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Sending money home: Transaction cost and remittances to developing countries

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**SENDING MONEY HOME:
TRANSACTION COST AND
REMITTANCES TO
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

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Sending Money Home: Transaction Cost and Remittances to Developing Countries

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Abstract:

Remittances, the part of the migrant's income sent back to their family living in the origin country, have become a critical stepping-stone to economic development for many developing nations. A key factor that causes migrants to use informal channels is the high cost of transferring funds through formal channels. Reducing the cost of remitting is one of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals; it is also an important policy objective as it helps to bring remittances into the formal economy, enhances financial inclusion and increases the net income of receiving households. This study examines the question of whether and to what extent the reduction in the cost of remittances increases the flow of remittances to developing countries, and whether larger amounts are remitted when the cost per transaction decreases (the so-called scale effect). It uses bilateral data on remittance flows and exploits a novel dataset covering transaction costs for 30 sending and 75 receiving countries for the period 2011-2017. A gravity model of remittance flows is estimated using panel data and instrumental variable techniques to account for potential endogeneity. We find that transaction cost is a significant predictor of the volume of formal remittances. A 1 percent decrease in the cost of remitting USD 200 leads to about a 1.6 percent increase in remittances. This association remains unchanged regardless of the models used and techniques employed. In addition to this strong impact of transfer fees, migrant stock, exchange rate stability in the recipient country and financial development in both the recipient and sending countries are also found to be important factors driving remittances. The findings suggest that policies designed to increase remittances need to focus on decreasing the cost of remitting through formal channels.

Key Words: Bilateral remittances; cost of remitting; international migration; developing countries.

JEL: F22, F24, F30, O10, O17

1. Introduction

Remittances represent one of the largest sources of foreign exchange earnings for low- and middle- income countries (LMICs). For many countries, these flows exceed the flows of foreign direct investment (FDI) and official development aid (ODA). The developing world has witnessed rapid growth in the recorded flows of remittances, which in 2018 amounted to USD 529 billion, up from around USD 342 billion in 2010 (World Bank, 2019a). According to official figures, remittance flows to LMICs have grown by 54 percent compared to 2010. These figures are probably an underestimate since a large proportion of transfers are made through informal channels such as *Hundi*, *Hawala* etc. The amount of informal remittances could be 50 percent, or more, of that recorded in the balance of payment statistics (Freund and Spatafora, 2008).

In recent years, there has been increasing interest among multilateral institutions -such as the World Bank, IMF, UN- in formalizing remittances. An important factor that causes migrants to use informal channels is the high cost of transferring funds through formal channels (Gibson et al. 2006; Yang, 2011). The average cost of transferring USD 200 to developing countries remained at 7 percent in the first quarter of 2019, about the same level as in previous quarters (World Bank, 2019). This is more than double the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) target of 3 percent to be achieved by the year 2030. The cost of remittance services can vary substantially, by region and transfer methods. For instance, the cost is the lowest in South Asia, at 5 percent, while Sub-Saharan Africa continues to have the highest average cost at 9.3 percent (World Bank, 2019b). Banks are the most expensive route for sending remittances, with an average cost of 10.9 percent in Q1 2019, while post offices are cheaper with a cost of 7.6 percent in the same period. Reducing the cost of remitting is an important policy objective which can help to bring remittances into the formal economy, enhance financial inclusion and increase the net income of receiving households. Literature on the cost of remitting and remittance inflows is not conclusive. A number of studies incorporate geographical distance as a proxy for the cost of remitting in order to overcome the paucity of data on remittance cost. Greater distance between countries is associated with increased costs of sending money, thus negatively affecting remittance inflows (Lueth and Ruiz-Arranz, 2008; Frankel, 2011; McCracken et.al, 2017). However, De Sousa and Duval (2010) report the opposite result: they find a significant positive relationship between geographical distance and remittances. They argue that this result can be

explained by the loan repayment hypothesis¹. Schiopu and Siegfried (2006) find no significant difference in the coefficients of distance and remittance flows. However, the effect is positive for countries without a common border. One issue with the above literature is that using geographical distance, a variable that is time invariant in nature, to proxy transaction cost does not allow the researcher to consider technological changes and financial innovations that have made remitting more convenient. Likewise, it does not account for migration concentration: corridors with a greater network of migrants and higher competition for remittance services exhibit consistently lower costs than others (Beck and Martínez Pería, 2011) indicating a lower level of information friction that further reduces the transaction cost of sending remittances.

Taking a different perspective, Ahmed and Martinez-Zarzoso (2016) and Kakhkharov et al. (2017) focus on the cost of remitting for specific recipient or sending countries, and find that transaction cost –as expected– negatively affects the volume of remittances. To address the limitations that these studies have in terms of methodology, scope and data used, this study uses bilateral data on remittance flows and exploits a global dataset of transaction costs for 30 sending nations and 75 receiving countries for the period 2011-2017. Employing an instrumental variable (IV) design, this paper examines the question of whether and to what extent the cost of remittances reduces the flow of remittances to developing countries, and focus by and large on the role of remitting cost in shaping remittances volume.

The contribution of this paper is twofold. First, this paper departs from the study by Lueth and Ruiz-Arranz (2008), who also apply a gravity model in the context of remittances, in that it uses the transaction cost of remittances instead of geographical distance as a proxy for the cost of remittances. Second, we employ a number of external instruments à la Altonji and Card (1991) and Card (2001) to tackle potential endogeneity between the volume of remittances and transfer fees. We instrument the cost of remitting with initial origin-specific migrant concentration interacted with indicators of financial access and the speed of transferring funds.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. The next section provides an overview of the existent literature on transaction cost and remittance inflows, including the role and interpretation of the geographical distance variable in these models. Section 3 outlines the

¹ This hypothesis states that if the cost of migration were borne by the family, remittances could be considered as a

gravity model of remittances and discusses data sources. Section 4 presents the estimation results and Section 5 outlines the results of a number of robustness tests. Finally, Section 6 summarizes the results and presents some policy-related conclusions.

2. Literature review

Given the importance of remittances for developing countries, understanding how to bring down the cost of remitting is of interest for academics and policy-makers alike (Ratha et al, 2018; Kakhkharov et al., 2017; Beck & Martínez Pería, 2011). Transaction cost is not usually an important issue for large financial flows (for instance, those involved in international trade, foreign direct investment, or development assistance) as charges tend to be only a small share of the total amount transferred. For remittances however, transaction costs are often high in relative terms. Remittance service providers in the formal sector usually charge fees of 10 to 15 percent of the principal amount to handle the small remittances typically made by poor migrants (Ratha, 2006). This cost puts a financial burden both on the migrants who remit and on the recipient, who consequently benefits less from their overseas family member's efforts. On the supply side, major international banks tend to focus on high value remittance services rather than those tailored to migrant workers (Solimano, 2003; Ratha & Riedberg, 2005). Poor immigrants as well may feel uneasy about using a bank for remittance services, and tend to prefer smaller financial institutions, money transfer operators (MTOs) or informal services, such as hawala system, relatives, friends, transport companies, etc.

