INTRODUCTION*

The Challenge of Migration Management

At the beginning of the 21st century, migration continues to loom large as a subject of media interest, of community preoccupation and of political controversy. Nevertheless, the discourse has evolved significantly in recent years, both in terms of substance and tone, and is now conducted with noticeably less acrimony than before and with much reduced levels of distrust between developed and developing countries. For instance, at both the UN General Assembly High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development (HLD), held in New York in September 2006, and the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), held in Brussels in July 2007 (see Textbox Int. 2), participants were, in general, disposed to agree that migration holds considerable potential for economic and social development (UN, 2006b). At the same time, however, it was apparent that there is much more to be done before agreement can be reached on appropriate management strategies to be put in place, both nationally and on the international level, for that promise to be realized.

The task of formulating a workable global approach to the management of international migration remains a formidable challenge, and one that will require both time and effort over the coming years. The word "management" has occasionally been criticized as a euphemism for "restriction" or "control" and for giving insufficient attention to human rights concerns. As used in *World Migration 2008*, it refers to a planned and thoughtful approach to policy development; and to the careful selection and implementation of appropriate policy responses to the key questions confronting the international community:

- What should be the scope and content of a comprehensive migration management strategy conducive to coherence of action across countries and policy fields?
- What are the organizing principles to be adopted?
- Is there a conceptual point of leverage to move the debate forward?

The dual purpose of this volume - reflected in its structure - is, first, to explore the nature and extent of the need for more comprehensive, coherent and purposeful action through the study and analysis

* This introduction was written by Gervais Appave, Co-Editor-in-Chief.

of a wide range of contemporary migratory patterns linked to economic purposes (Part A) and, second, to canvass policy elements that might contribute to the development of a strategic response (Part B).

Globalization and Mobility

Part of the problem is the difficulty of reaching consensus on the fundamental nature of migration and its outcomes. Underlying the current and welcome inclination to acknowledge the potentially beneficial outcomes of migratory phenomena are many questions that are yet to be fully resolved:

- Should migration be considered an entirely "natural" part of human behaviour that has occurred throughout history, or rather as "unnatural", in the sense that it involves the often painful uprooting of individuals from their places of birth and their equally difficult relocation in other countries?
- Is it a process through which nations are built and strengthened, or rather divided and weakened?
- Does it further economic growth in countries of origin through the flow of remittances and the transfer of skills and technology, or lead to stagnation through the loss of talent and inadequate attention to development and the creation of job opportunities at home?
- Are migratory flows being sustained primarily by a complex interplay of push and pull factors or by social communication networks?
- Would migration management be made more effective if the primary policy concern were to be directed at the protection of national interests and the securing of borders or rather by allowing considerable leeway to the free interplay of market forces?

In the midst of such uncertainties, it is worth exploring suggestions that **contemporary** migration, in contrast to earlier migratory phenomena, is uniquely related to, and defined by, the processes of economic and social integration that are collectively known as globalization. It is true that what might properly be called the formal or organized aspects of globalization have focused on the elaboration of legal and administrative mechanisms to facilitate, to the largest extent possible, the movement of capital, goods and services,[1] not people. But, whether by design or not, these developments appear largely responsible for the creation of an unprecedented context in which **human mobility seeks to find expression on a genuinely global scale**.

In 2005, there were some 191 million international migrants[2] worldwide, nearly two and a half times the figure in 1965, a pace of increase well in excess of the global population growth rate over the same period (UN DESA, 2006). The number of migrants is likely to be in excess of 200 million today. Even more striking, however, are the widely different origins and distribution of those migrants. Fifty years ago, only a handful of industrialized countries - mainly those that had established formal immigration programmes in the aftermath of World War II, such as the United States, Canada and Australia – were identified as "countries of destination", while the "countries of origin" were mostly in Europe. Today, the patterns of movement are such that most countries are simultaneously countries of origin, of transit and of destination, albeit to varying degrees. At the same time, there has been a diversification of migratory behaviour to include short-term relocation, longer-term temporary assignments, permanent migration and even multi-stage migration itineraries leading back to the point of origin.

The particular conditions identified as contributing to these trends are too numerous and too familiar to be dealt with here at length; suffice it to say that

[1] The movement of services does cover some movement of "natural persons" as incidental to trade (see Textbox Int. 1).

[2] Defined as persons residing in a country other than their country of birth for a period of 12 months or more, both in regular and irregular situations.

they may be grouped into two very different but inter-related sets.

One set consists of **enabling** factors such as macro-political changes including the collapse of the Soviet Union and the opening up of China to the world; the advent of affordable air transport; the creation of real-time global communication networks; and the redefinition of individual and family identities in transnational terms. In combination, they add up to almost-unlimited networking possibilities, knowledge sharing and awareness of opportunities. The other – and arguably more important – set of **causal** factors arises out of the interplay of large, not fully understood, socio-economic variables that form part of complex international equations. Pritchett (2006) identifies five such driving forces.

The first of these factors consists of disparities in income and employment opportunities across and within countries and regions, particularly the steep economic gradients between developed and developing countries. According to Pritchett, wage gradients of between 2 to 1 and 4 to 1 between countries of origin and destination were at the root of mass worker movements in the 19th century. Today the real wage gaps are often as high as 10 to 1.

The second factor is the increasing global demographic imbalances. In brief, while the populations of low-income countries will grow significantly over the next 50 years, the populations of high-income countries will grow at a much slower rate. Simultaneously, the populations of the latter will continue to age. The proportion of persons above 60 years of age in more developed regions is expected to grow from 21 per cent in 2007 to 32 per cent in 2050, while the number of children is expected to decrease from 17 per cent to 16 per cent. In other words, in 2050 there will be in industrialized countries twice as many people over 60 than children (UN DESA, 2007). Demographic disparities are expected to generate migration from two opposite directions: on one hand, shrinking and ageing populations in industrialized countries will stimulate demand for migrant labour and on the other, large numbers of young workers in developing countries will seek work and life opportunities abroad (Lawson et al., 2004).

