

PART 3

Migration and Development

COUNTRY EXPERIENCES

The five chapters in this last part of the book, while focusing on different migration corridors, clearly highlight the multidimensional and complex relationship between migration and development. The common denominator of these chapters is nuance, subtle differences in geography, economic development, and migration flows, all of which mediate the relationship between migration and development.

In his contribution, Hein de Haas raises a fundamental question: Does the shift toward optimistic views that migration will speed development reflect a real change or a general paradigm shift from dependency and state-centrist to neoclassical and neoliberal views? De Haas uses the case of Morocco to show that, in some regions and countries, migration has reinforced positive development trends, sustaining and improving the livelihoods of migrants and their families, but has done little to encourage national development and may even have reinforced sluggish economic growth and maintained the political status quo. He shows that the impact of migration on development is multifaceted, and that this impact depends on the general institutional context and investment conditions of each region. Despite migration's considerable development potential, he concludes that migration and remittances cannot independently set in motion more general, nationwide development processes.

In their contribution Loren Landau and Aurelia Wa Kabwe Segatti examine the impacts of migration on South Africa. They focus on two core issues: the integration of international migrants into local communities and the local governance of migration when there is extreme vulnerability and resource competition.

They conclude that some common distinctions, such as those between documented and undocumented migrants, voluntary and forced migrants, and international and domestic migration, impede effective policymaking by creating silos with little coordination among agencies charged with law enforcement, social assistance, and local development.

In his chapter, Graeme Hugo focuses on migration from Asia to Australia, exploring the nexus between student migration and eventual permanent settlement. Hugo's data show that there is a significant north-to-south flow of skilled workers from Australia to Asia, but the dominant permanent flow is still toward Australia. This two-way movement, north-south-north, illustrates the strong circular dimension encountered in many of the world's migration systems, which opens up considerable potential for the positive developmental effects of migration to be enhanced in both countries of origin and countries of destination. The circular, reciprocal, and complex nature of the Asia-Australia migration system forces us to reconceptualize the whole notion of south-north migration as well as its categorization as temporal or permanent in order to recognize the fundamental complexity of the population flows involved.

Philip Martin focuses on the developmental consequences of Asian migration to the United States by highlighting the three Rs of the migration-development nexus: recruitment, remittances, and returns. Similar to de Haas's contribution, Martin argues that there is no automatic link between more migration and faster development. Migration can accelerate development in countries ready to grow or can perpetuate underdevelopment. Remittances can speed up development when the macroeconomic fundamentals are in place; that is, the implementation of sound economic policies can give all residents, not only migrants, incentives to save and invest. Return migration, even when migrants bring home human and financial capital, cannot reverse per se the effects of deficient development policies.

Migration and its by-products are by no means the silver bullet to solve migrant-sending countries' developmental problems. The best way for a migrant-sending country to maximize migration's developmental potentials is to get the economic and institutional fundamentals right, which means having a growing economy, an appropriate exchange rate, a climate that fosters small investments, and respect for the rule of law and the rights of workers. S. Irudaya Rajan and K. C. Zachariah tackle this issue by analyzing the impacts of Indian migrants to the Gulf on the southern state of Kerala. Using household-level survey data, they find an interest-

ing pattern seldom discussed in the literature: the interaction between migrant self-selection and migration's developmental impacts. A significant proportion of workers who migrate to the Gulf countries are Muslim. This has important implications. On the one hand, it shows that culture plays an important role in shaping who migrates and thus migration's future developmental impacts. On the other hand, cultural and migrant self-selection may have important social and political ramifications back home, especially in India, where social stratification is still present in Indians' daily lives. The creation of new inequalities and social elites on the basis of income derived from remittances, which help reduce poverty and unemployment among Muslims (given that they are more likely to migrate than any other religious group), creates a new paradigm that illustrates the impact of culture on development as argued by Levitt and Lamba-Nieves.

CHAPTER 7

Migration and Development

LESSONS FROM THE MOROCCAN EXPERIENCE

Hein de Haas

THE MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT DEBATE

After decades of pessimism and concerns about brain drain and disbelief in the development role of remittances, since 2000 there has been a truly remarkable renaissance in optimism and the overall interest in the issue of migration and development among governments, development agencies such as the U.K. Department for International Development, and international financial institutions such as the World Bank. Also, governments of developing countries have put renewed hopes on migrants as potential investors and actors of development. Surging remittances in particular are often believed to be a more effective instrument for income redistribution, poverty reduction, and economic growth than large, bureaucratic development programs or development aid (de Haas 2010; Jones 1998; Kapur 2003; Ratha 2003).

This raises the fundamental question whether the recent shift toward more optimistic views in policy and academia reflects a veritable change in development impacts of migration, the use of better or other methodological and analytical tools to analyze this impact, or a general paradigm shift in research and policy away from dependency and state-centrist to neoclassical and neoliberal views. In fact it seems hard to deny that ideological factors have played a major role, and it is certainly not the first time that the pendulum has shifted between pessimistic and optimistic views and that these were driven by parallel ideological shifts.

Over the past five decades, the impact of migration on development in migrant-sending communities and countries has been the subject of heated debate, opposing views of the “migration optimists” and “migration