Bringing down the cost of remitting is beneficial for a number of reasons: it increases the funds available to migrants and members of their households who stay behind, thereby contributing to the development of the migrant's country of origin; it helps increase flows through formal channels, especially banks, thereby contributing to the receiving country's foreign account balance; and it helps improve financial access for the poor, thereby expanding the formal financial sector (Freund & Spatafora, 2008; Beck & Martínez Pería, 2011). Reducing costs does not necessarily mean squeezing the profits of the remittance service providers; indeed, the cost of providing those services often depends on external factors. Lower prices, moreover, would lead to more frequent transactions by remitters, thereby offering increased volume to the service providers (Freund and Spatafora, 2008; Ratha, 2006).

In the past two decades, research on financial inflows has gathered momentum, covering a wide range of issues such as the formalization of transfers, the reduction of the transfer costs of remittances, the relationship between remittances and financial sector development, the use of remittances for investment, the externalization of remittance expenditure and the economic impact of remittances. Remittances are now increasingly seen as a ‘new development mantra’ (Kapur, 2004). In an early study on the topic, Lueth and Ruiz-Arranz (2008) examine bilateral remittances for 11 countries in Asia and Europe for the period 1980-2004 in order to determine the factors that drive those flows. Their results indicate that economic activity in the sending and recipient country and other gravity variables account for more than 50 percent of the variation in remittances. The study finds that underdeveloped financial sectors in the home country may discourage remittances through formal channels. Distance, used as a proxy for financial transaction costs, is reported to have a negative effect on remittance flows. Similarly, Frankel (2011), using the same dataset, finds that distance is negatively associated with remittances. McCracken et al., (2017) used bilateral remittances to 27 Latin American and Caribbean countries originating from 18 industrialized countries in a gravity setting. They find that greater geographical distance (taken as a proxy for the cost of remitting) is associated with a lower volume of remittances. This negative correlation supports the information friction channel explanation, as greater distance increases the cost of monitoring how remittances are spent by raising the cost of trips back home or by reducing the frequency of phone calls due to differences in time zones.

Other studies fail to find the abovementioned significant negative association between the volume and cost of remittance. De Sousa and Duval (2010), in a case study on Romania, observe that both recipient and sending countries' economic size and geographical distance appear to impact bilateral flows positively. The relationship found between remittances and distance gives some support to the loan repayment hypothesis. In another study, using data on remittances from 21 Western European to 7 neighboring EU countries, Schiopu and Siegfried (2006) find that geographical distance plays no role in explaining remittances. However, the effect is positive for the countries that do not share a common border.

Departing from previous literature, Ahmed and Martinez-Zarzoso (2016) use the transaction cost of remitting to study its impact on remittance flows. Using bilateral data on remittance flows to

Pakistan from 23 sending countries, the study finds a significant and negative effect of transaction cost on the remittance inflows, suggesting that higher transaction costs result in either a greater use of informal channels for money transfer or the remitters refraining from sending money to their homes. The authors suggest that the reduction in transaction costs should both increase the remittance volume and enhance financial inclusion by redirecting the remittance flows from informal to formal channels. In a similar vein, Kakhkharov et al. (2017) investigate remittance flows to former Soviet Union countries by applying panel data techniques. They find that a reduction in transaction costs and depreciation of the currency in the sending country are the main factors that influence the growth of recorded remittances. The negative relationship found between transaction costs and recorded remittances suggests that migrants switch from informal channels to formal ones in order to send remittances when costs are low. In an earlier study, Freund and Spatafora (2008) explore the determinants of remittances and their associated transaction costs for 10 developing countries, finding that recorded remittances depend positively on stocks of migrants and negatively on change costs and exchange rate restrictions. Transfer costs are lower when financial systems are more developed, and exchange rates are less volatile.

From this overview of the literature, we can see that the empirical evidence on the significance and direction of association between the volume of remittances and their cost is mixed, with results depending on the quantity and quality of data and the methodology employed. Until recently, an additional difficulty has been the lack of available cross-country data on the cost of remitting.

3. Model, data and empirical strategy

3.1 Model specification

The gravity model of trade has been widely used to analyse the effect of trade liberalization policies and reductions of trade costs on bilateral trade flows. It has also been broadly applied to the analysis of other international flows such as FDI (Bénassy-Quéré et al., 2007; Demekas et al., 2005), international migration (Mayda, 2010; Lewer and van den Berg, 2008) and equity holding and cross border banking (Portes and Rey, 2005; and Brei and Von Peter, 2018). Its application to the analysis of international remittances has been less common, but analogous to the concept of gravity in trade, bilateral remittance flows can also be mainly explained by the economic mass

of the countries involved in the transaction, and relative frictions that limit the volume of transactions captured by transaction cost. In this study, we employ an augmented gravity model in which bilateral remittance flows are explained by the GDPs of both the remittance-sending (i) and the recipient countries (j) and by the transaction cost ($Trans_Cost_{ijt}$). The baseline empirical model builds on the literature that uses country-level data and cross-country regressions to explore the drivers of bilateral remittances using the gravity model. We build on the approach proposed by Lueth and Arranz (2008) and Ahmed and Martinez-Zarzoso (2016) by taking natural logs of the original multiplicative gravity model.

The linearized gravity model of remittance flows from the sending (i) to recipient countries (j) in the year (t) is specified as follows:

$$\ln(Remit_{ijt}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln(GDP_{it}) + \beta_2 \ln(GDP_{jt}) + \beta_3 \ln(Trans.cost_{ijt}) + \beta_4 (Lang_{ij}) + \beta_5 (Border_{ij}) + \beta_6 (Colony_{ij}) + \beta_7 \ln(Stockofmig_{ijt}) + \tau_t + (\mu_{ij}) + \varepsilon_{ijt} \quad (1)$$

where $Remit_{ijt}$ indicates bilateral remittances (in natural logarithms) between the sending country i and the recipient country j at time t comprising funds classified as workers' remittances, employee compensation, and migrant transfers. The explanatory variables GDP_{it} and GDP_{jt} stand for the gross domestic product of the sending country (i) and the recipient country (j) in period t . $Trans.cost_{ijt}$ indicates the transaction cost of sending money from country i to country j . We take the cost of sending USD 200 as a percentage of the amount remitted as the main cost indicator. The cost of sending USD 500 is used for a robustness check. $Stockofmig_{ijt}$ denotes the stock of migrants from j that live in country i at time t .

In addition to these factors, we include indicators of physical and cultural distance, which could represent the cost of acquiring information. Unlike goods, financial assets are 'weightless' and hence distance is not a good proxy for transaction costs. Distance could however serve as a proxy for information frictions (Portes and Rey, 2005). Countries that are geographically close tend to know more about each other. Common language, common border (contiguity) and colonial history are used to measure the cultural similarities between the countries i and j . τ_t denotes time dummy variables, which proxy for trends in remittances flows that are common to

all countries, such as technological changes. (μ_{ij}) are pair fixed effect that will be included as a proxy for all bilateral time-invariant factors that affect remittances in the models estimated with a within estimator (that will not include distance, contiguity, common language and colonial links), whereas in the models with random effect this term will be part of the error term. Finally, ε_{ijt} is a well-behaved error term.

