

PUBLIC OPINION AND GENDER NORMS IN MIGRANT SENDING COUNTRIES

Dr. Ryan B. Edwards

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Deputy Director, Development Policy Centre
Fellow, Arndt-Corden Department of Economics
Crawford School of Public Policy
Australian National University

QUESTIONS

1. How do migrant sending **communities feel** about temporary migration schemes, and does participation change views?
 - Sometimes out-migration is met with hostility (e.g., “brain drain”). Are such negative views representative?
 - If a misperception, does information (here, through exposure to schemes) correct these biases?
2. Does temporary migration **affect home country gender norms**?
 - Institutions can be transmitted back to home countries when people are exposed to different cultures and practices
 - Migration may influence gender norms through other channels, such as female employment, intra-household relations

WHAT WE DO

This paper ⇒ uses **Pacific Labour Mobility Survey** to document the public perceptions of temporary migration schemes in Tonga, and estimate effects on **public opinions** and **gender norms**

1. Introduce some descriptive statistics and basic facts from PLMS
2. Leverage detailed information on selection into the schemes to provide suggestive causal evidence

Preview of findings ⇒ Labour mobility is generally positively viewed by non-migrant households in Tonga. Participation has mixed effects on these views, but significantly shifts gender views and norms.

THE PACIFIC LABOUR MOBILITY SURVEY

Household surveys in Tonga (1st round completed, presented here), Kiribati, and Vanuatu (currently in the field), covering migrant and non-migrant households and members.

Worker surveys of PLS, SWP, and RSE workers (currently in the field).

Some key features and points of differentiation:

- **Longitudinal:** tracking migrants and their families over time. First panel survey for the Pacific region ever.
- **Control group:** non-migrant households and detailed information on selection, migration history, and networks
- **Omnibus nature:** covers a wide range of issues from consumption, to education, to labour, to migration, to gender
- **Open-access:** will be made freely available to anyone anywhere

TONGA HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

When. Collected November 2021–January 2022 in partnership with Sistemas Integrales, SSSMT, and Tonga Statistics Office.

Where. Covers four out of five of Tonga’s island/administrative regions: Tongatapu (main island), Vava’u, Ha’apai, and ’Eua.

Who. 1,160 households: 617 non-migrant and 543 migrant

Migrant coverage: 317 SWP, 179 RSE, and 44 PLS households

Individual data for all household members, including migrants

How. Migrant household sample: selected from a **worker list** developed from multiple sources (e.g., PLF, LSUs, past WB surveys, and employers, with support from DFAT and MBIE)

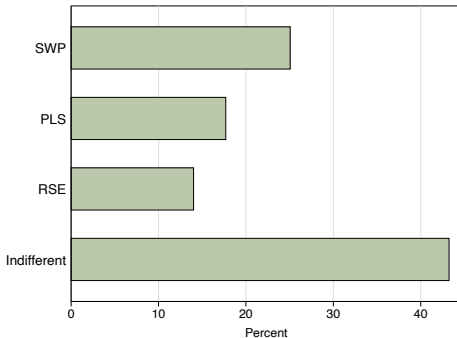
Non-migrant household sample: selected using **probability proportional to size sampling** based on the **latest census** listing.

