
UNIT 4 MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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Structure

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of development can be used only when there is a holistic approach to it. The migrants who have left their place of origin must also be included in development. A migrant can be seen as added human power to the work force and also as the added burden on the community. Migration can help advance the development of the community if the community can live with the changes migration brings to it. For some time now there has been a growing debate on the relationship between migration and development that has originated from the discussion on relationship between refugees and development assistance.

The debate has largely been developed with a 'northern' (European, North American) perspective with core concepts largely representing ideas commonly accepted in Europe and North America. For instance, it is a common assumption that migration can be significantly reduced once the origin countries reach a higher level of development. However, empirical evidence suggests that the relationship between migration and development is much more complex and that development often leads to more rather than less migration.

It is important to adopt a broad concept of development. Development is often associated with economic growth, leading to a decreased need to migrate. However, one should go beyond this narrow view and consider people's understanding of both. The comparison generated insights for the migration and development debate, including the expected role of migrants and their associations and the position taken by governments in origin and

destination countries. The actual wellbeing and the capability of the migrants to lead their lives have to be discussed. For instance, migrant expenditures on consumption goods and the construction of houses are often seen as 'non-productive', but as long as they contribute to the wellbeing of people and communities, they could be seen as 'development'.

Comprehensive evaluations of the links between migration and development, remittances and migrants' initiatives on development in the countries of origin are needed to underpin the various positions in the debate with sound empirical data. These evaluations must take into account the many social, cultural, economic and political dimensions of development and how these affect people's livelihoods.

Government support for the initiatives of migrant associations can be seen as promoting development via migrants, rather than encouraging the involvement of migrants in a coherent development strategy.

Let us read the objectives of this Unit.

4.2 OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the linkages between gender, migration and development;
- Analyse remittances from a gender perspective; and
- Critically understand the conceptualisation of women as skilled workers.

4.3 MIGRATION, DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER: LINKAGES

The linkages between migration and development are often suggested by the migrant involvement in development activities. The involvement is not always problem-free; there is a risk of shifting responsibility for creating conditions for national development away from governments towards individual migrants and migrant associations. Not all migrants (and non-migrants) are willing to become entrepreneurs or 'development workers'. This expectation and other such fixed ideas among policy makers do not capture the mixed motivations for migrants involving themselves in development in origin countries. Projecting these policy hopes and expectations onto individual migrants is likely to be a recipe for policy failure. Although many migration and development activities focus on rural areas and agricultural activities, migrants' activities and investments are increasingly concentrated in urban areas. It seems naïve to counter this general trend of urbanisation. Migrants' lives span two or more different 'worlds' and they are deeply immersed in both. This position allows them

to make important contributions to development, which is not always recognised. Migrants bring added value to development not only as 'development agents' but also by bringing new perspectives into the debate. Migrants can serve as pressure groups with the aim to improve public debate and encourage government reforms. For example, poor countries do not have the resources to establish the broad coverage of education and health facilities that are required to achieve the goals on education, gender and health. Children have to travel from their villages in order to pursue all but the most basic education, quality being as, if not more, important to parents than local availability. The distribution of health facilities too, means that people have to travel even for basic treatment. Inequalities in the distribution of services are often as important as the unbalanced distribution of employment opportunities in explaining local population movements.

Our analysis has so far focused on the long run steady state. In the short run, with unanticipated migration, emigration of educated workers is a net loss to the home country. As time goes by, however, successive cohorts adapt their education decisions and the economy-wide average level of education partly or totally catch up, with a possible net gain in the long run. On the transition path, additional effects are likely to operate. In particular, there is a large economic and sociological literature emphasising that the creation of migrants' networks facilitates exchanges of goods, factors, and ideas between the migrants' host and home countries.

Almost all forms of non-forced migration is demand-driven. When people get to know about opportunities elsewhere, and that itself is a function of education, they tend to move towards them. Hence, as countries develop, migration tends to increase. Over the longer term, as societies and economies progress through a demographic transition from higher to lower fertility and mortality, they may also move through a migration transition from net emigration to net immigration. However, this development sequence does not imply that outmigration ceases, simply that the net flow reverses. Developed States such as of Maharashtra and Delhi, for example, are major states of in-migration. The types of migrants coming into the state of Maharashtra are from the under-developed states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and other BIMARU states. Poor isolated parts and areas often have low rates of migration whereas those actively participating in the global system are characterised by high levels of migration and mobility.