Subsequently, we extend the baseline model by adding sending and recipient country characteristics that are likely to influence the cross-border remittance flows.

$$\begin{aligned} \ln(\text{Remit}_{ijt}) = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln(\text{GDP}_{it}) + \beta_2 \ln(\text{GDP}_{jt}) + \beta_3 \ln(\text{Trans.cost}_{ijt}) + \\ & \beta_4 (\text{Lang}_{ij}) + \beta_5 (\text{Border}_{ij}) + \beta_6 (\text{Colony}_{ij}) + \beta_7 \ln(\text{Stockofmig}_{ijt}) + \\ & \sum_{k=1}^K \beta_k X_{ijkt}) + \tau_t + (\mu_{ij}) + \varepsilon_{ijt} \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

In equation (2), the vector of other control variables is represented by X_{ijtb} which includes, among other variables, liquid liabilities to GDP for both sending and recipient countries as a measure of financial development. Exchange rate stability is used as a proxy for financial risk, since exchange rate instability of the source and recipient country may also deter remittance flows. Furthermore, we control for government stability, a proxy for institutional quality, which a priori seems an important factor. All the variables except for dummies are in natural logs and their estimated coefficients can therefore be interpreted as elasticities.

3.2 Data and variables

The summary statistics of the main variables used in the empirical analysis are shown in Table 1. Table A.1 shows the description of the variables used in the estimations, units of measurement and sources of the data used. The list of sending and receiving countries included in the dataset is shown in Table A.2 in the Appendix.

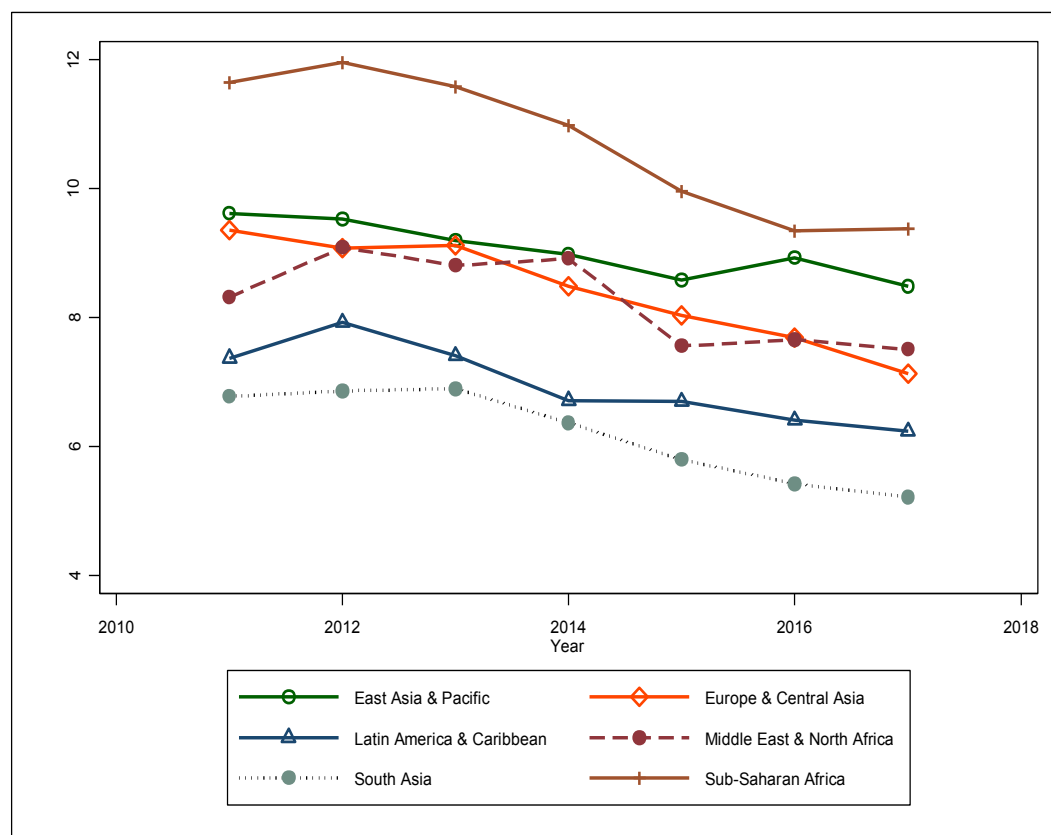
Bilateral remittances received by country j from country i in current US dollars are estimated by the World Bank using the method of estimating bilateral remittances described in Ratha and Shaw (2007). Annual remittances data are combined to generate the bilateral remittance panel for

the period 2011-2017. The bilateral migration data used in this study come from two distinct sources. The starting point is the bilateral migration stocks for destination countries by major countries of origin retrieved from the United Nations Population Division. The calculations are based on the 2015 and 2017 bilateral migration matrix. The second step involves a collection of similar immigration data from the OECD Database on Migration to obtain data on immigrant stocks from various developing countries living in OECD countries. These two datasets are merged to generate an indicator of migrant stocks for both OECD as well as non-OECD countries for the period 2011-2017.

Data for remittance costs are taken from Remittance Prices Worldwide (RPW), a database managed by the World Bank. Data on the transaction cost are available on a quarterly basis for different channels such as banks, MTOs, and post offices. We constructed an indicator for the average transaction cost for USD 200 and USD 500 transfers. The total cost charged by a provider includes the remittance transaction fee and foreign exchange rate applied by the remittance service provider.

Figure 1 shows that from 2015 onwards remittance costs have decreased steadily, potentially due to the entry of new players in the market, new technologies supporting digital payments, and the progress made on improving financial inclusion. The cost of sending remittances varies quite significantly; for instance, South Asia had the lowest costs, around 5.2 percent in 2017, which represents a drop of about 24 percentage points from the level of 6.8 percent in the year 2011. Similarly, the cost of remitting declined in all regions from 2016 to 2017, with the notable exception of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). SSA remains the most expensive corridor for remittances, with an average cost stubbornly hovering around 12 percent in 2011 and 9.4 percent in 2017. Despite the declining trends seen in recent years, the average cost of sending USD 200 still exceeds the SDG goal of 3 percent; for example, the cost of sending to East Asia and Pacific (EAP) is around 8.5 percent, 7.5 percent to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), 7.2 percent to Europe and Central Asia, and 6.2 percent to Latin America and the Caribbean (as shown in Figure 1).

Figure 1: Regional overview of the costs of sending USD 200, 2011-2017



Source: Remittance Prices Worldwide Database 2019, World Bank.