SOME DESCRIPTIVE EVIDENCE ON
PERCEPTIONS AND GENDER NORMS

PERCEPTIONS—DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE

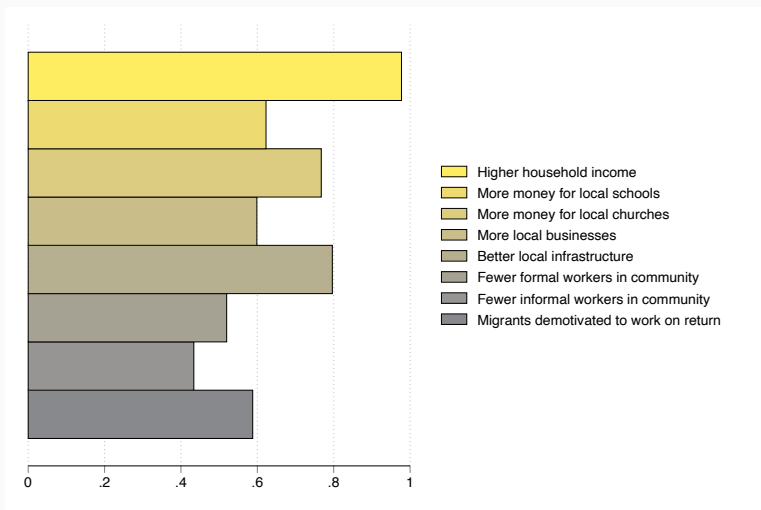
“Would you like for yourself or someone from your household to participate in the SWP or the PLS programs in Australia or in the RSE program in New Zealand?” **41% of non-sending households say “yes”.**

“Which one of these three programs would you prefer someone from your household to participate in?”



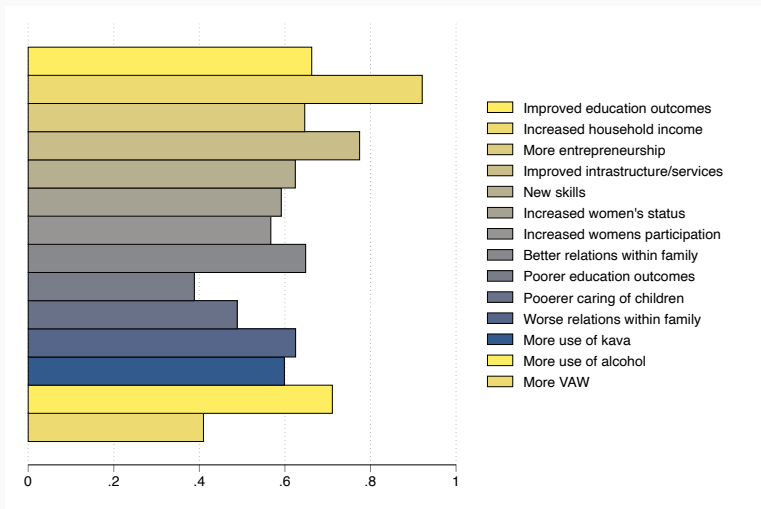
PERCEIVED ECONOMIC IMPACTS

What, if any, have been the economic benefits/problems you have seen in your community from other households participating in SWP, PLS, or RSE? (Y/N/DK)



PERCEIVED SOCIAL IMPACTS

What, if any, have been the social benefits/problems you have seen in your community from other households participating in SWP, PLS, or RSE? (Y/N/DK)

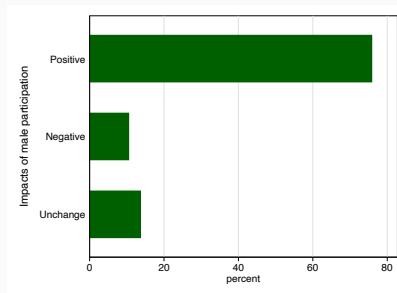
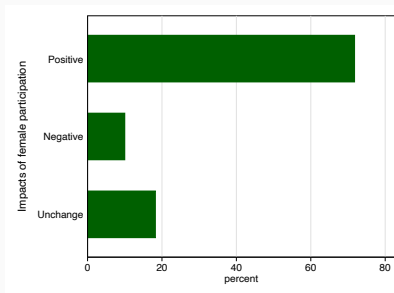


OWN MARITAL RELATIONS

Although half of non-migrant households think LM is deteriorating marital relations, asking participants gives a different picture

Q: What has been the impact of [gender] participation in temporary migration programs on marital relationships in this household?

