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#### **SURVEY BASED ANALYSIS OF THE DYNAMICS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION**

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## **Abstract**

According to the original NOPOOR proposal for Task 5.3, the research task intends to look at both sides of the migration phenomenon.

Four studies are summarized in this report. The first three studies are focused, on the one hand, on the impact of migration on the welfare of origin households in the home countries and, on the other hand, on its impact on the migrant herself/himself in the fourth study. Furthermore, the studies presented here below allow not only capturing the individual-household dimensions, but also the migration-development nexus at both micro- and macro- levels.

- A first study shows that Home Town Associations created by migrants in the destination country significantly contribute to the development of villages they target, increasing the provision of local public goods.
- The second study investigates the link between remittances and rural development and finds limited evidence of a multiplier effect of the former.
- A third study was focused on the impact of migration on children's time-use distinguishing between market work, household chores and school attendance, and the impact of migration status on the demand for schooling in households left behind. They find that international migration and remittances decrease poverty incidence, while the poverty depth and severity move up significantly and highlight the significant positive effect of international remittances on children's school attendance.

Finally, the fourth study sheds light on the changes in the wellbeing of migrants entailed by crisis in destination countries and its implications for their remitting behaviour and the decision to return to their origin country.

*This deliverable gives an overview of the four researches conducted in the task 5.3. Full results can be seen in the articles referenced in annex, which can be downloaded from the NOPOOR website. Other articles are still in progress.*

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## Introduction

Four studies were developed in Task 5.3.

- The first study, prepared by the **DIAL** team (France), highlights the **role played by Home Town Associations (HTAs) in the local development of villages in Mali**. They find that villages targeted by an HTA registered in France are better off in terms of public goods provision. The impact varies depending on the type of public good considered and on the timing of the intervention of the HTAs. We find that targeted villages exhibit a significantly steeper upward trend in public goods over the 1987-2009 period than villages with no HTA. This significant difference is observed for schools, health centers as well as water amenities, whereas this difference in terms of water infrastructures is observed only for the second period (1998-2009).

The impact of HTAs may first be explained by the capacity of migrants to collect funds (either because their private incomes are high enough to finance collective projects, or because they are able to get access to French public funds through the so-called co-development initiatives which expanded in the nineties, HTAs being one of the main actors of these decentralized official development assistance projects). Secondly, the positive impact of HTAs on public good provision may stem from greater effectiveness and better choices in terms of local development. HTAs may notably contribute to improve local governance by asking for more accountability of the local elite and transparency of public affairs, thus reducing the capture of public funds.

- The second study, carried out by the **IfW** team (Germany), aims at capturing the **remittances effect on productive investment in Mexico and highlighting their multiplier effect**. They find that capital from migration appears to be used mainly to invest in subsistence categories such as growing food crops but not for other risky activities such as livestock production, but also that migration that occurs at a late stage of the household life-cycle might not alter productive investments due to the short horizon for the realization of investment returns.

The study does not find clear-cut evidence of productivity enhancements through migrant remittances, with small multiplier effects and positive investment effects only for subsistence-related parts of agriculture.

- The third study, carried by **CRES** Team (Senegal), explores the **effects of migration and remittances on migrants' families left behind**. Findings show higher poverty incidence decreasing and less poverty severity increasing impacts of international remittances than internal ones. They find significant positive effect of international remittances on children's school attendance.

Their results suggest that households receiving remittances through unofficial channels spend more at margin on key consumption good-food. Finally, they point out that official remittance channels lead to significantly increase marginal investments goods education and productive goods.

- The fourth study, conducted by the **UAM** team (Spain), is focused on **how wellbeing and family factors shapes Ecuadorian migration and return dynamics, how migration impacts wellbeing and which was the impact of crisis in Spain in this context**. The main results show that Ecuadorian labour migration is not about subsistence, but about improvement and that migrants succeed fast in Spain, until the crisis erupted. They show that the crisis indeed generated a considerable increase in aggregate unemployment among immigrants, but also a significant worsening of working conditions for those who managed to keep their jobs.

