017; O’Neil et al., 2016). Furthermore, migrants may not be able to make full use of their education and skills as access to skills-recognition processes tend to be lacking, especially for low- and medium-skilled workers (ILO, 2017). This can lead to deskilling or ‘brain waste’ and migrant workers earning less than anticipated. Compared to natives, migrants face wage gaps that cannot be explained fully by differences

15. For instance, one study shows that the average migration loan of migrants in Rolpa, Nepal, is 97% of average annual household expenditure (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2014).

16. More information on these can be found in other briefings in this series, including on living conditions of urban migrants (Lucci et al., 2016) and those displaced by climate change (Wilkinson et al., 2016), access to health services (Tulloch et al., 2016), and access to social protection (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017).

in education, work experience and language skills (ILO, 2015).

Second, migrants often experience poor working conditions, which can lead to lower earnings and adverse health outcomes. Migrant workers are more likely to hold jobs that are ‘dirty, dangerous and difficult’ (ILO, 2017). Migrant workers are much less likely to have ‘decent-work benefits’ such as a contract, occupational health and safety, and fundamental labour rights (Aleksynska et al., 2017).¹⁷ Migrant workers are at greater risk of being victims of forced labour (ILO, 2017). They are also more likely to experience work-related accidents and diseases (Belin et al., 2011; ILO, 2017). This is especially relevant for those who are undocumented and/or working in the informal economy, who are also less likely to be protected through social-insurance schemes.¹⁸ As such, migrants may lose extended periods of time to illness, can end up with disabilities that limit future earning potential or, in extreme cases, lose their lives. Box 3 gives examples of emerging best practices on how to combat poor working conditions using fair recruitment.

4.3 Barriers to mobility

So far, we have focused on the factors that limit the poverty reduction potential for those who are already on the move. What about those who would like to move, but are unable to do so? This ‘involuntary immobility’ (as coined by Carling, 2002) characterises many poor areas and origin countries. In a global survey, 14% of the world’s adults said they would like to move to another country.¹⁹ Of those surveyed, 33% were in sub-Saharan Africa, 21% in the Middle East and North Africa, and 20% in Latin America (Esipova et al., 2011). However less than half of these respondents had already started making preparations (ibid.). The evidence suggests that those who would benefit the most from migration are often unable to do so. Part of this can be explained by the debilitating costs of migration discussed above. However, there are also policy barriers that prevent people from migrating legally, which diminish the potential of migration to reduce poverty.

Box 3: Policy measures on fair recruitment

International labour standards apply to the recruitment of migrant workers. Effective implementation of fair recruitment measures involves extensive policy coordination amongst governments, labour recruiters and employers alike. The following are some emerging practices:

1. Some host countries state **costs are to be paid by the employer**, while origin countries may **cap recruiter fees** (ILO, 2017). Nepalese practice combines this; the ‘free visa, free ticket’ policy ensures migrants pay no more than NPR20,000 (US\$184) to private employment agencies, and the employer pays for tickets and visas (von Rohland and Crozet, 2017).
2. To ensure workers are given clear, transparent contracts, **standardised employment contracts** can be attached to labour agreements between countries, as in the 2008 Sri Lanka-Qatar agreement (Wickramasekara, 2015), and registered with authorities in the host country, as in some Gulf countries (ILO, 2017).
3. Some countries such as Bangladesh and Ethiopia have **joint liability provisions** to ensure recruiters and employers can be held liable for workers’ rights violations during recruitment (ILO, 2017).
4. **Private-sector initiatives** play a growing role. The Consumer Goods Forum (CGF) recently introduced its Three Priority Industry Principles and guidance to tackle forced labour and abusive recruitment. More global companies are joining the Leadership Group, launched in 2016 under the Institute for Human Rights and Business (IHRB), to promote responsible recruitment and ethical supply chains (CGF, 2017; IHRB, 2016).
5. More companies are following **due-diligence procedures in supply chains**, for example, US government agencies (United States Office of the Federal Register, 2012) and Colgate-Palmolive and Marks & Spencer’s (CGF, 2017).
6. Once migrants are abroad, some **cities** have taken the initiative to protect their employment rights. Barcelona’s authorities help migrants with employment through its immigrant reception service, SAIER (Saier Servicio de Atención a Inmigrantes, Extranjeros y Refugiados), which supports migrants with job-seeking, training and education, and offers legal advice (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2017). In the US, ‘sanctuary cities’ can help protect irregular labour migrants (Ridgley, 2008).

17. See also a review of working conditions for internal migrants in Lucci et al., 2016.

18. See Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017 for a review of social-protection coverage of migrants.

19. In total this represented approximately 630 million people who would like to migrate internationally, dwarfing the current estimated international-migrant stock of 244 million (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 2015).

Barriers set by origin countries

Some of these barriers are set, perhaps surprisingly, by origin countries. Some have extensive bureaucratic requirements, including procuring documents and participation in pre-migration trainings and health checks, that act as indirect barriers to exit.²⁰ Poorer and less-educated individuals can find it challenging to navigate the complex bureaucratic requirements. This in turn reduces their ability to migrate and increases their dependency on brokers, which drives up the cost of migration.

Furthermore, some origin countries place legal restrictions on their citizens that prevent them from leaving. Some countries enact exit-visa schemes, others prohibit citizens from leaving if their intention is to migrate. Some countries place travel restrictions on women or on citizens of national-service age (see Figure 1²¹), and others temporarily ban migrant workers from travelling to certain countries, allegedly for safety reasons or to protect their rights.²²

Preventing individuals from migrating can deny them the potential for poverty reduction and negatively affect their households. For example, a study in Indonesia showed that banning female domestic workers from emigrating to Saudi Arabia led to an increase in poverty of between 2% and 3% in households in migration origin communities, as well as a decline in female employment and labour-force participation (Makovec et al., 2016). Furthermore, the bans that are intended to protect potential migrant workers from rights violations can backfire; in some cases, they have been associated with an increase in irregular labour migration and trafficking.

Barriers set by host countries

Then there are barriers set by host countries limiting legal pathways for migration. Host countries employ different legislative and policy instruments to manage the overall number of immigrants and nature of migration. Many of these instruments prevent and restrict migration, which means that the demand far outstrips places available, particularly in the most desirable host countries. For instance, the US temporary visa for skilled migrants has a cap of 65,000 annually, which was reached within the first week in each of the past five years (Trautwein, 2017). Likewise, only about 0.5% of applicants for a diversity visa received it (State Department, 2017). In the UK, skilled Tier 2 visas are capped at 20,700 per year; in 2015 the monthly cap of 1,650 was reached within 11 days (West and Ali, 2015).

Some evidence suggests that national migration policy regimes have become less restrictive over the past 50 years, at all skill levels (de Haas et al., 2016). Other analysis suggests that work-related entry channels in four European countries (France, Italy, Spain, the UK) have become more restrictive, especially with respect to low-skilled migration (Consterdine et al., 2017). While overall policy trends are disputed, country-level analysis shows that over the past two decades, more restrictive policies have started to dominate in traditional host countries, e.g. Australia and the US (de Haas et al., 2016).

