MIGRATION AND CHRONIC POVERTY

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PAPER OUTLINE

Abstract

This paper provides an overview of conceptual understandings of, and methodological research issues on, the relationship between chronic, or long-term, poverty and processes of migration. The paper presents a framework to enable an analysis of social relations and processes of exclusion, and the ways in which these are structured around poverty-related capitals. While livelihood strategies are diverse and multiple, for many poor people, migration represents a central component of these. This paper explores how research can be carried out to examine the characteristics of those who move and those who stay, the processes by which they are compelled or excluded from adopting migration as a livelihood strategy and the circumstances under which migration sustains chronic poverty or presents an opportunity to move out of poverty. Subsequently the paper addresses some of the implications of current migration-related policies for chronic poverty. Taking chronic poverty to mean the intergenerational transfer of poverty and recognising that those amongst the chronically poor are the least likely to benefit from current national and international development efforts (Hulme et al 2001), this paper identifies possible future research priorities for the Chronic Poverty Research Centre into the relationship between moving, staying put and chronic poverty.

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I   INTRODUCTION: MIGRATION, STAYING PUT AND CHRONIC POVERTY

Chronic poverty is not limited to economic deprivation and is sustained over many years, often being transferred from one generation to the next. Thus, seeing migration as primarily an economic survival strategy for those immediately involved does not allow for a detailed analysis of migration and the chronically poor. The complexity and variety of ways in which the relationship between migration and poverty is understood and explained, reflects both the diversity of definitions and understandings of migrants and migration, as well as, of poverty and poverty analyses. Despite dominant representations of 'the poor' in development theory, policy and practice as an homogeneous group, the poor are diverse reflecting differential access to resources, power and control. Their lives are variously shaped by the particular set of vulnerabilities that they experience and thus, the repertoire of decisions, choices and options that they can pursue are similarly diverse. Although migration remains central to many household livelihood strategies, it represents one response to conditions of poverty for some. Consequently, it cannot be assumed that all amongst the poor always have the option to migrate.

Individuals and groups may remain chronically poor by adopting migration as a livelihood strategy or, alternatively, may benefit from migration and move out of chronic poverty. At the same time, there are those whose social, cultural, economic and political exclusion makes them unable to move (potential migrants) and those who choose not to move (committed non-migrants) and who subsequently stay put albeit in an environment characterised by out-migration. Thus, not everyone is similarly mobile for a range of reasons which include lack of knowledge about other places and opportunities outside the confines of their own geographical and cultural environment, social and cultural ties which bind them to their home place, physical immobility, gender and age.

Those who stay behind are as 'enmeshed in migratory processes as migrants themselves, and their decision to remain is likely to be elemental in household migration-related decision-making' (McDowell and de Haan 1997). Many of those who are most chronically poor are those who have stayed in an environment where others have left as it is their condition of poverty, through the particularities of their exclusion, which prohibits migration as an option. This vulnerability can be compounded by the removal of immediate support from those upon whom they previously depended and upon whom they remain dependent but are at greater risk. Consequently, those who stay put often stay poor unless they are able, through receipt of remittances or new livelihood opportunities available at home to move out of poverty.   Thus, migration is best understood as a cause and consequence of chronic poverty for those who move as well as for those who stay behind and consequently, key to understanding the role of migration in chronic poverty is the relationship between 'mobility' and 'immobility' and more generally the inter-connectedness of people and places.

While much migration is that of refugees, asylum seekers and the internally displaced, and they are often amongst the chronically poor, this overview does not address these forms of 'forced' migration but focuses primarily on so-called 'free' population movements. The justification for this is that the analysis and framework presented here, is within the realm of generalisable variables rather than in circumstances of shock which involve an exogenous set of causal variables and dynamics. These issues are addressed more directly in Goodhand's CPRC Working Paper (no. 6) on conflict and chronic poverty (see also Bascom 1995; Cohen 1995)

II   MIGRATION: A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

Most labour migration is internal or 'national' i.e. rural to rural or rural to urban. Cohen and Kennedy (2000) suggest, that the South African migrant labour system at least until 1989 was 'probably the largest in the world. Temporary migrants supplied labour for the mines, farms and white households' (209). Statistics on numbers of internal migrants are primarily available through micro case studies and vary according to the criteria used. International statistics are more readily available although again these vary according to definitions. ILO estimates suggest that as many as 80 to 100 million immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers are outside their country of citizenship (ILO 1994: 241) of which between 18-20 million are refugees as distinct from asylum seekers and internally displaced people (Cohen and Kennedy 2000: 204).

Table 1: Numbers of international migrants and remittances (1994)

Country	Population mid-1994 (millions)	Number of Migrants 1990 (thousands)	Remittances as % of foreign exchange earnings
Bangladesh	117.9	800	25.5
India	913.6	8660	9.3
Sri Lanka	17.9	21	15.2
Uganda	18.6	330	-
South Africa	40.5	1118	2.4

(Adapted from Skeldon 1997: 208-213)

Although migration is not a recent phenomenon the current scale of movement is unprecedented and increasing. Urbanisation is proceeding at a rapid pace (especially in, for example, China), 'illegal' international migration has become a new service industry and the scale of 'forced' migration through violent conflict continues to escalate. Some theorists argue that migration is significantly different today because it is taking place at an unprecedented scale and is more geographically extensive. Others suggest that large-scale, globally extensive migration has antecedents during, for example, colonialism and slavery. While these divergent views on the differences and similarities of recent and historical trends in migration persist, most would agree that the context and form of contemporary migration is distinguishable from earlier periods due to processes of globalisation more generally, and patterns of development more specifically.

Whatever the perspective taken on migration, it is clearly an ongoing process which surrounds and pervades almost all aspects of contemporary society (Papastergiadis 2000). Although the increase in movement tends to be more regional that global, (Skeldon 1997), migration characterises all societies and is not unusual or exceptional. However, the extent and characteristics of migration vary significantly over time and between different societies.

> **Case Study: Bangladesh**
> Bangladesh has a long and continuous history of high rates of population mobility since at least 1850s. During the 1900s wage labour has become more important. During the last decades, new and relatively stable migration streams have developed, as a result of agricultural intensification, diversification and urbanisation, as well as- for some – opportunities in the international labour market. The development of these migration patterns would have occurred at a time when poverty declined rapidly. The research suggests that the (capital-intensive) development of agriculture, diversification and lower poverty incidence limits the necessity to find work elsewhere.
> (adapted from de Haan 2000)

