



Connections between Migration and Development

Discussion Paper by Professor Dr Jochen Oltmer,
Institute for Migration Research and Cross Cultural Studies,
University of Osnabrück





The Future of Global Relations



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and Development**

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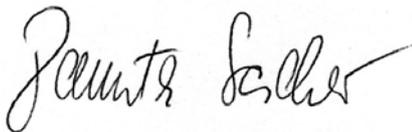
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There are about 60 million refugees in the world today – more than ever before. They include refugees, internally displaced persons and asylum seekers. There are also more young people fleeing their homelands than ever before: Around half of the world's refugees are younger than 18. But what has sent shock waves through Europe more than anything is the recent spate of deaths of people attempting to flee across the Mediterranean – thousands of people, young and old, are drowning on Europe's very doorstep in search of a safer future. This raises many questions about how Europe, in view of its values and its economic and social opportunities, can, should and must act. It also raises questions about the possibilities and limitations of development policy with regard to flight and migration.

The present study represents the second publication in the series "On the future of global relations" which we launched last year. The study aims to contribute to this important current debate on the relationship between development policy and (forced) migration. We are aware that this publication may trigger controversial reactions. It often seems that the debate is currently carried out in an emotional, interest-led manner, with a tendency to focus on the short-term; in view of this, the following study aims to take a more objective look at the connection between migration and development. It is the aim of Welthungerhilfe and terre des hommes to introduce more systematic, scientific considerations in order to develop long-term strategies – strategies that are characterised by expertise and an explicitly humanitarian approach. To achieve this, the present study sets out to examine the facts. It illustrates that it is the neighbouring countries (of the global South) – which are already struggling with poverty and a lack of resources – that have to bear the main burden of migration.

Titles in the series "On the future of global relations" are published at irregular intervals by Welthungerhilfe and terre des hommes in German and English. They take a more in-depth approach to topics that are relevant to development policy and related programmes. These studies analyse political scenarios and developments, as well as their potential consequences for the people with whom and for whom we work, and for our organisations. The series is intended to shed light on the controversies and conflicting views on various related topics, and thus to make a relevant contribution to questions regarding the future of global relations.

Bonn / Osnabrück, June 2015



Danuta Sacher
Executive Chairwoman

terre des hommes Deutschland e.V.



Dr. Till Wahnbaeck
General Secretary

Executive Chairman of Welthungerhilfe



A) Migration offers opportunities and potential benefits.

- 1) **The majority of migrants worldwide are seeking better opportunities in life** by moving to another place, either permanently or temporarily. They hope for improved job opportunities, education opportunities etc.
- 2) **People who migrate because they are seeking better opportunities elsewhere can offer economic and social benefits:** They are highly motivated to make use of their competences and skills, labour and creativity in the host country. They are often willing to accept working conditions that local people reject.
- 3) **Places with high immigration have always been hubs of productivity and innovation:** The forty biggest global urban centres with high migration currently comprise less than 18% of the world's population, however they account for two thirds of global economic activity and excel in technology and science.
- 4) **Migration offers potential benefits for migrants' home countries too.** Those who emigrate do not only send money back home – they often assume the role of mediators within their social networks: of new world views, new technical, technological, economic or cultural skills and competences. As a result, migrants – and also those back home who receive their money and knowledge – attain greater agency; that is, more influence and decision-making competences.

B) Migration entails dangers and threats.

- 1) **Forced migration and migration caused by violence are an expression of governmental and social acceptance of restrictions on freedom and physical inviolability.** Even in today's world, many governmental and collective actors contend that they can assert their rule by forcing people to move between spaces. At the same time, the admission of asylum seekers who have fled violence in their countries of origin is a recognition of human rights and the obligation to offer help, regardless of national and social origin.
- 2) **Limited opportunities for participation and restricted agency often lead to discrimination, marginalisation, exploitation and limited protection by state institutions or courts.** Migrants seeking opportunities elsewhere often have less rights in their host country than existing residents. As a result, their ability to participate in politics and their chances on the job market or in the educational, legal or social systems are (very) restricted. In host countries, migrants are often perceived as competitors for coveted (scarce) resources (e.g. jobs, supplies, social benefits) and therefore might face rejection or even hatred. Moreover, they are often seen as an internal or external security risk, challenging social certainties such as notions of ethnic or cultural homogeneity.

C) The debate on a link between migration and development and whether, or to what extent, migration offers development potential for societies in the global South offers mixed conclusions.

It has shown, for example, that the considerable amount of remittances transferred by migrants is of major importance to families and communities in their home countries. These transferred funds help fight poverty and open up opportunities for education and improved health care. However, this can lead to new inequalities that promote inflation or encourage people to focus on income possibilities in other countries, while neglecting local opportunities. In this, the debate also showed that the exodus of highly-qualified individuals can lead to a “brain drain” and result in the benefits of higher education and training investments in home countries being exploited elsewhere. Such phenomena are well-documented, especially as regards the education and health sectors in the global South. On the other hand, the transfer of knowledge or the return migration of people who have gained new competences and skills in the global North can offer transformative economic and social benefits in their home countries. **The migration and development nexus therefore is a very complex subject of discussion.** Awareness of this complexity is the main prerequisite for developing concepts and projects to establish new development potential in societies of the global South by means of migration.

- 1) **So far, discussions concerning the migration and development nexus have mainly been initiated in the global North. Although debates do also take place within South Africa, India and China, the global North generally defines prevailing notions of desirable or undesirable migration and desirable or undesirable development.** These debates have gained momentum in recent years, primarily because they have been promoted by political and economic inter-

ests in the North: interest in recruiting (highly) qualified workers in view of the changing demographics in Europe, and interest in introducing a global “management” of migration in order to encourage “desirable” migration to the North whilst restricting or even preventing “undesirable” migration which is perceived as burden.

- 2) **In contrast, the interests of the global South are seldom heard, and are generally pre-formulated in a paternalistic manner by the North.** This can also be said of migrants themselves, whose voices are not discernible in the debate. This aspect underscores the central problem of the debate on the interrelationship between migration and development: **Compared to stakeholders in the global North, those in the South – migrants, their networks and families, civil society, state stakeholders and supranational alliances – have relatively little agency.** A balance of interests can only be reached once key stakeholders in the North accept stakeholders from the South as equal partners in defining migration and development and the relationship between these two aspects. Only then can we develop an overall concept that goes beyond the prevailing ad-hoc discussion of migration and project-based development cooperation.



Does migration contribute to development in the global South?

The following short study deals with the complex relationship between migration and development. It defines migration as a physical shift in place of habitual residency by a person or persons (families, groups, populations). The underlying reasons for migration are manifold, but ostensibly they can be said to fall into three general categories:

1. **Migration as the pursuit of opportunities elsewhere:** Through social or geographical mobility, many migrants seek to improve living and employment opportunities and gain new opportunities in education and training.
2. **Migration as a reaction to crises:** Migration arising from crises is found primarily in places where environmental destruction occurs or where there is an acute economic or social crisis.
3. **Forced migration and migration caused by violence:** Institutional actors, in particular state, semi-state or supranational institutions, observe and evaluate migration with specific interests and goals in mind and seek to influence it using means of varying effectiveness. They channel migration movements, define borders and categorise migrants. Their efforts to control, direct and regulate can restrict the agency and, as a result, the individual liberties and freedom of movement of individuals and groups to such an extent that forced migration becomes the predominant form of geographical mobility (flight, displacement, deportation).

In recent months, migration has once again been a key area of debate in German and European politics and the media. However, as in previous years, public perception of geographical movements remains selective, despite intense and constant attention to the issue. The boat tragedy off the coast of the Italian island of Lampedusa on 3 October 2013 that cost almost 400 Africans their lives led to an intensification of the debate on EU migration policy and the possibilities and constraints of refugee protection pending increasing asylum applications. Meanwhile, migration from the new EU member states Romania and Bulgaria became a central focus of media coverage and political debates under the heading “poverty-driven migration”. Even though the mantra of “European core values” is constantly repeated and the need to prevail in the battle for the most brilliant minds in light of Europe’s rapidly ageing population is repeatedly emphasised, such debates only gain momentum when migration is perceived as a (potential) threat to social systems, internal and external security and social peace in Germany and the EU. However, it is beyond question that Europe has to act when thousands of refugees are drowning in the Mediterranean, just outside its borders.

This short study distances itself from the amorphous and ad hoc approach to migration that is currently widespread in Europe. **It asks whether, and to what extent, migration from the global South to the wealthier North can offer the world opportunities for economic and social transformation in those states that are often referred to in debates as “developing countries”.** These debates are carried out between numerous actors on the international stage under the label “migration and development nexus”. They do not generally find much public resonance, yet they have been going on for many years. Since the beginning of the 21st century they have gained some momentum, mostly through increased involvement of political

and state actors whose core interests lie in controlling and managing migration.¹

Questions concerning the significance of migration for the development of the global South are set against a complex backdrop. So far, most findings fail to apprehend this complexity: Discussions are typically focused on temporary or permanent migration between the global South and the North and as such deal with a movement pattern that has relatively low significance in the global flow of migratory movement. What is more, prevailing notions of migration are often one-sided: Focusing on cross-border migration, for instance, excludes the bulk of geographical movements. Results stemming from basic research into the conditions and forms of migration and its consequences for economic, political, social and cultural development are seldom taken into full account in debates on the migration development nexus.

Key in underpinning such a limited view of the contribution of migration to development in the global South is the fixation on the control of migration as a development concept. There is an assumption that only controlled migration from the global South to the North can be a source of development stimuli. In addition to this, there is a fixation on development as an instrument for the control of migration. A common idea is that by “fighting” the causes of migration (what in previous discourse was called “fighting the causes of flight”) and by influencing movement politically, unwanted migration to the global North can be prevented. As a consequence, any discussion about the inter-

relationship between migration and development singularly addresses the interests of the North. What is actually meant by “fighting the causes of migration or flight” can vary quite widely. It can refer to humanitarian aid provided to relieve acute emergencies in war and crisis zones, to economic and labour markets schemes (e.g. vocational training initiatives), but also to the deployment of international peacekeeping forces to stem the flow of refugees from particular hot spots.

The following section briefly introduces the migration development nexus as it has been discussed since the 1950s and summarises some of its findings relating to selected regions in Africa and Asia. In view of reservations about the limited scope of such discussions, the closing section offers an alternative perspective on the interrelationship between migration and development.

¹ Thomas Faist/Margit Fauser, *The Migration-Development Nexus: Toward a Transnational Perspective*, in: Thomas Faist/Margit Hauser et al (eds.), *The Migration-Development Nexus. A Transnational Perspective*. Basingstoke/Hampshire 2011, pp. 1-26, here pp. 2-5; Edma Ajanovic, *Remittances – more than money? Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zum Verständnis von Rücküberweisungen von MigrantInnen in ihre Sendeländer*, in: Ataç et al (eds.), *Migration und Entwicklung. Neue Perspektiven*, Wien 2014, pp. 101-116, here p. 101; Albert Kraller/Marion Noack, *Migration und Entwicklung: Interessen, Akteure und Arenen eines erfolgreichen Diskurses*, in: *Ibid.*, pp. 23-47, here pp. 23-25; Hein de Haas, *The Migration and Development Pendulum: A Critical View on Research and Policy*, in: *International Migration*, 50. 2012, no 3, pp. 8-25, here p. 8.



Debates surrounding the migration development nexus

Chronologically, the debate surrounding the migration development nexus can be divided into three phases: In the first “optimistic phase” of the 1950-60s, the focus lay on the effects of remittances and return migration, which were then considered to be beneficial for development. This was followed by decades (the 1970-80s) in which migration was in contrast considered to contribute to poverty and underdevelopment in the South, as well as increasing its dependency on the North. In particular, the concept of “brain drain” dominated the debates at that time, and migration was then largely understood as cross-border movement and permanent emigration or immigration.

In the third phase (since the 1990s), “optimism” once more prevailed and migration was seen as leading to or facilitating development. The understanding was that development can be encouraged through the (controlled) cross-border circulation of people – that the economic and social needs of migrants, of source countries and of destination countries are best served by temporary periods of residency followed by a return to the country of origin rather than by permanent emigration or immigration. The notion that skills and knowledge could be lost to migration through a “brain drain” was replaced by one of “brain gain”: that is by a focus on the knowledge and qualifications that returning migrants bring to their home countries. It was also assumed that close ties between migrant communities in the South and the diaspora in the North would result in a wide range of development stimuli.² In this phase, remittances likewise played a key role in shaping assumptions about the developmental opportunities of cross-border migration. Discussions pertaining to remittances attained the status of a “development mantra”³ which shapes the debate to the present day.