The third factor is linked to the liberalization of flows of goods, capital and services – including communication – across virtually all parts of the world. In such circumstances, pressures for labour mobility are bound to increase, all the more so when the international community stands to gain very significant economic benefits from the lifting of constraints on worker mobility.

The fourth factor lies in current and expected future demand in developed countries and mid-income developing countries for low-skilled services (for instance, in home care or hospitality sectors) that come to be required as a combination of increased productivity, greater access to higher education, rising incomes, reluctance of nationals to perform certain jobs perceived to be of lower status, ageing populations and the globalization of manufacturing. Technological advances (especially automation) may go some way towards countering that phenomenon, but, as Pritchett (2006) points out, the capital/labour substitution process has obvious limitations: while it is conceivable that devices endowed with artificial intelligence will increasingly replace human service providers, such developments are unlikely to completely replace nurses in hospitals or serving personnel in restaurants and hotels.

Finally, account must be taken of increased pressure for population movement through shifts in the desired population of specific countries or regions. In brief, a large decline in labour demand in a given location (and this has been the experience of many developing countries in recent times, for instance as a result of changes in agriculture, in climate or in

resources) creates substantial pressure for outward migration.

The net impact of all these factors is a global context where migration is increasingly seen (a) at the individual level, as a choice worth including in life plans (although not one that is necessarily exercised by a majority of people – since roughly 97 per cent (IOM, 2003) of the world's population consistently opts **not** to migrate[3]); and (b) at the national level, as a significant factor to be taken into account in economic and business planning, whether by governments or the private sector. At the centre of these plans is the concern for employment.

In summary, globalization offers almost unlimited awareness of opportunities and networking possibilities. A world that is spanned by fast, real-time communication lines and connected by research webs, where large information databases are available at a click of a mouse, is also one that offers near instant access to information on job market openings. At the same time, globalization gives rise to powerful socio-economic dynamics that play across borders: income disparities, population imbalances and labour market discrepancies combine to produce migratory flows that are increasingly dominated by the search for a better life through improved employment opportunities.

Labour Migration, a Key Aspect of Human Mobility and the Global Economy

The current focus on migration for work-related purposes, clearly discernible, for instance, in the evolving policy preoccupations within the European Union, is all the more noteworthy because of the predominance of asylum and irregular migration issues on the policy agendas of many countries during the last three decades of the 20th century. The global migration landscape and the attendant international deliberations were dominated by a succession of refugee and humanitarian crises: in Asia, the exodus from Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, by land and sea; in the Middle East, large numbers of people displaced by the Gulf War; in the Balkans, massive outflows from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo; and, in Africa, displacements and flights out of Rwanda, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example. Between 1992 and 2001, in western Europe alone, over four million people sought asylum (UNHCR, 2002). As a natural consequence, the international community was called upon to act primarily on issues of protection and humanitarian assistance. As often as not, these were caught up in related migration policy concerns such as integration, border control or trafficking in persons, but these were of subsidiary or tangential interest. There was little policy space available for the consideration of broader and comprehensive approaches to migration management.

The gradual shift in policy perspective towards a broader grasp of the nature and the prevalence of human mobility can thus be attributed, at least in part, to a decline in the numbers of asylum claims lodged in industrialized countries. Since 2001, applications for asylum in industrialized countries have declined by 49 per cent, the total number of claims in 2005 being the lowest since 1987 (UNHCR, 2006).[4] Another contributing factor may have been the realization that tackling migration issues such as integration or return in isolation had not been particularly effective. Of greater moment, however, was the rediscovery, at the turn of the millennium, of the economic impact of labour migration on countries of origin, first through the magnitude of the global remittance flows and, second, the extent to which these were embedded in the fabric of global economic activity. Labour migration is now acknowledged as an integral part of the global economic landscape.

[3] As in n. 2 above, migration here is understood in the context of moving to a country other than one's country of birth for a period of 12 months or more.

[4] However, this declining trend was reversed slightly in 2006 and in 2007 (UNHCR, 2007, 2008).

Powerful global production dynamics now help ensure that patterns of labour supply and demand operate across international borders. There is, first of all, the constant search for productivity and the place of migrant labour in the complex equations that are meant to yield the best economic outcomes. Another significant factor is the growing need for human services, especially in developed economies, where ageing populations require continuous personal assistance and affluent working age parents can afford to pay for child care and general household help. Account must be taken of the increasing scarcity of workers willing to engage in low- or semi-skilled employment in industrialized economies, not only in the care sector but also in agriculture, construction, hospitality as well as other service sectors. Finally, there is the emphasis on information and knowledge management, exemplified in multiple ways through fierce international competition for expertise in data management and processing fields, through appreciation of the value of multilingual and multicultural workforces, and through the recognition of adaptive capacity as a valued work skill.

Major Policy Issues and Challenges

This rapidly evolving situation poses policy challenges that require innovative thinking and, most importantly, renewed cooperative efforts among the numerous parties involved if workable solutions are to be found. Three separate but closely interwoven clusters of policy challenges are of central interest to this Report.

The first, already stated in the title, concerns the identification of effective strategies for the management of international labour mobility, at national, regional and global levels. To do so presupposes an understanding of the characteristics and magnitude of current and future labour migration flows and of how they fit into the global economy – clearly demonstrated through the existence of international niche markets in such sectors as information technology and health services; but also evident in low-skilled sectors such as hospitality industries, construction or domestic services where migrant workers fill labour market gaps to satisfy the service requirements of affluent societies. It also raises multiple questions about the assessment of the types and levels of need; about the setting up of policies and programmes to match labour need with appropriate supply; about training both for work competencies and adaptation to work environments abroad; about streamlined and fair recruitment practices; and about the evaluation of programme activity. Given the newness of such enterprises to many countries, issues of administrative infrastructure and of capacity building also become major considerations.