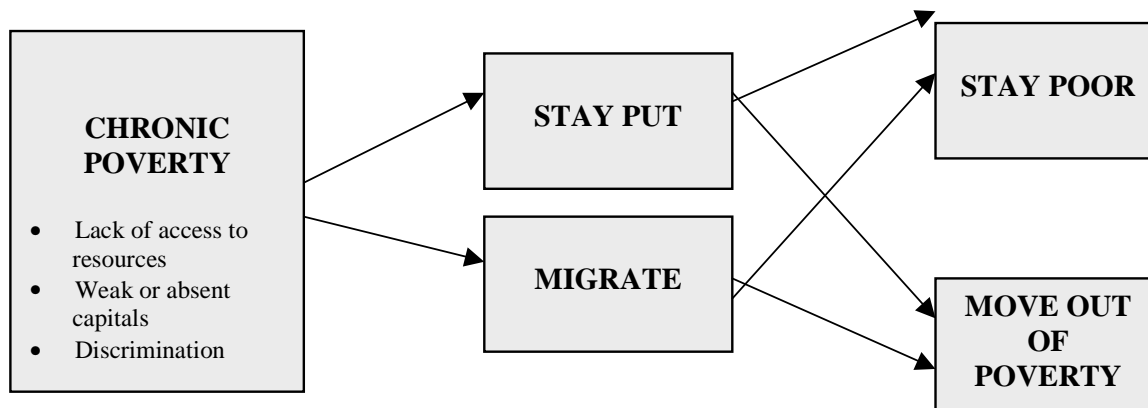## III   UNDERSTANDING CHRONIC POVERTY AND MIGRATION

A framework for understanding the inter-generational transmission of poverty is elaborated in CPRC Working Paper 8 (Moore 2001) which focuses on what is being transferred, between which individuals, groups and institutions and how. It highlights the importance of examining the relationship between the transfer, extraction or absence of transfer of different forms of poverty-related capital and chronic poverty in order to identify policy implications. Migration is a central livelihood strategy for many poor households which, in common with other livelihood strategies, is 'facilitated or constrained by relations within and between the institutions of household, community, state and market' (Moore 2001:6). It is the form and extent of the transmission of poverty-related capital within and between these institutions which shape not only the implications of migration for chronic poverty but also the extent to which individuals and groups can adopt migration as a livelihood strategy. That is, for example, that the absence of certain types of social capital such as networks or contacts with prospective employers may limit the extent to which migration is an option available to poor households. Thus the level of access to and control over human, social, cultural, political, economic and environmental capital characterises the intensity of exclusion from, or inclusion in, processes of migration. Access or not to these capitals can describe an existing state of chronic poverty as well as the processes and implications of their transference, removal or absence and thus shape future livelihood strategies and the maintenance or not of chronic poverty.

The poor are not homogenous but are differentiated in diverse and complex ways. The reasons for their heterogeneity include differential levels of access to, and control over resources, the specificities of the economic and social-relational context, and the particularities of the forms of exclusion and vulnerabilities that make up their lives and experiences. These in part shape the range and type of choices and livelihood strategies they have available to them, the decisions they are able to take and the actions they can follow.

The focus for research on the role of migration in creating, sustaining or moving out of chronic poverty is on understanding the varied processes of exclusion, and the inequalities that they reflect and are re-produced through them. These processes shape the extent and form of the linkages between chronic, or long-term, poverty and migration. At the same time, 'there is a need to shift our discourse on migration from merely an explanation of either the external cause or the attribution of motivation to an examination of the complex relationships and perceptual shifts that are being formed through the experience of movement' (Papastergiadis 2000: 4). Most importantly then, migration needs to be understood as a diverse process embedded in social relations.

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This paper highlights how chronic poverty is a causal factor in decisions to migrate or not and paradoxically can also be a situation that is created or reinforced through the process of movement, both for those who move and for those who remain.

In order to understand the role of migration/staying put in chronic poverty it is necessary to first explore the characteristics of those who migrate or stay put, secondly, the reasons, processes and consequences of migration for those who are excluded from adopting migrating as a livelihood strategy and those who are compelled to migrate as a livelihood strategy and thirdly, the implications that this has for the reduction or maintenance of chronic poverty (see table 3).

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┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐         ┌──────────────┐
│   CHRONIC        │      │  STAY PUT    │         │  STAY POOR   │
│   POVERTY        │ ──►  │              │ ──►     │              │
│                  │      └──────────────┘  ╲    ╱ └──────────────┘
│ • Lack of access │                         ╲  ╱
│   to resources   │      ┌──────────────┐    ╲╱   ┌──────────────┐
│ • Weak or absent │ ──►  │  MIGRATE     │    ╱╲   │  MOVE OUT    │
│   capitals       │      │              │ ──►     │     OF       │
│ • Discrimination │      └──────────────┘         │  POVERTY     │
└──────────────────┘                                └──────────────┘
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Linking Causes and Consequences of Migration

A study of migration and the chronically poor requires an understanding of the processes by which the poor become chronically poor either as a result of their own migration or the movement of others. Migration is thus best understood as both a *cause* and a *consequence* of chronic poverty for those who stay put and for those who move. Thus, there are no *a priori* factors which cause people to migrate and which lead to a particular set of consequences (Amin 1995). It is difficult and not particularly useful to try and separate causes of the migrations from their consequences since, 'migrations are not only the consequences of an unequal development, which could in itself be the result of "natural" causes, such as the different natural potential of different regions. Migration is also in itself a part of the unequal development, as it serves to reproduce the conditions that aggravate these' (Amin 1995: 32). Thus, people may migrate out of poverty in order to improve their livelihoods and/or migrate into more vulnerable situations and thus become further impoverished through their movement.

Key questions for research into chronic poverty and migration

The main questions that need to be addressed in order to understand the role of migration in sustaining chronic poverty or moving out of poverty are:

1. In what ways does migration/staying put perpetuate the inter-generational transfer of poverty?
2. Under what circumstances can migration/staying put be a successful livelihood strategy by which individuals and groups can improve their living conditions and move out of poverty?

Research into the relationship between migration and chronic poverty thus needs to identify the following characteristics and processes:

1. The processes and forms of inclusion/exclusion which compel or exclude individuals and groups to migrate/stay put

2. The characteristics of those amongst the chronically poor who migrate/stay put?

3. The experiences of those who move/stay put.

4. The implications of migration/staying put for individuals and groups of people amongst the chronically poor?

IV   MIGRATION AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY

Migration plays a significant, if not central, role in livelihood strategies of the poor and '…movements generally take place in response to the circumstances, actual as well as potential and perceived, with which people are faced both in their home communities and in areas away from home' (Parnwell 1993: 71). Migration is by no means a predictable or homogeneous form of action and thus occurs in response to a wide range of factors which affect people differently and to which they do not necessarily respond in identical ways. Thus, because people's responses to even apparently similar circumstances may be quite different each movement is to some extent unique.

Motivation is an important characteristic of migration; whether it is voluntary, involuntary or impelled; independent/dependent; a decision which is dominated by 'push' factors or one which is primarily shaped by 'pull' factors. While much of the migration literature suggests that migration is 'development-induced' (McDowell and de Haan 1997) and reflects uneven development, it is clear that there are different levels of motivation which shape the decision to migrate which are internal and external to the household.