Migration is one of the more obvious manifestations of globalisation. In the context of migration, globalisation and development, women have emerged as global workers. Let us look at the situation of 'global women' as a product of globalisation. To quote Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild (2011), "thanks to the process we loosely call 'globalisation', women are on the move as never before in history' (p. 238). Because of

increasing global inequality, female labour is migrating from the poor countries to the rich ones to work as nannies, maids and sex workers. The gendered specific work of women is transferred from the global South to global North in which migrant women have been able to support and lift up their families from desperate poverty. According to Ehrenreich and Hochschild this form of female negotiation can be referred as a 'worldwide gender revolution'. And because of gender revolution, female migrant workers from the Third World are not only improving their family's material conditions but also finding the situation liberating as well. The migrant female workers are also seen as independent breadwinners for their family. The global inequality has pushed women out of their homes for paid labour and at the same time they are faced with innumerable challenges as workers. Migration has both positive and negative implications for female migrant workers. Some of the negative implications are:

- The female migrant workers are women of colour therefore subjected to racial discrimination. Added to this, the nature of their work as nannies, maids and sex workers make them invisible from the public eye.
- Female migrant workers often face stereotypes when they return home. They are represented as victims, immoral, others, drain on a society and commodities (Pyle, 2011, p. 253).
- Women workers often experience discrimination in their host countries with regard to wage, workplace harassment and negative representations. But the problems get intensified for women migrant workers. Parrenas found that in Los Angeles and Rome, Filipina domestic workers have faced problems like painful separation from their families, reduced occupational status, social exclusion from their host countries and quasi-citizenship (Pyle, 2011, p, 254).
- The women workers who transnationally migrate for providing care work face multiple forms of discrimination based on gender, ethnicity and religion because of their status as trafficked workers. For instance, Ball documented the experience of Filipina nurses in Saudi Arabia which revealed that the nurses face discrimination as females in the occupations that cross taboos of touching between unmarried members of opposite sexes (Pyle, 2011).
- Female transnational workers also face occupational closure on the basis of their nationality and racial identity. For instance, Indonesian nurses are encouraged for the most challenging jobs in Taiwan as compared to Filipinas. In Singapore, Filipina nurses get one or two days off from the work in a month, however Indonesian and Sri Lankan nurses may not be entitled to get such privileges. Similarly, nurses of

racial minority are less likely to be promoted for training and promotion (Cf. Pyle, 2011).

- Women who migrate to work as live-in domestic workers face the problem of social isolation. According to Pyle (2011), within the household, their identities are often reduced from social beings to mere commodities.
- The working conditions of migrant women are a matter of concern. For instance, domestic workers are not provided with adequate food to eat, insufficient sleeping time and provided no space for maintaining privacy. Apart from these issues, they succumb to physical and sexual abuses. Waldman reported that about a hundred bodies of Sri Lankan women are sent back home every year. Similarly, about a hundred maids die every year in Singapore by falling from high-rise buildings. The reasons could be suicide or slipping from windows while cleaning or hanging clothes (Pyle, 2011).
- Families of migrant women face care deficit in the absence of the mother or female members in the family.

These are some of the common challenges faced by female transnational migrant workers. It is essential to also look at women workers as having agency for resisting the difficult situation. Therefore, it is important to read the stories of some transnational female migrant workers who struggled to reassert their identities in relation to their work. According to Cheng (2004), Filipina and Taiwanese female employers struggled to reconstruct their positive identities in relation to the ideologies of care work. Further, women migrant workers also feel empowered while seeing the improvement of the material conditions of their families. Migration allows women to provide improved housing for their families, finance a small business, repay the family debt, and could educate their children (Barber 2000; Gamburd 2000; Frank 2001, cited in Pyle, 2011).