Debates on the migration development nexus therefore ranged from optimistic to pessimistic.⁴ The changing perspectives can be explained not least by a shift in attitudes, particularly in Europe. The structural ageing of the European population and the emphasis placed on the necessity to attract (highly) skilled workers in order to ensure Europe’s economic competitiveness have all contributed to a certain degree of openness regarding migration policy. **This also means that the more migration to Europe is perceived as advantageous, the more it is seen as beneficial for development in the global South.**

Given the many factors that have shaped it, the migration development nexus can only be adequately described if the interests, practices, expectations and experiences of all players in the context of migration between the global South and North are taken into consideration. The most recent line of debate should be viewed with particular scepticism: While it ascribes an important role to migration in promoting development, the primary goal of many of the actors involved, notably in Europe, is not development cooperation. Instead, many countries in the global North seek to position themselves within the South as they compete for the brightest minds, while simultaneously attempting to regulate and control migration from the South in order to prevent the kind of migration they consider detrimental to their domestic security, prosperity and social cohesion.⁵

2 Stephen Castles, *Development and Migration – Migration and Development. What comes first? Global Perspective and African Experiences*, in: *Theoria. A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 56. 2009, no 121, pp. 3–5; Hein de Haas, *Migration and Development. A Theoretical Perspective*, in: *International Migration Review*, 44. 2010, no 1, pp. 227–229; *The Migration and Development Pendulum*, page. 10–12; Martin Geiger/Antoine Pécoud, *Migration, Development and the Migration and Development Nexus*, in: *Population, Space and Place*, 19. 2013, pp. 369–374, here p. 369.

3 De Haas, *The Migration and Development Pendulum*, p. 8.

4 De Haas, *Migration and Development*, p. 227.

5 Castles, *Development and Migration*, p. 14; Albert Kraler et al., *Migration und Entwicklung. Eine Einleitung*, in: Ataç et al (eds.), *Migration und Entwicklung*, pp. 7–19, here pp. 7–9.

Migration and economic interrelations in West Africa

An examination of migration interrelations between the states of West Africa not only shows the diversity of movement beyond intercontinental migration – it also underlines the importance of being aware of these movements when discussing migration and development.

Many European debates on African migration create the impression that most African migrants are striving to reach the European continent. However, all empirical studies contradict this assumption: At least two thirds of all migration is limited to African regions such as West Africa.⁶ Movement across the whole continent or emigration away from the African continent remain the exception. In West Africa, like elsewhere, it is mainly young people who migrate. The majority of migrants are people from peripheral rural regions moving into economic centres – cities or regions with intensive agricultural production. Furthermore, people migrate from inland West Africa to the coastal regions, for example from the Sahel countries with low agricultural productivity to coastal states such as Ivory Coast and Ghana. Although these migrants generally lack higher education, they also include well-qualified individuals such as doctors and engineers. This means there is a “brain drain” within the West African region itself, and the consequences of this problem are now being recognised and discussed. In many cases, the decision to migrate is not taken by an individual; rather, it is often an entire family network or village community that plans the migration and collects the required funds. Migration can be a strategy for diversifying income possibilities and earning cash elsewhere in order to stabilise the existence of families and communities in the country of origin. Another aspect is matrimonial and educational migration. Moreover, the impact of environmental disasters such as

floods and the progressive desertification in the Sahel region should not be underestimated.⁷

Interview with I.Z. (West African development expert): “Harvests give people enough food for around eight months of the year; the remaining four months are a problem. People move away in order to find work and help their families survive this period.”

2.1. Consequences for the region of origin

The consequences of this kind of migration manifest on various levels. Emigration of medical staff has left Burkina Faso with a severe shortage of doctors and an extremely low standard of health care. University graduates in other disciplines are also leaving the country in great numbers. Since it is mostly young men who emigrate, in some regions the proportion of men in the population is very low: In some places there are only 70 men for every 100 women. Moreover, in regions of high emigration the percentage of elderly people and children is significantly higher, resulting in a lower number of working family members or “bras valides” (strong workers) to work in the fields. In this context, it has frequently been observed that children and teenagers miss out on school because they are needed as agricultural labour in order to secure the family’s food security.⁸

6 Dieudonné Ouedraogo, Migration and Population in West Africa: Political Issues and Perspectives, in: Marie Trémolières (ed.), Regional Challenges of West African Migration. African and European Perspectives, Paris 2009, pp. 127–142, here p. 129; Valérie Ouedraogo, Von Côte d’Ivoire nach Burkina Faso: Re-Migration und Integration – Die Perspektive burkinischer Arbeitsmigrantinnen und -migranten, Berlin 2012, p. 1.

7 Interview Gustave Bambara (Economiste planificateur, Spécialiste en Population et Santé à la Direction Générale de l’Economie et de la planification in the Ministère de l’Economie et des Finances, Burkina Faso), 20.02.2015, R1–R7; Interview Alain Some (Conseiller Technique Chargé de la Promotion des Droits de l’Enfant à la GIZ, Burkina Faso), 12.03.2015, R8; Interview Husein Barry (Professeur d’Histoire-Géographie, Burkina Faso), 19.2.2015, R3; Ouedraogo, Migration and Population, p. 130.

8 Bambara 2015, R6f.; Barry 2015, R9.



2.2. Consequences for development cooperation

This rural exodus has consequences for development cooperation too: The various aid organisations generally assume that they can rely on the participation of locals to help realise their projects. In many cases they require the physical assistance of people, that is, the local labour force, for example when it comes to building a dam. However, if there is a shortage of local workers because many people of working age have gone to other regions or countries to earn money, such aid projects cannot be carried out to the planned extent – and sometimes not at all. One solution involves aid organisations paying local people for their work for the duration of the aid project, thus making it unnecessary for them to migrate elsewhere to earn money. However, many smaller aid organisations cannot afford to pay local workers; therefore, some projects cannot be carried out due to a lack of financial means. In Mali, aid projects led to an increase in emigration among young people because of the high maintenance cost of the motorised pumps or dams that had been installed in the course of the projects. Families are unable to raise the necessary money through their farming alone.⁹

2.3. Remittances

In West Africa, remittances are of major importance. In 2012, the officially registered remittances Senegalese migrants sent home from countries all over the world, including Senegal's neighbouring countries, totalled US \$1.4 billion or 11.4% of Senegal's GDP. In Mali, the amount was around US \$444 million or 5% of the GDP. In Ivory Coast, which is considered an immigration destination rather than an emigration country, remittances amounted up to US \$326 million or 1.6% of the GDP. In Togo, the total amount was US \$321 million or 10.6% of the GDP and in Liberia, it was US \$373 million US dollars or 23% of the GDP.¹⁰

It is beyond dispute that remittances can contribute considerably to the economic development of a country. The region east of the river Nakambé in

Burkina Faso is populated predominantly by Bissa people. Every year, a large number of Bissa people travel to Italy during the tomato harvest period. After their return, between August and December, many financial transactions are conducted both in Euros and in CFA francs, the joint currency of the former francophone colonies of West Africa. As a result of the economic upturn resulting from the inflow of money from migrants' destination countries, the region has been nicknamed the Côte d'Azur of Burkina Faso. On average, living conditions here are better than in the rest of the country, although inflation is high since a lot of money is in circulation but overall output in the region itself is relatively low.

The increase in living costs is particularly serious for families who do not receive money transfers from Italy or elsewhere. Thus, labour migration and the consequent remittances lead to an increase in inequality. However, some studies show that the so-called "trickle-down effect" applies in this case too: Increased consumption causes an increase in demand for labour in production and services. In turn, this also benefits non-migrant families by providing jobs.

Therefore, remittances help to cushion the problem of unemployment in two ways: On the one hand, the migrants have jobs for themselves; on the other hand, they contribute to the creation of jobs in their home countries by bringing in money and thus encouraging consumption.¹¹ Moreover, a transfer of technologies and "social remittances", i.e. ideas, values and practices, can be witnessed in the Bissa region. There are now tomato factories based on the Italian model, and local tolerance for different lifestyles seems to have increased since these are bringing money into the region.

There are two channels used by migrants to send money to their families: using official channels via banks and financial services companies such as Western Union and Moneygram, and the informal method via private contacts. Two thirds of all formal transfers in Africa are carried out through Western Union and Moneygram. One reason for the dominance of money transfer companies is that many people face difficulties in opening a bank account. This explains why the two aforementioned companies are able to charge fees at their own dis-

9 Isaie Dougnon, *Klimaveränderung, bäuerliche Mobilität und ländliche Entwicklung in der Region Timbuktu in Mali*, in: Ataç et al (eds.), *Migration und Entwicklung*, pp. 133–152, here p. 144; Interview Isidore Zongo (Coordonnateur National, Bureau pays, Burkina Faso), 23.2.2015, R3, R14.

10 Kevin Watkins/Maria Quattri, *Lost in Intermediation. How Excessive Charges Undermine the Benefits of Remittances for Africa*, London 2014, p. 11.

11 Ajanovic, *Remittances*, p. 104; Bambara 2015, R7; Barry 2015: R10; Christian Ambrosius et al, *Geldsendungen von Migranten – »Manna« für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung?*, Hamburg 2008, p. 3.

cretion, resulting in money transfer fees in Africa of up to 12% of the transferred sum – far higher than the world average. However, banks and mobile phone operators have discovered this growing market; they are now establishing more branches in rural areas and gradually establishing the “mobile cash” system.

In Burkina Faso, 30 to 40 percent of transfers are still done using informal channels – though the exact total cannot be defined due to a lack of transaction documentation. Many of the migrants, sometimes up to 150 at a time, give individuals enormous sums to take back to their home country in order to avoid the high fees charged by money transfer companies. Another business model that has been established in Mali involves a network of financially powerful dealers who are active all over the region. These dealers are commissioned by migrants to pay out specific sums of money to recipients in their home countries. The dealers subsequently collect the money from the person who commissioned them.¹²

Most of the money earned as a result of labour migration in West Africa is used for food, health care and school fees for children and teenagers who would not otherwise be able to attend school without financial support. In addition, traditional celebrations such as weddings or funerals are often paid for with money that has been earned elsewhere. The money is also used for buying or building houses. According to a survey carried out in certain neighbourhoods in Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso, two thirds of houses are owned by migrants and their families. In the region east of the river Nakambé, stone houses built by migrants can be found in remote regions where the landscape is otherwise mainly characterised by straw huts. In some places, investment in schools, hospitals and other social institutions is evident. However, the low level of education and the lack of state support inhibit the development of individual or collective projects for investing the migrants’ funds in a sustainable way. In West Africa, the notion of migrants as “development agents” has become established in only a few countries such as Senegal and Mali – the only countries where they receive state support.¹³

2.4. National policies and cooperations

Very few West African countries have migration policies. Nonetheless, there are agreements between states that are intended to facilitate migration for work: **Burkina Faso** has ratified such agreements with **Ivory Coast, Gabon, Mali** and even **France**, but the effectiveness of these agreements is questionable. There are two notable countries, however, where migration has been part of development policy for some years. **Senegal** has long been integrating the diaspora in the battle against poverty within the country; in 2003, a ministry was founded for Senegalese abroad to offer support and advice for investments by returning migrants. Moreover, the ministry develops concepts to prevent a “brain drain”. It launched a programme to facilitate the return of skilled workers from abroad, though so far it is only taking hold in the bigger cities. In addition, the REVA plan (Return to Agriculture) aims to prevent the exodus from rural areas. In **Mali** there is a ministry for exiled Malians. Like its Senegalese counterpart, it encourages the investment of migrants’ money into sustainable projects.¹⁴

2.5. Child migration

All West African states have ratified the International Labour Organisation’s conventions on the fight against child labour. However, this does not prevent child labour – there are still a large number of children working in plantations and mines. Also, many children migrate: For example children from Burkina Faso and Mali travel to Ivory Coast and Ghana to work on coffee and cocoa plantations. In the south of Burkina Faso, it is estimated that 5-6% of children are affected.¹⁵ Child migration often seems to reflect the movement of adults in terms of destinations, routes and structures. For instance, there are more boys involved in transnational migration, whereas it is predominantly girls who are affected by national migration. Child labour migration, like adult migration, is often seasonal; children move away from the inland countries at the end of the rainy season (in September) and return at the beginning of the following rainy season in May/June. The average age of migrant children in West Africa is ten years, which is often the age at which children leave school. Families often lack the

12 Watkins/Quattri, *Lost in Intermediation*, pp. 5, 7, 18; Bambara 2015, R7, R12f.; Ambrosius et al, *Geldsendungen von Migranten*, p. 2.