Somehow unexpectedly, their first evidences suggest that **worsening of labour and living conditions does not drive return**. From the perspective of immigration or emigration policies either in origin or destination countries, that entails that return cannot be taken for granted even in the presence of a shocking shift in the economic cycle.

Finally, it highlights **the importance of the family context in the migration decisions** and how this dimension, often forgotten in policy issues, is one of the strongest drivers of Ecuadorian migration patterns.

# **I. Migrants' Home Town Associations and Local Development in Mali<sup>1</sup>**

*Research Team: Lisa Chauvet, Flore Gubert and Sandrine Mesplé-Somps and Marion Mercier (DIAL)*

## **I.1.- Introduction**

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest of scholars, development practitioners and international organizations for the relationship between migration and development. In particular, academic research has strongly focused on the impact of remittances on origin countries, notably on aggregate development outcomes such as poverty and growth and on recipient households' behaviour.

In addition to sending remittances to their family, migrants frequently contribute to the development of their village of origin by sending collective transfers through Home Town Associations (HTAs). HTAs are voluntary clubs located in immigrants' host societies gathering migrants from the same locality of origin. One of their goals is to fund local development projects, and as such they have received an increased attention from the development community which considers them as potential actors in the process of leveraging funds for investment and development in resource-poor communities of origin.

**There are indeed good reasons to be optimistic about the role of HTAs in the provision of local public goods.** In a context of weak states with low fiscal capacity, HTAs and collective remittances may complement scarce public resources and relieve binding budget constraints. Thus, the population of the locality of origin where HTAs intervene may end up better off.

**Yet, the question of HTAs' real impact on local development is not that straightforward in a theoretical perspective.**

- **First, instead of complementing public resources, collective remittances may actually substitute for them and crowd out public finance.** Indeed, by relaxing important bottlenecks, they may create a disincentive for the state and local governments to intervene and result in lower public spending. In other words, HTAs' activity may allow local governments to extricate themselves from their responsibilities, leaving the targeted localities worse off in terms of public goods.
- **Second, HTAs may not be as effective as public actors in terms of development objectives.** Indeed, the impact of HTAs' activity depends on how projects are conceived and selected and on how transparent and inclusive are decision-making processes. When projects are designed by HTAs' members from abroad with little or no input from their potential beneficiaries, they may be ill-conceived, may not meet the needs of home communities, and may thus be quickly abandoned.
- **Third, when the migration process is selective and mainly involves certain groups, HTAs' projects may serve private agendas rather than addressing larger**

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<sup>1</sup> This research has been published in the Scandinavian Journal of Economics and has been presented at the Nopoor project Mid-Term Assessment in Brussels (20th November 2014) as well as in numerous academic conferences.

**community needs.** Their benefits may thus be narrowly distributed and aggravate social cleavages in the community. In this scenario, HTAs may contribute to erode social cohesion within local communities, thereby altering their capacity to agree upon and implement collective action, which ultimately has detrimental effects on sustained local development.

In the case of Mali, a few small-scale case studies focusing on the Kayes area, in the Western part of the country, describe migrants' HTAs as a substantial source of funding and document the number and type of development projects they have financed. However, the contribution of HTAs at the national level has never been systematically investigated, and there is no quantitative evidence on whether their activity makes the villages of origin better off in terms of local public goods than the villages with no HTA.

## **I.2.- Methodology and data**

Strong data limitations explain the lack of quantitative impact assessment of collective remittances and migrants' associations.

The first phase of this research thus started with an **important data collection process.**

- **The research team computed an original dataset that provides an exhaustive list of HTAs created by Malian migrants in France.** For each HTA, they were able to find its date of creation, as well as the name of the village where it intervenes in Mali. They found that almost one fifth of the Malian villages is targeted by an HTA whose declared aim is to improve the provision of public goods, such as schools or health facilities.
- Thanks to the four waves of census conducted by the Malian office of statistics in 1976, 1987, 1998 and 2009, **they then built a panel dataset of all Malian villages informing their stock of infrastructures at those four dates.** Retrospective and exhaustive data on local public goods over such a long period are rare in Africa.

They finally **combined these two datasets** in order to compare the provision of public goods before and after the intervention of HTAs in villages with and without an HTA, through a difference-in-differences approach.