4.4 COSTS AND REMITTANCES OF MIGRATION

An important socio-economic literature has emerged recently to analyse the consequences of the constitution of migrants' networks on migration patterns. It outlines a cumulative theory of migration, noting that the first migrants usually come from the middle ranges of the socio-economic hierarchy, and are individuals who have enough resources to absorb the costs and risks of the trip, but are not so affluent that working abroad is unattractive. Family and friends then draw on ties with these migrants to gain access to employment and assistance in migrating, substantially reducing the costs and risks of movement to them. This increases the attractiveness and feasibility of migration for additional members, allowing them to migrate

and expand further the set of people with network connections. In the discussion on cost and remittances of migration, it is important to understand the gender dimension. According to **Jean L. Pyle** (2011), women are considered to be a valuable 'labour export' as prior research studies have shown that women are more likely to send remittance home as compared to the male migrants. **Marieme S. Lo** (2008) critically looks at the gendered and social impacts of remittance in Senegal. She argues that remittance can have both positive and negative impacts for women as remittances intersect with the power structure of the household which reproduces the economic dependency and vulnerabilities for women. To quote Lo "remittances appear to stabilise gender orders and hierarchies, except for women who can reinvest remittances strategically to enhance their economic independence, use remittances as an opportunity to renegotiate gender hierarchies and exert more decision making power in household management" (2008, p. 426).

In the discussion on migration, development and remittances, it is essential to discuss the social and human cost of remittances as women's questions are rooted in the social structure. It is difficult to assess the gendered dimension of remittances primarily in a quantitative pattern. As **Bach** (2011) stated, remittances are beyond the act of transfer of money as it is inextricably linked to poverty reduction and alteration of gender division of labour in the global market. According to **Wong** (2006) remittances trace and spur shifts in self-understanding and geographies of belonging, as marginalised communities become inexorably intertwined with global urban centers across great reaches of time and space. In the process, the relation between senders and receivers becomes a space for negotiation, reproduction, and transformation of established gender roles (Wong 2006, cf. Bach 2011, p. 139).

Deirdre McKay (2005) in her study on the agricultural villages of Philippines found that cultural norms, ecological dynamics and livelihood patterns are fundamentally altered due to female emigration. Practice of cash crop cultivation has replaced the culture of subsistence farming. The study reflected that some women migrants used the remittance money to acquire property in their own names and to form a new economic identity for themselves. The new identity is based on the changing identities of the men left at home. The author gives the following example: Nardo (the husband) used Gloria's (the wife's) remittances to become self-employed as a producer of a commercial crop, yet his class transformation depends on Gloria's networks overseas and the support of her family" (cf. Bach 2011, p. 140). The practice of sending remittances back home becomes part of her new identity as adventurous, capable and modern and also gets connected to other migrant women who are also acquiring a new identity of female self-actualisation.

As explained earlier, the role of migrants' networks is to diffuse information on job availability and provide hospitality and help in job search. Hence, past migration progressively raises the expected return to education (net of migration costs) and, therefore, domestic enrollment in education. The rise in the optimal number of individuals engaging in education has also increased their share amongst the educated workers in the country. In this sense, migrant networks have positive effects on human capital formation and serve to mitigate the short-run detrimental effects of the brain drain.

In particular, low-skilled migrants may embody two fundamentally ambiguous identities. On the one hand, they are often at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in the destination countries, which can leave them in vulnerable and exploitative situations. On the other hand, they may be part of local elite in origin countries, which places them in a position of privilege.

Observations on migrant associations' development initiatives through 'collective' remittances, migrant or 'home town' associations often support small-scale infrastructure projects in local communities to improve general wellbeing. These initiatives have a limited impact on local economic growth. Evaluations of collective remittance projects are urgently needed because there are few independent evaluations of the success of such projects and the factors influencing positive and negative outcomes.

There are a lot of costs connected to migration, direct expenditures and forgone earnings during the migration process, and also psychological costs. The restrictive attitude of many western countries vis-à-vis immigration also results in higher migration cost. More has perhaps been written about remittances than any other aspect of migration and development. Less well appreciated is the fact that remittances reflect the origin of the migrants themselves and these are highly concentrated and flow back to a relatively small number of towns and villages in the countries of origin. It is not clear that migrant projects support initiatives that respond to the most urgent needs identified by the communities. In highly politicized contexts, projects may fulfill the needs of migrant elites, which may lead to greater inequality rather than contributing to local development. Migration and governments in origin countries Governments have tended to have a laissez faire attitude towards migration and, in some cases; migration may have contributed to economic dependency.