The second cluster of challenges lies in the relationship between migration and trade: 40 years ago the international community embarked on the negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which led, in due course, to the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services or GATS, negotiated under WTO auspices. It is interesting to note that the international community could have gone the other way; the nation states of the world **could** have decided to opt for highly self-sufficient, enclosed and highly protected economies. They **could** have decided that economic insularity was a small price to pay for the retention of strong national identities, social quiescence and harmony and for a maximum of security within their borders. They opted instead to aim for the global networking of production systems and increasing facilitation and streamlining of trade flows.

Global trade liberalization negotiations have resulted in a substantial reduction of barriers to trade in goods and capital, opening up significant, albeit unevenly distributed, global economic gains. Barriers to the movement of people, however, have

been identified as a continuing and considerable impediment to further global economic gains from trade, gains which are predicted both to exceed both the gains from further liberalization in other sectors and to benefit developing and developed economies alike. There are many promising lines of action to be explored in this area, ranging from broad multilateral initiatives such as those offered under GATS Mode 4 (see Textbox Int. 1), and opportunities for worker mobility linked to regional trade liberalization efforts, to bilateral labour mobility schemes and more open unilateral policies. In each case, a fundamental question concerns the extent to which progress on international trade arrangements, alone or through complementary initiatives external to the trade talks, can facilitate the orderly, predictable, safe and mutually beneficial movement of people.

Textbox Int. 1

The State of Progress in GATS Mode 4 Negotiations

A new round of multilateral services negotiations began in 2000, as foreseen in Article XIX of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). With the launch of the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) in November 2001, services became part of a broader negotiating round.

Mode 4 is defined in Article I.2(d) of the GATS as "the supply of a service… by a service supplier of one member, through presence of natural persons of a member in the territory of another member" (i.e. a person who is a service supplier, such as a banker or an architect, is present in a foreign country to provide the service). A "natural" person is a human being as opposed to a merely legal entity, such as a business. Mode 4 is an important component of the negotiations on services and has been identified by a number of World Trade Organization (WTO) Members, particularly developing countries, as one of the areas where they seek improved market opening commitments.

Up to the end of 2005, negotiations on Mode 4, as on all other services areas, proceeded on the basis of bilateral request-offer exchanges. At the end of March 2003, Members began to submit, this time to the entire membership, initial offers of improved commitments and these initial undertakings were followed by the submission of revised offers as of end of May 2005, based on an ongoing process of bilateral consultations.

However, most commentators deemed that this bilateral negotiating process had yielded very modest results. The Chairman of the Special Session of the Council for Trade in Services, the WTO body overseeing the services negotiations, summarized the prevailing sentiment on the progress after two rounds of offers by stating that, "it was widely acknowledged that the overall quality of initial and revised offers is unsatisfactory. Few, if any, new commercial opportunities would ensue for services suppliers".[1]

This was generally true for all services areas and, particularly so for Mode 4, a traditionally sensitive domain. Out of some 70 offers (counting the European Community as one entity), less than half proposed upgrading Mode 4 commitments. All improvements would apply horizontally, i.e. in the same manner for all services sectors covered in Members' schedules. While this reflects the horizontal nature of many immigration regimes, in practice it also implies that the lowest common denominator will determine the conditions for access across the whole services economy.

The main improvements to Mode 4 commitments offered concern additional categories of natural persons not associated with a commercial presence abroad (e.g. self-employed service professionals); greater clarity in the application of "labour market tests" or "economic needs tests" and/or reduction in their scope of application; removal of discriminatory measures, such as nationality or residency requirements; and extended periods of stay. However, such improvements are unevenly spread across individual offers and most schedules continue to significantly restrict Mode 4 access, particularly for persons whose movements are not directly related to a commercial establishment. Finally, very few offers include additional commitments on issues such as transparency of regulations or administrative procedures, and visa requirements affecting Mode 4.

In spite of the somewhat disappointing start, services talks were given fresh impetus by the Hong Kong Ministerial Declaration of December 2005, where Members agreed to intensify the negotiations in accordance with a set of objectives, approaches and timelines. In particular, Members agreed to be guided "to the maximum extent possible" by a number of objectives, some of which related specifically to Mode 4, while ensuring appropriate flexibility for developing countries (improvement of commitments on categories of persons both linked and de-linked from commercial presence, the reduction/elimination of economic needs tests and the extension of the permitted duration of stay).[2] Concerning approaches, the Declaration also foresees the possibility to pursue the request-offer through multilateral negotiations.

In keeping with this mandate, over 20 collective requests were submitted, including one on Mode 4, and two rounds of multilateral discussions were held in early 2006. The Mode 4 collective request, sponsored by some 15 developing countries, is addressed to nine developed Member countries. As may be expected, the focus of the request is on better commitments for categories of natural persons whose movement is not linked to a commercial establishment abroad. In particular, access is sought in a number of services sectors for "contractual services suppliers", i.e. persons moving abroad to supply a service pursuant to a contract between their employer, who does not have a commercial presence in the host country, and a services consumer; and "independent professionals", i.e. self-employed service professionals.

The results of the multilateral discussions were to be reflected in a second round of revised offers, due by 31 July 2006. However, all negotiations under the Doha Development Agenda were suspended just one week before, reflecting mainly a stalemate over agricultural and non-agricultural market access (NAMA). It was not until February 2007 that the negotiations were fully resumed. As a result of the suspension, however, there is at present no timeline for the submission of second revised offers. Members seem to agree that a new timeline should be set only after a breakthrough is achieved in the agriculture and NAMA negotiations.

Notes:

[1] WTO document TN/S/20 of 11 July 2005.

[2] WTO document WT/MIN(05)/DEC of 22 December 2005, Annex C.