## **I.3.- Results and policy implications**

Overall, they find that **villages targeted by an HTA registered in France are better off in terms of public good provision.**

The impact varies depending on the type of public good considered and on the timing of the intervention of the HTAs. **Targeted villages exhibit a significantly steeper upward trend in public goods over the 1987-2009 period than villages with no HTA.** This significant difference is observed for schools, health centers as well as water amenities, whereas this difference in terms of water infrastructures is observed only for the second period (1998-2009). These results are robust when the comparison is done on closer groups with respect to their observed characteristics. They are also robust to the introduction of time-varying variables in the estimations. Finally, cross-sectional evidence of a correlation between HTAs and local

public good provision are presented, which again remains significant and stable when current and return migration are controlled for.

These results suggest that **Malian villages targeted by an HTA registered in France are significantly better endowed in terms of local public goods than the others**. Despite large scale public investments in social services implemented since the nineties, villages with no HTA did not manage to catch up with those benefiting from these collective transfers.

The channels through which collective transfers affect local public good provision may **first be explained by the capacity of migrants to collect funds** (either because their private incomes are high enough to finance collective projects, or because they are able to get access to French public funds through the so-called co-development initiatives which expanded in the nineties, HTAs being one of the main actors of these decentralized official development assistance projects). Second, **the positive impact of HTAs on public good provision may stem from greater effectiveness and better choices in terms of local development**. HTAs may notably contribute to improve local governance by asking for more accountability of the local elite and transparency of public affairs, thus reducing the capture of public funds.

The results of this study show how migrants have a positive impact on their communities of origin. They favour measures to both reduce the cost of remittances and to encourage co-development policies. However, they also question the consequences of migration in terms of unequal access to public goods. National development policies should ensure allocate national public investments in zones that are now the neediest ones than those benefiting from collective remittances.

## II. Remittances and rural development in Mexico

*Research Team: Rainer Thiele and Marcus Böhme (IfW)*

### II.2.- Introduction

Migration has received increasing attention in the development discussion over the last couple of years. This is due to the sheer magnitude of national and international migration on the one hand and the perceived development opportunities this trend holds when considering the flows of money generated by migrants in the form of remittances on the other hand. Nevertheless it remains disputed which strata of the society in sending countries benefit most from migration and what consequences the dynamic process of migration has for society in general. One topic that lacks consensus in particular is the use of remittances.

**Remittances are often criticized as counter-productive for sustainable development** based on the assertion that they tend to increase consumption while leaving the investment behavior of migrant households largely unchanged. We address this criticism from two different angles.

- **First, in the empirical literature the effects of remittances on productive investment in rural areas remain contested.** Some authors present evidence that remittance-receiving households have a higher propensity to invest (e.g. Yang 2008; Chiodi et al. 2012), while others (e.g. De Brauw and Rozelle 2008; Quisumbing and McNiven 2010) find only weakly positive or even negative effects for households engaged in the agricultural sector. **We shed new light on this issue by employing a unique panel data set from Mexico**, which allows us to capture migration at different points of the life-cycle.
- **Second, remittances injected into the local economy could increase local demand for goods and services** and thereby exert an important multiplier effect by stimulating local sales which in turn would raise local employment and output (e.g. Karpestam 2012). Yet, there are virtually no empirical studies to support this claim. Based on the same Mexican data set, **we provide suggestive evidence for the existence of multiplier effects.**

### II.2.- Data and methodology

**Our panel data set contains the results of two nationally representative rural household surveys** called *Encuesta Nacional a Hogares Rurales de Mexico* (ENHRUM) which were implemented by the Colegio de Mexico (PRECESAM) and the University of California at Davis in 2002 and 2007 in 14 states of Mexico. The multi-stage sampling frame was based on a general population census of the year 2000 for municipalities of between 500 and 2499 inhabitants. Due to attrition we lost 222 households in the second round, which leaves us with a sample of 1511 observations that are present in both waves.