The nature of migration policies has changed too, becoming increasingly selective based on skills, with fewer opportunities for poor and less-skilled aspiring migrants (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011). Selective immigration policies facilitate the entry of skilled workers, but are also used to justify the discrimination and/or denial of rights to low-skilled workers (de Haas et al., 2016). This has direct implications for the potential of migration to reduce poverty as it prevents the low-skilled who are more likely to be poor from accessing regular migration pathways. It also potentially causes ‘brain waste’ amongst those who are slightly better off and can afford to finance migration and who can access regular migration pathways, but then often end up working in low-skilled jobs in host countries (ibid.).

Restrictive policy regimes reduce the opportunities for regular migration in the first place, but they can also deflect migrants towards irregular migration channels. For instance, a study looking at Eritrean migrants in Ethiopia showed that as people lose hope in the formal processes and channels, the risks involved in irregular transit become tolerable (Mallett et al., 2017). Likewise, a study in 29 European countries showed that more restrictive temporary visa schemes push migrants towards irregularity: a 10% increase in short-stay visa rejections leads to a 5% increase in irregular migration (Czaika and Hobolth, 2014).²³ As irregular migration is more costly and risky, it has a lower potential to reduce poverty, and makes the original point of barriers moot.

Restrictive migration policies are likely to remain on the policy agenda of many desirable host countries, but there are policy entry points. Circular and seasonal migration schemes have been put forward as a ‘realistic’ policy solution (Foresti, 2017), opening up more opportunities for regular and safe migration, particularly for those with lower skills levels (see Boxes 1 and 4).

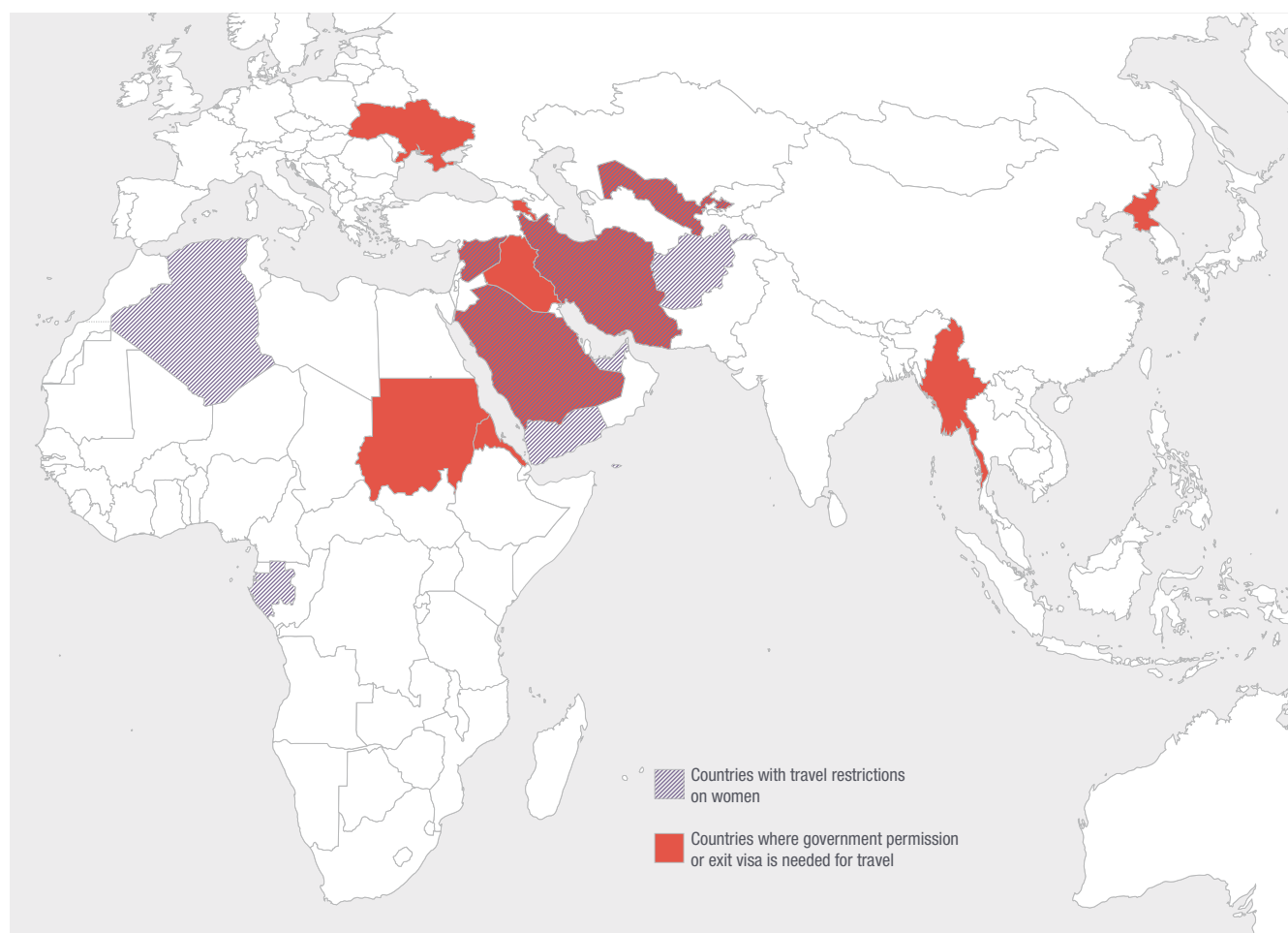
20. For example, limited administrative capacity in the Congo means not enough passports are produced year on year to meet demand (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011).

21. This figure lists legal restrictions; other countries also restrict mobility for certain ethnic or political sub-groups due to political reasons.

22. Ethiopia bans unskilled workers travelling to the Middle East, and the Philippines restricts or bans labour migration to more than 10 Middle Eastern and sub-Saharan countries. Travel bans for migrant domestic workers are common; for example, Indonesia, Myanmar, Nepal, the Philippines and Sri Lanka have had temporary bans on domestic workers migrating to several Middle Eastern countries.

23. See also Medam (2017) for more examples.

Figure 1: Legal restrictions in origin countries on the international mobility of citizens



Source: Country reports in US Department of State (2016)

5 Conclusions and policy recommendations

The potential benefits of international labour migration have been described as the equivalent to ‘finding trillion-dollar bills on the side-walk’ (Clemens, 2011). The very essence of labour migration lies in the huge income-differentials that exist globally: a worker from a low-income country can earn significantly more in a high-income country, thus being able to improve standards of living for their families, with multiplier effects in both host and origin countries. In other words, migration is a hugely powerful poverty-reduction instrument and is key to meeting SDG 1 and other Goals.

Keeping in mind the 2030 Agenda principle of ‘leaving no-one behind’, the evidence makes a powerful argument for creating opportunities for mobility for citizens of poor countries, particularly the poorest, who often cannot afford the high costs of migration. Schemes that foster labour mobility should be seen as complementary to other development programmes and considered an important item in the toolbox for reducing poverty.

Yet the role that mobility can play is mostly absent from the discussions on poverty reduction. This is because migration is a ‘difficult’ policy instrument. The effects of migration are not always immediate and public attitudes to migration are often negative (Dempster and Hargrave, 2017), which makes it tough for policy-makers to propose new policy instruments within short-term political cycles. Migration often fails to achieve its full poverty reduction potential due to the high costs of migration, poor conditions in host countries, and barriers to mobility. Furthermore, when regular migration channels are not in place, aspiring migrants make use of irregular ones, with lower benefits for both host countries and migrants themselves.