Much migration literature resorts to reductionist and materialist economic analysis when accounting for migration (see Todaro 1976). Whilst many motivational factors are identified, a continuing preoccupation within much migration and development research has been the notion that because of uneven development and the increase in inequalities between regions, and within them, most large scale population movement is from deprived areas to those which are perceived to offer greater economic opportunities. The emphasis remains on economic migration and more specifically on labour migration and employment. Where poverty and unemployment can 'push' people to migrate, such economic conditions are insufficient for explaining why particular individuals migrate rather than others. In focusing on migration as primarily an economic survival strategy, these theories fail to consider the complex and diverse reasons which motivate or impel people to migrate, and obscure understandings of those who experience chronic poverty *because* of migration. Furthermore, people adopt migration as a livelihood strategy for a variety of material *and* non-material reasons.

Nayyar (2000) confirms that it is difficult to understand migration in terms of economic analysis alone as labour movements are also influenced by immigration laws, for example, and 'migration in distress' is attributable, in part, to 'man-made conflicts' and natural disasters, recurring famines and environmental destruction, although the relative importance of these forces clearly vary over time and space.

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A range of motivational factors commonly reflect wider processes of economic, political and social change. Uneven or distorted development has meant that much migration has been from areas which are perceived to be worse off to areas which appear to offer greater opportunities. Thus people are displaced because of a perceived or real lack of opportunities and poverty in their place of origin. Social change and the search for modernity, identified by King (1995) as 'push pressures', are also significant factors whereby potential international migrants contrast their increasing knowledge of the conditions in the 'West', for example, with their experiences of poverty and instability. However, these decisions are not made in an economic, political or social vacuum. Natural disasters, development initiatives, such as the building of dams and roads, and conflict and war also displace people and particularly affect those who are poor and tend to have minimal control over, or access to, the political and economic capital necessary to affect the decisions which impact on their lives and livelihoods. National and international emigration and immigration policies, which are considered below, further constrain or encourage peoples' decisions to move or stay. Furthermore, decision-making does not only involve the migrant but also many others with whom they are connected and thus has wider implications and consequences than on the migrant alone.

While these motivational factors go some way in explaining reasons for migration, the focus continues to be on externalities instigating or compelling movement. These explanations tend to be rather general and incomplete in terms of understanding the specificities of people's experiences of poverty. Papastergiadis suggests that the 'internal structures of migration have often gone unnoticed. Both the drag effect that is produced on migrants as they are caught in the flow of movement, and the complex interlinkages that are generated to sustain a momentum, are often overshadowed by the attention given to external forces' (Papastergiadis, 2000: 5). Even when causes of migration are identified, they lack detailed analysis of the social relations which compel people to consider moving, the opportunities and possibilities available for migrating and their experiences of movement. It is clear that the flows of migration across the globe cannot be explained by any single general theory and Papastergiadis suggests that 'turbulence' is 'the best formulation for the mobile processes of complex self-organisation that are now occurring' (2000: 4). While this has relevance at a conceptual level it is difficult to capture these complex and diverse processes empirically and would necessitate the development of a methodological framework to translate this 'turbulence'.

In order to understand the complexities implied by the above a useful approach may be to consider the various levels which provide the context for decision-making. These may be viewed as micro, meso or macro (Table 2).

Table 2   Levels of Migration and the Context of Decision-Making

Levels of Migration	Context of Decision-Making
Micro-level	Factors which compel individual migrants to leave their home areas; how and why decisions of individuals and households are made; recognition that the decision to move is seldom taken by the migrant alone
Meso-level	Patterns and regularities in the migration process explained in terms of prevailing social and economic conditions in major source and destination areas
Macro-level	The wider context within which migration takes place with a focus on the influence of the form, speed and process of development and the unevenness of the development process on patterns of migration.

The Importance of Structure And Agency

Often, theories of migration tend towards two extremes: neo-classical accounts that privilege the acquisition of status and focus on individuals maximising economic gain, and macro structuralist approaches, which utilise, for example, the impact of colonialism or the globalisation of capital as primary explanations for patterns of migration. It is the complex interaction, rather than opposition, of individual agency and macro structures within an historical context which provides a more useful framework for understanding why people migrate and the consequences of this movement. For example, how are households' experiences shaped by micro conditions in particular places and simultaneously by wider political and economic processes, such as land (re)distribution and government policies?

In his paper on the contribution of migration to the sustainable livelihoods of poor rural households, de Haan (2000) suggests that,

> Much migration research has emphasised the importance of the structuration of migration streams, how people migrate using their networks, and how their migration movements are determined by rules of their 'home society'. Migration is not an atomistic reaction to economic or environmental pressure, but it is embedded in societal rules and norms (2000:1)

Marxist studies of migration saw people who move as providing a 'reserve army of labour' to ensure that the labour needs for industrialisation processes were met. Thus, migration was attributed primarily to structural processes as a response to economic growth. In these representations of reasons for migration, migrants were seen to have limited agency or choice in the process. More recently there has been a shift to include the notion of agency to understand who migrates and why, when and where people move. This recognition has made an important contribution to a fuller understanding of migration processes, however, it is important to remember that the wider economic environment remains an important dynamic when studying migrancy.

Thus,

> migration and migrant labour is an aspect of the way labour is organized within the context. But we can fall into the trap of reification if we fail to consider actors and concrete human agents, in terms of their actions, the situation of action and the meaning which they give the action (Aina 1995: 43)

As this section has demonstrated, when examining reasons for migration the decision-making process of potential migrants is shaped by a range of motivational factors at different levels in which existing demand for their labour is only one, although significant, influence.

V   WHO MOVES AND WHO STAYS: A SOCIAL EXCLUSION FRAMEWORK

The key issue for understanding the links between chronic poverty and migration is the form and extent to which migration contributes to a process whereby the longer term prospects for moving out of poverty are better, or worse, than before. In order to address this question we need to ask why do some amongst the chronically poor migrate and others stay at home, and what are the specific social and economic characteristics of those who move and those who stay? Furthermore, to what extent and in what ways does chronic poverty shape the decision to migrate and the consequences of movement?

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The different levels of decision-making from macro to micro include the particular stock of capitals, assets and resources available to individuals and groups amongst the chronically poor, types of structural and every day discrimination, injustice and marginalisation, form and extent of demand for labour and various government policies. It is these, amongst other factors which shape the characteristics of those amongst the chronically poor who move and those who stay put.

It is suggested here that the concept of social exclusion provides a useful framework that can capture the range of economic and non-economic processes which inhibit or allow the movement of people and enables an understanding of the implications of migration in sustaining or overcoming exclusionary processes. Naila Kabeer suggests that the concept of social exclusion 'captures an important dimension of the experience of certain groups of being somehow 'set apart' or 'locked out' of participation in social life' and that a focus on processes of exclusion 'draws attention to the production of disadvantage through the active dynamics of social interaction, rather than through anonymous processes of impoverishment and marginalisation' (Kabeer 2000: 3).

The various forms and processes of exclusion produce different groups amongst the excluded. These groups are differentially compelled or excluded from adopting migration as a livelihood strategy. The following table identifies forms and categories of poverty-related capital, the ownership or access to which shapes the process of exclusion and consequently influences the characteristics of who stays and who moves.