***Source**: Antonia Carzaniga, WTO.*

A third large cluster of issues revolves around the complex relationship between migration and development, the subject of discussions of the Global Forum held in Brussels in July 2007 (see Textbox Int. 2). The increasingly significant contribution of labour migration to the global economy has been very thoroughly researched and commented upon in recent years (IOM, 2005; World Bank, 2006; GFMD, 2008), with one of the major topics of interest being the substantial contribution of migrants to home country development through the transfer of knowledge, skills, investment and remittances. In 2007, recorded remittance flows were estimated to have reached USD 337 billion worldwide (in nominal terms a staggering 99% increase over what they were five years earlier), with USD 251 billion going to developing countries (Ratha et al., 2008). However, four major policy formulation questions remain:

- What can be done to lower the transfer costs of remittances and to encourage their flow through formal channels?
- What conditions ought to be created to encourage the application of remittances to sustainable development endeavours, bearing in mind that they are private funds?
- What strategies are needed to ensure labour migration does not lead to the depletion of the skill base in developing countries of origin?
- What kinds of partnerships can be forged between governments and diasporas to enhance the positive impact of remittances on development in countries of origin?

While these questions are intrinsically important, they carry additional significance because recent experience has shown that they represent a unique

meeting platform where countries of origin, transit and destination can work together towards common objectives. As such they have appeared on the agendas of many Regional Consultative Processes (RCPs), for instance those of the Ministerial Consultations on Overseas Employment and Contractual Labour for Countries of Origin in Asia (Colombo Process), the Abu Dhabi Dialogue, the Regional Conference on Migration in North and Central America (Puebla Process) and the Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa (MIDSA).[5]

[5] An overview of the major RCPs with a specific reference to labour mobility is provided in Textbox 13.4.

Textbox Int. 2

Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD)

The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), launched in Brussels in July 2007, set the tracks for a new international consultation process on migration and development policy and practice. The Belgian Government took up the call of the UN General Assembly High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development (HLD) a year earlier for an informal, non-binding, government-led forum on migration and development. The forum was intended to be outside the UN system, but linked to it via a Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

The Brussels meeting engaged more than 150 governments and a range of international and civil society entities in team-led debates around themes of common interest and good practices. One of the key roundtable themes, "Human Capital Development and Labour Mobility",[1] addressed the policy environments that could maximize the beneficial effects of labour migration and minimize the risks to migrants, their families and development efforts of home and host countries. Often, the best policies are not specific to either migration or development: for example, more coherent skills training and employment distribution and retention strategies can help avoid brain drain from poorer countries.

The meeting confirmed that migrants who are socially and economically protected and empowered are likely to bring the greatest potential contributions to development back home and in the host country. This can be best achieved through policies that tie migration planning more to labour market planning; ensure decent, standard labour contracts; inform, orient and train the migrants; regulate recruiters, employers and other non-state agencies; address gender and family issues; and strengthen diaspora engagement with home country efforts.

New policies were explored, including on how to lower the often prohibitive up-front costs of migration, which can be higher than the back-end transaction costs of transferring remittances and can adversely affect the potential gains from migration. Some market-based solutions were offered and, beyond the July meeting, governments will study the efficacy of financial intermediation services offering affordable loans and credit to migrants to cover the costs of migrating. Circular migration was discussed as an innovative way to combine the interests of developed countries in meeting labour needs flexibly and legally with those of developing countries in entering richer labour markets and benefiting from the migrants' accumulated capital and skills, as well as the circulation of diaspora skills.

A number of concrete actions to follow up on these issues will be carried forward by teams of governments and expert agencies to the next GFMD meeting to be hosted by the Philippines Government in Manila in October 2008. See also the GFMD website at http://government.gfmd2008.org/ and GFMD, 2008.

Note:

[1] The three key Roundtable themes were "Human capital development and labour mobility", "Remittances and other diaspora resources" and "Policy and institutional coherence".

***Source**: Irena Omelaniuk, Senior Adviser to the GFMD.*

Important as they are, these three major challenges cannot be considered in isolation from a wide range of very significant and sensitive cross-cutting issues, addressed in this Report not as separate topics but as matters informing the discussion wherever appropriate.

Foremost among them, and of immediate concern to both countries of origin and destination, are the human and labour rights and status of migrant workers. The issues to be addressed extend well beyond the unquestionably important formulation and implementation of minimum standards of protection. In a globalizing labour market, migrant workers seek to move across international borders in part because they have, at the very least, potentially competitive assets in terms of skills, wage expectations, and cultural attributes. The difficult challenge here is to have a policy regime that allows this competitive edge to be put to advantage and enables the realization of these assets, while precluding the "commodification" of migrant workers.

Separate from questions of rights proper, but closely related to them, are matters pertaining to the management of the interface between migrants and the host community. Once relatively homogenous and cohesive societies are increasingly characterized by multiple layers of social diversity and, in such contexts, policy issues such as assimilation, integration and multiculturalism, the fight against discrimination and xenophobia and the delicate question of entitlements to social benefits and services need to be revisited in the light of evolving migratory circumstances. Even very solidly grounded concepts such as citizenship invite fresh reflection in the light of trends towards dual citizenships and the phenomenon of transnationality. In such circumstances, it is no longer possible for countries of destination to simply pick off the shelf one of the policy models that has been used in the past. They face the challenge of having to keep their core values and social structures at the very least under review to achieve an effective equilibrium between the maintenance of national identities and adjustments in response to changing social dynamics often exacerbated by the arrival of permanent or temporary newcomers.

The management of security issues is another underlying, multifaceted policy issue of major interest. It is the sovereign prerogative of each country to determine who enters and remains in its territory, for what purpose and under what conditions. Open societies face the question of how to regulate and facilitate legitimate entry while protecting themselves from threats of international terrorism and criminality, including trafficking and smuggling in human beings. The problem is worldwide. According to one estimate, the irregular migrant contingent may constitute between 10 and 15 per cent of the total migrant population (ILO, 2004). However, given that the vast majority of irregular migrants either enter countries through unofficial channels and take up unauthorized residence and employment or lapse into irregularity after regular entry, this figure is impossible to verify on the strength of currently available official data. What is certain, however, is the vulnerability of irregular migrant workers to exploitation, victimization and abuse.