The scatter plots in Figures A1 and A2 in the Appendix show the relationship between remittance flows and the cost of sending USD 200, as a percentage, for the years 2011 and 2017, respectively. The figures suggest that the higher the share of remittances in GDP, the lower the cost of remitting. Similarly, the large cluster of observations around high remittance shares seems to be associated with low costs for remitting; to some extent this could indicate the existence of a scale effect, given that remittance costs are lower in high-volume corridors.

Table 1. Descriptive Summary statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	S.D	Min	Max
ln(Remit)	1,643	5.74	1.78	-5.74	10.31
Remit per migrant	1,153	7.84	1.11	1.52	11.15
Remit per capita	1,643	2.04	2.03	-9.72	7.46
ln(Trans. cost 200)	1,365	2.00	0.48	0.24	3.18
ln(Trans. cost 500)	1,363	1.52	0.48	-0.22	2.92
ln(Distance)	1,673	8.35	0.77	5.75	9.83
ln(Stock of migrants)	1,160	-2.12	1.39	-7.47	2.54
ln(GDP_PPP) _i	1,701	14.35	1.27	10.85	16.79
ln(GDP_PPP) _j	1,694	12.54	2.18	6.28	16.96
Exc. rate stab _i	1,701	0.94	0.10	0.38	1.00
Exc. rate stab _j	1,526	0.92	0.14	0.08	1.00
ln(liquid liabilities to GDP) _i	1,336	4.49	0.37	3.56	5.38
ln(liquid liabilities to GDP) _j	1,417	3.98	0.62	2.33	5.49
Border	1,673	0.05	0.23	0.00	1.00
Language	1,673	0.39	0.49	0.00	1.00
Colony	1,673	0.15	0.35	0.00	1.00
Instit _i	1,701	0.59	0.24	0.00	1.00
Instit _j	1,526	0.58	0.15	0.00	1.00

Note: Definitions and data sources of the variables are in Table A1.

Table A.3 shows the correlation matrix for the variables included in the study. We observe that remittances are positively correlated with most of the variables, but negative correlated with liquid liabilities in the sending country and transaction cost. The highest correlation for remittances happens to be with the stock of migrants (0.76). Strong correlations are also found with other economic and financial indicators (cost, recipient and sending country GDP, exchange rate stability, liquid liabilities), whereas with institutional and cultural indicators they are generally low. An interesting observation is that cost is strongly correlated only with remittances and migrant stock and not with financial development or national output.

3.3 Empirical strategy

A variety of empirical techniques are employed in the study. The model is first estimated using the standard fixed effects model (FEM) based on the Hausman test result, which indicates that the country fixed effects are correlated with the regressors (p-value = 0.003). A random effects estimator (REM) would therefore yield biased results. The FEM is a consistent approach to deal

with unobservable country pair effects. However, it does not provide a direct estimation of the coefficients of time-invariant variables as it uses a within transformation to eliminate the time-invariant unobservable country effects. One disadvantage of this estimator is that the within transformation also wipes out all explanatory variables that are time invariant, such as geographical distance and common language. In this case, no statistical inference can be made for these variables if they are included in the original model based on the theory. This is in contrast to REM, which rests upon the strong assumption of exogeneity of all explanatory variables with respect to the error term. One solution is to use the correlated random effects model (CRM) proposed by Mundlak (1978). Hence, the CRE method has been implemented by augmenting the REM with the mean of the explanatory variables that change over time (Wooldridge, 2010). It can be shown that the coefficients of the time-varying explanatory variables could be identical to the FEM estimates (Wooldridge, 2010).

Nevertheless, it is still possible that transaction costs are endogenous to remittances; failing to account for this in the model might result in biased estimates. Remittances may cause shifts in transaction costs, in other words, market size or economies of scale might also have important effects (Freund & Spatafora, 2008; Beck & Martínez Pería, 2011). Higher remittance flows reduce transaction fees through greater competition in larger markets or returns to scale. In this case, there is an identification problem due to reverse causality. It is also possible that economic or socio-political variables omitted from our model may affect both the volume and cost of remitting. The most common method to deal with the endogeneity problem is to implement an IV strategy. Consequently, we continue our analysis using a two-step Generalized Method of Moments (GMM) estimation with fixed effects in order to overcome the potential endogeneity². We also perform the Durbin-Wu-Hausman test for endogeneity. A small p -value (0.029) indicates that the explanatory variable is correlated with the error term, implying that endogeneity is present. In such a case, estimates using Ordinary Least Square (OLS) would be inconsistent and an IV approach is recommended (Baum et al., 2003, 2007). When applying the IV strategy, the main challenge is to find suitable instruments for the variables that are endogenous to the model.

² The STATA `xtivreg2` implements with the robust `bw(2)` `gmm2` small options.

External instruments should be correlated with the endogenous explanatory variable but should not directly affect the dependent variable. An early use of this IV approach in the migration literature can be found in Altonji and Card (1991) and Card (2001), who instrument current migration with settlement patterns of previous migrants when examining the labour effects of immigration. The underlying assumption is that pull factors which attracted immigrants in the past are uncorrelated with current local demand shocks. In line with this literature, we construct a number of instruments for remittance cost. These include the share of country i 's migrant stock in country j 's population interacted with indicators of financial access, namely, bank branches per 100,000 adults and ATMs per 100,000 adults in the sending country, as well as speed of transfers. The reason for choosing these instruments lies in the fact that origin-specific immigrant networks are considered an important determinant of remittance transfer fees (Freund & Spatafora, 2008; Beck and Martínez Pería, 2011). A higher concentration of migrants from a certain country means there tend to be more remittance services for the remittance corridor in question and greater competition among service providers, leading to lower costs. The indicators of financial access in the sending country also represent the ease with which migrants can use formal remittance services which, in turn, affects the transfer fees charged by the service providers. Following Altonji and Card (1991) and Card (2001), our instruments are defined as

$$Inst_{it} = \sum_i \overline{mig}_{ij2011} * fa_{it} \quad (3)$$

where $\overline{mig}_{ij2011}$ denotes the immigrants from country j residing in country i as a share of the total population of country i in the initial year of the sample period (2011) interacted with financial access indicators (bank branches per 100,000 adults and ATMs per 100,000 adults) in country i . As an additional external instrument we use the speed of remittance transfers. Speed of delivery is an important factor that migrants consider when selecting the remittance channel. The longer it takes to process a transaction, the more likely migrants are to use alternative channels to remit money (Ferriani and Oddo, 2018). Remittance channels differ widely in terms of accessibility and speed, with the latter often positively associated with transfer charges. The speed of transfer, taken as the time needed for the remittance to be available for the receiver, is standardized in six broad categories: less than one hour, same-day, next day, 2 days, 3 to 5 days, and 6 days or more, with the categories ranked from 1 to 6, respectively.

We carry out the Hansen J test of overidentification with robust standard errors. The test cannot reject the null hypothesis that all our instruments are valid. We use robust standard errors clustered at the corridor level throughout the analysis in order to control for arbitrary group-wise heteroskedasticity and serial correlation.

