

## Chapter 5

# Migration and Development: Partnerships for Mobility Management

Migration has profound economic consequences — many of them salutary, others more worrisome — for migrants' home countries (see Katseli *et al.*, 2006b). Potentially, migration can have positive effects on the development of sending countries. For example, migration can reduce unemployment, expand development through remittances, improve knowledge and skills, and introduce new technology. It can also, however, aggravate inequality, disrupt family life and social relations, and cripple essential social-service provision. Hence, it is vital to link migration and development policies for more effective management of migration.

EU and EU member-state policies, including those concerned with migration, can have an impact on development in sending countries. Development, in turn, plays a major role in shaping future migration pressures. Linking policies means ensuring coherence across policy domains, such as migration, trade and development co-operation, and finding the synergies and complementarities that will make them work nationally and for the benefit of migrants and their sending countries.

The joint consideration of migration and development co-operation policies can form the basis of genuine migration and development partnerships between sending and receiving countries (and transit countries, where appropriate). These partnerships should exploit the full range of the benefits of co-operation — and the costs of non-cooperation — to pursue more effective management of labour mobility. Sending and receiving countries need to co-ordinate their migration policies with one another and link them to other major domestic policy concerns including employment, vulnerability, security, decent work and/or social cohesion. Our main policy message is that joint consideration of migration and development issues, including development assistance, could improve policies and make difficult compromises easier to handle.

Linking migration and development policies should not be understood to mean that development assistance can resolve the challenges posed by migration. Aid can help, particularly by enhancing sending countries' capacity to adjust to emigration successfully (through support for infrastructure development, improvements of education and health systems, co-development projects, or support for appropriately designed fellowships and training schemes). However, it is worth pointing out what development assistance should *not* be called upon to provide: stopping or controlling immigration. First, the links from aid to growth are weak and even if aid spurs growth, there is no guarantee that migration will diminish as a result. Second, using development assistance as a bargaining device to extract co-operation in controlling irregular migration, as is sometimes suggested, would be fraught with difficulties. Aside from imposing conditions on aid recipients, low- and middle-income countries, with limited resources, are at least as hard pressed to enforce emigration border controls as EU countries are to enforce immigration border controls. Finally, the principal objective of development assistance should remain poverty eradication. Official Development Assistance should not serve the double goal of poverty reduction and migration control. Given that very little of the low-skill migration to the EU originates from the least-developed countries, redirecting development assistance towards the high-migration middle-income countries in order to influence migration patterns there would run counter to the objective of eradicating the most severe poverty.

Based on the results from this project, policy innovation should be pursued in the following areas:

- EU member states must revisit their migration policies with an eye to ensuring that migrant-sending countries, many of which are developing countries, derive greater benefits from migration flows in a way consistent with member states' development co-operation goals.
- Member states, in the context of their development co-operation policies, must work with developing countries to encourage and assist them to mainstream migration and remittance dimensions into their national development strategies.
- The organisational structures for migration management must be reformed both at the national and EU levels.
- EU and its member states should pursue coherence across different policy domains and generate synergies across migration, trade (including trade in services), security, and development policies; this coherence extends, in line with the European Union's Consensus on Development, to policies affecting employment, decent work and the social dimensions of globalisation.

## Looking at Migration Policies through a Development Lens

To improve migration management and to maximise the positive impact of migration, EU agreements need to address the development impacts of their actions, including those that are derived from recruitment and admission policies, as well as development co-operation policies.

### *Tackling the Brain Drain*

Many EU countries have programmes to facilitate the entry of highly skilled migrants. Indeed, the global competition to attract the best and the brightest is intensifying. The disruption in sending countries from the loss of key personnel, such as health-care workers and educators, can be significant. In addition, the loss accrued from the outlay of public resources invested in training potential emigrants can be very real (see Katseli *et al.*, 2006a and 2006b). Although a highly educated diaspora could, in principle, provide benefits to the home economy, the evidence for this remains weak and pertains more to upper-middle-income countries, which are better placed to take advantage of technologies transferred from overseas and any fresh skills of a returning diaspora. The reality is, however, that the poorer the country, the higher the fraction of highly educated persons migrating to industrialised countries. How can these trends be influenced to enhance the benefits — the brain gain — while mitigating the costs, especially since EU countries' efforts to attract highly skilled migrants are unlikely to abate?