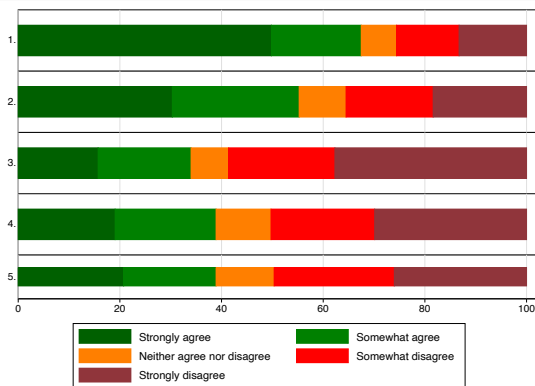
Sample: all participant households, split by participant gender



GENDER-RELATED VIEWS—ALL HOUSEHOLDS

In general, do you agree or disagree with the following statements (1= strongly agree)

1. A father's major responsibility is to provide financially for his children.
2. Some types of work are just not appropriate for women.
3. Mothers should work only if necessary.
4. Husband is expected to work outside home, while wife takes on domestic duties.
5. For many jobs, it is better to choose men instead of women.



MORE SUGGESTIVE EVIDENCE

RESEARCH DESIGN

The ideal experiment: participation randomly assigned, e.g., within some given pool, or by lottery.

How to best approximate an experiment when non-randomised?

1. Exploit discontinuity, merit list? (Clemens and Tiongson, 2017)
2. RSE impact evaluation approach (Gibson and McKenzie, 2014)
3. **Here** ⇒ Compare migrant households to **similar** households who do not have someone working in the schemes.
4. Similar in terms of household size and structure (kids, gender), wealth, location (island and district), education, English literacy, work histories, particularly with respect to physical work sectors, migration networks and contacts abroad
5. Simple matching estimators: propensity scores give best overlap

MAKING SELECTION ON OBSERVABLES WORK

People can look the same ex-ante and make different choices. Models are all about **self-selection** (e.g., unobserved productivity, earnings determinants, expected treatment effects).

Statistical checks do not answer the question: **“Why, if these units are so similar, did one get treated and another not?”**

Few plausible cases when the reason is random or not due to a variable also correlated with the outcome

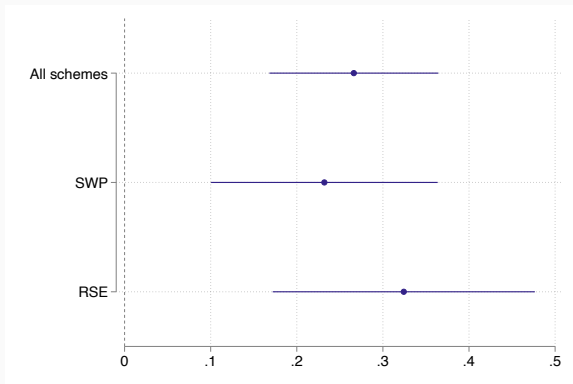
1. Separate decision-maker with limited info decides treatment
2. Capacity limits and small frictions/noise
3. Decision-maker cares about a different outcome than the evaluator/unobserved costs affect take-up but not outcomes

McKenzie, D. (2021) “What do you need to do to make a matching estimator convincing? Rhetorical vs statistical checks”

EFFECTS ON DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE

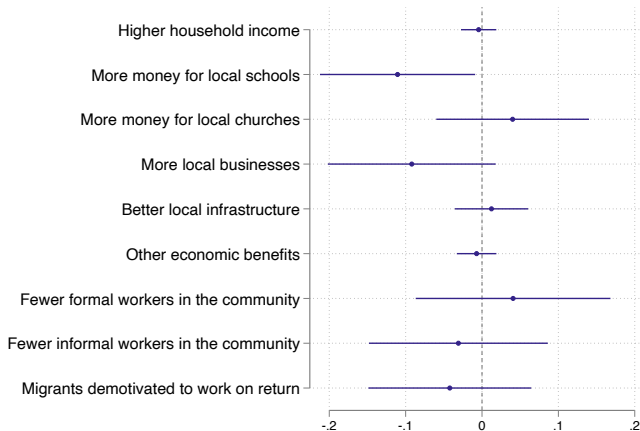
Q: "Would you like for yourself or someone from your household to participate in the SWP or the PLS programs in Australia or in the RSE program in New Zealand?" A: Y/N

Compares migrant to non-migrant households, matching on observables previous enumerated. Horizontal lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals throughout.