Often misused or misunderstood, the term "feminization of migration" points nonetheless to an important issue in contemporary migration. The proportion of women in global migratory flows has not fluctuated markedly over the last few decades, but their role in and impact on migratory processes have certainly changed. On the one hand, migration can empower women by giving them access to international employment opportunities, providing them with an independent income and enabling them to contribute to the welfare of their families through the remittances they send back home. On the other hand, as women and foreigners, they are often

engaged in gender-segregated, low-skilled and often unregulated or informal sectors such as domestic/household services, and are therefore vulnerable to multiple forms of discrimination on the labour market and may have limited access to adequate social and health facilities (see Textbox Int. 3). There is therefore a clear need for the gender dimension to be factored into migration policy making.

Textbox Int. 3

Female Labour Migration and Gender Issues

About half of all migrant workers are now women, with more women migrating independently and as main income-earners rather than accompanying male relatives (Martin, 2005). Although women can be found in practically all professions, skilled women have tended to go into what can be broadly classified as the welfare and social professions (education, social work and health, particularly nursing) (Jolly and Reeves, 2005). At all skill levels, female labour migration is concentrated in occupations associated with traditional gender roles. Demand is increasing for care services in less-skilled and under-valued jobs, such as domestic work and caring for children, the elderly and disabled persons. Many women migrant workers also hold jobs as contract and hotel cleaners, waitresses and in hospitality and entertainment industries (Moreno-Fontes Chammartin, 2006), while others are active in retail sales, in labour-intensive factory work such as the assembly of microelectronics or the manufacturing of clothing and textiles, and in the informal sectors. In many instances, women may replace male workers who have left to work in richer countries.

Migration can provide a vital source of income for migrant women and their families, and earn them increased autonomy, self-confidence and social status. At the same time, female migrants, especially if they are in an irregular situation, are doubly exposed to exploitation – as migrants and as women. In countries of origin and also in countries of destination, female migrants may be victims of negative attitudes about women working at all, attitudes that affect their right to leave the country without permission, to receive further education or training and to engage in certain occupations.

Globally, the ILO reports that the most frequently encountered issues regarding the working conditions of women migrant workers are low remuneration, heavy workloads with long working hours and inadequate rest periods, limited training facilities and poor career development. In some countries such workers also lack freedom of movement. Women migrant workers' jobs are normally located very low on the occupational ladder and are usually not, or only inadequately, covered by labour legislation or other social security or welfare provisions (ILO, 1999). The best example is domestic work, where protection is flimsy and psychological, physical and sexual abuse has frequently been noted (UNESCO, 2002). Female domestic workers may be required to undergo mandatory pregnancy tests and face immediate deportation if they are found to be pregnant (Engle, 2004; CARAM Asia, 2004). Domestic workers often experience inadequate healthcare or face denial of medical care and treatment. Those who seek help may find that agencies accuse them of refusing to work and of creating problems (Mughal and Padilla, 2005). Measures to protect such workers may have unintended and paradoxical consequences: for example, when the Bangladesh government placed a ban on female migration for domestic work with the objective of protecting the dignity of women abroad, many women continued to migrate through unofficial channels to fill the strong international demand for female domestic workers, thereby increasing their vulnerability (UN-INSTRAW and IOM, 2000).

Hew (2003) carried out a particularly interesting anthropological study of women workers and their families in Sarawak, Malaysia, interviewing 50 women who had migrated internally from rural to urban regions to work in the service sector (in restaurants and coffee shops, as domestic workers, cleaners, hotel housekeepers and at petrol pumps). The reasons they gave for migration were partly economic, but a major motivation was also "to become modern". Although their work was repetitive, dirty, "dead-end" and frequently involved shift-work, the women rarely complained: their main aim was to live in the city, to be independent, to send money home. Work was simply a means to accomplish this – they did not expect it to be fulfilling and were quite pragmatic about it. The women gravitated to gendered employment sectors, certainly because of discriminatory employment practices, but also partly because of their own images of what constituted appropriate and safe employment. They did not feel tyrannized by their employers or by oppressive employment practices.

Carling (2005) also uses the example of migration from the Philippines to protest against the "suffering and sacrifice" approach to gendered migration. For Filipina domestic workers in Italy, migration may provide a possibility to balance self-interest and self-sacrifice vis-à-vis their families: migration is an opportunity to see the world, to move away from rigid gender roles within the household and possibly to escape an unhappy marriage. He also elaborates on a global care chain in which female migrants are involved: women in rich countries pursuing professional employment need help to care for their families and households. The demand for domestic work is met by female migrants from developing countries such as the Philippines. In the home country, the migrant caregiver in turn hires a live-in domestic worker from a poorer, non-migrant family to care for her family during her absence, or turns to her mother or other family members for help, while the absence of the mother in the non-migrant family in turn creates a demand for the care for her own children – as she cannot afford to pay a domestic worker, that task is often taken on by an elder daughter while the mother is away.

***Source**: Mary Haour-Knipe, Independent Advisor, Geneva, Switzerland.*

Finally, there is the question of migrant health that stems from the recognition that the expansion and diversification of population flows creates bridges between very diverse living and working environments. As modern transport and communication conquer physical distance, the international community moves towards a globalized community where health risks and benefits are to a certain degree shared. Inclusion of a migrant health dimension into public health systems is therefore increasingly becoming a priority for governments and health activists worldwide. Public health strategies now increasingly seek to address the issue of migrants' rights to health services; to adapt mainstream health services to the needs of culturally diverse populations in response to specific mobility-related medical challenges such as tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS or avian flu; and to provide information on health stresses and risks associated with migration. At the centre of all these preoccupations lies the need to better understand the changing physical and psychosocial health situations of individuals as they move through different stages of their migrant experience from preparation, through travel, arrival and adaptation to new work environments, and, finally, reinsertion into the home context on their return.

All of these challenges are being tackled ad hoc by the international community, but the need remains for **a broad and coherent global strategy to better match demand for migrant workers with supply in a safe, humane and orderly way**. *World Migration 2008* has been designed to gauge the nature and magnitude of that need and to canvass available policy responses.