It is therefore in everyone’s interest for migration to happen safely and legally, in a regulated rather than a clandestine way (UN, 2017). To achieve this, the 2030 Agenda can provide the policy framework, as well as the necessary political ‘traction’, in different member states and in the multilateral system.

Box 4: New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer programme

The Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) programme began in 2007, aiming to ease labour shortages in New Zealand's horticulture and viticulture industries by admitting up to 5,000 seasonal workers (in the first instance), giving preference to those from Pacific countries. Promoting development in the Pacific Islands is an explicit goal of RSE. It is considered a success; a rigorous multi-year evaluation showed it had a significant and multidimensional impact on poverty reduction for participating migrants and their households in Tonga and Vanuatu.

In both countries, per-capita income of households with an RSE migrant rose by over 30% relative to non-migrant households, and in Tonga, households doubled their savings (Gibson and McKenzie, 2014). Over two years, households in Vanuatu who reported having a bank account rose from 55% to 74% (ibid.), which is thought to reflect more formal savings practices. Subjective economic welfare increased significantly for households in both countries. Participating households in both countries purchased more durable assets, and in Tonga they were almost twice as likely as non-RSE households to make a home improvement. Moreover, school-attendance rates increased by 20% for 16- to 18-year-olds in Tonga.

The recommendations below set out key actions for national governments in host and origin countries, international institutions and civil-society organisations to maximise the poverty reduction potential of migration. This is key for to achieving the SDG targets on poverty reduction and, leaving no-one behind.

Conclusion 1: Migration is one of the most successful ways to reduce poverty, and is therefore crucial to achieving SDG 1 and other Goals.

Recommendation: Allow poor families and households to benefit from migration.

- The benefits of migration are greater for migrants and host countries when it takes place through safe, regular and orderly pathways: expand and diversify them (see Conclusion 3). Origin countries should provide information about regular migration pathways, and run pre-departure training to facilitate migration and maximise its benefits.
- Safeguard the rights of migrant workers, including those working informally, particularly when they are not protected by national labour laws. Work proactively to eliminate abusive recruitment, and encourage greater scrutiny of global supply chains (see Box 3). These efforts should take a multi-stakeholder approach and involve governments of origin and host countries, as well as other actors including the private sector and local authorities.
- Female migrant workers also contribute to sustainable development, but owing to gender-based barriers they are less likely than men to make the most of the economic and social opportunities of mobility. Policy measures should focus on regulating and improving working conditions for all female migrant workers (O'Neil et al., 2016).
- Establish supportive institutions that can help families who stay behind adapt to the loss of an economically active member or caregiver through migration. Interventions should be tailored to the length and type of migration in question; options could include putting in place safety nets to improve health and education outcomes for children in the community, including those of migrant children, and introducing accessible banking, credit, investment and insurance systems (Démurger, 2015).
- Foster and encourage remittances and other forms of diaspora finance. Remittances can be a key resource for poverty reduction, while diaspora investment can contribute to broader economic growth in origin countries (see Gelb, forthcoming). Bilateral and multilateral organisations have a role to play too, for instance in matchmaking investors/lenders in the diaspora with borrowers in the home country (including the government, businesses or individual households) as well as leveraging and complementing diaspora investment.
- Policy-makers in donor countries should view development aid and migration as complementary. It is possible to achieve aid objectives (such as poverty reduction) through mobility, while at the same time benefitting host countries (Clemens and Postel, 2017). At a more granular level, aid can be used to facilitate skills-training programmes specifically linked to mobility opportunities (see Clemens, 2014), provide information to aspiring migrants (e.g. on regular migration pathways), improve conditions for migrants in so-called transit countries, and more.

- The relationship between migration and poverty reduction is complex: while the evidence shows that migration tends to reduce poverty, the mechanisms are often difficult to disentangle (Antman, 2012). Therefore, more rigorous research is needed to isolate these mechanisms, so that policies can be targeted more effectively. Better longitudinal data could also help to clarify the range of impacts migration has on migrants and their families, at different stages of the process.

Relevant SDG Targets

1.1: By 2030, eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere, currently measured as people living on less than \$1.25 a day.

1.2: By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions.

1.4: By 2030, ensure that all men and women, in particular the poor and the vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, natural resources, appropriate new technology and financial services, including microfinance.

1.5: By 2030, build the resilience of the poor and those in vulnerable situations and reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate-related extreme events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters.

8.1: Sustain per capita economic growth in accordance with national circumstances and, in particular, at least 7 per cent gross domestic product growth per annum in the least developed countries.

8.8: Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment.

Conclusion 2: The high cost of migration makes it harder for the poorest to migrate.

Recommendation: Reduce the pre-departure, recruitment and travel cost of migration, improve access to loans, and lower the transaction costs of migrant remittances.

- Origin countries should take action to reduce the pre-departure costs of migration, as they burden the poorest the most. For instance, passports should be made available more easily and at a lower cost. Pre-departure loans, at reasonable interest rates from a regulated provider, can help, alongside information about the migration process. Such loans must be fully transparent and legal, and the migrant must have sufficient financial knowledge to assess adequately the implications of taking a loan.
- Governments should better regulate and monitor recruitment agencies, encouraging professionalisation and transparency in the industry, for example holding agencies accountable by publishing their performance and ratings. Additional efforts could include cooperation and agreements with large employers dependent on migrant labour, and bilateral coordination between origin and host countries on enacting the principles of 'fair recruitment'.
- Lowering the transaction costs of remittances has been on the policy agenda for years. The focus now has to move from rhetoric to action, ensuring more partnerships between MTOs, policy-makers, regulators and other stakeholders, and to set up enforceable agreements, such as the African Postal Financial Services Initiative (APFSI, 2016).

Relevant SDG Targets

1.a: Ensure significant mobilization of resources from a variety of sources, including through enhanced development cooperation, in order to provide adequate and predictable means for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, to implement programmes and policies to end poverty in all its dimensions.

10.c: Reduce transaction costs of migrant remittances.

Conclusion 3: There are insufficient safe, regular and orderly migration pathways diminishing the potential of migration to reduce poverty.

Recommendation: Increase and diversify safe, regular and orderly migration pathways to achieve greater poverty reduction benefits for migrants themselves, their families, and their host and origin countries.

- Origin countries must remove barriers to migration. They should support their citizens who want to migrate by providing information on the migration process and consular support to those in host countries. They should also help those who return, for instance by providing attractive investment opportunities.
- Temporary/seasonal migration has a high poverty reduction potential and can have more political traction in host countries than permanent schemes. These schemes should be expanded, learning lessons from existing pilots (for instance between Haiti and the US, and Tonga and New Zealand).
- Many high-income countries have a strong demand for labour at different levels of skill. To ensure a reliable supply of appropriately trained individuals, host countries could set up training institutions in origin countries. Initiatives such as a Global Skills Partnership could combine skills and job training with embedded mobility schemes (Clemens, 2014). They would also help to maximise the benefits of migration for migrants and origin countries.
- Citizens from the poorest countries have the most to gain from migration, yet are often less able to access regular migration pathways. Countries with a points-based immigration system could give extra points for migrants from low-income countries, to increase their likelihood of obtaining a visa. Additional measures could focus on skills matching and skills recognition.

Relevant SDG Targets

1.b: Create sound policy frameworks at the national, regional and international levels, based on pro-poor and gender-sensitive development strategies, to support accelerated investment in poverty eradication actions.

10.7: Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies.