Table 3

Poverty-related Capitals and Forms of Exclusion

POVERTY-RELATED CAPITAL	DISCURSIVE CATEGORIES	FORMS OF EXCLUSION
Social	Networks Contacts Affiliations (union, labour gangs, religious etc) Community based organisations	Participation in social, 'community' life, social isolation; rules and norms
Cultural and Identity	Identity: Ethnicity, caste, class, tribe, religion, gender cultural capital: education, knowledge, language, skills.	elements of injustice; social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication; cultural-devaluation disadvantage (Kabeer 2000:6); structural inequalities.
Human	Education Knowledge and skills Life stage: elderly and children Disability Illness Household size and structure	Discrimination and disadvantage of certain groups through social and cultural representations and limited access to economic opportunities, social services.
Geographical	Remote rural Urban Natural environment	Unequal distribution of resources and services
Economic: assets and resources	Ownership of property and productive capital (land, cattle); savings	Exploitation, marginalisation, deprivation, unequal distribution of resources and assets
Political	Decision-making Participation Patronage	Denied participation in political life; exploitation by elites and intermediaries.

Moving from one place to another has economic and social costs and requires a certain level of human, physical, social and economic capital, thus the option of moving is not available to all amongst the poor. So it may be that in some circumstances while the poor may move, it is likely that the chronically poor stay put or are left behind. Because of the process of exclusion, those who remain are often characterised by being highly dependent on social security systems and other formal and informal means of support.

The following table identifies some of the ways in which the presence or absence of different forms of capital are both the cause and consequence of processes of exclusion and discrimination which limit or enable migration. It is the particular package of vulnerabilities which shape the extent to which people can or cannot move. However, it is also clear that a lack of capitals can both require and limit movement and that by acquiring capital, an individual can be in a position to stay put profitably.

Table 4
Social Exclusion and the characteristics of those who move and those who stay

Capitals	Who moves	Who stays
SOCIAL	Those with social networks in receiving areas and with contacts with prospective employers, contractors or middle-men, access to intermediaries and brokers.	Those with few social contacts, links with institutions, access to employers. Familial obligations and responsibilities require people to remain. Decline in social capital and support networks in sending areas; social security systems undermined.
CULTURAL • **Gender**	Gender division of labour within and outside the household shapes the gendered pattern of migration in any given context. Young, single women migrate to work in EPZ; young men migrate to work in mines, farms etc; feminisation of migrants - almost 48% of migrants are women (IOM, 2000).	Gender division of labour shapes employment opportunities, reproductive responsibilities, care of elderly and disabled
HUMAN • **Life stage**	Migration is generally of young people. De Haan (2000) found that the average age of circular migrants were about 32 years in Bangladesh, between 15 and 40 in Ethiopian	The elderly and children are likely to be less mobile and are often left behind. Demand for labour is also age specific and generally excludes the elderly.
Geographic • **Remote rural**	Those with the resources to overcome the 'friction of distance'	Problems of 'friction of distance', the time and cost of moving from one place to another.
Economic	Migrants are not necessarily the poorest (de Haan 2000) but often have small landholdings or other assets which enable the household to consider migration as a livelihood strategy.	Migration requires a variety of forms of financial expenditure and incurs costs, those without the means cannot migrate. Land may be underused or non-productive.
Political	Effective citizenship which allows travel within and across borders; close association with patrons who can provide access to employment; access to markets which may be politically regulated.	Lack of voice in political systems; no politically related assets or claims forced to localise marginal livelihoods

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These capitals are interlinked and the type of migration is also significant in influencing who stays and who moves. For example, familial and other reproductive responsibilities of women may influence the form and extent of their economic and political capital and shape the duration and distance of a movement. It is also clear that the different capitals identified above are interlinked whereby, for example, ethnicity structures employment opportunities, exclusion from participation in public spheres as well as cultural-valuation disadvantage (see Kabeer 2000). Because these categories are discursive, they can change over time and vary from one context to another. In this way, while young women may have limited political capital and control over decision-making, once elderly they may attain increased status through the cultural capital of seniority.

The impact of the different forms of capital depend on the processes of exclusion operating at micro- meso and macro level. That is, that the context within which the migration takes place is largely shaped by the meanings attributed to the various forms of capital. For example, certain ethnic and religious groups may be discriminated against in ways which shape the livelihood strategies available to them, local and national government policies also limit or encourage the extent and form of migration in a given environment, the demand for certain types of employment and the level and type of skills and knowledge required similarly shapes which groups of people can or cannot move.

In addition, the existence of, for example, areas with (perceived) economic growth to which people can migrate is a significant contextual factor shaping people's decision to migrate.

The following section elaborates on the reasons why certain groups of people stay behind when others migrate.

VI   STAYING PUT OR LEFT BEHIND: CHRONIC POVERTY AND EXCLUSION FROM MIGRATION

Contemporary theories address who and why people move, and the causes and consequences of their movement. However, with a few notable exceptions (Racine, 1997; Skeldon 1997) these explanations rarely explore why people stay in a context where others are moving and how the migration of others impacts upon those who stay behind. It is argued here that many of those who do not move are, or become, the chronically poor. Some may be contemplating a move and others could be potential migrants who wish to move if the circumstances allowed them to or if the opportunity arose for them to do so. However, the filtering effect of so-called 'obstacles' to migration means that the characteristics of those who migrate are specific or selective in terms of, for example, age, gender, education and ethnicity. Many people cannot move because of systemic, structural and individual reasons that reflect their experiences of exclusion or adverse incorporation. These include domestic and familial obligations and responsibilities, disability and illness, age, education and skills, and an absence or lack of access to networks and relationships. Thus movers *and* stayers alike are deeply embedded in specific economic and social-relational contexts (McDowell and de Haan 1997).

Within the poor are groups of people who are at the extreme margins of exclusion (Hulme, Moore and Shepherd, 2001). Through a combination of vulnerabilities they are amongst the most excluded. They are unable, unless forced, to choose migration as a way of mediating their excessive marginality. So migration is a strategy that, in some cases and contexts, can only be adopted by those who may be considered as poor, but are not necessarily amongst the chronically poor. Malmberg,

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referring to immigration from South to North, suggests that, '..even if immigration were free, an overwhelming majority would probably stay at home. A large part of the population would not have the means to go' (1997: 21). Migration requires a variety of forms of expenditure and incurs costs which are not only financial and economic; it requires the input or exercise of other types of capital such as social networks, physical mobility, skills and knowledge. So the chronically poor are often those who stay put or are left behind in an environment where others are migrating. Clearly there are also others who stay behind in the sending areas because they do not see any advantages from migrating and may not need to migrate.

This can be experienced in different forms; for example, there are individuals who are left behind or stay put in households from which other members have migrated and there are also non-migrant households located within 'sending areas'. Thus there are not only individuals who stay put but also entire households situated in environments in which others are mobile.

VII   CHRONIC POVERTY: THE CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATING OR STAYING PUT

As shown above, social exclusion, reflected in the absence of various forms of capital, influence the characteristics of those who move and those who stay or are left behind. This section identifies some examples of how their experiences of staying put or moving may result in entrenching their poverty or indeed enabling a movement out of poverty.