Structure of the Report

This World Migration Report differs from preceding editions in some key aspects of construction and content. The first is the choice of a closer focus on economically-induced and especially employment-related movements; the second is a greater emphasis on **mobility**, incorporating a wider set of migratory behaviours than subsumed in **migration**, narrowly defined. The reasons for this should be obvious: in the past, migration has been predominantly linked to a type of movement leading to a permanent change of residence in another country. That association was so strongly felt that for the last third of the 20th century, certain countries were often described by their governments as being "migration" or "non-migration" spaces. Today, migratory behaviour, especially when it is employment-related, is acknowledged to be far more complex than implied by this all too simple classification. Shorter-term movement is now the choice of a very large number of workers. Multi-stage movement is another commonly exercised option, as migrants move from one location to another rather than staying at their initial point of arrival. Return

migration to the country of origin is also much more frequent, as is the circular or pendular movement between two countries. It is also the case that many persons viewed administratively as students or visitors are in some instances indistinguishable from migrants. In the midst of all that diversity, traditional administrative distinctions continue to be maintained – for instance between those who have permanent or temporary visas, or between those who have authority to work and those who do not – but category-bridging or category-switching options are nonetheless often available.

Part A: The Worlds of Contemporary Mobility for Economic Purposes

Part A of the Report is an exploration of contemporary mobility, presented in the form of a mosaic of independent studies developed by specialist researchers invited to offer individual perspectives on different facets of economically-related mobility. While they are not identical in structure, in general terms they all deal with issues of definition, attempt to map out the magnitude and distribution of movements, address major issues that arise, discuss possible policy responses and identify priorities for further research.

All too often, the impact of globalization on labour mobility is studied and discussed from separate and isolated domestic and international perspectives, as though each of these two realms of work existed independently from the other. **Chapter 1** argues instead that workers, irrespective of their geographical location, are now living, by and large, in the same world of work, one offering a wide range of opportunities but, at the same time, characterized by increased competition and calls for greater flexibility in work practices. It looks at how the forces of globalization are changing the way enterprises do business, giving rise to more integrated labour markets and, consequently, creating demand for increased labour mobility. The chapter provides an overview of the forces that determine the nature and patterns of employment worldwide, especially the globalization of financial flows, trade and production. It considers how these dynamics affect employment in terms of both jobs and wages and goes on to look more closely at how international labour migration features in the global economy, as a strategic response to the demand for increased efficiency in production on the one hand, and, on the other, as an increasingly important contributing factor to the development of the economies in the South. Finally, the chapter discusses what might be meant by the concept of a "global labour market" and calls for greater attention to be given to the labour factor in theoretical studies on globalization and trade, to provide a clearer and stronger basis for decisions by policymakers.

While migrant workers are to be found in a wide range of employment sectors and at all skill levels, it is possible to discern some distinct patterns. Clustering is obvious at the extremes of the skills spectrum, with a strong, and officially recognized, demand for highly skilled migrants at the one end and a noticeable, but often officially ignored, demand for low or semi-skilled migrants at the other. **Chapter 2** surveys the first of these patterns. Highly skilled migrants appear on the migration scene in various guises. Most of them are permanent residents, but a growing number is admitted under various temporary migration schemes, which, in due course, may provide an opening to permanent residence status. At the same time, the foreign student population is increasingly seen as an attractive source of talent. The chapter outlines the major trends in highly skilled migration across the regions of the world, identifies the main geographical poles of attraction and lays out the different sets of policy issues facing the two major global constituencies, which are, respectively, the countries of origin and of destination. For countries of destination, the challenge is to beat the competition through the formulation of policies that will attract the "best and brightest" (Kapur and McHale, 2005). For their part, countries of origin feel the need to

protect themselves against the loss of their highly skilled citizens and/or to secure their return or at least the return of the resources, both financial and in terms of skills, know-how and networks, acquired by their expatriates. In that connection, key policy options are canvassed and attention is drawn to the importance of bilateral and multilateral efforts.

The focus of **Chapter 3** is on the re-emergence of low and semi-skilled migration programmes – a seemingly surprising development considering the economic and socio-political problems that brought large-scale temporary worker programmes in both western Europe and the U.S. to an abrupt halt more than 30 years ago, but one which reflects the recognized need for foreign labour as spelled out above. While this type of movement occurs predominantly between developing and developed countries, it also affects a wide range of middle-income countries. The chapter maps out broad global distribution patterns before addressing the triple challenge of ensuring positive outcomes for countries of origin, countries of destination and for the migrants themselves. It argues that for "win-win-win" solutions to be achieved, policymakers must resolve problems of distortion, or unevenness, in labour supply, dependence or undue reliance on migrant labour, and address the difficult question of possible trade-offs between human rights and numbers. Carefully designed economic incentives may be a promising means to encourage employers and migrants to maintain programme integrity.

A distinction has long been made between permanent migration and short-term admission policies. Though these two categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, the migration policies of countries of destination almost always distinguish between those who arrive with the intention of staying and becoming part of the host community and those who come with the main intention to study or to work for a limited period of time before returning to their country of origin. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the often overlooked migratory objectives and itineraries of students and visitors and their increasingly felt impact on global employment trends.

Chapter 4 tracks patterns of student movements and policy developments since the 1990s, and highlights the shifts in both government motivations and the design of educational programmes during that period. Broad academic, political, cultural and development goals of an essentially humanitarian nature have not completely disappeared, but they are now overshadowed by sharper-edged economic objectives. Governments see their education programmes as a convenient and effective means for the subsequent recruitment of highly skilled migrants, while for foreign students they offer an entry to the international job market. The chapter outlines major trends in student mobility and discusses the underlying factors, while pointing to new forms of cross-border higher education offers where establishments or programmes move to meet the demands of student populations. The identification of four major strategies characterizing government policy stances that reflect the different motivations at work in this field (mutual understanding, skilled migration, income generation and capacity building) opens the way for an assessment of the increasingly close interplay between student mobility and migration policies and a discussion of the need for international cooperation and harmonization in this area of mobility.