4. Main results and discussion

As a starting point, we present in Table 2 the regression results with the main gravity equation variables, namely, sending and recipient country GDP, distance, common languages, colonial past, contiguity, and migrant stock in the remittance-sending country. Country-pair fixed effects are included to control for unobservable heterogeneous effects across recipients in the first and third columns of Table 2. For illustrative purposes, we include geographical distance to highlight the comparison with the actual transaction cost of sending remittances (Lueth and Ruiz-Arranz, 2008) in column (2), in which the model is estimated with a Correlated Random-Effects technique (CRE). Time fixed effects are included in all columns to model specific unobservable time effects. The coefficients of the time-variant variables remain practically unaltered when changing from the FE to the CRE technique; the advantage of the latter technique, in column (2), is that we are also able to obtain estimates for the time-invariant variables, namely, common language, common border and colonial link, which proxy for cultural proximity. The results suggest that the impact of sharing a common border and language and having a colonial relationship on the amount of remittances received is not statistically significant. The effect of geographical distance is likewise non-significant, implying that distance is an imperfect proxy for the cost of remitting, as bilateral distance does not adequately reflect the technological developments and degree of competition in the financial-services industry. In contrast, the association between the cost of remitting USD 200 and the amounts remitted is significant (columns 3 and 4). The coefficient for the cost variable indicates that a 1 percent decrease in the cost of remitting increases the amount of remittances sent by about 0.25 percent.

Table 2. Main Results: Baseline Model

Dependent variable: ln (Remit)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Explanatory variables				
ln(Trans. cost 200)			-0.25** (0.09)	-0.25** (0.10)
ln(Distance)		0.13 (0.10)		
ln(GDP_PPP)i	0.67 (0.65)	0.67 (0.65)	0.88 (0.73)	0.88 (0.74)
ln(GDP_PPP)j	0.59** (0.23)	0.59** (0.23)	0.69** (0.28)	0.69** (0.28)
ln(Stock of migrants)	0.23** (0.11)	0.23** (0.11)	0.23* (0.12)	0.23* (0.12)
Border		-0.14 (0.42)		-0.13 (0.34)
Common language		-0.08 (0.16)		0.07 (0.16)
Colony		-0.13 (0.21)		-0.17 (0.19)
Constant	-10.99 (9.84)	0.21 (1.82)	-14.64 (11.39)	2.93** (1.15)
Observations	1,151	1,151	992	992
R-squared	0.463	0.679	0.477	0.700
Number of pairs	235	235	235	235
Pair Effects (fixed or random)	FE	CRE	FE	CRE
Time FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable: natural log of bilateral remittances. Models 1 and 3 show two-way fixed effects estimates without and with transaction cost, respectively. Columns 2 and 4 show estimates using a correlated random effects (CRE) approach, taking distance and cost as the variable of interest, respectively; the coefficients of the averages of the time variant variables are not shown to save space. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

As expected, the coefficients of the time-variant variables remain unaltered when changing from the FE (Column 3) to CRE (Column 4) estimation technique. Similarly, the coefficient of the migrant stock variable exhibits the expected positive sign. Whereas the nominal GDP of the sending country is invariably insignificant, that of the recipient is in all cases statistically significant at the 5 percent level. The elasticity of remittances with respect to the GDP of the recipient country ranges from 0.59 (Columns 1 and 2) to 0.69 (Columns 3 and 4). The positive sign for the GDP of the recipient country shows that bigger economies receive larger volumes of remittances in dollar terms, suggesting remittances are significantly driven by investment motives.

Next, we estimate the above models adding exchange rate stability in the sending and receiving countries as explanatory variables. Exchange rate is considered a significant driver of remittance flows (Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2004; El-Sakka and McNabb, 1999; Freund and Spatafora, 2008; Faini, 1994). A depreciation of the recipient country's currency is found to increase remittance flows as it translates into more local currency (Singh et al., 2009). The results for this added variable (shown in Table A2 in the Appendix) indicate that exchange rate stability is statistically significant in the receiving country, but not in the sending countries. A more stable exchange rate is found to be associated with higher volumes of remittances. In addition, while the coefficient of the variable of interest maintains its sign and significance, the receiving country GDP loses its significance.

As discussed previously, the above estimations are subject to endogeneity issues. In Table 3, we present results using a GMM estimator. As before, the coefficient of remittance cost for remitting USD 200 is negative and statistically significant. It is worth noting that its magnitude increases dramatically in comparison to the FE and CRE; in this case, a 1 percent decrease in the cost of remitting increases remittances by about 1.57 percent, that is, more than proportionally. The elasticity of transaction cost is over six times the one found without accounting for endogeneity, indicating a substantial underestimation in the baseline results. This result is obtained considering this variable as endogenous and using three external instruments, namely, the number of bank branches and the number of ATMs in the sending country both interacted with the migrant stock in the initial year of the sample period and the speed of remitting. We test for weak instruments and for the exclusion restriction of the validity of the instruments used. The results of the tests indicate that the instruments are not weak (the F-test of the first step regression is higher than 10). The exclusion restriction cannot be rejected since the Hansen test probability is higher than 0.10.

Next, we control for a number of macroeconomic, financial and institutional factors in both the sending and the receiving countries. Column (2) in Table 3 shows estimations including indicators for exchange rate stability in origin and destination countries. In Column (3), we control for the degree of financial development in the countries involved in the transaction. A competitive financial system in either the migrant's home or host country facilitates formal fund transfers (Acosta et al., 2009; Giuliano and Ruiz-Arranz, 2009; Mallick, 2017; Ratha, 2005; Suro

et al., 2002). Recipient countries with well-developed and technologically advanced financial institutions attract larger remittance inflows through formal channels (Kemegue et al., 2011).

Table 3. Remittances and Transaction Cost (USD 200): FE-IV Estimations

Dependent variable: ln (Remit)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Explanatory variables				
ln(Trans. cost 200)	-1.57** (0.63)	-1.62*** (0.61)	-1.54*** (0.58)	-0.91** (0.44)
ln(GDP_PPP)i	1.55* (0.81)	1.72* (0.96)	2.72*** (1.02)	3.40*** (0.89)
ln(GDP_PPP)j	1.09* (0.62)	0.71 (0.64)	0.77 (0.69)	0.50 (0.64)
ln(Stock of migrants)	0.66*** (0.22)	0.59** (0.23)	0.56** (0.22)	0.44** (0.18)
Exc. rate stabi		0.97* (0.58)	0.83 (0.51)	0.05 (0.48)
Exc. rate stabj		0.57** (0.29)	0.74*** (0.28)	0.65** (0.27)
ln(liquid liabilities to GDPi)			2.31*** (0.73)	2.80*** (0.65)
ln(liquid liabilities to GDPj)			0.97** (0.40)	0.79** (0.33)
Institi				-0.81*** (0.23)
Institj				-0.22 (0.30)
Observations	413	383	362	362
R-squared				
Number of pairs	92	86	78	78
Country pair FE	YES	YES		
Year FE	YES	YES		
Id-stat	13.43	14.04	12.96	13.19
cdf	4.931	5.824	6.258	7.318
Wid-stat	4.332	4.508	5.371	5.568
Hansen (Prob)	0.548	0.315	0.345	0.606
Pair FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Time FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable: natural log of bilateral remittances. The two-step GMM estimates with fixed effects are obtained using Stata command xtivreg2. The three instruments included are bank_bra_hos * migst2011, instr4 = atm_hos * migst2011 and speed of transfer. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

According to some authors, one of the reasons why remittance inflows to Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have remained largely informal is the limited presence of the formal financial sector (Mohapatra and Ratha, 2011; Page and Plaza, 2006). Following King and Levine (1993) and Bettin et al. (2012), we use the ratio of liquid liabilities of the banking sector to GDP (also called broad money or M3) as a proxy for the financial depth of the country. In line with the literature, we find a positive effect of financial sector depth on remittance inflows. The effect is significant for the financial sector of both the sending and receiving countries, even though the impact is stronger in the case of the sending countries.