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SDGs covered | 1: No poverty
3: Good health and well-being
4: Quality education
11: Sustainable cities and communities
16: Peace, justice and strong institutions



Citizenship, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Katy Long, Elisa Mosler Vidal, Amelia Kuch and Jessica Hagen-Zanker

Key messages

- Ensuring migrants have access to appropriate and secure legal status can help achieve Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 on peaceful and inclusive societies.
- If granted, permanent residency and/or citizenship can help foster integration. If access is denied, it can lead to tensions between migrants and host communities, further marginalise migrants, and hinder progress towards SDG 16.7.
- Numerous barriers prevent long-term migrants from accessing permanent residency and/or citizenship, including political feasibility, racial, religious and gender bars, stringent language tests, and high costs. These barriers should be removed, or made more flexible.
- Second-generation migrants are particularly affected because they are often excluded from full membership of the communities they have lived in all their lives. States should explore granting full citizenship at birth, or soon after.

1 Introduction

Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 calls on states to ‘promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels’. This briefing considers how ensuring migrants have fair access to appropriate and secure legal status, through permanent residency and/or citizenship, can help achieve this Goal.

Granting permanent residency and/or citizenship to migrants can help foster integration and promote ‘peaceful and inclusive societies’. If such integration is not fostered, it can lead to tensions between migrant and host communities. We argue that the links between migration and specific Targets should be considered; specifically, 16.3 on the rule of law and access to justice, 16.4 on organised crime, 16.5 on corruption and bribery, 16.7 on responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making, and 16.9 on legal identity. Ignoring these linkages will jeopardise the achievement of these Targets.

This briefing begins by defining key concepts. Section 3 outlines the evidence linking citizenship and integration. Section 4 shows common requirements for, and barriers to, accessing citizenship. Section 5 considers the implications of not giving migrants access to permanent residency and/or citizenship – the potential for tensions and conflict. Section 6 draws out implications for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2030 Agenda), specifically the specific Targets included in Goal 16. The final section concludes and draws out specific policy recommendations.

2 Defining key concepts

Citizenship is broadly defined as membership of a self-governing political community, bringing with it rights and obligations for both the citizen and their community (Stanford, 2017). Citizenship, permanent residency and other forms of legal status are usually considered to encompass a formal legal relationship with a state. Yet citizenship also connects to wider ideas about belonging to, and participating in, more local forms of community (see Holston and Appadurai, 1996). Importantly, although citizenship status is primarily acquired through birth, nearly all states also recognise the idea that citizenship rests on consent, so that it is possible for newcomers to become citizens in their host community by mutual agreement.¹

Citizenship is not the only form of secure legal status available to migrants. In many countries, migrants are able to apply for **permanent residency** (sometimes called

‘indefinite leave to remain’) without having to take on all the obligations – or be granted all the rights – associated with citizenship (for example, permanent residents may not be required to complete military service, and are usually not permitted to vote). This is often required as an interim stage before full citizenship, marking an incremental expansion of migrants’ rights over time.

Broader than formal citizenship or other forms of legal status is the concept of **integration**. In this paper, integration is understood as a two-way, long-term incremental process that goes beyond fostering simple tolerance and absence of conflict (between different groups of people in social, economic and political spheres). It involves the active mixing of people who hold different identities, helping to foster shared collective values and practices of ‘belonging’ (Ager and Strang, 2008). Some analysts prefer to use the term ‘inclusion’ to underline that this idea of belonging does not rest upon ‘one-way assimilation’ (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003). In this paper, the terms integration and inclusion will be used interchangeably.

Host states do not expect all migrants to integrate (see Ruhs, 2013). Similarly, migrants’ interests in and need to ‘belong’ to the host community vary substantially depending on the purpose of their migration, which itself may change over time. At one end of the spectrum, seasonal workers are generally expected to stay in a fixed location and have minimal engagement with local community. At the other extreme, migrants who arrive through family channels are normally presumed to be settling permanently in their country of arrival.

Most labour and student migrants can be considered a middle group. On the one hand, very few are admitted with permanent rights to stay in a country of destination, and many are only allowed to stay temporarily while they complete a course of study or work for a particular company. On the other hand, many workers and students may find themselves settling in a destination country indefinitely, either by initial design, or because their plans change.

Finally, there are second-generation migrants, who are born in a host country to immigrant parents (or arrive as small children), and may never have lived in their ‘home’ state. While a few states (the United States (US), Canada) still offer unconditional *jus soli*/ birthright citizenship to those born on their territory, most countries restrict access to citizenship based on the parent’s legal status or length of residency.

1. The idea of mutual consent may also be used to justify the *deprivation* of citizenship by the state. Although the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness prohibits deprivation of nationality if it would lead to statelessness, in recent years countries including the United Kingdom (UK) have enacted and used provisions which allow them to denationalise dual nationals (mostly in terror cases) (United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), 1961: Article 8; Travis, 2017).

3 Links between citizenship and integration

Many argue that citizenship should not be viewed as an end in itself but as a crucial means to secure full inclusion and integration in a community (Massey and Bartley, 2005; Portes et al., 2009). Citizenship is often presented as the end-point of this process, as a reward for successful integration and confirmation of the host community's willingness to accept a new member. Those without such status may be prevented from accessing education and health services, jobs and welfare benefits (Spencer, 2006). These are widely recognised as critical factors for migrants' inclusion (UK Home Office, 2004).

Evidence shows the positive effect naturalisation has on the labour market, with migrants' gaining greater employability and higher wages after naturalisation (Peters and Vink, 2016; Bauböck et al., 2013). This is partly because the new status removes restrictions on public-sector and other jobs, and partly because a naturalised migrant is perceived as less risky to hire. In Germany, a study found that immigrant women experienced higher wages and improved labour-market outcomes after naturalisation, mainly because they were able to switch to jobs with permanent contracts and in larger firms (Gathmann and Keller, 2014). These effects are important for integration prospects; labour-market integration enables greater economic and social inclusion, through improved access to decent accommodation and healthcare (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)/European Union (EU), 2015).

While labour-market outcomes are important markers of migrants' integration, they are only one aspect of it. There is also evidence of a positive relationship between naturalisation and political integration. For example, a study across 19 European countries showed that citizenship acquisition increased political participation, especially for migrants who grew up in non-democratic settings (Just and Anderson, 2012). In Switzerland, naturalisation improved political integration as immigrants attained higher levels of political knowledge (Hainmueller et al., 2015).

4 Citizenship requirements and barriers

A migrant may be able to acquire citizenship through registration,² naturalisation³ or investment. There is a general consensus that it is reasonable a migrant should demonstrate a genuine connection with the community they hope to join when applying for permanent residency and/or citizenship. Most states require applicants to demonstrate a period of residency, basic linguistic and

cultural knowledge, and that they are of good character. Many states also charge fees.

Some states run 'citizenship by investment' programmes, which allow for citizenship (or, more often, permanent residency) to be fast-tracked or acquired outright in exchange for a financial investment. Such programmes – especially in less-developed countries like Antigua, the Comoros or the Dominican Republic – are often claimed to have an explicit 'development' objective, bringing income into the state. Yet pursuing development through the sale of citizenship raises difficult questions about the nature of sustainable development, inclusion and belonging.