A number of recommendations related to managing flows of highly skilled migrants were offered in chapter 3 of this report. Following that discussion, we recommend in addition that policies must include a development dimension. This means that:

- **Innovative circularity schemes should manage migration flows more effectively without crippling social services in sending countries**

Examples already exist of such schemes involving a growing number of professionals (e.g. Japan-Philippines). The EU could expand these schemes to include multi-annual fixed-term contracts to professionals from selected countries to train or work for a limited period in the EU. Such schemes could also be addressed to students and/or postgraduates from developing countries. Under the terms of such agreements, receiving countries could

commit to help sending countries upgrade and modernise social service-delivery systems (e.g. education, health). Measures that would ensure appropriate training of personnel, staff deployment and replenishment for maintaining social service delivery at the desired level, could also be included.

- **EU member states should continue developing guidelines for recruitment of highly skilled workers from developing countries**

The United Kingdom has been a pioneer among OECD countries in adopting restraints on the recruitment of health-care workers from developing countries, where their skills are sorely needed. Nevertheless, even there these restraints have proved ineffective in limiting migration of doctors and nurses<sup>1</sup>. Exhorting private-sector employers to recruit ethically is not likely to be more effective. Nevertheless, the joint development of guidelines by European or OECD member countries might offer an alternative mechanism, particularly since multilaterally agreed-upon guidelines governing the recruitment of critically needed workers from developing countries promise more effective restraint than the unilateral measures adopted to date. The OECD, in particular, has frequently been the venue for international deliberation of non-binding guidelines to promote responsible behaviour by member countries; the visibility of the guidelines and peer pressure by other countries can be an effective restraint. Guidelines for the recruitment of critically needed workers in health care and education could both restrict some movements altogether, or more flexibly link circular mobility to training resources.

### ***Organise Recruitment of Low- and Semi-skilled Migrants***

Although targeting highly skilled migrants is common in most EU member states, this is not the case with low- and semi-skilled migrants despite the mutual benefits that can be derived from such migration. For sending countries, low- and semi-skilled migration has typically a greater impact on poverty reduction than does emigration of professionals. There are three reasons for this; one that has to do with labour markets and employment, and two that act through the mechanism of remittances. First, when a low-skilled worker leaves the labour market back home it creates a vacancy for an unemployed low-skilled worker who remains behind. Second, the remittances sent home by a low-skilled worker increase the well-being of his or her family and/or community. Third,

evidence shows that low-skilled workers tend to remit more than high-skilled workers do — as a proportion of their earnings, but sometimes even in absolute terms — especially if they have left their families back home<sup>2</sup>.

Despite these potential mutual benefits, effective recruitment of low-skilled migrants is rare. Hence we recommend:

- **EU member states should enter into strategic partnerships with selected migrants' home countries**

Using bilateral schemes to promote circular migration, EU countries can enhance the impact of migration on development of the sending countries. Effective recruitment of temporary or circular migrants in the context of such partnerships might also prove effective in tackling irregular migration. Seasonal or temporary work arrangements under contracts for multi-annual specific service provision and the establishment of clear criteria for return and future re-entry could significantly enhance migrants' incentives to prefer legal channels of entry and honour fixed-term contracts.

- **EU countries must encourage and support regional schemes among developing countries**

As the idea of regional development strategies gains ground, the regional aspects of migration should be considered. Policies to facilitate cross-border regional market integration through improved infrastructure and appropriate visas, including the extension of regional passports, should be adequately considered, especially since much migration is intra-regional. While these accords and agreements will be among non-EU and non-OECD countries, these richer countries can provide resources and build capacity to facilitate negotiations.

A large part of the international migration of less-skilled workers (as well as refugees) is intra-regional, and the migration of the less skilled has the greatest potential to alleviate poverty. A strong economic case can be made for regional level negotiations with an objective of achieving regional level governance. The impacts of migration are regional, not bilateral, and regional arrangements are more likely to include all parties with an interest in more orderly migration management. If bilateral negotiations are more common than regional ones, it is because regional schemes are harder to manage: they will require a strengthening of existing governance structures (e.g. ECOWAS

in West Africa, or CAFTA in Central America). Before binding agreements can be reached, the regional partners must agree to political frameworks and legal principles in which those future agreements can be monitored and enforced.

### ***Mobilising and Channelling Remittances for Development***

Remittances sent by migrants to families and friends in home countries constitute an important driver of development (See Katseli *et al.*, 2006b). The actual amounts that migrants remit depend on economic and financial conditions in both sending and receiving countries; they also depend on the composition of migration flows, as well as the conditions under which the migrants are admitted into the host country and are hence partly determined by OECD-country admission policies. The pro-poor effects associated with remittances are much stronger in the case of low-skilled as opposed to highly skilled migration, especially if highly skilled migrants settle permanently abroad with their families. Low-skilled migrants tend to remit proportionally more and direct their savings to their low-income families, which often remain in the home country.