13 2015, R7, R10f.; Zongo 2015, R5; Barry 2015, R10, R12.

14 Helene Trauner, *Transnationale zivilgesellschaftliche Akteure innerhalb der Migrations- und Entwicklungs-Regime am Beispiel Senegal und Mali*, in: Ataç et al (eds.), *Migration und Entwicklung*, pp. 191–206, here p. 194f.; Some 2015, R19; Bambara 2015, R6; Barry 2015, R10.

15 Some 2015, R19; Zongo 2015, R7, R11f.



money to continue sending their children to school, and instead these have to find work to support their families. Aid organisations are attempting to tackle this problem by enabling families to either send their children to school longer or enrol them in apprenticeships in sectors including tailoring or mechanics. Such initiatives aim to prevent child labour and the long absences caused by child migration.

Interview with A.S. (West African expert on development and children's rights):
“Migration is a very risky undertaking for children, since they often can't defend themselves and can end up losing their money. Moreover, it is appalling how little they usually earn in comparison with standard incomes. They are literally being exploited.”

Another form of child migration in West Africa involves sending children to relatives where they are required to help with household chores or have to work in the informal sector. Household chores are assigned to parents' own or - much more frequently - other people's children who generally don't go to school (anymore). When a child drops out of school in order to work in a household, poverty is passed on to the next generation; this is a continuing social problem which has repercussions for the future. In Ivory Coast and other countries concerned, several campaigns warn against the risks of child migration; in many places, posters can be seen calling on the public to fight child labour in plantations. However, Ivory Coast has important economic interests in this sector: Coffee and cocoa exports are the country's main source of income. Consumers in the global North want proof that the production methods meet high standards, and any debate on child labour would probably affect sales negatively - which in turn could have a negative impact on the country's stability.

2.6. Beneficiaries

Labour migration in West Africa demonstrates that countries of origin can benefit: They gain stability because migrants ensure the financial security of their families, and migrants' financial support leads

to investment in social infrastructure (schools, hospitals). Moreover, the problem of unemployment is eased by the departure of young men, and new ideas and technologies are introduced into the country, as the example of the Bissa in Burkina Faso clearly demonstrates.¹⁶

Destination countries can profit from migration too. For instance, emigration from Burkina Faso to Ivory Coast has played a role in the economic growth of the latter, since Burkinabè migrants often work in agricultural sectors that are export-oriented and profitable, notably in coffee and cocoa plantations. However, employing migrants can lead to considerable strife in destination countries. In Ghana and Ivory Coast, for instance, migrants were blamed for economic crises resulting in high unemployment, and as a consequence many were expelled and expropriated, and some even killed. In Ivory Coast, an economic crisis and the ensuing power struggle, combined with the nationalist ideology of “Ivoirité” which denied all foreigners the right to land ownership, plunged the country into a long civil war in 1999.

Interview with A.S. (West African expert on development and children's rights):
“The longer children attend school, the less risky migration becomes.”

The benefits of migration experienced by migrants and their families are dependent on certain factors. Migrants' living costs while abroad and also money transfer fees affect the amount they are ultimately able to send home as remittances. If emigration negatively affects the family's subsistence activities (particularly in the context of producing food through agriculture and livestock), migration may actually increase some families' vulnerability. Students who drop out of school due to migration have fewer opportunities on the job market in the long term. This is particularly true for child migrants: Migration may offer a short-term benefit to families by reducing living costs and adding valuable earnings to the family income, but there are no long-term positive effects. The individuals who profit most from child migration are the agents who provide child labour for plantations and gold

¹⁶ Barry 2015, R10; Some 2015, R9, R17; Bambara 2015, R7.

mines, where children are forced to work for low wages.

2.7. Conclusion

The West African example demonstrates that migration can make migrants' families less vulnerable to poverty by means of remittances, and it can decrease problems in countries of origin, including unemployment. However, young people can suffer major disadvantages when their educational opportunities are not given priority over their potential to earn money by migrating. This educational deficit in turn passes on poverty risks to the next generation. Considering how much political interest there is in promoting development through migration, it is striking that so far only a few states support domestic investment or use the potential of migrants and their remittances.



The Philippines – Migration as a state strategy for development?

The Philippines is an oft-quoted example in discussions on the positive impact of migration on development. For some time now, Philippine state institutions have been striving to integrate transnational labour migration into economic and development policy. However, the example of the Philippines not only demonstrates the wide variety of measures taken to integrate migration and development; it also shows the considerable obstacles faced in using the potential of migration to encourage development.

3.1. Managing temporary labour migration

Since the 1970s, the Philippine government has played a central role in regulating the emigration of workers. The foundations for a state migration ap-

paratus were laid in 1972 by the “martial law” and in 1974 by the Philippine Labour Code.¹⁷ Around this time, crude oil prices rose dramatically. The increased revenues from oil production led to a construction boom in the Middle East, particularly in Saudi Arabia, in turn leading to an increase in demand for labour. When many of the infrastructure projects were completed in the 1980s and the construction boom subsided, the need for workers in the building industry correspondingly decreased. At the same time, other areas of employment opened up in the Gulf region, including household services. This led to a rise in the percentage of fe-

¹⁷ Boris Michel, Die Philippinen als ein Arbeitskräfte exportierender Staat, in: Martin Geiger/Malte Steinbrink (eds.), Migration und Entwicklung. Geographische Perspektiven (IMIS-Beiträge, issue 42), Osnabrück 2012, pp. 97–112, here p. 98.

Figure 1

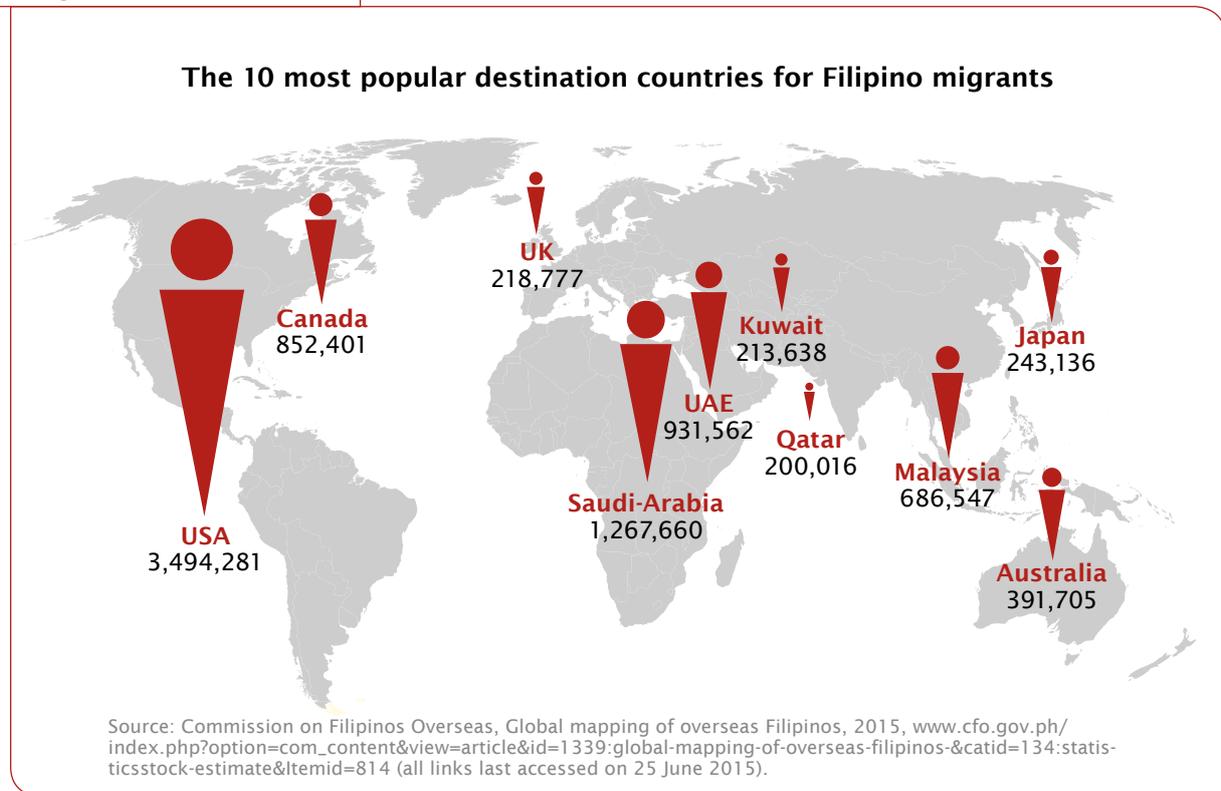
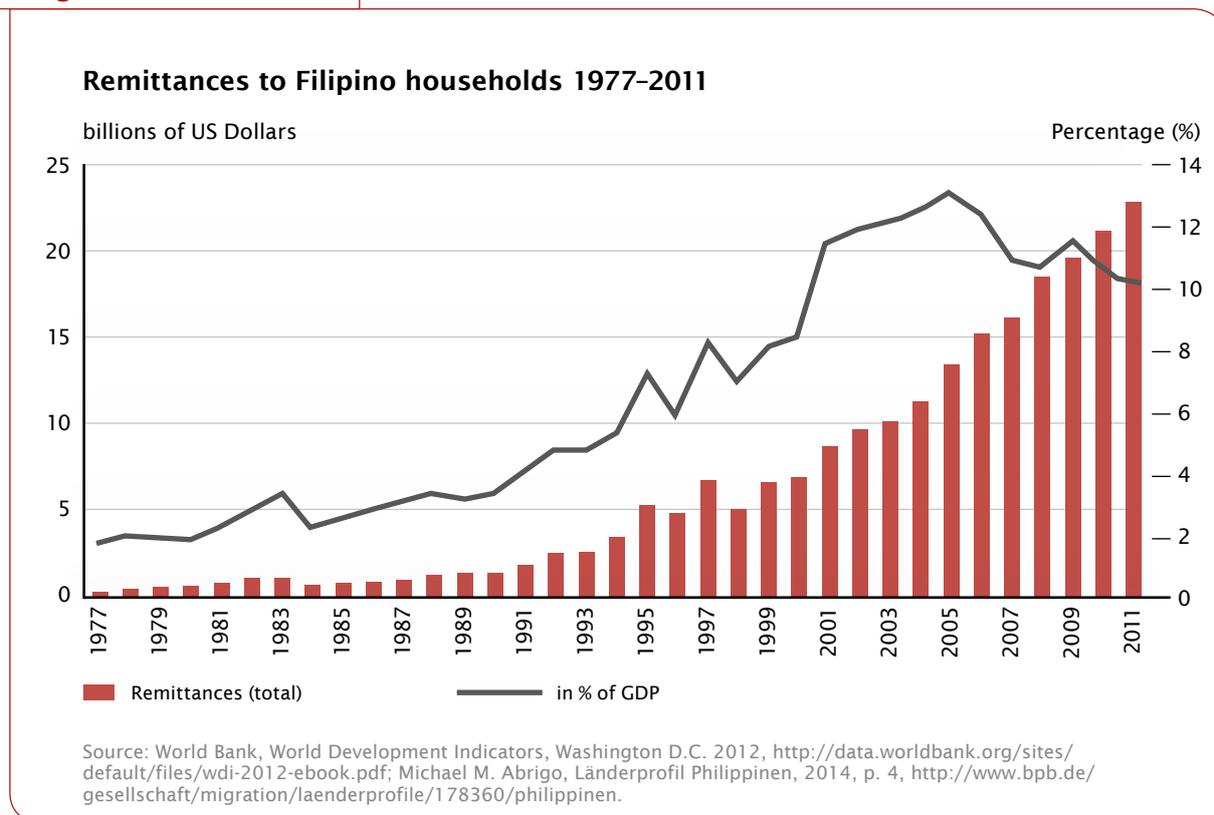


Figure 2



male workers employed abroad. There are currently around 300,000 Filipino labour migrants working on international ships, making up 20-30 percent of the crews. Moreover, highly qualified Filipino workers are more and more in demand, particularly in the medical and IT fields.