Moreover, we also add controls for the quality of institutions. In particular, column (4) shows the results of the estimation including political stability as an additional control variable. Stability of the political setup can influence remittance inflows in different ways. On the one hand, improvements in government effectiveness can reinforce migrants' confidence in the country's institutions and increase investment-motivated remittances (Lartey and Mengova, 2016). On the contrary, political instability, social unrest and conflict situations can encourage migrants to contribute to the stay-behind household members' financial wellbeing, the so-called altruistic motive for remittances (Mughal and Anwar, 2015). We use the ICRG political stability index based on indicators of government stability, investment profile and socioeconomic conditions. We find that a lower level of stability is associated with a rise in remittances. The association, however, is significant only for the sending countries. In all the estimations with additional controls (Columns 2-4), the coefficient for remittance cost retains its negative sign with significance at the 1 or 5 percent level. The elasticities range from 0.91 to 1.62.

5. Robustness Checks

Table 4 presents a number of additional robustness checks. Column (1) shows the results of estimations regressing remittance flows on the cost of remitting USD 500 instead of USD 200, while columns (2) and (3) show results from regressions that use the cost of remitting USD 200 and 500 in levels (without taking natural logs). As before, the signs of all three coefficients are negative and the magnitude of the coefficients are not dissimilar when they are made comparable. The association between remittance amount and cost of remitting USD 500, however, is not statistically significant. This finding indicates that transfer fees are a significant determinant of the amount of money the migrants send, but only for relatively small amounts.

For larger amounts, cost does not seem to be a constraint. Money transfer services, especially those offered by banks, charge fixed fees which prove exorbitant for small remittances. Another possible explanation lies in the differential uses to which different amounts of remittances are dedicated. A large number of international migrants send small amounts to their families back home on a frequent basis. These remittances are often meant to cover the households' everyday needs, and are highly sensitive to the costs incurred. However, some migrants, usually those based permanently in the host countries, remit large sums to their countries of origin. These infrequent transfers are less sensitive to transfer fees and are meant for investing in real estate or other commercial ventures, or contributing to philanthropic causes.

As a further robustness check, we examine whether or not the remittance-enhancing effect of reductions in transfer charges is valid for receiving countries regardless of the size of remittance inflows. In our dataset, the median amount of remittances received was USD 329.416 million. Columns (4) and (5) in Table 4 show estimations carried out on the subsamples of receiving countries with above- and below-median remittance inflows respectively. The results reflect another aspect of remittance flows. Although the impact of transaction cost on remittances is negative for both groups of countries, it is significant only for the countries receiving above-median amounts of remittances, suggesting that the costs involved fall when remittance flows reach sufficient volumes. The development of a sizeable migrant community coupled with greater competition among money transfer service providers makes remitting through major corridors less expensive.

Finally, in columns (6) to (8), we present three additional alternative estimations to check the robustness of our main findings. Column (6) uses the current stock of immigrants as the interacted instrument instead of initial migrant stock. Columns (7) and (8) replace remittance with remittance per migrant and remittance per capita as dependent variables, respectively. Once again, the association in all three estimations remains significant with a negative sign. In fact, the coefficients for the two weighted dependent variables are stronger than the baseline coefficients.

Table 4: Remittances and Transaction Cost – Additional Estimates

Dep. Var.: ln (Remit)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Indep. Variables:								
ln(Trans. cost 200)				-0.62** (0.27)	-0.46 (0.44)	-0.710* (0.410)	-0.985** (0.500)	-0.872** (0.439)
ln(Trans. cost 500)	-1.444 (1.476)							
trans. cost 200 (percent)			-0.101** (0.0487)					
trans. cost 500 (percent)		-0.0950 (0.152)						
ln(GDP_PPP)i	4.333*** (1.550)	3.344*** (0.850)	3.051*** (0.873)	2.80*** (0.69)	10.69** (4.38)	3.204*** (0.840)	2.632*** (0.946)	3.264*** (0.881)
ln(GDP_PPP)j	1.233 (1.116)	0.652 (0.718)	0.450 (0.635)	-0.17 (0.51)	-0.19 (1.17)	0.385 (0.624)	0.281 (0.656)	0.463 (0.633)
ln(Stock of migrants)	0.586* (0.325)	0.434** (0.220)	0.449** (0.183)			0.376** (0.168)		0.421** (0.176)
xc. rate stabi	0.00556 (0.496)	-0.258 (0.496)	0.0850 (0.468)	0.22 (0.35)	-0.91 (1.04)	0.0465 (0.479)	0.267 (0.555)	0.0909 (0.483)
xc. rate stabj	0.675* (0.343)	0.590* (0.322)	0.688** (0.282)	0.25* (0.14)	0.94** (0.43)	0.589** (0.278)	0.783*** (0.282)	0.651** (0.275)
ln(liquid liabilities to GDPi)	3.227*** (0.996)	2.619*** (0.607)	2.569*** (0.633)	2.27*** (0.57)	6.91*** (2.57)	2.746*** (0.624)	2.167*** (0.676)	2.632*** (0.641)
ln(liquid liabilities to GDPj)	1.007 (0.664)	0.653 (0.469)	0.810** (0.340)	0.54*** (0.19)	1.53 (1.20)	0.676** (0.311)	0.979*** (0.333)	0.782** (0.321)
lnstitutional qualityi	-1.398** (0.687)	-0.951*** (0.351)	-0.717*** (0.233)	-0.34** (0.15)	-1.93*** (0.67)	-0.770*** (0.223)	-0.709*** (0.242)	-0.762*** (0.227)
lnstitutional qualityj	-0.339 (0.383)	-0.329 (0.292)	-0.314 (0.297)	-0.01 (0.23)	-0.01 (0.67)	-0.266 (0.307)	-0.410 (0.333)	-0.224 (0.297)
lnobservations	362	362	362	250	127	362	362	362
lnumber of pairs	78	78	78	50	30	78	78	78
lnair FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
lnime FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
lnstat	3.816	8.300	14.08	11.52	10.76	12.67	9.640	13.19
lnlf	0.867	1.982	8.269	5.205	10.57	7.084	6.871	7.318
lnidstat	1.076	2.407	6.239	4.682	5.891	5.540	4.218	5.568
lnansen (Prob)	0.279	0.108	0.625	0.142	0.0301	0.180	0.186	0.619