The ENHRUM covered a broad range of topics including individual migration histories, the size of remittances in migrant households as well as the households' capital stocks and investment flows. As concerns the multiplier analysis, the questionnaire asked households "When you went shopping last year, did you buy from ...?". The answer categories included friends and neighbours, street vendors, regular markets, shops and

supermarkets. The questionnaire also enquired where the respective points of sale were located, that is in the community or outside of the community. It has to be noted, however, that this module of the questionnaire suffered from various methodological deficiencies such as a change from asking about annual expenditures in 2002 to also asking about weekly expenditures in 2007. Our results therefore have to be interpreted as merely suggestive.

**In contrast to the previous literature, we separate investment alternatives into two logically coherent categories: agriculture and livestock.** The former includes investments in agricultural assets such as expenditures to improve the plot and the installation of irrigation systems, the latter includes items such as the acquisitions of new livestock. **For both investment categories, we perform multivariate regressions** where we try to come as close as possible towards identifying the causal effect of remittances on investment. We do so by controlling for a broad set of other determinants of investment, exploiting the panel structure of our data (fixed effects estimation), and accounting for the non-random selection of households into migration (instrumental variable estimation).

To investigate the existence of multiplier effects, we estimate the effect of remittances on local consumption, again accounting for the non-random selection of households into migration, and test whether they alter the allocation of expenditures between locally produced and imported goods. As suggested by demand theory, the latter might happen because with rising incomes households will consume fewer necessary goods as a share of total expenditure and start consuming luxuries, which might not be produced locally. Thus, if local supply does not adjust to the changing consumption patterns of households there will be a growing leakage of funds from the local economy which reduces the size of potential multiplier effects.

### **II.3.- Results and policy implications**

Our investigation of the impact of remittances on investment generates three important findings.

- **First, capital from migration appears to be used mainly to invest in subsistence categories** such as growing food crops **but not for other risky activities such as livestock production.** A different reading of our result, which does not invalidate the subsistence hypothesis, is that livestock also serves as a risk buffer as argued by Dercon (1998) for the case of rural Tanzania. This essential insurance function of livestock could become obsolete and no investments would take place if migration itself had a risk diversifying effect.
- **Second, we find strong life-cycle effects.** Migration that occurs at a late stage of the household life-cycle might not alter productive investments due to the short horizon for the realization of investment returns.
- Third, production fundamentals such as cash flows turn out to be the most important determinant of investment. Since all of the cash flows we observe are generated through market sales **we have to conclude that market integration is the strongest driver of investment.**

**In our analysis of the consumption effects of migration we find that remittances slightly increase local consumption but do not significantly alter the preference for imported goods.**

Taken together, these two findings give an empirical base to the theoretical claim that **remittances can have positive consumption multiplier effects in the migrant-sending country.** However, for the Mexican case at least the effects turn out to be quite small.

**As an overall conclusion, we do not obtain clear-cut evidence of productivity enhancements through migrant remittances, with small multiplier effects and positive investment effects only for subsistence-related parts of agriculture.**

In terms of public policy, it is highly unlikely that governments can have a direct impact on how households use remittances, but they may indirectly help raise productivity. For multiplier effects of remittances to materialize, local productive capacity has to flexibly adjust in order to cope with the increase in demand. There are various options for governments to affect the supply response of the local economy, e.g. by investing in rural infrastructure, supporting the establishment of competitive markets and well-integrated markets, and by reducing the bureaucratic requirements for opening up a new business. These kinds of measures may also make it more attractive for migrant households to channel part of their remittance income into productive investment.

### **III. The effects of migration and remittances on migrants' families left behind: Evidence on three West African countries - Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Senegal.**

*Research Team: Fatou Cisse, Bambio Yiribin and Gaye Daffe (CRES)*

#### **III.1.-Introduction**

Remittances have significantly increased over the past few decades in African countries, ranking at the second position of external funding source, closed to foreign direct investment (Ratha and Maimbo, 2005). In 2008, the top 10 recipients of international remittances in Africa included Nigeria, Egypt, Morocco, Sudan, Algeria, Tunisia, Kenya, Senegal, South Africa and Uganda. Based on their potential impacts on welfare, migration and remittances draw particular attention from development stakeholders, including academics and decision makers. But, in sub-Saharan African, how migration and remittances affect those left behind remains not fully understood due in part to the lack of micro data. Yet, knowing these repercussions is of crucial interest for most African countries as they are experiencing greater than ever internal and international movements of people.