A large number of public institutions exert an influence on work migration: This applies to migrants' recruitment and travel to their employment abroad, their return and re-integration. A re-structuring of the Ministry of Labour and Employment in 1982 led to the foundation of the current Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA). Its main goal is to provide protection for Filipino migrants. According to the law regulating labour migration, both employees and the government are entitled to call to account private agents when employers violate workers' rights. An amendment to the 2010 law specified additional social benefits and guarantees for work migrants. As early as 1977, the government established a fund for social benefits and training for its overseas employees. This fund

grants them services such as insurance, advanced training and support in job placement.¹⁸

3.2. Remittances

Remittances by Filipino migrants in 2009 amounted to US \$17 billion, around 10% of the GDP of the Philippines.¹⁹ In 2012, the amount was estimated at US \$23.3 billion, a sum exceeding the total of direct investment from abroad and development aid payments from other countries. Remittances made a more significant contribution to the GDP than many domestic commercial sectors.²⁰

Remittances improve the balance of payments, help stabilise the Philippine peso and enable people to save money and increase their spending power. The advantage of remittances is that Filipino families benefit from them directly: unlike direct invest-

¹⁸ Abrigo, Michael M. (2014): Länderprofil Philippinen, <http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/laenderprofil/178360/philippinen> (all links last accessed on 25 June 2015), p. 5f.

¹⁹ Michel, Philippinen, p. 98.

²⁰ Abrigo, Länderprofil Philippinen, p. 4.



ments from abroad, for instance, they do not go to the state or other organisations and families can decide for themselves what to do with the money. Recipient Filipino households save or invest only a small part of their remittance funds; the major share is used to cover the costs of living, health care and servicing debts.²¹ Thus, remittances contribute to reducing poverty. One in four Filipino households receives remittances.²² These households are better off than those receiving no remittances since their overall monthly income is 45% higher than the minimum wage. Unlike direct investments from abroad that can vary greatly, remittances provide a stable influx of money. In times of economic crisis, migrants abroad often increase the payments to their families.²³

A significant portion of the money is invested in healthcare and schooling for children who remain in their country of origin. Many studies have shown that this has led to improved educational standards among the younger generation, though it is less easy to define the effects of increased spending on healthcare. Aside from greater investment in education and health, the exchange of knowledge and experience between family members is another important factor.

The Philippines is one of the few countries that has taken official steps to address migration and remittances. In order to facilitate remittances, a special ID document has been introduced that includes a bank account with a credit card to allow money transfers with low fees. The goal of this ID document is to increase the amount of remittances by preventing loss of capital through high fees and high-risk transfer channels.

3.3. Programmes for managing migration

Between 1968 and 2011, the Philippine government signed 37 bilateral employment agreements with 21 different countries.²⁴ The goal of these agreements is to promote labour migration from the Philippines while granting the workers greater protection. To this end, the Philippines has ratified a bilateral economic agreement with Japan (the

Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement, JPEPA) that liberalises trade and finance, and also covers the field of healthcare worker migration.²⁵ Since 2009, up to 1,000 Filipino nurses and health workers per year have been licensed to work in Japan. Before they leave, they are required to attend a 6-month Japanese language course. On completion, these labour migrants are able to work as assistant nurses and healthcare workers. Their previous qualifications in their home country are not recognised. In order to retain their employment visa, they are required to take Japanese state exams for nurses before a maximum four-year period has elapsed. Those who pass the exams receive an unlimited residence and work permit. So far, few of the participants have been successful, largely due to the difficulty of mastering written Japanese. Moreover, since their existing professional qualifications are not recognised in Japan, working in the field of healthcare in Japan is not very attractive to potential emigrants. Another aspect that has been criticised is the strong focus on language skills, which is why the number of Filipino nurses and healthcare workers migrating to Japan via this channel is far below the targeted quota.²⁶

An important regional tool is the so called “Colombo Process”. This is a regional consultative process on the management of overseas employment and contractual labour for countries of origin in Asia. In response to calls from several Asian labour-sending countries, the Ministerial Consultation for Asian Labour Sending Countries was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 2003. The initial participating countries were Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Vietnam.²⁷ Since then, six further meetings have taken place, and Afghanistan has joined the consultations. Several countries of destination have joined too, among them Italy, South Korea and Switzerland.

21 Mirko Herberg, *Global Pinoy – Arbeitsmigration als Königs- oder Irrweg zur Lösung der philippinischen Entwicklungsblockade?*, Bonn 2008, p. 2, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/05928.pdf>.

22 Abrigo, *Länderprofil Philippinen*, p. 4.

23 Stefanie Hertlein/Florin Vadean, *Kurzdossier Rücküberweisung*, www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdossiers/57418/auswirkungen?p=all.

24 Abrigo, *Länderprofil Philippinen*, p. 7.

25 Gabriele Vogt, *Japans neue Migrationspolitik*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik*, no 27. 2007, pp. 238–243, here p. 241.

26 Gabriele Vogt, *Länderprofil Japan*, www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossier-migration/149711/japan.

27 International Organization for Migration (IOM), *About the Colombo Process: Background*, www.colomboprocess.org/About_the_Colombo_Process_Background-5a-2.html; IOM, *Welcome to the Colombo Process*, www.colomboprocess.org.

The Colombo Process aims to continue to provide a forum for dialogue, and consequently improve migration management both in Asia and in destination countries. This is achieved by exchanging experiences and best practice examples in dealing with recruitment and employment abroad. In addition, both origin and destination countries provide advice concerning problems that might confront labour migrants. Moreover, they review the implementation of previous recommendations and identify future areas of activity. Thematically, the Colombo Consultations deal with three priorities:

- the protection of migrants from exploitative practices in recruitment and employment, providing them with pre-departure information and support in cases of abuse.
- optimising the benefits of organised labour migration, including the development of new job markets, improving remittance flow through formal channels and promoting the developmental potential of remittances.
- establishing institutions, data collection, information exchange and international cooperation.

The Consultations' recommendations are not binding. There is an emphasis on informality, so as to help remove barriers to cooperation between countries. Unlike other regional forums, where migration is treated as one among many issues, the Colombo Process was created specifically to deal with migration. Concrete measures have been taken already; for instance, a number of policy studies have been carried out on topics such as the legal framework for the recruitment of labour migrants, minimum standards for employment contracts, or pre-departure orientation programmes. In addition, a comprehensive training programme has been developed for labour attachés and overseas employment administrators. Building on these measures, training courses were implemented in several countries.²⁸

3.4. Challenges for the future

Remittances boost the Philippine economy and contribute to reducing poverty. However, many people point out the limited, or even negative, effects remittances have on economic development: A peso that is strengthened and stabilised due to the remittances is said to make exports more expensive and therefore weaken the whole export sector. As a result of the constant influx of remittances, the development of new income strategies might be neglected and there may be less pressure on the government to invest in education and healthcare.

The assumption that countries of origin can benefit from the knowledge and experience gained by returning migrants is hard to verify: Skilled workers leave a country because they can't find jobs at home to match their qualifications. Gaining knowledge and skills abroad doesn't automatically increase their chances on the job market in their home country. This is one reason for migration becoming a long-term option – over 50% of migrants leave the Philippines several times. Among them are more qualified than unqualified workers (a ratio of 75% to 25%). Moreover, skilled workers who emigrate and are therefore no longer available on the Philippine job market outnumber those who offer their skills within the country. The brain drain is also evident in the fact that more and more doctors in the Philippines re-train as care workers in order to find jobs in the USA or Great Britain. In addition, 15,000 nurses emigrate every year. The emigration of skilled staff in combination with insufficient state investment has already led to the closure of over 100 healthcare institutions and hospitals in rural areas.²⁹ It is also evident that the quality of healthcare staff training has deteriorated drastically.

NGOs such as *terre des hommes* criticise these knock-on effects of "healthcare colonialism". In 2013, *terre des hommes*, along with NGOs from seven other European countries (Great Britain, Romania, Poland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and Italy) launched the "Health workers for all" project. Its goal is to effectively implement the WHO Global Code of Practice on the International Recruitment of Health Personnel to reduce inequalities in the

²⁸ IOM, *About the Colombo Process: Achievements*, www.colombo-process.org/About_the_Colombo_Process_Achievements-5a-4.html; IOM, *About the Colombo Process: Objectives*, www.colombo-process.org/About_the_Colombo_Process_Objectives-5a-3.html.

²⁹ Herberg, *Global Pinoy*, p. 2f.



supply of healthcare services.³⁰ terre des hommes explains the background of the project: “A direct link has been proven empirically between the number of health workers available and child mortality. In under-supplied countries, one extra doctor for every 1,000 inhabitants reduces child mortality by 15% in the medium term and by 45% in the long term. Increasing global competition for health workers threatens to nullify the hard-won progress in healthcare in the global South.”³¹

It is therefore necessary for Germany to invest in its healthcare system in order to make healthcare jobs attractive for Germans again – after all, the WHO Code requires that recruiting countries cover their domestic requirements for skilled health worker by employing their own nationals first. In the long run, this should decrease the need for immigration. “It would also be a valuable contribution to development policy in terms of stabilising healthcare systems in the global South and hence an important step to realising the human right to health globally.”³² The Association of German NGOs in Development and Humanitarian Aid (VENRO) supports the WHO’s requirement and call on destination countries to provide compensation for the training costs incurred by migrating healthcare workers in their countries of origin.³³

The social costs of migration are hard to assess: Families are torn apart, couples are separated, and children grow up without one or both parents, especially when migration becomes a long-term solution. At the same time, studies show that children of Filipino labour migrants do better at school than children of non-migrants, not least because they enjoy better nutrition and healthcare. However, the family situation is of enormous significance for the well-being of children that are left behind. The effect on children varies according to their

age, whether the father or mother migrates, and in whose care they grow up.³⁴

The Philippines has ratified a number of international agreements to secure the well-being of labour migrants and their families, such as the UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. However, since many of the destination countries where Filipino labour migrants work have not signed the convention, this will have little effect on workers’ safety.³⁵ Although in the Philippines there is significant political and administrative interest in managing and controlling labour migration, the country lacks the resources to meet its own requirements: Coordination between the institutions involved has proven inadequate, and many of the strategies and programmes developed by the various stakeholders are not implemented in a coordinated manner. Moreover, many institutions do not have enough qualified staff. Due to inadequate data collection, there are no reliable assessments of the programmes or analyses of the long-term consequences of migration. As a result, further development of strategies, concepts and programmes is hindered from the outset. The issue of re-integrating returning labour migrants has also tended to be neglected, despite the widespread recognition of their potential for the development of their home country.³⁶

3.5. Conclusion

The example of the Philippines demonstrates the ambiguity of the situation: Remittances are important on a micro- and macro-economic scale. There is no doubt that migrants gain skills and qualifications abroad that can lead to a career at home if they return. In the Philippines, development perspectives that use migration as strategy can be found for instance in bilateral agreements. These agreements exert a positive effect when they encourage Filipinos to invest in education in their home country so as to achieve higher qualifications and secure better-paid jobs abroad. During periods of employment abroad, migrants’ remittances have a medium-term positive effect. However, they rarely

30 Carolina Heske, „Pfleger-Kolonialismus“ bedroht Entwicklungsländer. Interview with Heino Güllemann of terre des hommes, in: Health & Care Management, no 5. 2014, issue 4, p. 22f., www.hcm-magazin.de/pfleger-kolonialismus-bedroht-entwicklungslaender/150/10741/221687.

31 terre des hommes, Gesundheitsfachkräfte für alle: Daten und Fakten, www.tdh.de/was-wir-tun/themen-a-z/gesundheitsfachkraefte-fuer-alle/daten-und-fakten.html.

32 Heske, „Pfleger-Kolonialismus“.

33 Verband Entwicklungspolitik und Humanitäre Hilfe deutscher Nichtregierungsorganisationen (VENRO), Tausziehen um Pflegekräfte – Gesundheitspolitik verschärft globale Krise um Fachkräfte. Berlin 2014, p. 3f., http://venro.org/uploads/tx_igpublikationen/Venro_Standpunkt_Ausgabe_6_2014_Gesundheitsfachkraefte.pdf.

34 Graziano Battistella/Maruja M.B. Asis, Country Migration Report: The Philippines 2013, pp. 99, 102, 104, www.iom.int/files/live/sites/iom/files/Country/docs/CMReport-Philippines-2013.pdf.

35 Abrigo, Länderprofil Philippinen, p. 7; United Nations (UN), International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families. New York 2015, https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-13&chapter=4&lang=en.

36 Abrigo, Länderprofil Philippinen, p. 9f.

initiate investment. A negative consequence of emigration can be a lack of skilled workers in countries of origin, as witnessed in the Philippines in the field of healthcare.

Countries of origin can have a positive impact on labour migration practices if they make efforts to offer their citizens protection abroad - particularly by means of cooperations and contractual agreements with destination countries. These measures might include deterring the dubious practices of labour brokers, strengthening the rights of labour migrants in destination countries, encouraging more secure and cheaper options for transferring remittances, and ensuring the security of family members who remain in the country of origin.