In terms of sheer numbers, short-term travel, generally not exceeding 6 to 12 months, occurs on a much larger scale than for any other form of mobility, although this type of movement is not usually addressed in migration-related research and is, in fact, generally dealt with as an entirely separate policy category. **Chapter 5** sets out to investigate the complex, often overlooked bidirectional relationship between tourism and migration. It points out that many flows for leisure and business purposes are related to, or are inspired by, earlier migratory movements and that, in turn, tourist movements

may, subject to certain conditions, lead to longer-term migration. More importantly, it reveals that, on closer inspection, short-term travel does have important ramifications for labour mobility and that governments are now inclined to see short-term travellers as possessing skills, experience and knowledge that can be put to good use in very flexible ways to meet temporary labour market needs – as in the case of the increasingly popular working holiday schemes. The movement of tourists can also affect employment opportunities and practices of countries of destination in different ways, a point that is illustrated by the reference to medical tourism.

Family-related migration in all its diverse forms has often been a major component of migration intakes. It has long been a dominant mode of entry in many countries of destination, especially in traditional countries of immigration such as Australia, Canada and the United States and, more recently, the European Union. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that family migration has been relatively ignored by academics and policymakers. **Chapter 6** begins by considering the reasons why family migration has traditionally played a marginal role in international migration research and flags recent developments that have generated more interest in the role of families in migration. A survey of the trends and types of contemporary migration then provides a platform for the discussion of both international conventions concerning the right to family life and national developments in family migration policy, as part of the wider context of comprehensive approaches to migration management. The chapter points out that the sharp distinction that is all too easily made between socially oriented family reunion programmes and economically induced labour migration programmes is often misleading. It argues that there is a need to acknowledge the labour force participation of family migrants and to reconsider the outdated perception of the woman and dependent family migrant with little personal interest or possibility to work.

A great deal of labour migration occurs not across but within national boundaries. Such movements are perhaps easily overlooked when the focus of discussion is on **international** migration, but can hardly be ignored when the intention is to map out a comprehensive **global** picture. **Chapter 7** explains that the labour migration flows in many countries occur inside the country and, taken together with proximate cross-border flows, are far more important than outmigration to more distant destinations, both in terms of the numbers of people involved and of the value of remittances they eventually send back home. This is especially true of countries with marked regional inequalities, but it is not limited to the developing world. Given the richness and complexity of the topic, the chapter focuses on five issues of current academic and policy interest: the rising incidence of such internal movement; the impact of internal remittance flows on development; the migration of women, children and ethnic minorities, and the resulting segmentation of migrant labour markets; links between international and internal migration; and irregular cross-border migration. Finally, the chapter offers an analysis of emerging policy strategies in this relatively new sector of migration management, with particular reference to those that are directed to the management of patterns of supply and demand and those that focus on support to and protection of internal migrants.

Chapter 8 deals with the paradoxical world of irregular migrants, who may be invisible in administrative terms and often absent from official statistics, but who are a prominent and sensitive topic in the political debate. They operate at the edge or outside the limits of formal labour markets, but often become an established feature of the economy, although opinion is divided as to whether they contribute to or detract from the health of the economy. Given its clandestine nature, irregular migration is hard to describe or define, but an attempt is nonetheless made to clarify the language used in reference to it and to draw attention to the many

types of movements involved, including migrant smuggling and trafficking in human beings. The focus of attention falls next on its many interrelated economic and social determinants and on the complex trends and patterns of irregular migratory activities around the globe. The chapter reviews and assesses policy approaches used to respond to irregular migration, including control-oriented solutions, prevention through development in countries of origin, repatriation and return mechanisms and regularization programmes, highlighting throughout the necessity of partnerships in any action between countries of origin, transit and destination.

Part B: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy

Part B of the Report consists of six chapters that complement the analyses presented in Part A by outlining and discussing broad policy strategies that can contribute to the effective and appropriate management of contemporary labour mobility.

Migration management is a policy domain where both policymakers and researchers decry the lack of up-to-date, comprehensive and comparable data, especially in relation to employment-related movements. **Chapter 9** outlines the case for the development of a comprehensive knowledge base as a prerequisite for the formulation of effective and transparent policies at the national level. Attention is first of all drawn to the diverse needs for reliable data of officials working at different levels in public administrations, before discussing the most commonly available and useful data sources. Their relative advantages and limitations as well as the ways and means of improving overall data accuracy and reliability are discussed. Given the changing nature of migratory phenomena and related issues, the chapter identifies several policy areas that invite fresh attention, including transnational communities, return and circular migration, and remittances. A final section deals with the importance of establishing appropriate bridging mechanisms between research and policy making.

Chapters 10 and 11 are complementary units. **Chapter 10** focuses on the elaboration of effective foreign employment policies and their integration within the human resource development strategies of countries of origin. While job creation at home remains their first priority, an increasing number of countries of origin find it attractive to complement this strategy by seeking opportunities for their workers on the international labour market. The chapter argues that this can be best made to work within the context of a carefully planned approach to human resource development. An examination of a number of basic policy tools, including quality standards and indicators, and facilities for both formal and informal training, leads to a detailed discussion of the constituent elements of an optimally functioning foreign employment policy framework covering, inter alia, the regulation of private recruitment agencies, the protection of workers, the provision of support services, including the dissemination of accurate and authoritative information, marketing techniques, administrative structures and international cooperation. In relation to this last point, emphasis is placed on the important role that can be played by Regional Consultative Processes.