**We explore the effects of migration and remittances on migrants' families left behind** in Burkina, Nigeria, and Senegal. We first estimate the impact on household poverty and inequality. Second, we evaluate the impact on child' time allocation. Finally we analyze how the channels for receiving remittances affect the marginal spending behavior of households on a broad range of consumption and investments goods.

#### **III.2.-Data and methodology**

We use the Household Surveys on Migration and Remittances conducted at national level in 2009 in Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and Senegal. We adopt counterfactual methods and use specific Instrumental Variables methods to control for endogeneity, including selectivity in migration and remittances. Measures of observed inequality and poverty as well as child schooling and child work are compared with their counterfactuals.

#### **III.3.-Results and policy implications**

**Regarding the effects of migration and remittances on poverty and inequality, international migration and remittances decrease poverty incidence, while the inequality move up significantly.**

The effect magnitudes of internal and international migration and remittances differ from each other. Findings show higher poverty incidence decreasing and less poverty severity increasing impacts of international remittances than internal ones. International remittances have decreased poverty depth, while internal remittances have increased it. In addition, inequality has increased more among international remittance households than internal ones.

**Concerning the effects of migration and remittance on child's time allocation, we find significant positive effect of international remittances on children's school attendance, while negative effects on non-paid activities. .**

**In contrast, international migration impacts negatively on school attendance by promoting non-paid activity.**

From a policy perspective, our results underscore the importance of distinguishing between the impacts of remittances and migration in policy making. Specifically, if the objective is to raise investments in children's human capital, policies that aimed at increasing remittance flows (e.g., by lowering remitting costs or by offering matching funds) can be particularly helpful for developing countries experiencing extensive out-migration.

**On the subject of Remittances and Development and the importance of channels, two keys findings emerge.**

- First, households receiving remittances through unofficial channels spend more at margin on key consumption good-food.
- Second, official remittances channels lead to significantly increase marginal two investments goods education and productive goods.

Our findings support to the growing literature view that remittances can actually have a positive impact on economic development by increasing the level of investment in human capital and productive assets.

## **IV. Migration and wellbeing in times of crisis: the case of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain**

**Research Team: Ramon Mahia and Anda David (UAM)**

### **1. Introduction**

During the years of the economic boom in Spain (2001-2008), a growth model led by low productivity and high labor intensive sectors boost an extraordinary process of job creation. The total number of economic immigrants living in Spain in 2000 was only around 500,000 people but from the year, Spain started to experience one of the most intense voluntary immigration flows ever recorded in Europe. In this context, Spain emerges as an ideal case of analysis of international migrations. The speed at which the phenomenon of boom-slowdown-drop occurred allows a distinctive study of migration dynamics of a single generation of immigrants. Indeed, the emigration from the origin country, the arrival in Spain, the stay, and the final return or its expectations are still fresh in the minds of the current residents or return migrants. **A single generation of immigrants has undergone these various stages in just over a decade allowing a quasi-experimental analysis focused on the migration reasons, the residence context, the return motivations, and the role of an external shock such as the economic crisis in the migratory journey.**

On the one hand, Ecuador is one of the main countries of origin of migrants residing in Spain, only surpassed by Romania and Morocco, thus ensuring a sufficiently large group of analysis. On the other hand, in the recent years of the crisis, the population of Ecuadorian origin presents a very strong return dynamic, considerably higher than that of nationals of other countries. **Return migration is thus a significant phenomenon for Ecuador and our study aims at shedding light on the wellbeing of current and return Ecuadorian migrants, the determinants of their return and socioeconomic integration and the role of the crisis among these determinants.**

### **2. Data and methodology**

Usually, the study of return migration is based on surveying returnees in their country of origin (Cassarino, 2007; Sabadie, 2010), but they face the issue of selection into return; alternatively, return intentions are evaluated using studies made in receiving countries (Dustmann, 2003; Khoo et al., 2008; de Arce & Mahia, 2012), but the realization of these intentions are not observed. **Therefore, the proper study of the return determinants requires implementing two surveys, one in the home country and one in the host country, in order to compare the returnees with an adequate reference population of non-returnees.**

In our study, we have chosen specifically this approach, conducting a survey in Madrid and another one in Quito allowing the comparison of groups of returnees and non-returnees, thus determining more precisely the factors that drive or inhibit the return.