Perspectives for a new view of the migration and development nexus

4.1. Disparate global population growth and migration rates

When the migration and development nexus is discussed, it is often argued that migration is mainly a consequence of the economic disparities between various regions. It is widely assumed that the significant differences of economic performance between countries of the global North and the global South are responsible for a “natural” migratory pressure which, in turn, is intensified by the great imbalance in global population growth. However, the correlations turn out to be much more complex than many of these commonly-held views suggest.³⁷

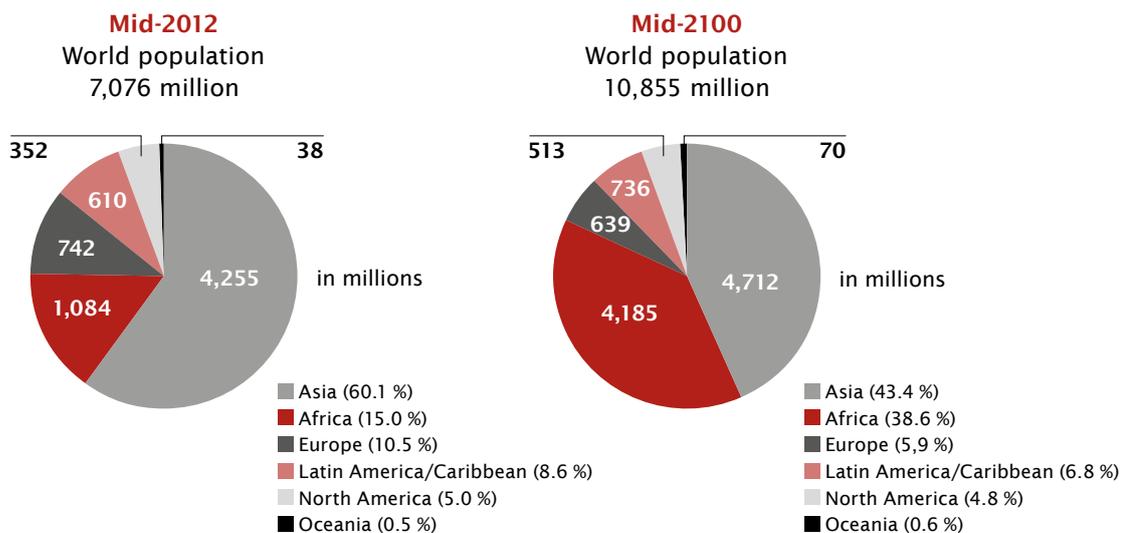
According to the United Nations, the world population was estimated at 7.1 billion in 2013. Based on the most likely scenario, it will reach over 8 billion by 2025, 9.6 billion by 2050 and 10.9 billion by 2100. In the coming two decades, global population development will be characterised by two contrary trends: Due to low birth rates, in the (relatively) rich North of the world the population will stagnate and become older because the percentage of young people will decrease and life expectancy will rise further. In the (relatively) poor South, the population will grow considerably and the percentage of young people will remain high.³⁸

³⁷ On this and the following: Jochen Oltmer, *Globale Migration. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, München 2012; id., *Globale Migration in der Zukunft*, Berlin 2013, www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossier-migration/168589/globale-migration-in-der-zukunft.

³⁸ UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *World Population Prospects. The 2012 Revision*, New York 2013.

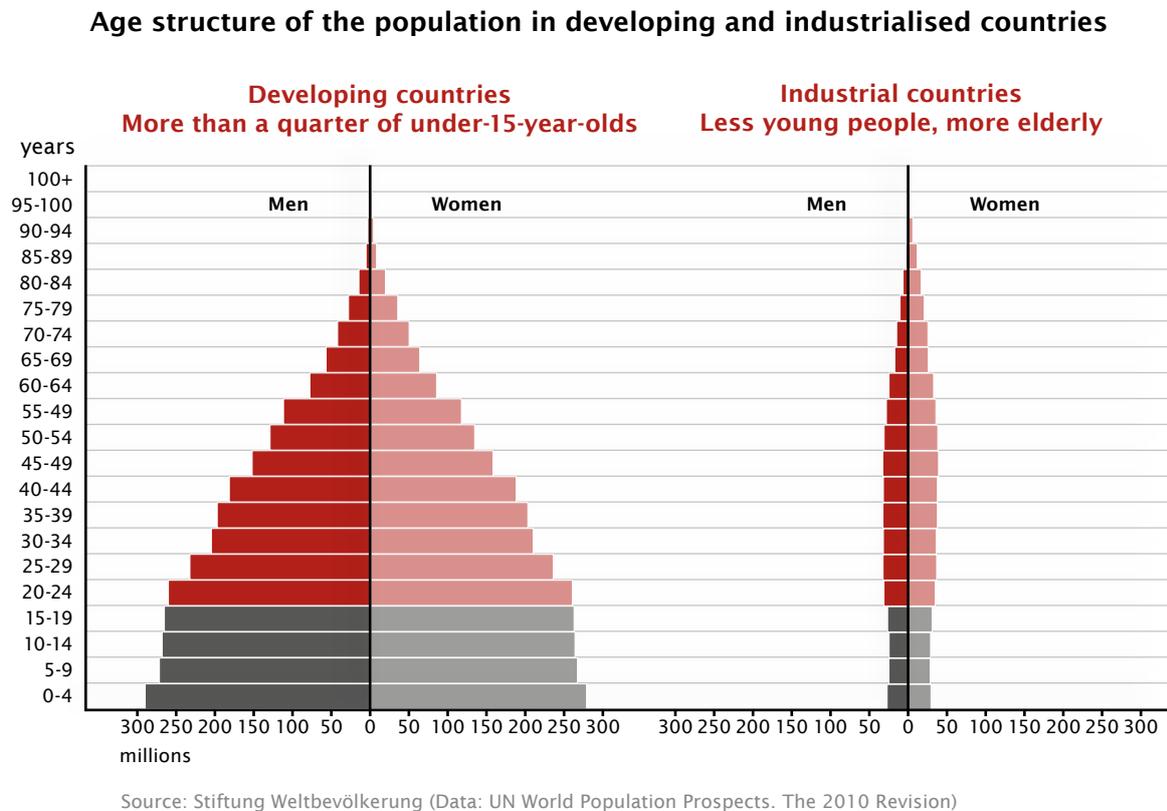
Figure 3

Regional distribution of global population according to the most likely scenario



Source: Author's diagram, based on UN World Population Prospects. The 2012 Revision.

Figure 4



This means that the world’s population will continue to grow due to population growth in less developed countries, where currently 5.7 billion people live, and where by 2050 an estimated 8 billion will live. In general, the population will grow more slowly because the average number of children per woman will begin to even out globally. In the 58 countries with the highest birth rates (of which 39 are in Africa, 9 in Asia, 6 in Oceania and 4 in Latin America) women currently give birth to 4.9 children on average. This figure will, according to UN projections, decrease rapidly to 2.8 children by 2050 and 2.1 children by 2100. The reasons for this are rapid urbanisation (birth rates in cities are always lower than in the rural areas) and growing aspirations towards education and healthcare (children become more expensive, birth rates decrease).

Firstly it should be stated that despite common assumptions, the rate of transnational migration has not increased in the past decades; it has remained stable and relatively low. The latest studies show that between 1990 and 2010, over periods

of five years respectively, only 0.6% of the world population crossed national borders. In absolute terms, this amounts to 41.5 million transnational movements globally between 2005 and 2010.³⁹ Even though the population is set to grow in poorer countries and stagnate in industrial countries, the UN estimates that in future, the level of migration from the South to the North will decrease. Between 1985 and 2005, migration was still increasing. Between 2000 and 2005, the UN recorded 17.6 million migrants from less developed to developed countries, among them 8.1 million from Asia, 6 million from Latin America and 3.1 million from Africa. Between 2005 and 2010, the UN observed a decline to 16.6 million. This trend has continued ever since, and it is likely to continue: For 2010 to 2015, the UN estimates 12.5 million migrants, for 2020 to 2025 only 11 million migrants, and between 2045 and 2050 the prediction is 9.5 million. In the longer term, the prognosis is as follows: By 2050,

³⁹ Guy J. Abel/Nikola Sander, Quantifying Global International Migration Flows, in: *Science*, 343. 2014, pp. 520-522.



2.4 million people from emerging and developing countries will migrate to developed countries every year, and for the period between 2050 and 2100, only one million people every year.

It can therefore be concluded that the scale of movement from the poorer South to the richer North – which has in any case been relatively small in recent decades – will continue to decrease in the future; this clearly contradicts popular fears of the supposed danger that Western societies face due to mass immigration from less developed parts of the world.⁴⁰

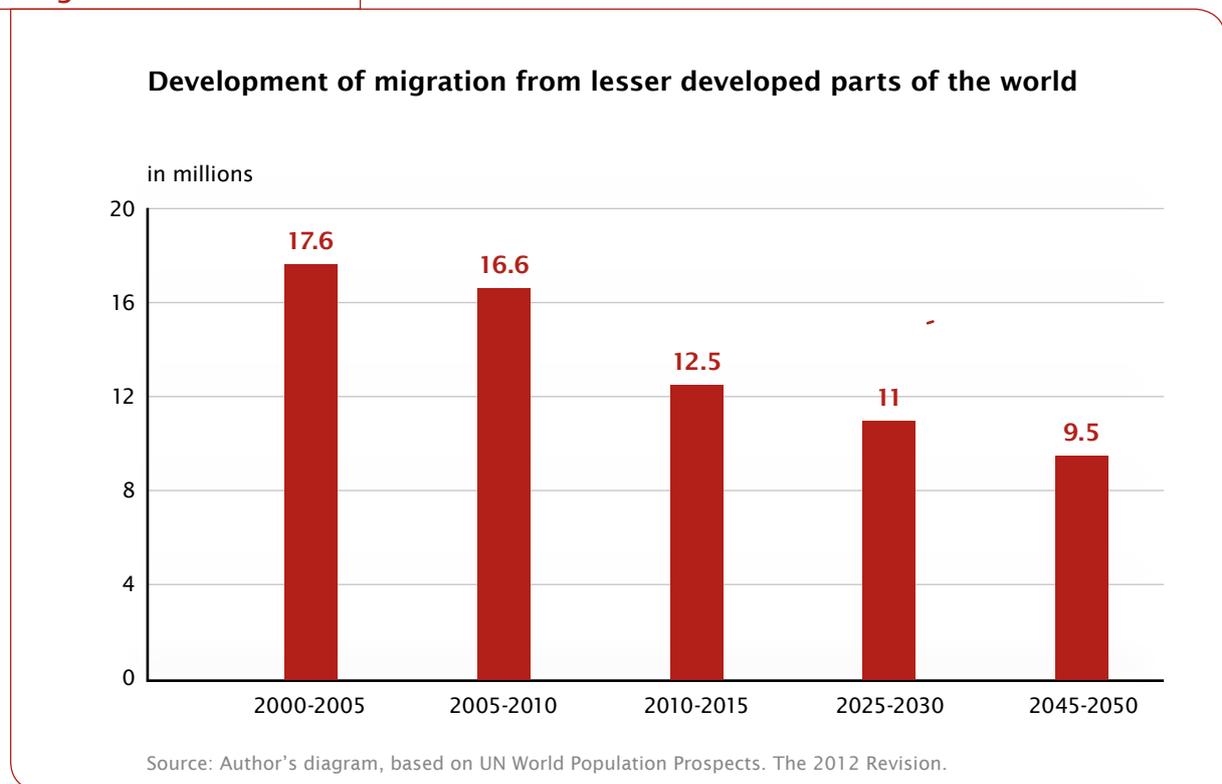
Why is the scale of movement from South to North relatively small? Financial resources are an essential prerequisite for developing individual migration projects that result in people crossing borders. Entry and exit formalities and transport costs (travel costs, shipping) have to be paid for, and illegal immigrants usually have to pay traffickers. When immigrants arrive in the destination country,

they will not usually find a paid job straight away, so they will need initial capital, they will use up savings and need to borrow money. Undertaking such a migration project is beyond the means of most people in the world. Many studies prove that poverty greatly restricts an individual's opportunities to relocate. A large percentage of the African immigrants who are currently arriving in Europe have a relatively stable financial background and a good education.