The reliance on remittances and migrants' support for local projects might have been a disincentive to the formulation of broader national development strategies. Similarly, the majority of the migrants from Pakistan to the United Kingdom came from the mainly rural district of Mirpur in the north of that country. Much of the migration from India to the Middle East has been from the southern state of Kerala (Zachariah, Mathew and Rajan 2003) and migration from China has been dominated by three southern coastal

provinces, Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang, and from very specific parts of those provinces. In Peru, virtually 82 per cent of households receiving remittances were found in the more developed coastal provinces rather than to the poorer Sierra, with fully 57 per cent in the capital, Metropolitan Lima (IOM 2008). Only just over 5 per cent of households receiving remittances in Peru were in the rural areas. The immediate effect is to reinforce or increase inequalities between rural and urban and among rural areas. Thus, unlike aid, or official development assistance, which can be targeted at particular groups and specifically towards the eradication of poverty, remittances are flows of an entirely different nature. They are focused on the specific areas of origin of migration that might involve neither the poorest areas nor the poorest people within those areas.

Before reading further take up the following exercise.

Check Your Progress:

1) *List negative implication of migration for female workers.*

2) *How do remittances help in the cost of migration?*

4.5 SKILLED MIGRANTS

Another type of network effect consists in the creation of business and trade networks; such a ‘diaspora externality’ has long been recognised in the sociological literature and, more recently, by economists in the field of international trade. In many instances indeed, and contrarily to what one would expect in a standard trade theoretic framework, trade and migration appear to be complements rather than substitutes. Interestingly, such a complementarity has been shown to prevail mostly for trade in heterogeneous goods, where ethnic networks help overcoming information problems linked to the very nature of the goods exchanged. How the relationship of substitutability or complementary between trade and migration impacted by the skill composition of migration, however, remains unclear.

The emigration of the highly skilled was, and to a large extent still is, seen as negative for the countries of origin as they lose the people most likely to be able to generate development. The available data suggest that, in terms of absolute numbers, the sources of skilled migrants lie primarily in the developed world itself and in a relatively small number of middle-income developing countries in East and South Asia. However, assessing the loss of skilled as a proportion of the skilled workforce of any country does show that small island countries and a number of sub Saharan countries are highly affected, and it is in these countries that a brain drain may be found.

In discussions of brain drain the issue of specific place of origin of the migrants looms large. If the skilled are concentrated in the largest urban areas, then their emigration is not going to make much impact on the poor rural areas where the need may be greatest. Some 90 per cent of doctors in Haiti are supposedly concentrated in Port-au Prince. Several oft-neglected aspects of the brain drain debate remain. First, are highly skilled professionals the most appropriate personnel for the conditions where the development needs are greatest? For example, the need for health personnel with basic skills may be greater than for those trained to international standards for modern hospitals. Second, pay and conditions in developing countries may lead to a migration from the sector, but not from the country. Although some 32,000 vacancies for nurses existed in South Africa around the beginning of the twenty-first century, some 35,000 registered nurses were found to be inactive or unemployed in the country (OECD 2004).

In the discussion on migration and skilled labour, it is worth reading about the phenomena of feminisation of labour and the global care chain. You must have read about the phenomena of feminisation of labour in the earlier courses MGW 002 and MWG 004. Now we will look at feminisation of labour in relation to skilled labour and international migration. As Western

countries formulate their immigration policies to attract right kind of people, the competition for skilled workers gets intensified. It is seen that more women are pushed into the sphere of care work. This is the global care chain that involves care for people at home or in institutions for wages. Feminist scholars have critically debated the conception of care economy and tried to demystify the ideological assumption between women's bodies and the care work.