The reported size of remittances is most likely underestimated. Remittances are often transferred through informal channels rather than banks or formal institutions. The cost of transferring money, while falling rapidly in some migration corridors, remains extremely high for migrants in many OECD countries, particularly in Europe. Furthermore, there are significant differences across countries. For example, the cost of remittances between Europe and West Africa is ten times higher than that between the United States and the Philippines (World Bank, 2006).

We therefore recommend that:

- EU member states take concerted steps to lower the costs of transfers through formal channels while European banks and financial institutions in co-operation with financial institutions in developing countries take the lead in expanding financial services to poor rural communities (where many migrants' families live). This array of initiatives must be a true public-private partnership.

These reforms can be guided by lessons from migration corridors where transfer costs have fallen rapidly (particularly between the United States and Latin America). Such action would facilitate the channelling of remittances in poor communities. Involving migrants and migrant

associations in such schemes would increase pressure for appropriate services and thus increase the volume of remittances transferred: migrants' networks play an important role in facilitating remittances and promoting their role as a development tool; they act as lobby groups to improve access to financial services for migrants, both in the destination and their country of origin. Moreover they contribute to the collection and dissemination of information on the available channels to transfer their savings to their families back home.

- **EU member states must deepen co-development initiatives that harness the resources of transnational diaspora networks to promote development of migrants' home countries.**

Co-development, pioneered by France but increasingly explored by many European countries, sees the migrant as a partner in development co-operation. Working with migrants' associations to promote community level infrastructure investment (e.g. schools or roads) is an example of co-development centred on remittances. The concept involves the mobilisation of a wider range of migrants' capital, including human and social capital. We return to these other dimensions of co-development in Chapter 6.

Whether the positive impacts of remittances are diffused from the household level to the whole of the economy depends in large part on how well domestic markets function. If markets are well integrated, increases in local incomes can then be translated into increased trading opportunities with other communities, enhancing growth and employment creation. The availability of infrastructure is similarly a precondition for the diffusion of benefits across regions. Development assistance towards capacity building and infrastructure development in the context of national development strategies can substantially enhance the positive impact of remittances on development.

There is a tremendous void to be filled by private actors in the financial sector of EU member states and in developing countries, one that will likely require public incentives, broadly construed. New branches of financial institutions must spread to remote and rural settings where migrants' families receive remittances. A wide array of new and innovative financial products — such as mortgages for the purchase of a home in El Salvador, secured by earnings from a job in the European Union — could profitably be developed. In the Latin American migration corridor to the United States, some of these niches are being occupied by smaller banks and credit unions, nearly all of them for-profit institutions, and most in partnership with finance institutions in sending countries.



## **Integrating International Migration into Development Strategies**

The development impact of migration depends not only on migrants' choices, but equally on the capacity of sending countries to adjust successfully to international migration. This capacity depends, in turn, on the active engagement of migrants themselves, as well as on incentives, institutions and policies in sending countries; it can furthermore be strengthened with the support of EU member states.

For countries where emigration is a prominent feature, national development strategies need to bear in mind the effects of migration. These must be considered when determining macro-economic policies, human resource management, education policies and investment incentives, as well as in regional (including South-South) initiatives. In designing such strategies, governments in sending countries need to involve and actively consult migrants and their associations. Engaging diaspora networks in the design of development strategies at home can bring about important political and economic benefits for the sending country

While the bulk of the recommendations in this report are targeted to migrant-receiving countries in Europe, mobility partnerships will call upon migrant-receiving and migrant-sending countries alike to reform policies. Including the effects of migration into national development strategies is first and foremost a recommendation for migrant-sending countries, though the support of migrant-receiving countries can be critical in this effort. In particular, EU member states can use partnership agreements as a vehicle for encouraging non-EU partners to link more productive migration and development policies in migrants' home countries.

For these reasons, we therefore recommend:

- **EU member states use partnership arrangements to link recruitment with capacity building and development in sending countries**

In particular, a partnership approach could link EU member state migration policies and non-EU countries' human resource development policies. In the presence of emigration, sending countries need to be encouraged to design human resource policies that take into consideration current and projected effects of migration on domestic labour markets, as well as the potential loss of public resources invested in highly skilled emigrants. This implies the provision of sufficient incentives for public sector posts, effective deployment of available personnel and possible restructuring



of methods of financing higher education. The absorption of highly skilled professionals in developing countries, especially in the health and education sectors, can be substantially improved through investments in service delivery systems, continuous training of personnel and better working conditions. Development assistance can play an important role in such partnership arrangements, by providing resources to migrant-sending economies to strengthen their capacity to adjust. This capacity could include better transport and communication infrastructure to link labour markets within the sending country, and promotion of financial sector development to encourage greater use of formal sector means to transfer remittances.