Chapter 11 offers a complementary perspective from the standpoint of countries of destination. It discusses various options to balance the facilitation of regular migration with the prevention and reduction of irregular migration within a managed migration programme. Given the importance of cross-border movements for the purpose of employment, the development of appropriate policies in countries of destination is widely acknowledged as a key component in a comprehensive framework for the management of international labour mobility. However, there is no "one-size-fits-all" formula. The challenge for each country of destination is to develop a planned and predictable labour migration policy

that will also be sufficiently flexible to contribute to its workforce requirements. The chapter reviews the key policy issues confronting countries of destination in this area. It then identifies elements of good practice to achieve specific goals pertaining to needs assessment, the design of foreign labour admission policies, in respect of both temporary labour migration and employment-based immigration, and post-admission policies, including labour market regulation and protection, migrant worker rights and responsibilities, the economic and social integration of newcomers and the maintenance of social cohesion. Policies aimed at the prevention and management of irregular migration receive separate treatment. The chapter concludes with an overview of means of productive cooperation and partnership among countries of origin, transit and destination as well as with other stakeholders.

There is, arguably, no migration-related policy issue that currently attracts more political and academic scrutiny than the migration and development relationship. It is, however, all too often the case that the locus of investigation is drawn much too narrowly around the impact and value of financial remittances. **Chapter 12** offers a much broader perspective to the reader. It lays out, first of all, the elements of a framework for the appraisal of the varying impacts migration can have on economic growth when it is tied to the history of a country's emigration experience, from the time of initial outflows through periods of adjustment, consolidation, networking and eventual return. This analytical grid is then used as a reference to meaningfully address the manner in which countries of destination can contribute effectively to global development through targeted interventions aimed at the orderly recruitment of workers, mitigating the brain drain, and the facilitation of the transfer and mobilization of remittances. The chapter goes on to consider, in a similar manner, the policies countries of origin can formulate and implement to maximize the developmental impact of migratory flows, including through sound macroeconomic policies, the encouraging and support of higher education, investment in infrastructure and participation in bilateral and regional labour migration initiatives. On account of the aggregate financial resources at their disposal, the skills they possess and the information they hold, migrant diaspora networks are seen as potentially important agents and a valuable resource for the realization of such processes.

The focus of **Chapter 13** is on international cooperation. It provides an overview of the principal modes of cooperation on issues related to labour mobility that may take place in both formal and less formal settings at the bilateral, regional and global level. The chapter examines the means of cooperation found in applicable human rights and labour law instruments adopted under the auspices of the United Nations and the International Labour Organization (ILO), and in the multilateral agreements regulating international trade, such as the commitments entered into on the movement of natural persons in the context of service provision under GATS Mode 4 (see Textbox Int. 1). Binding arrangements at the regional and bilateral levels include regimes for the free movement of persons, such as exist in the European Union, and the temporary labour migration agreements concluded between countries of origin and destination. Informal dialogue mechanisms, such as the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) and the Regional Consultative Processes referred to earlier, as well as IOM's International Dialogue on Migration (IDM), also form an important part of the chapter.

Finally, **Chapter 14** offers a number of concluding observations on the essential features of the contemporary migratory landscape surveyed in this Report, and of the broad policy strategies that could contribute to international efforts to realize the social and economic potential of international labour mobility. These can be summarized in ten brief points:

1. In its many and varied forms, human mobility within and across borders is one of the characteristic and perhaps even defining features of our contemporary world. To a large extent, it is both part and consequence of the complex and interacting social and economic processes involved in the phenomenon of globalization.
2. People seek to move for a large number of personal, family, social, business or work reasons, often in varying combinations,[6] but the opportunities to move are frequently limited, particularly for low and semi-skilled workers.
3. In view of the choices made by the international community to facilitate the movement of capital, goods and services, human mobility or, more specifically, the movement of human resources, at all skill levels, is now being increasingly factored into the equations intended to yield new economic gains. In other words, labour market dynamics are increasingly operating across international borders.
4. The policy implications of this steadily evolving situation are yet to be fully understood, but it is already apparent that avoiding the issue, ignoring this trend or a passive laissez-faire approach are unlikely to lead to the policy stances needed to realize the social and economic potential of mobility.
5. What is required, therefore, are planned and predictable ways of matching demand with supply in a safe, legal, humane and orderly manner. Given the diversity of labour market needs and of available skills, policies and procedures will have to display commensurate flexibility and adaptability to enable modes of labour mobility that may be short-term, circular, long-term or permanent.
6. Countries of origin and destination are increasingly engaged in the formulation of policies to meet their particular labour mobility objectives, namely, to train and prepare migrant workers for employment abroad on the one hand, and to identify labour market needs and seek recruitment of appropriate personnel on the other. Optimal outcomes will be achieved when the two sets of policies are complementary and mutually supportive elements of a coherent whole, directed towards the achievement of mutual development goals. To be successful, more cooperative approaches to human resource development are needed to meet national, regional and global objectives. Policies and appropriate means are needed as well to secure the participation in this shared endeavour of non-state stakeholders, including employers, recruitment agencies, trade unions, migrant and disapora associations, and relevant inter-governmental organizations.
7. This pleads for the identification and development of clear linkages between the domains of migration proper and those of development, employment and trade within the broader framework of established global economic interests.
8. To reach that objective, the international community requires a common and accurate understanding of the many important issues at stake, including economic growth, managing social change while maintaining cohesion, upholding social justice and the protection of the human rights of the workers concerned, the pursuit of which amply justify the maintenance and further development of consultations and cooperation at regional and global levels.
9. A closely related need is the enhancement of global, regional and national knowledge of labour market trends, labour force profiles and labour migration trends through the establishment of appropriate databases and analytical work.
10. Of relevance to all of the above is the recognition of capacity-building requirements of all governments, in particular those of

[6] The focus here is on movements that are essentially voluntary, but there are obviously persons who are forced to move and for whom there is an established international protection regime.

developing countries, to assess the levels of need, formulate policy and legislation, improve labour migration and related human resource development programmes through experimentation and innovation, and to monitor and evaluate outcomes.

A new spirit of partnership in outlook and action is both possible and essential to realizing beneficial outcomes for the international community as a whole, including countries of origin, countries of destination and migrants and their families.

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