The literature on gender, migration and political economy has analysed the concept of global care chain. According to **Pauline Gardiner Barber** (2011), within the global care chain, when women's work shifts from the socially accepted domain of reproduction to the marketplace, they are seen as skilled labourers in the care economy. There is a trend towards 'transfer of care' from developing countries to developed ones with growing emphasis on the aspect of global care deficit in the home countries of migrant women. The Philippines has become the major home to export nurses to the global economy. Over 70 percent of Filipino nursing graduate find jobs abroad. As an effect of female out-migration from Philippines, around 50 percent of people in Philippines lack access to healthcare facilities (Barber, 2011). The migration of female skilled labourers has given rise to conceptual understandings at two levels such as: 'transfer of care' and 'deficit of care'.

Countries like Philippines have maximum representation of women workers among the international migrants. In the year 2003, 73 percent of work contracts were issued to women from Philippines (Ramirez et al. cf. Bach 2011). Women are transferred to the Northern countries as homecare helpers, domestic workers and nurses. Certainly, the inclusion of reproductive work in the global production has created market to purchase women's reproductive work for wages. At the same time this growing political economy has also reinforced class, race and gender inequalities in the global labour market (cf. Bach 2011).

Gender-segregated occupation is very much part of the national and international labour market as you have read in the course MWG 004. In electronic and textile factories, young women are absorbed as line workers due to their eyesight, dexterity and assumed docility (refer Bach, 2011). Women from the developing countries migrate to developed countries for various reasons: family, domestic labour, sex work, entertainment and hospitality, professional jobs, trading and entrepreneurship and factory work. Women's inclusion in specific work also shapes the national policies on migration of host countries of migrants and receiving countries. Some countries such as Mexico and Philippines target women workers as they maintain the continuous flow of remittances (Fitzgerald 2009, in Bach, 2011). The brief discussion highlights the importance of linking gender, migration and development of a country.

Lastly, the place of training of the skilled is rarely considered, mainly because of problems of available data. While many of the skilled from a middle-income country such as India or the Philippines with long traditions of education are likely to be trained in the country of origin, the same is not the case for poorer countries of origin where institutions for advanced training do not exist. It has been estimated that some 55 per cent of those from Latin America and the Caribbean who are living in the United States were trained in the United States; even more than 40 per cent of those from China and India in the United States had been trained in that country. Over two-thirds of foreign scientists conducting research in the United States in 1999 had been trained in the United States.

Hence, many of the brains are refined, if not created, in countries of destination. It is also clear that, at the local level too, the children of villages in poor areas have to move to larger settlements in order to pursue their education to secondary level and beyond. Thus, training at all levels tends to occur at progressively higher levels of the settlement hierarchy, a process that is facilitated by migration.

Given that many of the best and brightest, as well as wealthiest, members of any country or community live outside their natal areas, the diaspora, or community of those living outside, has been seen as a resource that can be tapped or “leveraged” for the development of home areas. Unquestionably, diaspora groups such as the Overseas Chinese or the Viet Kieu have played and continue to play a significant role in the development of China and Vietnam respectively. However, in both these cases, we are dealing with strong “developmental” states. There is something for overseas migrants to either invest in, or return to, if they so choose, to participate in the current rapid economic growth. It is unreasonable to expect overseas migrants to participate in failed states and economies of origin and, on their own, to be able to promote development in home areas. They need to work within some effective structures if they are to have an impact on their countries of origin. It must always be remembered that not all in the diaspora need work for the best interest of governments in home areas and may actively seek to undermine political structures at home. The diaspora is highly heterogeneous. Essentially it is a homogeneous entity that seeks to work for the development of country of origin.

Take up the following activity to assess your understanding of the last section that you have just finished reading.

Activity

Give an account of real life skill migration you have come across in your neighbourhood.

In the ensuing section you will read about implication of international labour migration on the country of original and also on the destination country.

4.6 IMPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION

It is not certain that migrants find employment at the destination or that their human capital is transferable. Thus, at least upon entry, immigrants tend to be confined to the unskilled segment of the labour market. Expected and actual difficulties in job search result from lacking knowledge of institutions, languages and habits in the host country. But estimates have suggested that when developed economies took in migrant labour the remittance play a role in reducing poverty at the country of origin.