But people do not only lack financial resources. In order for migration movements to reach a certain scope and duration, there needs to be a continuous flow of reliable information about the destination country. A central element is oral or written communication of knowledge on opportunities elsewhere, usually passed on by pioneering migrants whose reports are highly valued among their relatives or friends back home. However, since the scope of global South-North migration has been relatively small in recent years, there are fewer pioneering migrants and therefore the scope of trans-continental friend/family networks is small. The majority of poorer people in the world possess very

40 Hein de Haas, *The Myth of Invasion. The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe*, in: *Third World Quarterly*, 29, 2008, no 7, pp. 1305-1322.

Figure 5



little reliable knowledge on opportunities in developed countries. All of this contributes to keeping down the number of South-North migrants.

The decrease in the existing low rate of emigration from poorer countries to the North doesn't necessarily mean that the overall scale of global migration is decreasing too. A large part of the movement takes place between the more developed countries of the world or between the less developed countries. This can be illustrated by the example of Germany: 80 to 90 percent of all immigrants who arrived in Germany in recent years came from other European countries and just 3-4 percent from Africa (in 2012 and 2013). In real terms this means that in 2013, 54,000 of the 1.23 million immigrants who arrived in Germany were from Africa. In spite of the globalisation that can be observed in many social, economic and political areas, immigration to Germany remains mainly European.

All the data mentioned above include forced migration and migration caused by violence. Recently, the number of refugees registered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has increased, though the figures have to be put into perspective (see graph 6). The number of "internally displaced persons", that is, people who have fled from conflicts within their own country, has increased considerably (2011: 26.4 million, 2013: 33.3 million). In 2013, the countries with the highest number of internally displaced persons were Syria (6.5 million), Colombia (5.3 million) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (2.9 million). The UNHCR only classifies "refugees" as those people who have left their home country due to conflict and political persecution. There are still fewer refugees than internally displaced persons, but recently their number has also increased, reaching a median level of 16.7 million in 2013 compared to developments over the past 25 years (a peak of 20.5 million in 1992 and a low point of 13.5 million in 2005).

Global refugee movements show clear patterns: Refugees usually strive to seek refuge near the centres of conflict, usually with success. They aim to get back home as quickly as possible after the conflict ends. In addition, they do not usually have the necessary financial means to seek refuge further away. As a result, refugees usually stay in their own country (and are registered as "internally displaced persons") or find refuge in neighbouring countries: For more than three decades, Afghanistan has been leading UNHCR statistics as the country of origin with most international refugees (2013: 2.47 mil-

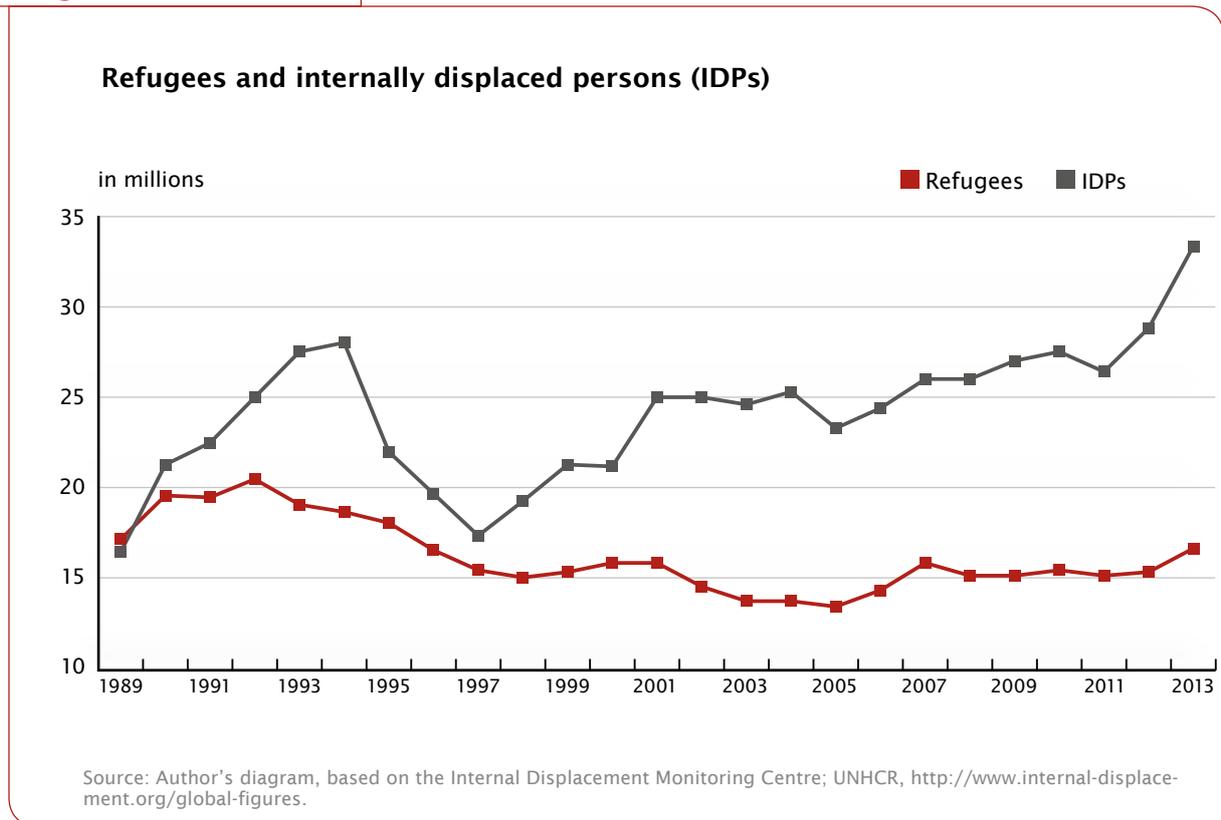
lion). 95% of all Afghan refugees live in Pakistan or in Iran. The situation in Syria is similar: The majority of refugees from Syria, around 3 million, fled to neighbouring countries including Turkey (late 2014: over 1 million), Jordan (mid-2014: 620,000), Iraq (late 2014: 220,000) and Lebanon (late 2014: 1.2 million). Only 3-4 percent of Syrian refugees have reached Europe so far. In 2014, for example, about 40,000 Syrians sought asylum in Germany (as first applicants), and the number of asylum seekers from other major global conflict areas, with millions of refugees combined, remained relatively low in Germany: Eritrea 13,200, Afghanistan 9,100, Somalia 5,500, Iraq 5,300. In comparison, other EU countries received even fewer applications for asylum. Thus, it is not surprising that countries in the global South accepted no less than 86% of all globally-registered refugees in 2013. This trend is rising in comparison to the share accepted by the global North.⁴¹

Conclusions for the debate on the migration and development nexus: Current debates on global migration and transnational movements from less developed to developed countries suggest that vast "migratory flows" from the global South have been flooding Europe. This is not true: Migration in Germany and Europe is primarily dominated by emigration from other European countries and from countries with a comparable level of wealth. Transnational migration in the context of the global South is mostly confined to other countries of the South, the scale of migration to the North is relatively small. It should indeed be noted that globally, the scope of transnational migration is relatively small: This applies even in international regions with few formal migration barriers. Only 2% of all EU citizens live in a European country other than their own, even though the right to freedom of movement as a goal of European integration was codified in the Roman Treaties of 1957 and movement between European states was increasingly facilitated in the decades that followed. Therefore, it should be noted that since there has never been, and probably will not be in future, a massive flood of migrants to the borders of Europe, many fears about the consequences of transnational migration are unfounded. At the same time, many restrictive policies applying to migration from the global South must be interpreted as symbolic: Policy-makers claim that such measures can hinder and prevent purportedly large "migratory flows" that do not exist in reality. Gen-

41 <http://www.unhcr.org.uk/about-us/key-facts-and-figures.html>, <https://www.uno-fluechtlingshilfe.de/fluechtlinge/zahlen-fakten.html>.



Figure 6



erally, however, notions of the high development potential of South-North migration must be put into perspective due to the relatively small scale of these movements.

It can also be said that even though the scope of forced migration and migration caused by violence has certainly increased globally in recent years, Europe has been relatively untouched by refugee movements originating in other continents. This also means: The increase of migrants registered as refugees or internally displaced persons has resulted in huge cost increases in various parts of Africa, Asia and South America. Poverty, insecurity or the collapse of healthcare and education systems do not only affect countries stricken by war and civil war: The economies and social/political structures of neighbouring countries are also put under considerable strain by the sometimes immense numbers of refugees they take on. Forced migration and migration caused by violence is therefore a serious problem for the political and social development of many countries in the global South.

4.2. Increased emphasis on interregional movements in the debate on the migration and development nexus

The term “migration” refers to geographical movement and patterns of regional mobility that have far-reaching consequences for the lives of those who migrate and lead to changes in social institutions. By moving abroad, be it temporarily or permanently, migrants are usually seeking better employment opportunities and living conditions; they are aiming to improve their chances in employment and education and to gain new opportunities. However, migration also includes deployment by organisations and institutions (e.g. multinational companies, diplomatic service, churches) or it can take the form of “lifestyle migration”, focussing on destinations that appear to offer a higher standard of living and better chances of personal fulfilment. Whereas in such cases the individual has greater agency in the realisation of his or her migration, this is not the case for those who migrate as a re-

sponse to crises such as environmental destruction or acute economic or social emergencies.

Institutional actors, in particular governmental, quasi-governmental or supranational institutions, observe and assess migration in the context of their specific interests and goals, influencing it using means of varying efficiency. They channel migration movements, draw borders and categorise migrants. Their efforts to control, manage and regulate these movements can restrict the agency and therefore the freedom of movement of individuals or groups to such an extent that geographic mobility is dominated by forms of forced migration and migration caused by violence (flight, displacement, deportation). Table 1 summarises the common reasons for migration.

Depending on the social environment, such a broad definition can refer to diverse interrelations: Migration can mean crossing national borders, resulting in the exclusion from one legal framework and the inclusion in another. However, the term migration can also refer to geographic movement within a country such as urbanisation, which has been a global phenomenon for decades. Even though they do not usually cross national borders, rural-to-urban migrants face great challenges when integrating into other commercial segments and sectors (e.g. industry or services instead of agriculture). As a rule, migration entails a profound change of lifestyle (urban instead of rural), opinions and orientation. Thus, these extensive inter- and intraregional migrations are both the consequence and the cause of social change.

According to the UN, in 2008 the global number of city dwellers exceeded the number of people living in rural areas for the first time. In 2050, it is projected that over two thirds of the world's population will live in cities.⁴² Around 1900, nine of the world's ten largest cities were in Europe and the USA. Since the 1950s, urbanisation has increased globally, most notably in countries of the global South. In 1950, just two cities in the world had more than 10 million inhabitants. Nowadays, there are 23 such megacities, of which 18 are in developing or emerging countries and only 5 are in the global North. In all probability, by 2025 there will be 14 more of these urban agglomerations.⁴³ Moreover, the development of gigantic megaregions (or "metacities", which are defined as urban spaces with more than 20 million inhabitants) has advanced a lot. These metacities develop when individual megacities grow together or when megacities merge with adjacent metropolitan areas. In Brazil, for example, a string of metropolitan agglomerations stretches from São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro, encompassing around 43 million inhabitants in total. The Hongkong-Shenzhen-Guangzhou megaregion has a total population of 120 million. Megaregions are characterised by their economic capacity: The 40 largest urban agglomerations encompass less than 18% of the world's population, but account for

42 Eugenie L. Birch/Susan M. Wachter, *World Urbanization: The Critical Issue of the Twenty-First Century*, in: Eugenie L. Birch/Susan M. Wachter (eds.), *Global Urbanization*, Philadelphia 2011, p. 3; UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *World Urbanization Prospects. The 2011 Revision*, New York 2012, p. 3.

43 UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *World Urbanization Prospects. The 2011 Revision*, p. 7.

Table 1

Reasons for migration

- gaining opportunities (labour migration, educational migration)
- force or violence (flight, displacement, deportation, mostly for political and ideological reasons or as a result of wars)
- deployment by organisations and institutions
- crises (e.g. emigration following man-made or natural environmental destruction, acute economic or social emergencies)
- consumption (e.g. "lifestyle migration")



two thirds of global economic activity and excel as technological and scientific centres of innovation.⁴⁴

However, cities with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants are projected to grow at a faster rate than megacities.⁴⁵ By 2030, up to 80% of global urban population growth will occur in Africa and Asia, doubling urban populations from 1.7 billion to 3.4 billion. By far the largest part of the world's urban population will therefore still live in the global South, where according to UN estimates the urban population will double from its current 2.6 billion to 5.2 billion by 2050.