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. The models estimate a two-step GMM with fixed effects (stata command xtvreg2). The tree instruments included are: bank_bra_hos * migst2011, instr4 = atm_hos * migst2011, and speed of transfer, except for Model 6 which uses the current stock of immigrants as the interacted instrument instead of initial migrant stock. Model 1 regresses remittance flows on the cost of remitting USD 500 instead of USD 200. Models 2 and 3 regress remittances on the cost of remitting USD 200 and USD 500 without taking logarithms. Models 5 and 6 use subsamples of above- and below-median remittance-receiving countries. Models 7 and 8 use remittance per migrant and per capita remittances as dependent variables respectively. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

6. Conclusions

One of the United Nation's SDGs for the year 2030 is to bring down the cost of remitting to 3 percent, that is, less than half of today's level. In this study, we used data on bilateral remittances for 30 remittance-sending and 75 receiving countries for the period 2011-2017 to examine the role of remittance cost in driving formal remittance flows. We estimated a gravity model of remittances using an instrumental variable panel data approach. We report evidence suggesting that a reduction in remittance costs has a substantial impact on the amount of remittances received by developing countries. A 1 percent drop in the cost of transferring USD 200 is associated with as much as a 1.6 percent increase in remittance inflows. This magnitude of the impact is much higher than the one obtained using standard panel data techniques and disregarding endogeneity issues. The beneficial effect, however, does not extend to the transfer of larger amounts, indicating the presence of a scale effect. We find that physical distance between the two countries, the indicator commonly used in the literature to proxy for transaction cost, does not significantly affect remittance flows. These findings highlight the need for sustained efforts to reduce transaction costs. Remittances are already an economic lifeline for many developing economies. Reducing the cost of remitting from the current level of 7 percent to the stipulated 3 percent would lead to nearly double the volume of remittances. International migration would thus become a more potent tool for development by ensuring stay-behind households in developing countries receive a greater share of the money sent by the migrant abroad, and by increasing the amount of remittances sent through formal channels, thereby increasing the depth of formal financial markets.

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Table A.1: Definition of Variables and Sources of Data

Variable	Definition	Sources
Bilateral remittances (Current USD): <i>Remit</i>	Remittances received by country j from country i in current US dollars in a given time period, computed using methods given in Ratha and Shaw (2007).	Migration and Remittances data World Bank
Transaction cost in percent (USD 200): <i>Trans cost200</i> and (USD 500): <i>Trans. Cost 500</i>	Transaction cost data available in different quarters and recorded for different channels. We constructed the average transaction cost alternately using a remittance size of USD 200 and USD 500. The total cost charged by a provider includes the remittance transaction fee and foreign exchange rate applied by the remittance service provider.	World Bank, Remittances Prices Worldwide
Distance	Geographical distance between capital cities of countries i and j	CEPII
Bilateral migration stocks <i>Stock of migrants</i>	The number of people living and working outside the countries of their birth.	World Bank, UN-DESA and OECD
GDP (current USD)	GDP at purchaser's prices is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products.	World Bank, World Development Indicators
Exchange Rate Stability	The appreciation or depreciation of a currency against the US dollar over a calendar year or the most recent 12-month period, calculated as a percentage change. Values are normalized to the range 0-1.	ICRG
Colony	1 if the countries i and j have ever had a colonial link, 0 otherwise	CEPII
Common Border <i>Border</i>	1 if the countries i and j share a border, 0 otherwise	CEPII
Common language	1 if the countries i and j share a common official language, 0 otherwise	CEPII
ATMs per 100,000 adults	100,000*Number of ATMs/adult population in the reporting country.	Financial Access Survey (FAS), International Monetary Fund (IMF)
Bank branches per 100,000 adults	100,000*reported number of commercial bank branches/adult population in the reporting country.	Financial Access Survey (FAS), International Monetary Fund (IMF)
Liquid liabilities to GDP (%)	The sum of currency and deposits in the central bank (M0), transferable deposits and electronic currency (M1), time and savings deposits, foreign currency transferable deposits, certificates of deposit, and securities repurchase agreements (M2) and traveller's checks, foreign currency time deposits, commercial paper, and shares of mutual funds or market funds held by residents.	International Financial Statistics (IFS), International Monetary Fund (IMF)
Institutional Quality <i>Instit</i>	Composite index of government stability based on government stability, investment profile, and socioeconomic condition, with a higher score indicating more stability. The values are normalized to the range 0-1.	PRS/ICRG

Table A.2. List of sending and receiving countries

Sending Countries	Receiving Countries		
Australia	Albania	Kenya	Suriname
Austria	Algeria	Kosovo	Swaziland
Bahrain	Angola	Kyrgyz Republic	Tajikistan
Belgium	Armenia	Lebanon	Tanzania
Brazil	Bangladesh	Lesotho	Thailand
Canada	Bolivia	Liberia	Togo
Chile	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Macedonia	Tonga
Czech Republic	Botswana	Madagascar	Tunisia
France	Brazil	Malawi	Turkey
Germany	Bulgaria	Malaysia	Uganda
Israel	Cameroon	Mali	Ukraine
Italy	China	Mexico	Vanuatu
Japan	Colombia	Moldova	Vietnam
Kuwait	Comoros	Morocco	Yemen
Malaysia	Costa Rica	Mozambique	Zambia
Netherlands	Dominican Republic	Myanmar	
New Zealand	Ecuador	Nepal	
Norway	Egypt	Nicaragua	
Oman	El Salvador	Nigeria	
Portugal	Ethiopia	Pakistan	
Qatar	Fiji	Peru	
Saudi Arabia	Ghana	Philippines	
Singapore	Guatemala	Romania	
South Africa	Guyana	Rwanda	
Spain	Haiti	Samoa	
Sweden	Honduras	Senegal	
Switzerland	India	Sierra Leone	
United Arab Emirates	Indonesia	South Africa	
United Kingdom	Jamaica	Sri Lanka	
United States	Jordan	Sudan	