Traditionally, citizenship was viewed as a unitary status, so that acquiring a new citizenship required the relinquishing of a previous one. However, as the number of international migrants and their descendants has increased, so too have the number of dual nationals, or people formally recognised as holding two or more citizenships. Some states, such as the Netherlands and India, do not recognise dual nationality, and require migrants who naturalise to give up the citizenship of their country of origin. Others have introduced new provisions to allow diaspora members to keep or reclaim citizenship. These policies are explicitly intended to encourage greater economic, cultural and social links between diaspora communities and origin countries by facilitating easier mobility and a sense of continued belonging (Faist and Kivisto, 2007).

The rest of this section discusses barriers to permanent residency and/or citizenship faced by migrants in host communities, and potential policy solutions.

4.1 Political feasibility

Human-rights advocates argue that long-term migrants, once admitted legally, should not be denied the right to secure legal status and citizenship over time. However, in many states, granting citizenship to migrants is politically contentious. This is especially true if there are large numbers of migrants who are eligible to naturalise, as this may stoke fears that social identity and cohesion could be lost. 'Demographic bomb' narratives are the core of a number of political debates, including fears expressed about Palestinian Israelis, Roma in Slovakia and Latinos in the US.

In some cases, such concerns arise because migrants were not originally expected to remain permanently in the host country when they were admitted. It took several decades for Germany, for instance, to recognise that Turkish guest workers and their German-born children were not likely to return home. In the United Kingdom (UK), British citizenship and rights of residency were

2. Citizenship by registration can be claimed if a migrant meets criteria that tend to be linked to pre-existing connections between a state and the applicant. It is particularly relevant when dealing with diaspora (re)migration, and migration as a result of marriage.

3. Only a very few states, including Myanmar and Lebanon, have a total or near-total bar on naturalisation. However, in practice many countries make naturalisation difficult for long-term migrants, through a combination of stringent criteria, high fees and arbitrary administrative procedures.

increasingly restricted after large numbers of migrants from the former British Empire arrived between the 1950s and the 1970s (Weil, 2001).

This problem is compounded where a state understands membership in explicitly ethnic or indigenous terms. In these situations, such as in many Gulf States, collective national identity requires citizenship to be strictly restricted. Some states have taken involved measures to protect this ‘national’ ideal. For instance, in 2014 Kuwait attempted to buy Comoros passports for stateless Bedouin groups in its territory, in order to avoid having to recognise them as Kuwaiti citizens (Abrahamian, 2015; Mansour-Ille 2016).

Granting citizenship to migrants may also prove politically complex in cases where a migrant group is associated with historic oppression. Latvians’ reluctance to recognise Russian-speakers as citizens, for instance, stems from the Soviet Union’s long occupation of the country (Weil, 2001). In other cases, granting citizenship to a particular group of migrants may be feared because of divisions within multinational states and concerns that new citizens may shift political power or encourage separatism. Kenyan reluctance to offer Somali migrants and refugees citizenship can be explained in part by the state’s difficult relationship with the Kenyan Somali community (Manby, 2016).

Box 1: Reciprocal rights in ECOWAS

Many regional trade blocs offer citizens of member countries reciprocal rights to live, work and study across a region. Although regional or supranational citizenship is a relatively new concept (most fully developed in the setting of the EU) a number of emerging regional citizenship groups are emerging (Long, 2015).

ECOWAS was founded in 1975. In 1979 the Community adopted a Free Movement Protocol giving all citizens of member states the right to enter, reside and work across the community.

The ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol still faces many challenges. Immigration officials in member states are sometimes unaware (or unwilling to recognise) that ECOWAS nationals holding valid documents can enter their country freely. And ECOWAS rights are not equivalent to national membership. For example, in 2002 questions regarding national citizenship (and the refusal to offer this to the descendent of migrants from other West African states) played a role in precipitating civil war in the Cote d’Ivoire.

Nevertheless, ECOWAS offers a possible model for balancing the needs of migrants for reciprocal rights to foster peaceful and inclusive societies, with concerns about protecting national identities (see Manby, 2015).

In the case of mass influx of refugees, the politics of granting citizenship is still more complex. Host states did not choose to admit these arrivals, and do so as a humanitarian duty. Offering hundreds of thousands of refugees citizenship *en masse* is usually politically fraught, especially in states like Lebanon where inter-community politics are already extremely fragile and demographic shifts could incite serious violence.

4.2 Legal status

The ability to apply for permanent residency or citizenship is universally premised on having arrived as a legal migrant and remained in the country as such. For millions of migrants who do not hold, or cannot prove, legal status, this can create an insurmountable obstacle.

While this group includes irregular migrants, it is not limited to them. Migrants who have travelled to live and work in countries where there are reciprocal rights of free movement, for instance, may not always have the paperwork to prove their right to residency or citizenship. This has recently become an issue for EU citizens in the UK in the wake of Brexit (Box 3), but has also caused difficulties in the past for citizens moving in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) region (Box 1).

4.3 Racial, religious and gender bars

In some cases, constitutional bars prevent migrants who do not belong to a specified racial or religious group from becoming citizens of the country in which they have settled. The Liberian constitution, for instance, specifies that all applicants for citizenship must be ‘negro or of negro descent’, effectively barring non-black residents from acquiring citizenship. This excludes Liberia’s Lebanese population, who have been settled in the state since the 1960s.

In 2003, Israel passed a Citizenship and Entry law that restricted access to citizenship (and residency) for all Palestinians with a West Bank or Gaza identity card, including those with an Israeli spouse. In 2007 the provisions were expanded to apply to non-Jewish citizens of Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria marrying Israeli Jews (Amnesty International, 2017). Similarly many Gulf countries make it difficult for non-Muslims to acquire citizenship, and by law Saudi Arabia requires all citizens to be Muslim (US State Department, 2005).

Gender discrimination can intersect with migration to create barriers to citizenship, particularly for the children of mixed citizen-migrant marriages. In 2014, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) launched the #IBelong campaign, advocating for the removal of gender discrimination in 27 states where nationality laws currently prevent women married to foreigners from passing on their citizenship to their children. In 2017, Madagascar became the first country on the list to amend its nationality law (UNHCR, 2017).

4.4 Excessive residency requirements

Some states require migrants to prove extremely long-term residency in order to qualify for citizenship. In the Central African Republic, for instance, applicants may be required to show as many as 35 years (Manby, 2016). Bureaucratic delays and quotas can also hamper applications in developed states, sometimes exacerbating ethnic and racial disparities in access.

Laws may explicitly seek to prevent migrants who arrived as refugees from naturalising, particularly in cases of mass influx of refugees. In Uganda, for instance, the government has repeatedly resisted attempts by long-term refugees to naturalise. A 2015 High Court decision determined that refugees could not be barred from applying for naturalisation, but refugee advocate groups complain that in practice, administrators refuse to provide refugees with the necessary forms (International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI), 2016). Tanzania, on the other hand, is an example of a country that has given citizenship for long-term refugees on a large scale (Box 2).

4.5 Stringent language and citizenship tests

Many locals feel permanent residents and new citizens should speak some form of lingua franca. However, some states insist that migrants applying for citizenship must pass complex language exams that go beyond the skills needed for everyday communication. For instance, Botswana requires knowledge of Setswana or another language spoken by a 'tribal' community (Manby, 2016).