Migrating and Staying poor

The increase in the scale of migration presents a paradox; for many, migration does not necessarily make migrants better off, indeed some become further impoverished by moving from one place to another. This can in part be due to migration pressure which is the 'result of an excess supply of people willing to migrate relative to the demand for people in potential destinations' (Skeldon 1997: 7) Thus, while migration can be understood as a strategy out of poverty, there is no guarantee that the strategy will be successful. The expectation that by moving they will find appropriate employment and enjoy a better standard of living does not always materialise and subsequently, those who are poor and migrate can end up in the category of the chronically poor.

Some migrants may benefit from long established networks of information and contact and are made more aware of potential opportunities and difficulties. There are, however, also migration 'myths' perpetuated by those who migrate whereby they present a particularly rosy picture of their new life to those back home because moving is so often associated with progress and not 'progressing' through movement is to have failed. Thus, some move with little knowledge of what to expect and few social contacts while others leave with high expectations only to be disillusioned when faced with the realities of being a migrant. New migrants may be unable to find adequate employment or housing and may also suffer from the loss of familiar support networks through their movement away from one environment in to another. They become increasingly vulnerable economically as well as politically, culturally, and socially and in this way, migration may result in substituting one set of vulnerabilities and difficulties with another. However, a longitudinal analysis which explores inter-generational poverty may find that while migrants may themselves become worse off through moving, subsequent generations could reap the benefits of this decision to move by, for example, gaining access to better educational

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opportunities. Thus longitudinal research is an important component when examining the relationship between migration and chronic poverty.

Staying put and Staying Poor

The negative effects of out-migration on those who stay behind may be economically and socially acute. Those who are left behind in households where others have moved, may become further vulnerable through lack of regular and sufficient remittances and other forms of support from those upon whom they are dependent in various ways but who have moved away. For example,

> '...young urban migrants from rural regions have been observed to neglect their traditional obligations to support their elderly parents, especially if they do not intend to return to their native village, do not expect any sizeable inheritance and have no reciprocal insurance commitment to their parents. Under such circumstances, rural people are exposed to the risk of staying without support in times of economic crises or during their old age... a major result of this analysis is that migration with remittance strategies fails as a social security mechanism when the potential remitter does not expect any sizeable inheritance' (Schrieder and Knerr, 2000).

Recent studies carried out by the De-Agrarianisation and Rural Employment (DARE) research programme at the African Studies Centre, University of Leiden have shown through case studies that,

> 'it is apparent that in spite of its economic imperative, there is considerable wariness about the migration process and scepticism about its benefit/cost ratio, especially on the part of the older generation or 'women left behind'. Remittances are often smaller than expected and many are aware of the threats such as AIDS which urban areas pose' (Bryceson 2000: 4).

For those who live in non-migrating households in sending areas their vulnerability may increase as they become further marginalised and dislocated from their immediate environment which is changing economically and socially as others migrate (see Naved et al 2001). For example, there may be an increase in wealth and resource differentials as some households benefit through receiving and investing remittances.

The table below provides examples of the experiences of chronic poverty for particular migrating and non-migrating groups.

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Table 5

Groups of Migrants and links to Chronic Poverty

Groups of migrants	links to chronic poverty	Moving out of poverty
GENDER Impact of male migration on women	Increase in female-headed households; feminisation of poverty; impact on reproduction and population growth in sending areas; no formal entitlements to land or ownership; dependent on irregular and insufficient remittances; loss of social and other support networks; not enough labour to work the land; limited political participation	May be empowering as women gain control over certain types of daily decision-making; gender relations reconstituted and transformed within and outside the household (See Chant 1992; Gulati 1993).
ELDERLY Impact on elderly who stay put	The elderly are likely to be more dependent on family and 'community' networks which may decline through the out-migration of others. Increased dependence on government services and social welfare mechanisms; loss of young people and subsequent decline in the agricultural sector, consequences of an ageing population; social security systems undermined	Receive remittances and improved social services.
CHILDREN	Children socialised into a 'culture of migration'; loss of educational opportunities for children migrating with adult family members	Investing in better education for the future; increase in income resulting in increase in nutritional levels.
LABOUR MIGRANTS	A short term strategy which through various mechanisms becomes a long term process; temporary, contractual and seasonal nature of employment; forms of 'bonded' labour, exploitative working conditions; negative effects of 'migration pressure'; poor housing and other social services; neglect of rural production; increasing inequality, wealth and other differentials between sending and non-sending households; insecure employment through casual labour resulting in the inability to accumulate.	Remittances can create opportunities for investment in land, education and other assets, savings and local development (see Brown and Connell 1995)

Staying Put and Moving out of Poverty

There are circumstances in which economic and social security is sustained or improved with migration whereby migrants fulfil their obligations to non-migrant family members even in cases of poverty. More detailed research into the kinds of social security mechanisms that are likely to be sustained with population movements and in what circumstances needs to be carried out in order to understand the relationship between the migrant and those who remain in terms of their inter-dependence and shared responsibilities.

Staying put can also be a positive decision and strategy, resulting in improved living standards. This is particularly the case when the local economic environment changes due to direct or indirect national investment and development policies. For example, some small farmers from South Gujarat in India migrated in the 1970s and early 1980s to join family members living in the UK despite evidence that many of those already living in Britain were working in factories in low status and unskilled jobs and were often financially worse off than their relatives in rural Gujarat. Those who remained in the villages were able to take advantage of the government's policies and incentives for increased sugar cane production. They were able to commercialise and expand their production with the introduction of sugar cane and rapidly emerged as significant actors in the rural landscape with increased incomes and higher status; many became the rural elite controlling local level decision-making and 'community' politics. Those who migrated were worse off than those who had stayed behind and there were minimal remittances from Britain and in some cases cash flowed from India to the UK. To some extent, however it was the migration of some who on leaving rented their land out to those who stayed put that enabled those who remained to extend their landholdings and increase their agricultural production (Crewe and Kothari 1998).

VIII   DEFINITIONS, FORMS AND PROCESSES OF MIGRATION

The literature on migration is vast, diverse and diffuse, and reflects the cross-cutting nature of migration with other processes of (economic, social, political and cultural) change, hence its complexity. There is a variety of different definitions, forms and types of migration which are well developed in the literature and are not fully rehearsed here. Instead, the following provides a brief overview and critique of contemporary approaches in studies of migration and highlights recent alternatives to conventional understandings of migration.

Most definitions tend to be in terms of motives for migration (economic, political, disaster, social, marriage), or use temporal (short or long term, seasonal, temporary) or spatial (from rural to urban, international, how far and how close) criteria. In addition, despite their definitional limitations, distinctions are often made between those movements which are considered 'voluntary' and those which are 'forced' or 'involuntary'.

Typologies of Migration

Despite definitional difficulties, many analyses of migration evoke a typology which consider three main characteristics of migration: distance, time and purpose. It is the different ways in which these are combined which have led to the various representations and definitions of movement.

As a starting point for charting the different forms of migration and their relationship to the chronic poverty of different groups of people these typologies of movement may be useful.