It has been estimated that the massive labor migration from the state of Kerala in southern India to the Gulf States contributed to a 12 per cent reduction in poverty in that state (Zachariah, Mathew and Rajan, 2003). Convincing evidence of the impact of remittances on poverty alleviation is also available from Latin America. Yet, despite the volume of remittances received by Kerala the state has not experienced a parallel increase in economic growth, actually declining in rank by gross state domestic product between 1980 and 1998. Remittances may improve human capital but, in doing so, may lock certain populations into dependence upon further migration.

In the Gulf States and throughout much of East and Southeast Asia, labor migration is the norm, with migrants not allowed to settle in destination economies. This means that states are hosting temporary populations with no rights to long-term residence, let alone citizenship. The rights of migrants, not just to entitlement to fair wages and working conditions and access to basic services, but also to bring their families, emerge as major issues. In the developed economies of North America, Australasia and Europe, with their more developed rights legislation, the issue of admitting temporary workers as opposed to prospective citizens raises fundamental and sensitive questions that are not easy to resolve. As these economies are essentially democracies with open political systems, the voices of specific citizen interest groups are often raised against immigrants, and immigration has become a major political issue in some destination societies.

Prior to 2006, the multi-dimensional aspects of international migration had been addressed in the outcome documents of numerous international conferences and summits, convened by the United Nations. Both the World Population Plan of Action, adopted at the 1974 United Nations World

Population Conference, and the Recommendations for Action, agreed at the 1984 International Conference on Population, addressed relevant aspects of international migration, including its relationship with development, the protection of migrant workers, irregular migration, and forced displacement. In the Program of Action, adopted by the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994, is one of the most comprehensive texts on international migration adopted by the international community to date. Subsequently, most major United Nations conferences and their outcome documents, including the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), the United Nations Millennium Declaration (2000), and the World Summit Outcome (2005) have addressed relevant aspects of international migration (IOM, 2008).

Since Cairo conference the issue of international migration and development has been a sub-item with biennial periodicity on the agenda of the second committee of the General Assembly. For several years, the second committee considered the possibility of convening an international conference on international migration and development. This debate resulted in the decision, in December 2003, to convene a high-level dialogue on international migration and development with a non-binding outcome.

Over 80% of the world's refugees are hosted by developing countries and remain within their region of origin. Of these, the majority is in so called **protracted refugee situations (PRSs)**, being confined to camps, settlements or located in urban areas for over five years and facing severe restrictions on their access to rights because of the absence of opportunities for durable solutions such as repatriation, resettlement, or local integration.

Targeted development assistance (TDA) is needed where donor states can provide overseas development aid to host countries of first asylum as a means to enhance refugees' access to protection and durable solutions. Its central characteristic is an integrated development approach, which focuses on the needs of both refugees and host communities, through, for example improving livelihood opportunities, service provision or infrastructure. Its aim is to enhance refugees' access to rights, self-sufficiency, and, where possible, local integration. Under certain conditions, the use of targeted development assistance by developed countries to developing countries refugee hosting regions can enhance refugee protection and access to durable solutions in refugees' regions of origin, while simultaneously addressing the concerns of both developed and developing countries.

There are a range of examples from the past, successful and unsuccessful, which provide insight into the conditions under which TDA can effectively

enhance access to protection and durable solutions, while meeting the concerns and interests of both donors and hosts. During the 1980s, the notion of 'Refugee Aid and Development' was applied in both the **International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA)** and to the **International Conference on Refugees in Central America (CIREFCA)**. During the early 2000s, the concept was revived and applied to situations in Zambia and Uganda. As well as having significant human rights implications, PRSs pose a range of problems for states. For Southern host states, they may create tensions with local communities due to competition for scarce resources, and may be perceived as a security threat in the absence of international burden-sharing.

In situations like Central America in the late 1980s and early 1990s, an integrated development assistance approach based on promoting self-sufficiency and local integration was successful in enhancing refugees' rights while meeting the interests of donors and hosts. For developed countries, TDA has the potential to reduce irregular secondary movements, to eliminate potential sources of terrorist recruitment, and to reduce the long-term humanitarian budget. For developing countries, TDA has the potential to benefit local host communities; to contribute to the development of underdeveloped border regions, and to reduce social conflict and insecurity.