A number of countries – mostly developed states – also require applicants to pass a citizenship exam. Some of these exams have been deliberately designed to be difficult for immigrants to pass, with questions on trivia that are irrelevant to migrants' everyday inclusion. The Danish citizenship test, for instance, was revised in 2016, as part of a raft of measures intended to cut immigration after a surge of support for anti-immigrant political parties (Delman, 2016). It includes questions such as 'Which Danish restaurant gained a third Michelin star in February 2016?'.⁴

4.6 High costs

The monetary cost of applying for citizenship varies considerably. In Japan, although cultural requirements are strictly enforced, the naturalisation process is free. However, Kenya levies a fee of KSHS500,000 (US\$4,800), 3.5 times Kenya's per-capita gross domestic product (GDP). The UK has also been criticised for disproportionately high citizenship fees (Economist 2017). One consequence of such high costs is that permanent residency and citizenship become unaffordable 'luxuries' for less wealthy migrants; the high cost of US naturalisation (US\$680), for example, is one reason a number of migrants chose not

Box 2: Tanzanian citizenship for Burundian refugees

In 1972, Tanzania received tens of thousands of refugees from Burundi and settled them in three rural settlements. Over the years, refugees integrated with the host communities and began to contribute significantly to the local economy. Today, over 85% of the inhabitants in these settlements were born in Tanzania. Nonetheless, the second and third generation of Burundian refugees continue to live with refugee status and no prospects for naturalisation.

In 2007, the government of Tanzania, in partnership with the government of Burundi and UNHCR, designed the Tanzania Comprehensive Solutions Strategy. This comprised three key elements: voluntary repatriation, application for naturalisation, and final local integration in Tanzania. To date, 151,019 certificates have been distributed to individuals who opted for naturalisation, and over 53,000 refugees have returned to Burundi (UNHCR, 2014).

to apply for citizenship even when they can meet other criteria (Gonzales-Barera et al., 2013). Unable to afford naturalisation, poorer migrants remain on temporary visas, without protection against deportation (Taylor et al., 2012).

5 Tensions arising from lack of citizenship

When immigration policy changes, prior acquisition of permanent residency or citizenship (and even migrant parents' and grandparents' citizenship) can become an essential protection against deportation and discrimination. The surge in EU nationals applying for UK citizenship post-2015 (see Box 3) and in naturalisation rates in the US among eligible Green Card holders since the 2016 Presidential election, reflect these concerns (Tolan, 2017).

The inability of long-term migrants, including second-generation 'migrants' born in their host country, to acquire citizenship in their host community can result in exclusion and deprive migrants of fundamental rights, as well as contribute to inter-community tensions and conflict. The case of Turkish migrants and their descendants in Germany, who until the 1990s were unable to become citizens under German law and who as a result struggled to integrate into German communities, is one well-known example of barriers to citizenship preventing full inclusion.⁴

4. This is not to suggest that citizenship is the only factor in fostering integration and inclusion. As a counter-example, despite French citizenship being relative easy for immigrants to acquire, and French identity being understood in non-ethnic terms, France has struggled with the marginalisation and segregation of migrant and second-generation citizens.

In the most extreme cases, violence follows government decisions to strip citizenship from the descendants of migrants. In 2013, for example, the Dominican Republic's Constitutional Court revoked citizenship for children born to foreign parents as far back as 1929, as part of a long-running 'anti-Haitianismo' political movement in the country inspired by racial, linguistic and socio-economic prejudice (Hindin and Ariza, 2016). This affected a large proportion of the 240,000 Dominicans of Haitian descent in the country⁵ who were left without the right to work, services and more. It provoked huge social and political disquiet, with large-scale protests in Haiti, the Dominican Republic and across the US (Constable, 2015; Semple, 2013).

5.1 Political exclusion

Many migrants have limited political rights in their host country: the ability to vote (especially at the national level) and to run for office is usually limited to citizens alone. One consequence is that migrants – including long-term migrants with permanent residency and their families – have no right of political participation and very little direct political power to influence community decision-making. Policies excluding migrants may prove popular with a non-migrant electorate or avoid close scrutiny, because migrants must rely upon proxy representation (for instance, family who do hold citizenship) in order to influence the outcome of political debate. The relatively progressive nature of the US debate on immigration regularisation – where a majority of those surveyed continue to favour a pathway to citizenship for irregular migrants who meet certain criteria – can be partly attributed to the irregular migrants who have close friends and family with citizenship, and who are an increasingly important political bloc (Branton, 2007).

More serious tensions can arise when governments deny political rights to individuals who have a long-standing claim to that country and/or previously enjoyed these rights. This is the case for the long-established Nepali community in Bhutan (Box 4), and for approximately 300,000 ethnic Russians in Latvia, who, despite having been born or lived in the country for decades, remain non-citizens without political rights. Debate over their status is heated. In 2012, 75% of the electorate rejected a proposal to recognise Russian as a national language in the constitution, even though a third of Latvia's population speak it as their mother tongue (Cianetti, 2014; Schmid, 2008).

5.2 Access to justice

Non-citizens can struggle to secure access to justice. Although citizens are normally guaranteed legal counsel if they are arrested, this right often does not extend to non-citizens, particularly those whose status is irregular. Australia, for instance, does not guarantee legal counsel for anyone detained under the Migration Act (Congress, 2017).

Tensions around legal access and due process for non-citizens are amplified for low-skilled workers. Given that many migrants are in low-skilled employment, it makes this group particularly vulnerable. This double bar has affected low-skilled migrants in some Middle Eastern and Asian countries, where alleged violations have led to local and national tensions.

Migrants have also protested against seasonal and temporary workers' programmes that offer no opportunity to accumulate a more permanent residency status and that can leave workers open to abuse. In 2010, hundreds of Guatemalans gathered to protest against abusive working conditions of Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker system (Market Wire, 2010).

Box 3: EU citizens in the UK after Brexit

In June 2016 the UK decided to leave the EU, resulting in uncertainty for millions of EU citizens living in the UK. Key issues at stake include their continued right to work, families potentially being split up, and access to pensions and healthcare (House of Commons, 2017). There are also 1.2 million UK citizens living in EU countries with similar concerns (ibid).

After Brexit, EU citizens rushed to secure their status in the UK; over 90,000 applied for a 'permanent residence' card in 2016 (Ryan, 2017) and capacity to handle these was low. It was estimated it would take 140 years to process applications (Migration Observatory, 2016). At the end of 2016, 29% of claims were rejected (Elgot, 2017). The process was eventually declared 'not fit for purpose' by a parliamentary committee (House of Commons, 2017).

For many EU citizens who have established their lives – legally studying, working, paying taxes and starting families – the continued uncertainty is disruptive. Many have voiced anger at being used for political bargaining in Brexit negotiations, while others have reported anxiety and feeling unwelcome in the UK (House of Commons, 2017; O'Carroll, 2016).

5. Their situation was further complicated as they could not resettle in Haiti; foreign-born individuals are only eligible for Haitian citizenship if one parent is a natural-born Haitian citizen.

Box 4: Discriminatory citizenship laws in Bhutan

The experience of ethnic Nepalis in Bhutan shows how regressive and discriminatory citizenship laws can be used as a pretext to deny human rights, and to marginalise and impoverish ethnic minorities, decades after any initial migration.

In 1985, the Bhutanese Citizenship Act created an extremely narrow definition of citizenship that was deliberately used to exclude ethnic Nepalis (some 43% of the population). Authorities went even further than the Act stipulated, requiring Nepalis to prove residency in 1958 to qualify, even when they were already in possession of a citizenship card. Any Nepalis who could not do this were reclassified as 'illegal immigrants' and non-nationals.