Most of the cities and urban agglomerations in Africa, Asia and South America have grown in an unplanned manner over the last decades. However, there has been a general failure to ensure that in-

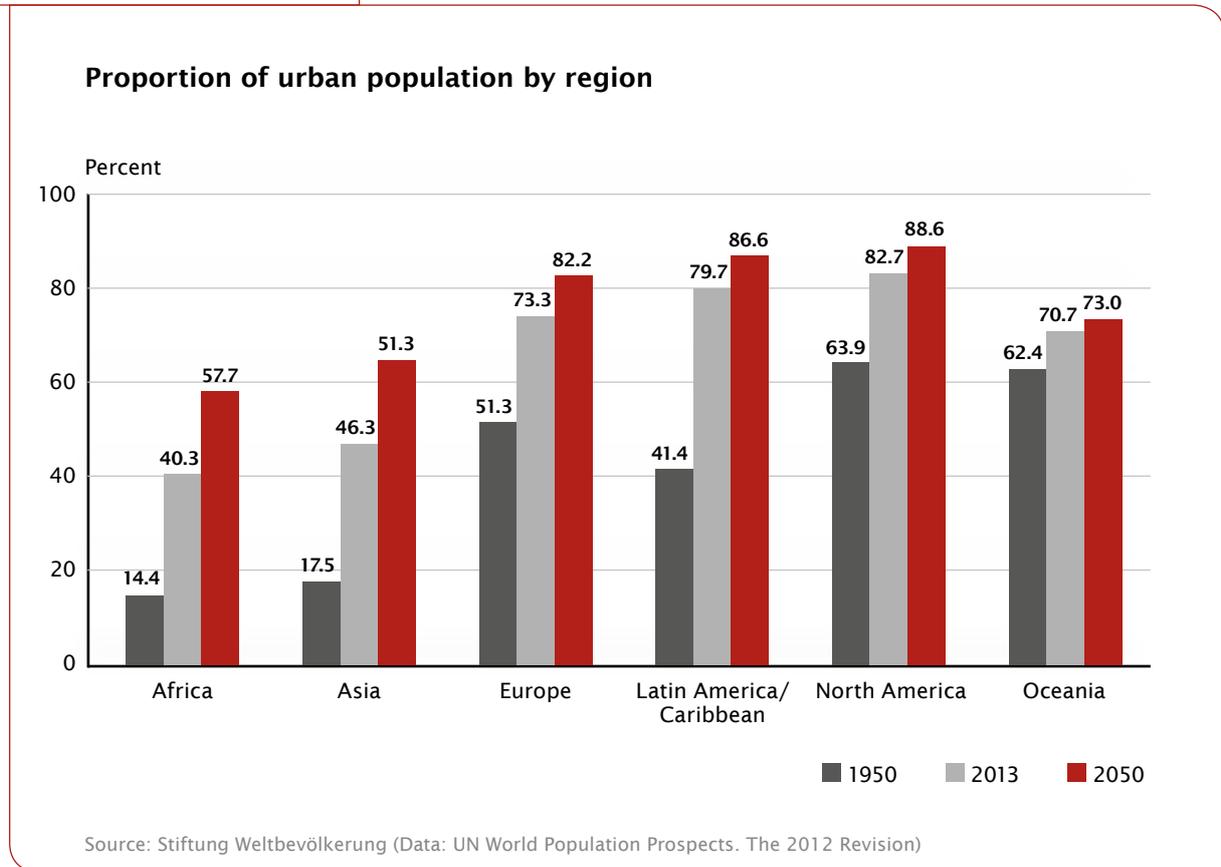
frastructure (roads, water supply and sewerage, electricity, waste disposal) develops in line with the urban population growth. The unplanned growth has been accompanied by major social problems and the emergence of slums. Slums can be defined as informal, often overcrowded settlements that are characterised by precarious building structures, poor infrastructure and little protection from intrusion and the weather. According to current estimates, one billion people worldwide live in slums. These slums are distributed very unevenly across various regions of the world: Most slums are found in sub-Saharan Africa, where over 65% of urban citizens live in slums; in Asia this figure is estimated at 40%.⁴⁶ Despite this, cities remain an attractive migration destination for many people: They are centres of economic growth and innovation; they offer far more earning opportunities in diverse areas of work in formal and informal sec-

44 UN Human Settlement Programme (UN-HABITAT), *Bridging the Urban Divide. State of the World's Cities 2010/11*. London 2008, p. 8.

45 George Martine et al (2008), Introduction, in: George Martine et al (eds.), *The New Global Frontier: Cities, Poverty and Environment in the 21st Century*, London 2008, pp. 1-16, here p. 6f.

46 Eduardo López Moreno, *Living with Shelter Deprivations: Slum Dwellers in the World*, in: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (ed.), *Population Distribution, Urbanization, Internal Migration and Development: An International Perspective*, New York 2011, pp. 31-51.

Figure 7



tors; healthcare and education are usually better and everyday consumer goods are more readily available.⁴⁷ In future, the growth of cities will be largely a consequence of rural-urban migration, rather than simply a result of natural population growth.⁴⁸

Conclusions for the debate on the migration and development nexus: Cities and urban agglomerations are the preferred destination in terms of major interregional migration because they tend to offer greater opportunities than rural agricultural regions. Urban research shows that large urban agglomerations exhibit considerable economic potential. Since the discussion on the interrelation between migration and development is focussed entirely on transnational movements and the interests of the global North, interregional (temporary and permanent) migration into fast-growing big cities is often neglected. The debate on the migration and development nexus can only provide an overview of the transformative possibilities of migration if it encompasses the prerequisites, forms and consequences of interregional movements for the economic, social and cultural development of countries in the global South.

4.3. The function of remittances

Although migration can involve migrants changing their centre of vital interest, it is often characterised by temporary stays in a different region or country without necessarily involving such a shift of centre of vital interest. Seasonal migration, in which periods of several weeks or months are spent away on a more or less regular basis (usually every year), can hardly be defined as involving such a shift, since the intention is usually to earn money to finance an individual's centre of vital interests. Since consequences of migration are unpredictable, long-term residency elsewhere is just one possible outcome of migration movements. Migration has always been characterised by fluctuation, for example circular movement or re-migration.

Migration is often the result of a negotiation process – within a family, or involving family economies, households or networks – that is characterised by conflict or cooperation. Families and other groups in countries of origin often send their members away with the aim of using remittances to consolidate or improve their economic and social situation. The remittances that arrive home on a fairly regular basis are therefore of great importance for individual households, regional economies and even for entire national economies. These translocal economic activities are dependent on maintaining stable social ties over long periods of time and great distances.

Conclusions for the debate on the migration and development nexus: In general the purpose of remittances is to support family members that are left behind by offering economic diversification – that is, by combining various household income strategies to create more financial security. As a rule, household incomes are used to finance healthcare and education in addition to covering regular costs such as taxes, fees and consumer goods. Several studies show that while remittances predominantly facilitate investment in the field of education and training, other forms of investment are rare. Even buying land has proven relatively unprofitable because land is overpriced in regions that receive a high amount of remittances. The purchase of land and farming equipment for small plots is often a matter of prestige, though it cannot be considered a good investment. The financing of healthcare and education through remittances is a central aspect in the debate on the consequences of migration on development: An increased influx of money for education and healthcare supports professions that are often affected by the emigration of highly qualified staff. This means that remittances can reduce or prevent brain drain. At the same time, remittances prove to be an investment in the future: Employment prospects improve dramatically when a person's education level is higher. Young people from families that would benefit significantly from remittances are more willing to migrate. Remittances can thus promote education and encourage those seeking work to be more mobile – two elements that contribute to higher incomes. Education and training increase the potential for innovation – locally or through transfers by emigrants.

47 William J. Hanna/Judith L. Hanna, *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa*, 2nd edition, New Brunswick/London 2009, pp. 39–54; Doug Saunders, *Arrival City. How the Largest Migration in History is Reshaping our World*, New York 2010, p. 23.

48 As overviews: Hania Zlotnik, *The Dimensions of Migration in Africa*, in: Marta Tienda et al (eds.), *Africa on the Move. African Migration and Urbanisation in Comparative Perspective*, Johannesburg 2006, pp. 15–37; Graeme Hugo, *Urbanisation in Asia: An Overview*, in: *Ibid.*, pp. 115–139; Marcela Cerrutti/Rodolfo Bertonecello, *Urbanisation and International Migration Patterns in Latin America*, in: *Ibid.*, pp. 140–157.



4.4. The significance of migrant networks

Migration areas of origin and destination are usually connected via networks that are held together by relationships, acquaintances and shared origin. The main bonding forces of such networks are loyalty and trust. Migrants' networks can offer potential migrants knowledge about the risks and opportunities of emigration and immigration, about secure traffic routes, and about the psychological, physical and financial strains of the journey. When migrants arrive at their destination, migrants' networks offer protection and orientation in the new surroundings, mediate job and housing opportunities, and help new arrivals deal with state and local institutions. Networks with a large scope and in which close social relationships are maintained, offer greater economic and social opportunities. The attractiveness of a migration destination is partly dependent on the size of the network and on the quality of relationships maintained within the network of relatives and acquaintances.

In this context, migrants' networks not only pave the way for further migration, they also constitute migratory traditions and have an influence on the stability of migration movements between regions of origin and regions of destination over long periods, sometimes generations. Migrants' networks are maintained through communication and exchange of services; moreover, they reproduce through marriages that are often arranged translocally or transcontinentally, through clubs and other associations, and also through joint economic activities such as specific migrants' jobs or the development of "ethnic businesses".

Conclusions for the debate on the migration and development nexus: An increase of migration and stable migratory traditions can improve migrants' chances in destination regions. This can in turn facilitate a high amount of remittances, circular movements between regions of origin and destination, the transfer of knowledge and skills, and it can promote a strong diaspora that can act as a representative of the community of origin (or of institutions or civil society organisations). Therefore, increased migration increases development opportunities.

4.5. Global environmental change, migration and development

Migration can also be a reaction to crises, for example, when emigration is the consequence of environmental destruction or acute economic and social emergencies.⁴⁹ It is indisputable that the extent of ecologically fragile regions is growing every year due to desertification, salinisation, steppisation, flooding and pollution.⁵⁰ The German Federal Government's *Wissenschaftlicher Beirat der Bundesregierung "Globale Umweltveränderungen"* (Scientific Advisory Board on "Global Environmental Change") estimates that so far 25–60 million people have had to abandon their home regions due to climate change. The Secretariat of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) predicts this figure will increase to 150 million by 2050.⁵¹

Climate change has an immediate effect in places where entire areas are threatened by flooding or salinisation due to rising sea levels:⁵² Climate researchers estimate that sea levels rose by 15–20 cm during the 20th century. Simulations suggest an increase of one metre by 2100.⁵³ The majority of the world's population lives on the edges of the continents: Around two thirds of all people currently live in areas that are less than 100 kilometres from the sea.⁵⁴ 30 of the 50 largest cities in the world are next to the sea. In the Indian and Pacific Oceans, around 7 million people live on islands that are threatened by rising sea levels. Among these are the "Sinking Islands" (such as the Maldives, the Marshall Islands, Palau and the Solomon Islands). Low-lying regions around the Bay

49 Carsten Felgentreff/Martin Carsten (eds.), *Migration und Umwelt* (IMIS-Beiträge, H. 44), Osnabrück 2013.

50 For a brief overview: Mojib Latif, *Die Herausforderung globalen Klimawandels. Perspektiven der Wirtschaftspolitik*, 11. 2010, pp. 4–12.

51 *Wissenschaftlicher Beirat der Bundesregierung »Globale Umweltveränderungen«, Welt im Wandel – Sicherheitsrisiko Klimawandel*. Berlin 2008, pp. 126–130; Thomas Hummitzsch, *Klimawandel und Migration: Die Diskussion um ihre Kausalität und die Rechtslage der Betroffenen*, 2009, www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossier-migration/57257/klimawandel-und-migration; Robert McLeman/Oli Brown, *Climate Change and Human Migration*, in: Khalid Koser/Susan Martin (eds.), *The Migration-Displacement Nexus. Patterns, Processes, and Policies*, New York/Oxford 2011, pp. 168–196, here pp. 175–177.

52 Anthony Oliver-Smith, *Sea Level Rise, Local Vulnerability and Involuntary Migration*, in: Etienne Piguet u.a. (eds.), *Migration and Climate Change*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 160–187.

53 Stefan Rahmstorf/Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, *Der Klimawandel. Diagnose, Prognose, Therapie*. 7th edition. Munich 2012; Mojib Latif, *Globale Erwärmung*, Stuttgart 2012.