Parnwell (1993) attempts to construct a typology of spatial and temporal factors motivating movement, which provides an example of the types of classificatory systems often used in migration studies. He identifies various types of migration including permanent, step, circular, cyclical, return, refugee, evacuees and resettlement, and spatial dimensions of population movement which include distance, direction and patterns.

Table 6

A Typology of Migration

TIME-SPAN	TYPE OF MOVEMENT	CHARACTERISTICS
SHORT TERM A few hours	Oscillation	Framework; collecting (fuel wood, water)
Daily	Commuting	Journey to work, education, market
Weekly	Commuting	Away during the working week; entertainment, worship
Season	Seasonal circulation	Nomadism, pastoralism, transhumance; seasonal employment
Periodic	Sojourn	Hunting and gathering; trading, visiting
Once in a lifetime	Pilgrimage	Pilgrimage, marriage; displacement by natural disaster
Yearly	Contract labour migration	Target migration
Several years	Shifting cultivation	Shifting cultivation, frontier settlement
Working life	Temporary circulation	Urban-bound employment related migration
Lifetime LONG TERM	Permanent migration	Emigration, resettlement, refugee movement

(Source: Parnwell 1993: 20)

Typologies such as Parnwell's are useful for classificatory purposes as a starting point for more complex analysis as they provide a framework for mapping out incidences and types of migration that characterise particular societies. For research into the relationship between chronic poverty and migration a more appropriate matrix might be one which enables the preliminary identification of the types of migration which are critical for the chronically poor and the possible causes and implications of these such as social security mechanisms for seasonal labour migration, or the effects on health of distress migration, or levels of education for short and long-term international migrants.

The following identifies the types of migration which are most closely associated with chronic poverty.

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Table 7

Typology of Types of Migration and Chronic Poverty

Time-span	Type of Movement	Characteristics
Season	Seasonal labour circulation	Agricultural labour
Yearly	Contract Labour migration	Rural to urban labour migration e.g. domestic service, mining
Working life	Temporary circulation	Rural to urban migration, international migration
Lifetime	Permanent migration	Emigration, resettlement, refugees
Temporary	Distress migration: war, natural disasters	Refugees, internal displacement, emergency

While a starting point for research into migration and chronic poverty might be to map these different types of migration in order to identify the consequences of each for chronic poverty, analysis based on these kinds of typologies cannot substitute for more detailed and complex analysis. Indeed, some researchers have avoided constructing typologies of migration arguing instead for the need to capture the dynamics and interconnectedness of population movements (Skeldon, 1997)

Migration Dichotomies

The use of dichotomies, as with typologies, provide a rather simplistic view of migratory flows. In much of the literature dichotomies persist of, for example, short and long term, near and far, voluntary or forced migration, push and pull factors. Whilst these dichotomies may be methodologically useful, they are conceptually problematic. For example, it is debatable whether moving as a consequence of extreme poverty can be seen as 'voluntary' when the social and economic situation that produces this particular circumstance may compel (force) people to move from one place to another. Thus, movement may be definitionally 'voluntary' but in reality the decision to move is made within a context where the individual or group is faced with no alternative since staying in situ is not a realistic option. Temporal and spatial binaries are similarly fraught with conceptual and methodological limitations as are the identifications of migratory processes being a result of 'push' and/or 'pull' factors. Since people's motives for moving are frequently shaped by multiple and various conditions and considerations, these dichotomies, while convenient and may have some explanatory value, are challenged when examining specific empirical realities. A more useful approach to understanding migration and chronic poverty might involve the adoption of a continuum where the dichotomies or dualities represent the extremes at two ends of a pole.

Connecting Places: Social Relations and Power-Geometries

King differentiates between types of movement incorporating an historical dimension and recognises migration as a consequence of different levels of development between and within places. But, he argues, it is important to remember that movements are also always 'place-specific when studied as the personal experiences of individual migrants', and thus migration necessitates an engagement

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with place at the micro-level (King 1995: 27). These ideas are developed by others who focus on the form of this relationship between the place of origin and place of destination seeing migration then as essentially a series of exchanges between different places (Mandel 1991). These will vary depending on the locality of migration e.g. differences between the constellation of social relations and connections between remote rural areas and other places. If migration provides a link between places, then 'migration stretches particular forms of social relations across space: both the social relations of capitalist production… and the personal social networks that reproduce migration chains through time' (King 1995: 27). Massey (1991) develops this notion further by arguing that the emphasis should be less on the places that people move from and to, for how long and why but more on the inter-connectedness between places and people. She argues for an understanding of a 'power-geometry' and for a progressive sense of place:

> 'For different social groups and different individuals are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these flows and interconnections. This point concerns not merely the issue of who moves and who doesn't, although this is an important element of it; it is also about power in relation to the flows and the movement….There is the dimension of the degree of movement and communication, but also the dimensions of control and of initiation…mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power' (Massey 1993: 61-62).

This understanding of the 'power-geometry' of movement and a sense of place which is not geographically bounded but is instead constructed out of a particular constellation of relations, enables a more nuanced understanding of migration and the dynamics by which people stay or move out of chronic poverty by migrating. An exploration of the particularities of social relations which control and influence movement is necessary for analysing the specific exclusionary processes and inequalities which shape the experiences of migration. Migration can also, however, be a process whereby those who move and those who stay put can gain materially through remittances and the acquisition of assets, and enhanced social security systems and in so doing transform their unequal and exclusionary position enabling a move out of poverty.

Power geometry is about how people and places are linked or by-passed in flows and networks which are disjunctive, uneven and unpredictable. This suggests that flows and networks are not seamless or even but meet in some places and do not go to others. These systems of flows have different densities and characteristics. Appadurai (1990) identifies five types of global flows which connect or by-pass people and places. In order to think about how social relations stretch across and between places as people migrate, Appadurai's interlinked flows may provide a useful starting point.

Table 8

Networks and Flows

FLOW	TRANSFER AND MOVEMENT	CHARACTERISTIC AND FORM
Ethnoscapes	refugees and asylum seekers, migrants, global diasporas	linked by family and friends, remittances, and cultural; types of connection are ever-changing, generational
Financescapes	Remittances, investments, savings	Connection and link between place of origin and destination
Technoscapes	Transferring of technology	New or adapting skills, tools and techniques
Mediascapes	media networks transferring images, news, events, people	Particular types of knowledge, shaping aspirations, ideas about modernity, opportunities available.
Ideoscapes	Ideas and ideology	Concepts such as democracy and human rights; lifestyles and commodity desires, values, gender roles.