Successful TDA requires a number of political ingredients. Past practice suggests that it requires a significant, reciprocal commitment by both donor and host states. Northern states will need to commit to provide significant additional development assistance that does not substitute for existing budget lines that would otherwise benefit country nationals and an integrated approach that targets both refugees and citizens.

Southern states meanwhile need to be willing to offer self-sufficiency and possibly local integration; a commitment to enhance refugee protection capacity. In order to facilitate political agreement, a neutral arbiter and a credible negotiation process will be required. Successful TDA requires a number of practical ingredients. Most notably these include institutional collaboration between UNHCR and development actors; joined-up government and new budget lines that can transcend government department divides; and, most crucially;

The right kinds of interventions, which are based on an integrated approach, focus on livelihoods, use pre-existing community structures, and use evaluations to monitor and follow-up on project implementations.

If these pre-conditions can be fulfilled, it may be possible to work towards a new North- South 'grand bargain', which can enhance refugees' access to protection and durable solutions, while meeting Southern states' concerns with development, and Northern states' concerns with security. Concrete

steps that are required in order to fulfill the promise of an integrated development approach towards refugees include, a systematic analysis of the lessons from the past practice of applying development assistance to enhance refugee protection.

Independent consultations with donor and host states to better understand states' concerns and interests in order to identify the basis of mutually beneficial 'win-win' cooperation. At the national level, more coherent coordination between ministries of development, home affairs, and foreign affairs, including the creation of new inter-ministerial budget lines for 'development assistance and refugees'.

Development actors such as UNDP and the World Bank should recognize the important potential role played by refugees in national development, and the possible 'binding constraint' they pose on development when neglected. The GFMD should recognize that refugees are an important component of the wider 'migration and development' agenda.

UNHCR should play a catalytic role in facilitating inter-state and inter-agency dialogue on development assistance and refugees as an important component of its ongoing work on protracted refugee situations. The first step to fulfilling this potential will involve putting the development-refugee nexus back on the agenda within government ministries, international organizations and international dialogues. It represents an important component of discussions on migration and development, protracted refugee situations, and the external dimension of asylum and immigration policy, and should be an important aspect of all of these debates.

Putting the issue back on the agenda will require that development actors at the national and international levels are sensitized to the fact that refugees are not simply a 'UNHCR issue' but also require wider engagement by the development community. It will require that states that are already actively committed to the use of TDA - such as the Danish Government - play a leading role in facilitating and promoting wider debate on the important role that it can play in relation to enhancing refugee protection. The development of initiatives that use targeted development assistance to promote refugee protection and durable solutions could take place on a bilateral level, an interregional level, or a multilateral level. In practice, most North-South partnerships in this area are likely to be bilateral (as, for example, the partnership between Denmark and Uganda was) or inter-regional (as many EU-African discussions are). However, a multilateral dialogue in the context of the GFMD or the High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection Challenges might provide a context within which an overarching discussion of 'best practice' could take place and basic principles agreed upon.

4.7 LET US SUM UP

Migration can help advance the development of the community if the community can live with the changes migration brings to it. Government support for the initiatives of migrant associations can be seen as promoting development via migrants, rather than encouraging the involvement of migrants in a coherent development strategy. Migrants bring added value to development not only as ‘development agents’ but also by bringing new perspectives into the debate. Migrants can serve as pressure groups with the aim to improve public debate and encourage government reforms. Migration networks can then be viewed as reducing the costs, and perhaps also increasing the benefits of migration. Another type of network effect consists in the creation of business and trade networks; such a diaspora externality” has long been recognized in the sociological literature and, more recently, by economists in the field of international trade. Remittances may improve human capital but, in doing so, may lock certain populations into dependence upon further migration.

4.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain the linkages between Migration, gender and development. Give suitable case studies to substantiate your answer.
- 2) How do the cost and remittance relate with migration? Use case studies and examples having specific focus on female labour to provide a gender perspective.
- 3) Discuss the impact of globalization and international migration on women.

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