

PART 1

Migration, Development, States, Culture, and Human Rights

This part introduces a *mélange* of topics that provide a new perspective on the migration-development nexus. The chapters presented here provide a conceptual discussion that seeks to push the migration-development dialogue beyond the traditional remittances-development dichotomy.

In chapter 1, Josh DeWind and Damla Ergun provide a macrostructural, historical, and geographical framework for analyzing the migration-development nexus. Based on the European case, they argue that industrialization has long driven the relationship between development and migration through causal mechanisms that are embedded within four socioeconomic transitions: from agricultural to industrial economies, from rural to urban societies, from high to low levels of fertility, and from emigration to immigration societies. Although they expect that similar transitional processes in other regions of the world are similarly driven by industrial development, they argue that testing this hypothesis will require researchers to draw on theories of global development and world migration systems, which have not yet been synthesized by development and migration specialists.

DeWind and Ergun do not explicitly treat the state as a macrostructural variable, but rather point to the necessity considering the impact of state development and migration policies in accelerating or slowing developmental and migratory processes. This chapter, moreover, raises important conceptual considerations regarding how to frame the role of the state and national boundaries in order to understand transnational migration and development processes and the indicators that are needed to compare development and migration transitions internationally.

In contrast, in chapter 2, Rodolfo de la Garza explicitly analyzes the role of the state and argues that in order to understand the migration-development nexus it is necessary to understand, at the outset, how the state influences development and the consequences of migration on development as it is affected by the state's economic, social, cultural, and political policies.

De la Garza questions governments' efforts to shape development through migration given that states are more constrained in managing their economic variables than they are in shaping political characteristics, which in turn shape economic, social, and cultural variables. Political variables in this context could become more important policy tools for national governments to shape the development-migration nexus. The political capacity of the state is in contrast to the state's limited ability to stimulate or manage the economy.

As conceptualized by de la Garza, the state is a uniquely situated actor that can initiate and implement changes in political practices and policies, which in turn can reduce or increase incentives for migration and development. De la Garza argues that if sending countries stabilize politically and economically, migrants would be among the first to recognize and leverage the resulting new opportunities at home, stimulating growth through investment and circular migration.

Development, however, is not only about economics, and economics is not the whole story. In chapter 3, Peggy Levitt and Deepak Lamba-Nieves take a different but complementary perspective on the migration-development debate by arguing in favor of bringing culture back into the dialogue. Culture permeates all aspects of the development enterprise: it defines how development goals are established, what policies are put in place to achieve them, and how successfully they are achieved. Ideas and practices travel in response to migration, regardless of national boundaries, enabling people to move and create new forms of membership and belonging. Culture then becomes a useful tool to conceptualize the role or lack thereof of national boundaries for framing and understanding the migration-development nexus. More important, culture becomes a unique conceptual anchor to define what kind of indicators will be appropriate in order to measure and compare development between migration systems.

The "blurring" of national boundaries and the creation of a mutual transnational space between sending and receiving countries have implications not only for framing and measuring the impact of migration on development but also for shaping the legal framework of international

migration. Khalid Koser in chapter 4 argues that despite a robust legal and normative framework for protecting the rights of migrant workers, protection gaps persist. Part of the answer is that the existing legal framework has not always been adequately implemented because the new dynamics generated by international migration have outstripped the existing legal frameworks. The reality of international migration colored by globalization and the transnational flow of ideas and culture have surpassed the political, economic, and social realities of countries of origin and destination. This gap is particularly evident in three areas (recruitment, the temporal nature of migration, and the growth in irregular migration) that intersect the role of the state with the reality of international migration.

CHAPTER 1

Development and Migration

HISTORICAL TRENDS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Josh DeWind and Damla Ergun

In recent years, scholars and policymakers have turned their attention to the relation between migration and development, largely due to the recognition that migrants send home remittances that total more than international development assistance (World Bank 2006). Remittances are private, individual funds, while development assistance is chiefly public. For policymakers, enhancing migrants' contributions to development has been a major motivation behind the creation of the Global Forum on Migration and Development, whose member states now meet annually to enhance the contribution of migration to development.

But among scholars there is a growing number of pessimists who doubt that migrants and the resources they bring home have or can have much of an impact on larger structural transformations needed to promote development in many poor, migrant-sending countries (de Haas 2010). The core question was posed by Stephen Castles in a conference¹ paper titled "Development and Migration—Migration and Development: What Comes First?" (2009). In his review of the history of migration and development theories he asserted what he thought was obvious: that "the two are part of the same process and thus are constantly interactive." While the assertion is undoubtedly true, its generality does little to identify or explain the causal relations between migration and development that are central to both social scientific analyses and policy interventions to manage migration or promote development. To understand and explain such relationships it is necessary to identify which aspects of migration, development, and their relations with one another should be considered significant and on what historical and geographic scale those relations can and should be analyzed.