Mapping these flows would involve exploring how migration over time and across space reproduces or challenges social relations of inequality and exclusion. In remote rural areas these flows are typically minimal, weak or absent and shape the extent to which people and places are connected. To Appadurai's flows we could add the flow of goods and services as well as infrastructure such as roads and transportation which facilitate or inhibit the physical connection between places through the 'friction of distance'. As highlighted above, the duration and distance of migration is in part determined by the demand for labour but also by the ability of migrants to overcome this 'friction of distance' (see Harvey 1989: 211). This includes a calculation of the time or cost taken to overcome distance but also an analysis of social relations over time and space. People migrate through time and space in order to move from one set of experiences possibly characterised by exclusions, vulnerabilities and opportunities into another more inclusionary set. Thus, the ease of movement or friction can be understood in terms of the cost of movement, policies which limit or encourage movement, demand for labour and through an exploration of the ways in which relations of power and social exclusion are similarly mobile and extend over time and space as do the networks which connect places and people.

IX   POLICY IMPLICATIONS

At the meso and macro level policies influence not only the flow of migrants but also the experiences of those who move and those who stay. These policies are often based on the invisibility of migrants or assumptions about who migrates, why and how, and the consequences of their migration.

Questions for policy-relevant research include:

- What is the policy environment?
- In what ways do current local, national and international policies and development strategies address issues of migration and chronic poverty?
- What types of policy frameworks and approaches can provide opportunities for moving out of chronic poverty?

A study of migration clearly exposes social, economic and political inequalities and these are often exacerbated by various international and national policies based as they are on particular understandings of the reasons for, and impact of, migration. The notion of 'globalisation' is associated with ideas about flows of capital, people, ideas, information and technology all leading to greater integration through 'time-space compression' (Harvey 1980). However, Marfleet (1998), in his study of refugees and forced migration, highlights the contradictions in discourses of globalisation, suggesting that, 'theorists of globalisation invariably under-emphasise or ignore efforts to control certain flows, in particular the attempts to stem or even reverse flows of people' (Marfleet, 1998: 68).

While neo-classical economists have argued for the benefits of openness of international borders to permit a freer movement of capital, trade, services and technology there are increasing restrictions placed on the movement of people (Weiner 1990: 150). It appears as though there are 'two diametrically opposed world trends. One is for greater openness of international borders...The other is for greater restrictiveness' (Weiner 1990: 160). Skeldon suggests that

> 'migration policies are rarely implemented to facilitate the free movement of people; they generally seek to control, regulate or limit population mobility. Internally, they are often designed to divert, slow or stop migration towards the largest cities in any country and, internationally, policies seek to restrict access to citizenship and residence by foreigners' (1997: 4).

Approaches to migration, development and poverty alleviation have led to diverse, often conflictual, government and donor strategies and policies. This section identifies the linkages between these different theoretical perspectives and their practical applications in development policy.

Migration is seen by governments, policy-makers and development planners as both desirable and undesirable. Despite studies which highlight the disastrous consequences of large scale rural to urban migration, migration, and particularly urbanisation, continues to be associated with notions of modernity and progress. At the same time, however, where migration is perceived as a threat to stability and development, policies aim to reduce migration and adopt stay-at-home strategies.

The specific nature of the policy responses and prescriptions reflect particular understandings of migration and development and the political context within which they are formulated and implemented. It is also evident that there are different policies for different characteristics of migrants and forms of migration. Whether governments and donors discourage or support migration largely depends on how migration is perceived: either as a social and economic opportunity for migrants, the development of societies from which people leave and the host society in which they subsequently settle or as a constraint to development strategies and a threat to political, economic and social stability. For example, in Sri Lanka and Indonesia, policy makers have supported migration in order to dilute the concentration of ethnic groups and in some parts of the world agricultural resettlement within national boundaries was a major colonial and post-colonial policy although it became less

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popular since the 1980s because of the high political and economic costs (Scudder 1991).

Policy makers consider migration to be desirable when it is seen as:
- an opportunity for development
- serving the interests of capital: shift in 'reserve army of labour discourse' to empowerment and agency, rational decision-making
- modernity and progress
- a way out of poverty
- strengthening social capital, social structures and networks
- as a form of population control (population size and composition)

Migration is undesirable when it is seen as:
- a constraint to development
- causing political, social, economic and cultural instability
- leading to greater poverty
- reducing the size of the population in a given area, changing the make-up of the population

(adapted from de Haan 2000)

Governments and donor agencies influence the extent and form of migration, and development more generally, through policies, supported by institutional structures, which directly or inadvertently limit, encourage, accommodate or manipulate the movement of people (de Haan 2000). McDowell and de Haan (1997) argue that western development models and approaches are contradictory through their introduction of policies such as liberalisation, industrialisation and modernisation, which often demand or compel population movement while at the same time advocating stability through non-movement. Thus, 'stay-at-home' strategies are promoted to discourage migration yet movement is very often a consequence, albeit often unintentional, of development strategies such as those associated with structural adjustment.

Key to understanding the implications of social and economic policies for chronic poverty is the extent to which they are formulated and implemented within clearly defined and bounded geographically areas and thus are unable to encapsulate the needs and interests of people who move from one legislative area to another. For example, education and health service provision assumes that populations are static and thus those whose livelihood strategies include movement between different policy environments are often excluded from benefiting from these services (see Rogaly 2001).

While migration related policies limit or encourage migration and shape the form and extent of movement, they can also shape the effect of migration through for example, the procedures for sending and receiving remittances. For example, in some countries such as India postal orders enable a relatively easy, secure and low cost form of sending remittances while in other places, money can only be remitted through the more insecure method whereby the migrant or a friend carries it home. In conflict areas such as North and East Sri Lanka this becomes even more difficult and the costs of transmission are high.

X   FUTURE RESEARCH PRIORITIES FOR CPRC

Levels of Research and Analysis

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Research which explores migration, staying put and the relationship between them in the context of chronic poverty needs to address key issues at different levels in order to assess the causes and consequences of migration:

1. Research at the *macro-level* needs to:

- provide an overview of historical and contemporary international, national and local policies and approaches towards migration to identify the ways in which they have shaped patterns of movement and erected barriers to movement, and how the policies are founded upon particular understandings of the costs and benefits of migration.
- identify and explain processes of development and underdevelopment and their influence on migration patterns
- Asses the broader costs and benefits of migration to development

2. Research at the *meso-level* is necessary to:

- highlight patterns or regularities in the migration process through an understanding of the prevailing economic and social conditions in place of origin and destination
- identify forms and patterns of migration and how they are influenced by particular social, economic, political and cultural environment at the national and local level.
- examine the effects of migration on sending and receiving areas; the costs and benefits to places of origin and destination.

3. Micro-level research

The macro and meso levels provide the wider context within which migration takes place. At the local, *micro-level* key research areas include:
- identifying the various factors and motives, which compel individuals and households to leave or stay behind and how and why decisions are made. Why do different population sub-groups decide to move or stay?
- understanding the economic, social, cultural and political circumstances of individuals, households and groups and the social relations that underpin these. There is a need for a more thorough analysis of the social relations and exclusionary processes which shape the experiences of the chronically poor.
- Exploring the effects of out-migration on the poverty of those who move and those who stay behind. The cost/benefit analysis here is at the level of the individual and the household.

Faist (Table 9) offers the following levels of analysis in international migration decision-making and the process of migration.