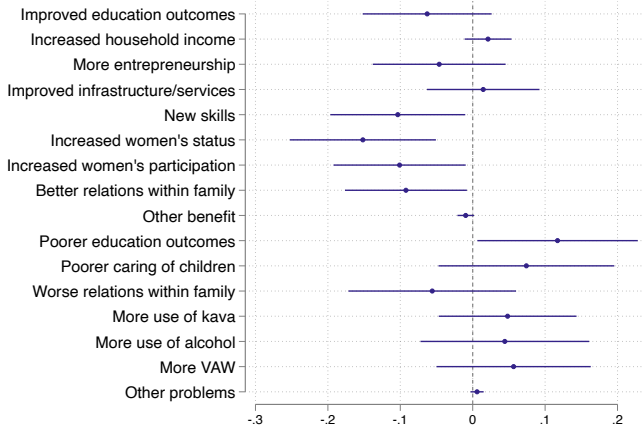
EFFECTS ON PERCEIVED ECONOMIC IMPACTS

Q: What, if any, have been the economic benefits/problems you have seen in your community from other households participating in SWP, PLS, or RSE? A: 1=yes



EFFECTS ON PERCEIVED SOCIAL IMPACTS

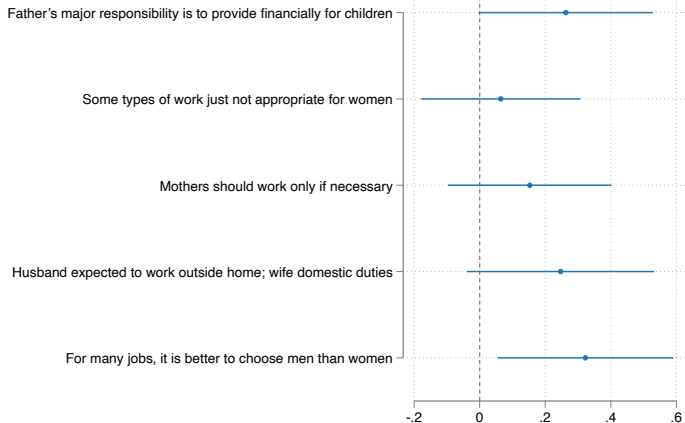
Q: What, if any, have been the social benefits/problems you have seen in your community from other households participating in SWP, PLS, or RSE? A: 1=yes)



EFFECTS ON GENDER NORMS

Q: In general, do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

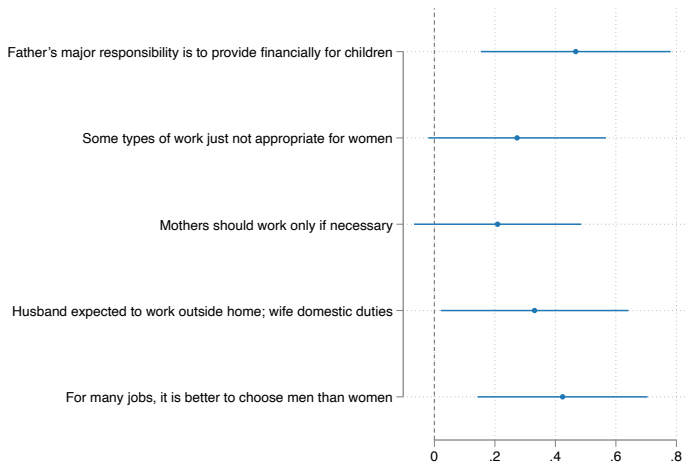
A: 1= strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree



EFFECTS ON GENDER NORMS, SWP PARTICIPANTS

Q: In general, do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

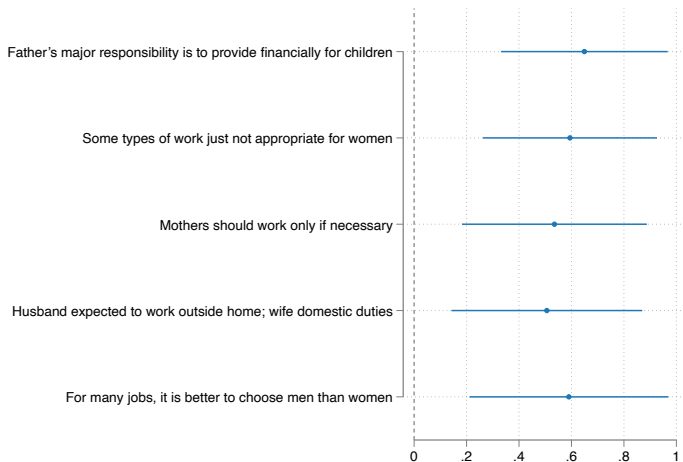
A: 1= strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree



GENDER NORMS, FEMALE PARTICIPANTS

Q: In general, do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

A: 1= strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree



SUMMARY

What we did. Used **Pacific Labour Mobility Survey** to document the public perceptions of temporary migration schemes in Tonga, and estimate their effects on **public opinions** and **gender norms**

What we found. Temporary migration schemes are generally positively viewed by the non-migrant community in Tonga. Participation has mixed effects on these views, but appears to positively shift gender norms.

Key limitations. First country findings from the broader Pacific Labour Mobility Survey. Data are a cross-sectional, for now, but the panel will help mitigate selection issues further.

NEXT STEPS

Data collection is still underway and this presentation shared initial findings from the Tongan data. Next steps include:

1. Compare results across countries when other household data collected this year, increasing precision and generality
2. Understand the experience of workers with the worker surveys
3. Release PLMS Wave 1 report and the PLS impact evaluation
4. Use PLMS Wave 1 as baseline for new impact evaluations, with an initial focus on short-run remittance interventions
5. Document life cycle dynamics and estimate medium and long term impacts after Wave 2 (which still needs funded!)

THANK YOU

Please note that the Pacific Labour Mobility Survey and related research is a collaboration between the World Bank and the Development Policy Centre, and that Hiroshi Maeda and Dr. Toan Nguyen also provided generous inputs for this analysis.

Please feel free to send any comments and suggestions to
ryan.edwards@anu.edu.au

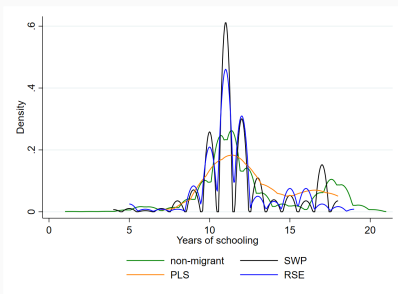
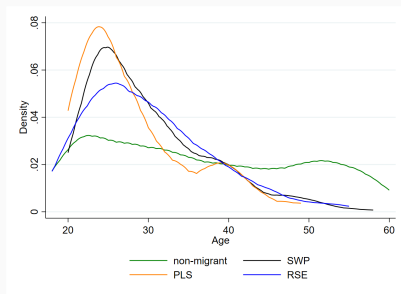
APPENDIX

MODULES: OMNIBUS NATURE IN COVERAGE

- Household roster
- Sociodemographics
- Education
- Children
- Labour
- Non-work income
- Expenditures
- Housing
- Assets
- Remittances, HH members
- Remittances, non-HH members
- Remittances, channels
- Temporary migrant HH details
- Non-temporary migrant household details
- Gender
- Follow-up and tracking
- Worker details

MIGRANTS LOOK SIMILAR

Migrants are younger but similarly educated (irrespective of age) and have similar household characteristics to non-migrants.



SURVEY HOUSEHOLDS

In terms of respondent households, SWP participation is not synonymous with female participation.

	Households	w/ female participant	
SWP	323	80	25%
RSE	176	35	20%
PLS	44	17	39%
Migrant	543	132	24%
Non-migrant		617	
Total households		1,160	