**The methodological design was based on the realization of two “twin” surveys in Spain and Ecuador,** thus the abbreviation we will use for this data set from this point on is ECM2 survey (ECuadorian Migration Twin Survey). Following the lines of the MIREM survey (Cassariono, 2007), **both questionnaires contain a common section dealing with the period prior to migration, the migration episode, and the stay in Spain. Additionally, the survey conducted in Quito includes a specific module on return, while in the Madrid survey, conducted on current resident migrants, we added a module of future return expectations.** The final sample consists of the final sample consists of 882 current migrants, representing around 1.2% of the entire Ecuadorian population living in Madrid at the end of 2013, and 410 return migrants in the province of Pichincha.

### **3. Results and policy implications**

Our first results strongly advocate the use of joint samples for both returnees and current migrants in migration studies. The differences found between returnees and current migrants regarding the distribution of some basic and crucial characteristics across the whole study, should alert researchers and policy makers about the potentially biased diagnosis of migration issues when adopting a one - side perspective.

We find that **Ecuadorian migration to Spain was not a way out of poverty, but an opportunity to avoid the worst of the crisis in Ecuador and to improve one’s living conditions.** From a policy perspective, and especially from the side of Ecuadorian authorities, these findings have some clear implications:

- Reducing severe poverty, fighting against strict socio economical exclusion may not be linked to lower migration outflows (if not the contrary). A moderate wellbeing combined with the relative perception of poverty, as a lack of better future opportunities to improve, is also a powerful driver of outmigration.
- The same may happens with those policies aimed to promote return and “brain – gain”: it is not about safeguarding minimum conditions upon return but about upgrading socio economic conditions across the full range of previous circumstances.

Our results show that **the crisis hit hard migrant’s situation but impoverishment was not a return driver.** From the perspective of immigration or emigration policies either in origin or destination countries, that entails that return cannot be taken for granted even in the presence of a shocking shift in the economic cycle. When the lack of employment turns migrants’ return into a policy objective in developed countries, proactive and specifically targeted policies are needed.

We highlight that **family is a crucial dimension in both the emigration and the return decision** and policies should target the migrant’s family and not individuals. Any policy, in both origin and destination countries, which lacks in covering family as the context in which opportunities, risks and expectations are evaluated, will thus have a limited scope.

Finally, we point out that **the return is not the end of the migratory process** and, from the migration policies point of view, it seems clear that in both sending and receiving countries, little attention is given to the re-emigration issue. The action space between migration policies and return policies seems to be getting wider and policy makers should observe this phenomenon with more interest.

## ANNEXE 1: List of papers related to this deliverable

(the NoPoor papers can be downloaded by clicking on the active link bellow each paper )

Böhme, M. (2015). Does Migration Raise Agricultural Investment? An Empirical Analysis for Rural Mexico. *Agricultural Economics* 46 (2): 211-225.

- [NoPoor version](#)

David, A. & Mahia, R. (2015) Migration and wellbeing in times of crisis: the case of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain. NoPoor Report.

- [NoPoor version](#)

Chauvet, L., Gubert, F., Mercier, M., & Mesplé-Somps, S. (2014). Migrants' Home Town Associations and Local Development in Mali. *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*.

- [NoPoor version](#)

Bambio Y., Cisse F. & Daffe G. (2015). Estimating the net effects of migration and remittances on poverty and inequality in Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and Senegal

- [NoPoor version](#)

Cisse F. and Bambio Y. (2015). Effects of migration and remittances on child's time allocation: evidence from Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and Senegal

- [NoPoor version](#)

Andrianarison F., Cisse F. & Rabeloma T. (2015). Remittances and Development: Do Remittance Channels Matter?

- [NoPoor version](#)