

Migration And Development

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Abstract—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 remittances.

Index Terms—Involvement, Responsibility, Remittances, Opportunities and transnational.

I. INTRODUCTION

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.

II. 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 urbanization. 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 recognized. 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 emphasizing 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 characterized by high levels of migration and mobility.

Migration is one of the more obvious manifestations of globalization. In the context of migration, globalization and development, women have

emerged as global workers. Let us look at the situation of 'global women' as a product of globalization. To quote Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild (2011), "thanks to the process we loosely call 'globalization', 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 struggle 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).

III. COSTS AND REMITTANCES OF MIGRATION

An important socio-economic literature has emerged recently to analyze 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 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 stabilize 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

altercation 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 marginalized 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).

IV. 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 complementarily 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.

V. 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.

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.

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'.

VI. CONCLUSION

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 in to dependence upon further migration.

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