Table A.3: Bivariate Correlations

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
(1) ln(Bilateral remittances)	1.00														
(2) ln(Trans. cost 200)	-0.37	1.00													
(3) ln(Trans. cost 500)	-0.42	0.92	1.00												
(4) ln(Geographical Distance)	0.05	0.04	0.02	1.00											
(5) ln(Stock of migrants)	0.76	-0.42	-0.43	-0.17	1.00										
(6) ln(GDP_ppp) _i	0.42	-0.10	-0.10	0.23	0.39	1.00									
(7) ln(GDP_ppp) _j	0.39	0.00	-0.06	0.27	0.19	-0.14	1.00								
(8) Exchange rate stability _i	0.10	-0.03	-0.04	0.06	0.12	0.14	-0.04	1.00							
(9) Exchange rate stability _j	0.25	-0.03	-0.08	0.06	0.08	0.04	0.02	0.31	1.00						
(10) ln(liquid liabilities)	-0.26	0.06	0.05	0.07	-0.28	-0.41	0.07	-0.01	-0.04	1.00					
(11) ln(liquid liabilities)	0.28	0.19	0.08	0.01	0.16	-0.05	0.38	-0.09	0.20	-0.01	1.00				
(12) Shared border	0.10	-0.09	-0.03	-0.17	0.19	-0.03	0.03	-0.12	-0.04	-0.22	-0.05	1.00			
(13) Common language	-0.06	-0.06	0.01	0.22	0.04	-0.02	-0.25	0.03	-0.01	0.12	-0.23	0.01	1.00		
(14) Colony	-0.10	-0.05	-0.02	0.22	-0.00	-0.08	-0.23	0.02	-0.03	0.40	-0.22	-0.09	0.58	1.00	
(15) Institutional quality _i	0.12	-0.10	-0.08	0.13	0.06	0.38	0.01	0.09	-0.02	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03	-0.10	-0.22	1.00
(16) Institutional quality _j	0.17	-0.00	0.01	-0.06	0.22	-0.07	0.30	-0.00	0.17	0.03	0.37	0.13	-0.17	-0.14	-0.00
															1

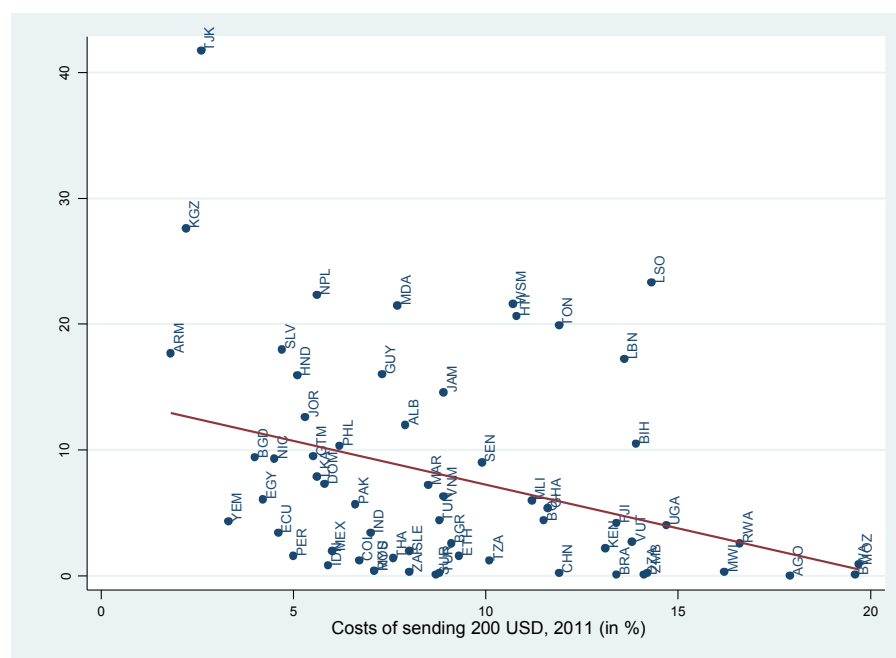
Note: Definitions and data sources of the variables are in Table A1.

Table A.4. Remittances and Transaction Cost: Baseline Estimations with Exchange Rate Stability

Dependent variable: ln (Remit)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Explanatory variables				
ln(Trans. cost 200)			-0.24** (0.09)	-0.24** (0.09)
ln(Geographical distance)		0.09 (0.11)		
ln(GDP_PPP)i	0.85 (0.71)	0.79 (0.72)	1.22 (0.81)	1.22 (0.81)
ln(GDP_PPP)j	0.30 (0.22)	0.29 (0.22)	0.41 (0.29)	0.41 (0.29)
ln(Stock of migrants)	0.20* (0.11)	0.20* (0.11)	0.23* (0.12)	0.23* (0.13)
Shared border		-0.13 (0.43)		0.08 (0.29)
Common language		-0.00 (0.17)		0.13 (0.16)
Colony		-0.11 (0.22)		-0.04 (0.21)
Exc. rate stabi	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.13)	-0.18 (0.15)	-0.18 (0.15)
Exc. rate stabj	0.37** (0.14)	0.41*** (0.15)	0.46*** (0.16)	0.46*** (0.17)
Constant	-10.38 (10.67)	-1.16 (2.13)	-16.64 (12.43)	-4.86* (2.76)
Observations	1,071	1,071	924	924
R-squared	0.407	0.668	0.418	0.714
Number of pairs	217	217	217	217
Pair Effects (FE/RE)	FE	CRE	FE	CRE
Year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

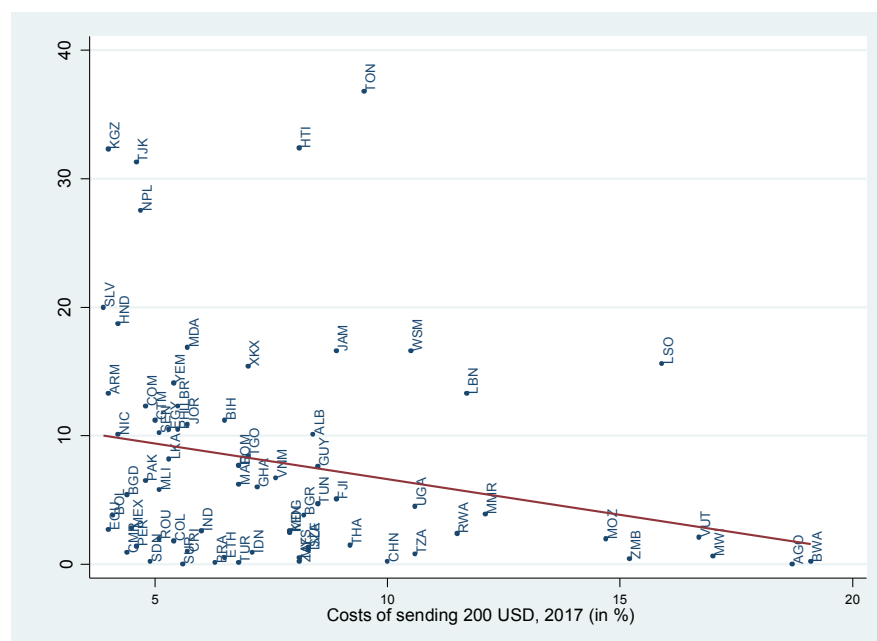
Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. All empirical model regress the natural log of bilateral remittances. Columns 1 and 3 show two-way fixed effects estimates with distance and cost as alternative variables of interest. Columns 2 and 4 show estimates using CRE approach. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Figure A.1: Transaction cost and remittances to GDP, 2011



Source: Remittance Prices Worldwide 2019, and World Development Indicators.

Figure A.2: Transaction cost and remittances to GDP, 2017



Source: Remittance Prices Worldwide 2019, and World Development Indicators.