Table 9

Levels of Analysis, International Migration Decisions and the Processes of Migration

Level	Micro	Meso	Macro
Focus	• Individual decision-making, motives and access to basic resources	• Social relational context of choice • interactive use of capital and time	• Structural opportunities and constraints
Key terms and Issues	• Insider advantages • Costs and benefits of staying or going • Uncertainty and risk-reducing information • Time-space resolution: stage in the life-course • Location-specific capital and assets	• Social ties of potential migrants with migratory space • Capital specificity, especially of social capital • Cultural variation in structure and role of meso-level units	• Political (in)stability in sending countries • Specific migration systems or nation-states within global politico-economic systems • Levels of economic development tin sending and receiving countries
Key concepts	• Rising expectations and relative deprivation	• Chain migration: migrant networks	• Development and change
Explains Primarily What?	• Value (preference) change among movers and stayers	• Internal dynamics of the migration process	• Effects upon economic development, social, political and cultural change

(Source: adapted from Faist 1997: 253, 265)

In order to address these issues and concerns, research into the links between chronic poverty and migration needs to be carried out adopting a theoretical, conceptual and practical approach and framework that is able to incorporate the following issues:

1. *Multi-dimensionality of migration and chronic poverty*

It is necessary to adopt a comprehensive framework that extends beyond economist analysis in order to reveal the complex and multiple processes of exclusions and form and extent of vulnerabilities experienced by those amongst the long-term poor. This requires a research framework which not only recognises that migration is an essential component of the livelihood strategies of poor households but also the implications of different forms of social exclusion such as disability, age, gender, social and cultural capital as well as geographical exclusion experienced, for example, by the remote rural poor, on migration and chronic poverty.

There are close theoretical and empirical linkages between discourses of migration and refugees who are displaced as a consequence of conflict. Very often people who are forced to move for reasons including political instability, civil wars and

environmental disasters tend to be represented as refugees and not as migrants. This raises the question as to whether migration refers solely to those who choose to move and not to those who move involuntarily. However, refugees are often 'in-between' in the sense that they may eventually become migrants or may return 'home'.

2. *Life course and Inter-generational issues*

Where chronic poverty is intergenerational (Moore, 2001) there is a need to explore the experiences not only of twice and thrice migrants but of the impact of migration on subsequent generations. While migrants may experience greater impoverishment through movement while they attempt to construct social networks and secure a livelihood, subsequent generations may benefit by consolidating and strengthening networks and gaining access to educational and employment opportunities and consequently be able to move out of poverty. On the other hand, chronic poverty may be experienced inter-generationally and the negative consequences of migration may be transferred from one generation to the next. In his case study of migration to Jabotabek, Indonesia, Breman (2001: 10) found that men migrated to work in the building industry on successive temporary contracts. The poorest men, however, were obliged to continue to 'go away until they were fairly old. It was only after their physical strength had been totally burned up that they returned to East Cirebon for good, unproductive and in fact just as poverty-stricken as they were at the beginning of their working life, which had now drawn to a close'. To address these historical and life-cycle issues requires longitudinal data and analysis that relate to an individuals' and households' life course and inter-generational changes.

XI   RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Migration is a significant livelihood strategy for poor households. Nevertheless, the role of migration in sustaining or moving out of chronic poverty is largely shaped by the social, cultural, geographical and economic exclusions experienced by the poor. Thus, research into chronic poverty needs to be able to identify when, where and for whom migration is a key livelihood strategy and the ways in which migration plays a role in understanding chronic poverty in different societies and for different groups within them.

This would require the collection and analysis of quantitative secondary data and qualitative material from primary research.

1. Secondary Data

Material from each CPRC partner country to provide:
- A review of the literature on migration in each country
- A survey of different trends, types and extent of migration in each country. While there is some information on different types of movement there is very little available data on numbers of migrants by type of migration.
- Patterns and irregularities of migration in terms of origin and destination, purpose and length of stay in each of the CPRC partner countries.
- Assessing impact of migration-influencing policies on population mobility and the (conflictual/convergent) relationship between these and other social and economic development policies in each country.

There is limited availability of quantitative data on rates and forms of migration in individual countries. Most of the information relates to international migration (see International Organisation on Migration) or refugees (see UNHCR) as these tend to

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be more regulated through refugee and immigration policies. There is large empirical literature on internal migration based on micro-level case studies which could provide initial information but from which it may not be appropriate to generalise.

2. Case Study Material

Research can also be organised around case studies of those who stay put because of chronic poverty and related exclusions and who become increasingly vulnerable because they do not migrate, those who become further impoverished through migration and those who are able to move out of the category of the chronically poor because they benefit from their own migration or from the movement of others. This could include:

- Selection of a case study on the effects of migration on a key 'group' who move e.g. male or female labour migrants, and a group who stay behind e.g. older women, young people in rural areas, those in remote rural areas
- Case studies of decision-making processes of why people move and why others do not move
- Assessment of the implications and consequences of moving and staying put; the costs/benefits of migration to the individual and household and also to the immediate social, economic and political environment. What is the distribution of costs and benefits between individuals and economies and what is the divergence between private and social benefits of costs?

XII   METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

1. Research methods

A variety of research techniques may be implemented in migration studies. Migration is often considered a quantifiable event which can be described using statistics on numbers of people who move, where to and from where (e.g. international migration data sources such as UNHCR, International Organisation for Migration, General Household Surveys and national census, statistics on population change). However, migration is also a cultural and social event, that articulates unequal social and power relations, and figures do not necessarily provide analysis of reasons for moving or staying, decision-making processes, social networks, and other social and cultural processes of change. Here, qualitative analysis is helpful through for example, life-histories including migrants, ethnographic research which emphasises the investigation of particular social phenomenon and tends to provide substantial detail about a small number of cases, interviewing and participatory methods (see Boyle et al, 1998). Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods will provide a more holistic account of mobility, staying put and chronic poverty (See CPRC research tool box; Bilsborrow et al 1984; Boyle et al, 1998).

2. Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis will depend on the type of migratory flow being researched. In many cases families or households move as a group and therefore the household or the family is the most appropriate unit of analysis of patterns of movements and the reasons underlying it. However, individuals within households may have different motives, expectations and experiences of migration which are partly shaped by gender, age and status within the household and therefore even when the unit of analysis is the household, it is important to recognise intra-household differences. In other situations it is individuals who move for marriage, work or education for example. Here again while the moving unit is the individual, other non-migrating

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members may have influenced the decision-making process and been involved in selecting who moves and who stays. Thus, irrespective of whether the movement is of individuals or households, they both constitute units of analysis particularly when examining decision-making processes. Migration or staying put is rarely an individualist phenomenon.

XIII   CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the links between migration and chronic poverty and argued that since migration is a central livelihood strategy for poor people is cannot be overlooked in research on chronic poverty. It highlights the importance of looking at networks and links between places by focusing not only on those who migrate but also those who stay put. An analysis of social exclusion, poverty-related capitals and social relations provides the conceptual framework for understanding the role of migration in sustaining or moving out of poverty and research at the micro- meso- and macro-level constitutes a useful matrix for exploring the different levels of decision-making, motivation and consequences of migration.

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