These revisions led to growing unrest in southern Bhutan. By the mid-1990s, at least 106,000 refugees had fled to camps in Nepal, where they would spend the next 15 years. The ethnic Nepalis who remained in Bhutan were subject to frequent harassment, discrimination and marginalisation (Hutt, 2003).

In 2007, the US government announced its willingness to resettle Bhutanese refugees, with eight other resettlement countries joining them. By late 2015, 100,000 had been resettled (Van Selm, 2013; Shrestha, 2015). There are still 10,000-12,000 refugees in Nepal's camps hoping for repatriation. While mass resettlement has helped the exiled Bhutanese, it has done so arguably at the expense of their claims to Bhutanese citizenship.

5.3 Access to education, healthcare and other services⁶

Decisions by states to limit entitlements to permanent residents and citizens are, in the first instance, relatively uncontroversial. However, second-generation migrants unable to claim citizenship can be particularly affected by limited access to subsidised education or healthcare programmes. This issue has been especially prominent in the US, where 20 states now allow undocumented immigrant students who have graduated from high school to benefit from in-state tuition rates (National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), 2015).

Another group whose exclusion from services can be problematic are refugees, and those who arrived *involuntarily* in a state. In developed regions, recognised refugees (though not asylum-seekers) are usually provided with immediate access to most state services. In contrast, in many developing regions states have pursued deliberately hostile policies aimed at the long-term exclusion of refugees. For instance, Syrians in Lebanon and Jordan

face a number of prohibitions that contribute to economic isolation, including no or limited access to the formal labour market (Domat, 2016). Support to refugees in these contexts is mostly provided through humanitarian agencies. Covering vulnerable citizens and non-citizens in parallel systems diminishes any social-cohesion effects to be gained from joint access (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017b).

5.4 Lack of integration prospects

A lack of permanent status and/or citizenship can lead to general unrest in local communities, and the further marginalisation of migrants. In these cases, lack of citizenship is rarely an explicit cause of unrest, but rather a contributor to migrant-local tensions and failed inclusion. Such protests can be migrant-led, such as the violent riots in Paris in 2005 (Schneider, 2008). Most common, however, are anti-migrant and/or anti-multiculturalist protests that are in part motivated by a sense that migrants are living separately from local citizens, such as the xenophobic riots and attacks in South Africa in 2008 (and again in 2015 and 2017) (Mosselson, 2010).

It is ironic that in some cases the expansion of migrants' rights and/or of host-country citizenship could help address local anger at migrants' perceived segregation. Partly in response to such concerns, some local authorities have developed local forms of citizenship based on residency (see Box 5).

6 Relevance to the 2030 Agenda

SDG 16 promotes 'peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development'. Migration has played a role in making societies more diverse and inclusive, by creating opportunities for new social and cultural exchanges (Moran, 2011). This in turn can help increase innovation and fuel economic growth (Bove and Elia, 2017). However, a lack of permanent residency and/or citizenship can prevent migrants from becoming full members of society, for instance by limiting access to justice and services, and can create tension and conflict between migrant groups and host communities. Thus, if migration is not framed by inclusive citizenship policies, progress towards 'peaceful and inclusive societies' can be hindered.

In direct contradiction to SDG 16.3, which calls for equal access to justice for all, non-citizens may struggle to be accorded equal treatment within the justice system, or may be unable to access legal aid to assist with representation. Similarly, long-term and/or second-generation migrants can be barred from political participation, which means decision-making is not fully representative at all levels, directly affecting the implementation of SDG 16.7 on responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making. Again,

6. For more information on migration and access to services, see the other briefings in this series: education (Nicolai et al., 2017); health (Tulloch et al., 2016); and social protection (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017a).

Box 5: Local citizenship initiatives

While most migration policies are set at the national level, it is increasingly common for cities at the frontline of migration to develop their own approaches to integrating people, including through processes that draw on the idea of citizenship as *jus domicil*, or ‘citizenship by residency’. In the US, for instance, both San Francisco and New York offer identity cards to all residents, regardless of legal status. Such inclusive practices are closely linked to the ‘sanctuary cities’ movement, in which local authorities limit their cooperation with federal immigration orders (Lee et al., 2017).

In Europe, since 1997 the city of Barcelona has been explicit about its ambition to grant equal citizenship to all persons based on ‘the acquisition of rights instead of the concept of nationality’ (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1997), granting ‘the same citizen rights and duties to all persons living in Barcelona’ (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2012).

this can lead to disillusionment, frustration and tension amongst migrants, with implications for Goal 16 more generally.

Permanent residency and naturalisation processes are often opaque, bureaucratic and inefficient, making it harder for migrants to apply. This gives officials, who hold considerable administrative power to approve or deny applications, the opportunity to engage in corrupt behaviour. It can lead to frustration and disillusionment amongst applicants and potential tensions. As such, it affects the implementation of SDG 16.5 on reducing corruption and bribery, and that of SDG 16.6 on developing effective, accountable and transparent institutions, as well as the broader goal of ‘peaceful societies’.

Ensuring universal coverage of birth registration and legal identity in origin and host countries (SDG 16.9) is a vital first step in enabling migrants to access services and apply for citizenship or residency. Yet, globally only two-thirds of births are registered (Mikkelsen et al., 2015). When migrants lack documentation or are unable to access citizenship, residency or legal status more generally (e.g. a work permit), they may resort to obtaining documents from informal markets (Vasta, 2011). This can jeopardise efforts to tackle organised crime, as set out in SDG 16.4. In fact, when pathways for legal migration become more restrictive, it can deflect migrants towards irregularity (Czaika and Hobolth, 2014), which hinders their integration into the host country, impeding progress towards SDG 16 more generally. Ensuring all migrants have access to legal identity documents issued by origin or host countries is key to combating trafficking by reducing migrants’ vulnerability (SDG 16.2). More broadly, when migrants, including second-generation migrants, cannot obtain citizenship or residency status, they are more vulnerable to exploitation by traffickers.

Citizenship and residency issues affect the implementation of a number of other SDG Targets. Eligibility to basic services (including health and education) and social protection is often tied to citizenship/residency, with undocumented migrants rarely eligible. This is often an issue for second-generation migrants who, despite being born in the country, are unable to gain citizenship or a more secure status. This means that progress towards the Goals on health, education and social protection (Targets 4.1, 4.3, 3.8, 1.3) is hampered. Furthermore, when migrants are excluded from accessing fundamental services such as health and education, they are prevented from becoming full members of society, hindering their integration.