## Overhauling the Organisation of Migration Management

Linking migration and development co-operation policies in the way we have described in the first two sections of this chapter, both at national and supra-national (i.e. EU) levels, will require substantial rethinking of existing institutional set-ups to address the current segmentation of policy competencies across ministries, directorates and organisations. The European Union has explicitly recognised the need for this rethinking: the EU's December 2005 "European Consensus on Development", notably, calls upon the Commission and the EU member states to observe coherence among their policies that affect development. Certainly, migration policies fall into this category. How can this political will be translated into more coherent migration management?

Given the present setting, we recommend:

- **At the national level, inter-ministerial initiatives must be established to promote co-ordination of development and migration policies**

Introducing inter-ministerial co-ordination mechanisms can significantly improve policy making. Examples of this already exist in the EU. Among EU member states, Sweden's 2003 Government Bill, committing various ministries to greater policy coherence in measures that affect development with annual reporting to Parliament, is probably the most institutionally ambitious initiative. Other EU member states, such as the Netherlands, have also opted for co-ordination mechanisms bringing together development and non-development officials to discuss development impacts of various measures.

- **At the level of the Commission, stronger systematic consultations must be put in place across all relevant EC directorates**

More regular dialogue across all relevant European Commission directorates (most notably DG Justice, Freedom and Security; DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities; DG Development; and DG External Trade) is necessary to strengthen the development input into the relevant structures responsible for migration policy. Support by a Working Party on Migration, Development, Trade, and the Social Dimension of Globalisation might provide a necessary forum for information exchange, policy consultation and stronger development inputs on migration policy making.

### **Coherence of Policies for More Effective Management**

Some of the key factors shaping employment creation, economic development, and even security at home lie beyond the control of the migrants' home countries. External factors — including EU country policies (e.g. in agriculture, trade, environment or security), but also changing world terms of trade, climate swings, or even violence instigated by neighbouring states — impinge upon living conditions that alter pressures to migrate internationally. Nevertheless, the development strategies chosen by migrants' home countries can play a major role in mitigating risks and seizing opportunities for development. This can be facilitated if migration, trade, investment, development assistance and related aspects of employment, decent work and the social dimensions of globalisation are jointly addressed at the national, regional and global levels (See Dayton-Johnson and Katseli, 2006; Katseli *et al.*, 2006a).

- **EU trade policy should be crafted with attention to its impact upon labour mobility**

Being able to export products that make intensive use of low-skilled labour is a critical strategy for accelerated growth and the principal rationale for opening to trade. Expansion of such export industries will in some cases affect migration flows. Such a growth strategy is complicated by the trade policies of the EU and its member states, however. The use of agricultural subsidies by many of the industrialised countries that would, for example,

depress world prices for agricultural products would also be likely to hurt living conditions in countries that are exporters of cash crops, possibly exacerbating migration pressures (see Suwa-Eisenmann and Verdier, 2006; Xenogiani, 2006). While the impacts of such policies on potential migrants vary within and across developing countries, this example illustrates that the impacts of EU trade (including, notably, trade in services), migration and development policies on specific low- and middle-income developing countries need to be considered alongside migration policy making.

- **EU and EU member states' security policies must recognise the broad nature of insecurity and the relationship between insecurity and labour mobility**

An EU agenda on security and development should address the links between development, migration and security. EU policies and programmes could explicitly aim to address the various sources of insecurity (e.g. inability to access strategic assets, access to food and water, large market volatility or failed institutional set ups) that often cause people to emigrate and which hamper development. Improving access to land and water assets, supporting agricultural extension programmes and irrigation infrastructure, and promoting institutional capacity-building, as well as appropriate land titling and regulatory modernisation, are only a few examples of policy priorities that could significantly enhance security in the countries of origin and stem the desire for relocation.

## Notes

1. Findlay (2006) assesses the British National Health Service's record in banning recruitment from some developing countries.
2. The extensive empirical evidence on the relationship between the skills profile of migrants and the impact back home of their emigration is summarised and synthesised in Katseli *et al.* (2006) and in OECD (2007a).

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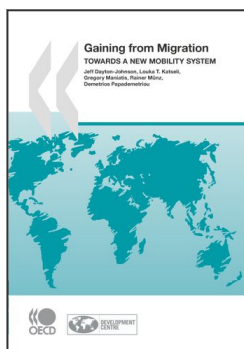
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**From:**  
**Gaining from Migration**  
Towards a New Mobility System

**Access the complete publication at:**  
<https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264037410-en>

**Please cite this chapter as:**

Dayton-Johnson, Jeff, *et al.* (2007), "Migration and Development: Partnerships for Mobility Management", in *Gaining from Migration: Towards a New Mobility System*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264037410-8-en>

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