54 Christopher Small/Robert J. Nicholls, *Global Analysis of Human Settlement in Coastal Zones*, in: *Journal of Coastal Research*, 19. 2003, no 3, pp. 584–599; Gordon McGranahan et al (2008): *Risks of Climate Change for Urban Settlements in Low Elevation Coastal Zones*, in: Martine et al (eds.), *The New Global Frontier*, pp. 165–181.

of Bengal that have already faced serious annual floods in the past are threatened too. For example, by 2050 the coastal regions of Bangladesh are expected to shrink by 16 to 18 percent. This area is home to 13 to 15 percent of the country's population. Aside from interregional movements, this could mean that future emigration to India could increase even more: India is already the primary destination for Bangladeshi migrants.⁵⁵ In Egypt, it is predicted that 15 to 19 percent of residential and farming land may be lost by 2050 due to rising sea levels, threatening 14 to 16 percent of the country's population. The majority of affected people will probably move within the country.⁵⁶ Many of Asia's low-lying coastal areas are "granaries of the world", where a large part of the global rice production is concentrated – a crop on which millions of people are directly or indirectly dependent. Some estimates suggest that rising sea levels pose an immediate threat to rice supplies for about 200 million people.

Environmental crises often undermine the already precarious livelihoods of people affected, and temporary or permanent emigration may be their only option to improve their living situation. Moreover, environmental crises often result in cultural crises, and are often exploited politically or lead to conflicts that in turn increase migration. In politically unstable regions with weak economies and social conflicts, and where the government has few means to solve problems, environmental crises increase the vulnerability of those affected. They can even act as a catalyst and trigger the collapse of an already unstable political, social and economic order. In contrast, it can be assumed that stable political, social and economic systems develop reaction patterns that enable low-conflict solutions for the consequences of environmental crises.⁵⁷

It is unlikely that the increasing effect of the environment on global migration will lead to trans- or intercontinental mass migration. Migration due to famine and flight from "failed states" has a long history which shows that environmental and climate change mainly result in local and regional migration in the world's risk zones where the local population has few resources. The German Fed-

eral Government's *Wissenschaftlicher Beirat der Bundesregierung "Globale Umweltveränderungen"* (Scientific Advisory Board on "Global Environmental Change") predicts that, although the rich North of the world is the main contributor to climate change, it will probably be only mildly affected by migration due to environmental change in the global South.

Conclusions for the debate on the migration and development nexus: Up to now the consequences of environmental and climate change have been given little attention in the discussion on migration and development. However, in order to assess the potential for development offered by migration, it is necessary to include the factor of environmental migration. Although it is not to be expected that environmental migration will lead to larger-scale intercontinental migration, several aspects should be taken into account: Environmental and climate change can reduce the agency of (potential) migrants and impede development potential (e.g. in agriculture) in part due to the high costs of preventive measures or damage remedy. It is very much conceivable that remittances will be increasingly spent on managing the immediate or indirect consequences of environmental change, leaving fewer funds available for healthcare and education.

4.6. Present and future political management of global migration

The world's leading economic nations have established migration policies that aim at strict control over migration. One approach is restrictive visa and entry regulations for potential immigrants who are neither wealthy nor highly qualified and are thus not considered desirable (human) capital. Other approaches include contracts with countries of origin aimed at ensuring that immigrants considered temporarily necessary will return home when no longer required (in the case of the EU these contracts are called "mobility partnerships"). Refugees and internally displaced persons are often suspected of being a burden on a society's security, economy, social security systems or specific cultural values and political ideas. In the last two or three decades, they have been confronted with the closing of many migration channels, that is, legal immigration possibilities, that the asylum system hitherto provided. The development of EC/EU migration policies has therefore been very restrictive: Cooperation between member states has so far been effectively limited to the development of restrictive

55 Effects of Future Climate Change on Cross-Border-Migration in North Africa and India, in: *Population and Development Review*, 36. 2010, no 2, pp. 408–412, here p. 411; Guy Arnold, *Migration. Changing the World*, London 2012, p. 217f.

56 On Bangladesh and Egypt: Jodi L. Jacobson, *Environmental Refugees: A Yardstick of Habitability*, Washington 1998, pp. 32–35.

57 See Christopher McDowell/Gareth Morell, *Displacement Beyond Conflict. Challenges for the 21st Century*, New York/Oxford 2010, pp. 117–136.



regulations for common border and visa policies as well as collaboration in restricting asylum-related migration.⁵⁸

according to needs in countries of origin and destination countries; and establishing transnational knowledge and qualification networks.

Conclusions for the debate on the migration and development nexus: A development-oriented migration policy in the global North or a migration-oriented development policy which no longer serves the exclusive interests of the wealthier nations would have to focus more on cooperation; this would be development cooperation in the true sense of the term. The “mobility partnerships” that the EU has established with several countries do not correspond to such a notion of cooperation. The EU’s need for qualified workers has to be reconciled with the interests of countries of origin. These interests include preventing brain drain, facilitating the efficient payment of remittances and transferring knowledge and skills through re-migration and knowledge transfer. There is a need for regulations to protect migrants from exploitative recruitment and employment practices.

Bilateral migration contracts based on international standards agreed upon by the UN could reconcile the interests of both sides by codifying rules for the conditions and types of labour recruitment. Moreover, such contracts should set down transparent rules for the secure and inexpensive transfer of remittances, clarify issues relating to social security, as well as clarify the requirements for long-term or permanent stays in the destination country (including rules on subsequent immigration of family members). In addition, the contracts should set down jointly negotiated migrants’ rights and include ways to ensure those rights are upheld, as well as providing appeal boards and legal mechanisms under the supervision of both contract partners or international institutions. These bilateral contracts could also regulate qualification programmes and allow for cooperation in the field of professional training and university education.

Development cooperation in tertiary education which is supported by migration policies can have positive effects on development in the global South. These benefits include: Improving and expanding education systems in the global South with support of the global North; offering a constant, two-way transfer of knowledge and skills between the North and South; providing training for qualified staff

⁵⁸ Steffen Angenendt, Aktuelle Trends und künftige Auswirkungen des globalen Wanderungsgeschehens auf Europa, in: Andreas Marchetti/Louis-Marie Clouet (eds.), Europa und die Welt 2020. Entwicklungen und Tendenzen, Baden-Baden 2011, pp. 59–67.

Recommendations

Our understanding of the terms “migration” and “development”, and what aspects of the relationship between the two are emphasised, is subject to constant negotiation. Numerous actors with diverse interests and levels of influence are involved in this process, in a relation of confrontation and cooperation. They include state actors in development cooperation or economic development as well as others who understand migration policy as security policy or as a means to contribute to the development of labour markets. Countless actors in societies of origin as well as international organisations contribute to the process in different ways and with differing interests. Not least, civil society organisations have frequently been successful in putting issues on the agenda, coining terms and thus developing agency in specific constellations such as in cooperations with the media or academia.

1. Development cooperation must be considered in the long term: In order to successfully combine migration and development policies, long-term planning is required, encompassing more than merely growth policy and poverty reduction through temporary projects that last a maximum of three years. All actors in development cooperation in the EU and in the Federal Republic of Germany should take into account that “development” encompasses diverse components aside from economic factors, including gender policy and social, political, demographic, geographic and cultural aspects.

In view of global refugee movements, development policy does not have sufficient agency to prevent or control flight movements in the various global conflict zones. However, development policy can contribute to crisis prevention and peaceful conflict resolution. It can support the protection of refugees, particularly vulnerable groups in affected regions, including children, and it can make a significant contribution to reconstruction, re-integration, and the return of refugees. Development policy can offer advice to people who are planning to migrate to Europe and it can also contribute to the development of a coherent migration policy: In

order to successfully meet the humanitarian, economic and social challenges of the coming years and decades, such a policy must be developed both on the EU level and on the German federal level, and it should involve as many relevant stakeholders as possible.

2. End the one-sided fixation on the migration interests of the global North: The almost exclusive focus on security and the labour market interests of the global North must be overcome. What is needed is a balance of interests between countries of origin and destination; this must be moderated primarily by the ministries for development cooperation and their partners in the global South. Governments of countries of origin are called upon to actively participate in this process. In view of safeguarding the rights of their nationals, they should demand greater parity in the decision-making process. Closer ties which result from migration can benefit both sides: The global North benefits from a supply of qualified and motivated workers in employment sectors that are facing a shortage of such workers, and the global South gains development potential through remittances and the transfer of skills. Both these factors can help improve educational opportunities; this benefits the countries of origin and opens up new opportunities for migration. These benefits can be reinforced by development policies aimed at secondary and tertiary education. This benefits children, adolescents and young people above all – and thus reduces the risk of inherited poverty.

3. Facilitate the transfer of migrants’ remittances: Given the importance of remittances as described in this study, improved mechanisms and practices for the low-cost, low-risk North-South transfer of money earned by migrants must be established. It is clear that market forces are inadequate in this respect, and state interventions, in particular from the South, are required to provide a framework for such transfers and to stimulate changes in the banking sector.

4. Involve the diaspora: The agency of migrants can be strengthened in countries of destination by



allowing and promoting self-organisation in the form of organisations and associations. These form an extension of the migration networks that are essential for the initiation and perpetuation of migration. Groups that operate transnationally not only facilitate the transfer of knowledge and skills, they can be important in the political representation of the interests of societies of origin. In addition, as active civil society organisations they can represent migrants' interests, drawing attention to issues concerning wages and working conditions, and also legal and social discrimination. Development policy can contribute to this by targeting migrants and returnees and involving them. It is particularly important that development policy should encourage domestic authorities to promote the organisation of migrants and the representation of their interests. At the same time, countries of origin should place more trust in transnational cooperations. Organisations and associations gain greater agency when they do not exclude those from outside the community of origin.

5. Redefine “migration management”: The notion that migration flows can widely be planned and controlled in the interests of the global North has proven to be an illusion. State actors in this field should focus less on the management of migration and more on creating a framework for migratory movement. Basic human-rights-based principles for this have already been defined by numerous international agreements including those drawn up by the International Labour Organisation. Bilateral migration agreements between countries of origin and destination countries can play an important role; these should be aligned with the minimum standards defined internationally with the participation of non-governmental organisations. Such agreements can allow both sides to exert influence on the volume and composition of migratory movements. This can take place in mutual agreement, while including the means of control and appeal available to all stakeholders, including migrants.

6. Develop an overall concept for European migration policy: Migrants are always active agents, not mere victims that are driven to move (this

excludes refugees and forcibly displaced people who have little opportunity to influence the time, circumstances and purpose of their migration). In general, geographical movement constitutes a means to find opportunities elsewhere. Migration is usually open-ended and most migrants only intend to stay for a temporary period. Although it is becoming more open, the migration policy of the global North towards immigration from the South is primarily aimed at defence and restriction. Even those in the global South for whom migration is a realistic option because they have access to the necessary financial resources, networks and knowledge of routes into Europe, are mostly dependent on unofficial border crossings; however there are high risks and significant costs associated with such crossings. This is true despite the fact that the extent of migration from the global South to the North is relatively low, yet the need for immigration in the North and the opportunities for development in the South are high. Given this situation, a broad debate on the objectives of migration policy is required in Europe. The EU and the Federal Republic of Germany have developed many instruments of migration policy in recent years, yet they have never clarified the objectives these instruments should achieve. This failure to formulate such objectives not only minimises the effect of the aforementioned instruments; it also limits development and the overall concept. Moreover, it causes great uncertainty within European populations that affect all aspects of migration and integration. The EU vehemently and consistently invokes European values, but these values must now also be applied to a European migration policy that contributes to a development cooperation based on collaboration and consensus.

7. Support the work of civil society organisations: German development policy should offer long-term support for the activities (which are mostly taking place abroad) of charities working with refugees and other migrants in a targeted way. This applies especially to humanitarian aid and re-integration, for instance the current emergencies in Syria, Sudan or Afghanistan and Mali. For long-term development to succeed, the close cooperation of vari-

ous actors and the joint planning and development of flexible, contextual tools is essential.

8. Further research on the migration and development nexus is urgently needed: The debate concerning the interrelationship between migration and development involves numerous actors with very different interests; it has led to various new arguments and has brought considerable attention to the subject. This debate must be continued. To date, very few concepts and projects concerning migration have been evaluated. German development policy can make a substantial contribution in this regard, and can contribute to a constructive public debate by providing information on the context, form and consequences of migration. The Federal government should make available resources to address this urgent need for more research into the conditions under which different forms of migration can have positive developmental effects.

The Future of Global Relations



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