Table 1: Citizenship, migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Relevant SDGs and Targets	Link to migration
SDG 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	<p>Migration can contribute to making host countries more diverse and inclusive (Bove and Elia, 2017).</p> <p>Lack of citizenship/residency can prevent migrants from being full members of society, including access to services, and can lead to tensions and conflict.</p>
16.2: End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children	When migrants, including second-generation migrants, cannot obtain citizenship or residency status, they are more vulnerable to exploitation by traffickers.
16.3: Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all	Non-citizens may struggle to be accorded equal treatment within the justice system, or may be unable to access legal aid.
16.4: By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime	When permanent residency and/or citizenship cannot be obtained legally, migrants may resort to obtaining documents on the black market. There are well-recognised links between passport markets and organised crime.
16.5: Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms	Permanent residency and naturalisation processes are often opaque, bureaucratic and inefficient, providing considerable opportunity for officials to engage in corrupt behaviour.
16.6: Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels	As permanent residency and naturalisation processes can be difficult to navigate (see SDG 16.5), it is harder for migrants to apply and become full members of society.
16.7: Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels	When long-term migrants, and subsequent generations, settle permanently in large numbers and are barred from political participation as non-citizens, decision-making is not fully representative.
16.9: By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration	<p>Universal birth registration is a vital first step in ensuring that all children, including migrants' children, are able to lay claim to the citizenships to which they are entitled.</p> <p>Proof of legal identity is vital to being able to apply for residency/citizenship.</p>
1.3: Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable	Migrants lacking permanent residency and/or citizenship status may not be able to access social protection (see Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017a). Furthermore, they can be prevented from accessing contributions made due to portability constraints (ibid). Tying eligibility for social protection to citizenship/residency hampers progress towards this target.
3.8: Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential healthcare services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all	Eligibility for health access is often tied to citizenship/residency status, with only some countries opening up (emergency) healthcare to all, regardless of status (see Tulloch et al., 2016). These eligibility requirements impede progress towards this target and full integration of migrants more generally.
4.1: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes	<p>Education for migrant children is essential to meet SDG 4.1. Yet, eligibility for primary- and secondary-school education can be tied to citizenship/residency status, which means that migrant children can be prevented from accessing education, particularly those who are undocumented (see Nicolai et al., 2017). This often includes second-generation migrants.</p> <p>Access to education is critical, because it plays an important role in social integration and economic mobility (ibid). Participation in education is also key to migrant children becoming fluent in the national language – an important enabling factor to ensure their integration.</p>
4.3: By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university	Access to vocational and tertiary education is often linked to citizenship/residency status and fees are sometimes higher for non-nationals. This can be especially critical for second-generation migrants.
10.7: Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies	Planned and well-managed migration must consider pathways to residency and citizenship.

7 Conclusions and policy recommendations

This briefing illustrates the numerous ways in which migrants' access to permanent residency and/or citizenship can play a vital role in fostering peaceful and inclusive societies, as called for in SDG 16. Migrants who lack secure permanent legal status may suffer a deprivation of other essential rights including access to justice, basic services and work. Opaque and arbitrary naturalisation processes – sometimes deliberately intended to exclude migrants – may contribute to official corruption and bribery. Migrants' lack of access to permanent residency and/or citizenship status can cement their political exclusion, resulting in their marginalisation. In the long term, discriminatory policies can foster civil unrest and even contribute to the outbreak of violent conflict, especially when they exclude second and subsequent generations of settled migrants.

In light of these findings, this briefing makes the following recommendations for national and local governments in host and origin countries, international institutions and civil-society organisations in order to make progress towards SDG 16.

Conclusion 1a: Giving migrants access to permanent residency and/or citizenship can foster peacefulness, inclusion and cohesion in host societies.

Conclusion 1b: Numerous barriers prevent long-term and second-generation migrants from accessing permanent residency and/or citizenship.

Recommendation: Make pathways to permanent residency available to all long-term migrants.

- Grant, presumptively, permanent residency status to all applicants who meet basic criteria (e.g. length of residency, proof of good conduct) so that long-term migrants are not required to keep renewing short-term visas.
- This should not be contingent on meeting any ethnic, religious or other ascriptive criteria.
- The international community should help countries with the highest ratios of migrants to locals – especially forced migrants and refugees – to find solutions that help address the particular burden these influxes can pose to social cohesion.

Recommendation: Make pathways to citizenship accessible to all long-term migrants who meet certain conditions.

- Host governments, particularly those that require an excessively long period, should reduce the number of years' residency required before an application for citizenship can be lodged.
- Remove all categorical bars on citizenship acquisition, as these can foster tensions and conflict. Furthermore, make language requirements more flexible, particularly for older migrants. Remove citizenship tests for migrants with limited education, or offer them alternative, non-written, means of demonstrating membership (e.g. community engagement).
- Acquiring citizenship should not be contingent on the ability to pay. Host governments should lower fees for citizenship or introduce fee waivers for poor migrants. The US, for instance, extended a fee-waiver programme for naturalisation in 2016 (United States Citizen and Immigration Service (USCIS), 2017).
- Where the costs of processing citizenship applications present a significant burden for a host state (for example, mass refugee integration in a developing country), multilateral funding should be made available, to ensure timely and fair processing.
- Naturalisation policies should include education and development components that also target local populations, to lessen prospective tensions.

Recommendation: State and non-state actors should collaborate in creating programmes to provide migrants with the skills necessary to qualify both for formal citizenship and everyday practice of membership.

- Such measures can include holding information sessions on adjusting to life in the host country, language lessons, facilitating entry to professional networks, setting up cultural mentorship programmes, and expanding access to microfinance programmes (Vieru, 2017). Portugal's National Plan for the Integration of Migrants, for example, includes a holistic set of measures to help integration across language, employment, vocational training and housing (Juzwiak et al., 2014).

Relevant SDG Targets

1.3: Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable.

3.8: Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health-care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all.

16.3: Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all.

16.4: By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime.

16.5: Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms.

16.6: Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels.

Conclusion 2: Second-generation migrants are particularly affected by citizenship policies, which may exclude them from full membership of the communities in which they have lived all their lives.

Recommendation: Second and subsequent generations of migrants should have automatic access to citizenship in their host communities.

- Second-generation migrants should have an opportunity to register as permanent residents and/or citizens at birth.
- When it is not politically feasible to grant full citizenship at birth, states should provide second-generation migrants with opportunities to register for citizenship at an early date (e.g. as they enter school).
- States should not ask second-generation migrants to complete a naturalisation process, which is often bureaucratic and prohibitively costly.

Recommendation: Host and origin country governments should remove any gender bars on citizenship that prevent women from passing on their citizenship to their children, and allow and facilitate the holding of multiple citizenships.

- Remove barriers that prevent emigrant citizens – particularly women married to non-citizens – from passing on their citizenship to their children.
- Lift legal and policy bars on holding multiple citizenships. This can help integration, as it means migrants do not have to choose one citizenship over others, and can foster business development and trade networks with origin countries.

Recommendation: Host and origin country governments should not deprive naturalised citizens or their descendants of their status arbitrarily, especially in cases where it would render them stateless.

- Host and origin country governments that are not already signatories to the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (and the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons) should accede to these conventions.

Relevant SDG Targets

4.1: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes.

4.3: By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university.

16.2: End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children.

16.9: By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration.

Conclusion 3: A lack of access to citizenship/residency can limit representative decision-making, both increasing migrant communities' marginalisation and hindering progress towards SDG 16.7.

Recommendation: Support local and regional identities and statuses as alternative and interim means of framing inclusion and providing important legal rights.

- Governments, local authorities and private organisations should consider extending some rights normally reserved for citizens, in order to foster inclusion. With the consent of the local community, such measures could include voting in local or community elections. In particular, migrant parents of children who are permanent residents and/or citizens should be able to participate fully in decisions relating to education.
- Work together to build reciprocal citizenship rights that allow migrants to travel, work and live long-term across broad regional blocs as regional citizens. The international community should seek to support these processes of inclusion and regional integration.
- Cities should work on building local forms of membership (e.g. by providing citywide identity cards) that help strengthen everyday inclusion in communities and provide access to important services (e.g. access to banking facilities) for all residents, without reference to national legal status.

Relevant SDG Targets

11.3: By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries.

16.7: Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels.

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