



The Migration-Social Policy Nexus: Current and Future Research

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1. Introduction

This paper discusses the migration-social policy nexus by showing that there are important connections between migration and transformations in social policy. This paper develops an analytical framework for the integration of social policy and migration policy. It examines the relevance of emerging ideas on the migration-social policy nexus and transnational social policy, particularly within a South-South context. Central to the migration-social policy nexus is that it reconceptualises social policy and places it outside of the framework of the nation state and in particular locates it in the context of cross-border migration. This framework provides insights into how migration affects national and transnational social welfare systems, transnational networks and service provisioning in developed countries, and how global social policy connects with socially focussed migration policy. It considers how such linkages vary in the context of different migration patterns, and in the context of South-North and South-South migration.

The paper suggests that better linkages in policy and research between migration policy and social policy are needed in order to address impact of international migration on welfare systems. This is intended to contribute to analytical and development activities that link migration to welfare, including measures to address poverty, inequality, the provision of health, education and other services, and the related issues of human capital. The migration-social policy nexus is discussed in relation to transformations in social policy in countries of origin and destination, with reference to migrant diasporas and remittances, the connections between migration regimes, gender equality and care systems, and the social institutions and the inter-relationships that influence how global, regional or national governance and political processes can integrate migration policy and social policy. In so doing it examines analytical frameworks in areas such as remittances, the brain drain and the global care chain for their relevance to social policy. While much of the research in the area of remittances and brain drain are relevant to social policy, there are other important areas that are under-researched concerning the impact of migration on service provisioning, access to social rights and social protection, and the evolution of welfare systems in developing countries. By reviewing theoretical and empirical research on migration policy, social policy and social development, the paper identifies the need for an analytical and multidisciplinary approach to research in this area.

In recent years international migration¹ has become an issue of significant political and research interest.² The growth and scale of international migration means that in the future the migration-social policy nexus will be important to how both migration and social policy are managed nationally and internationally. International migration has resulted in opportunities for social and economic development, for governments,

¹ In addition to mobile and temporary residents of other countries, there are 176 million people who are permanent residents outside of their country of origin, representing around two per cent of the global population. An estimated further 15-30 million undocumented or “illegal” migrants internationally (ILO 2004).

² Global Commission on International Migration 2005; UN 2006; IOM 2005b; ILO 2004

communities and migrants in developing countries. To date, the main focus of policy and research has been on the social policy implications of migration in countries of destination in the North regarding the integration of migrants in destination countries, and to a lesser extent the adaptation to and impact of migration policy regimes on Western welfare systems. This has been to the neglect of social policy analysis of the implications of migration for the welfare systems of developing countries and for South-South migration, where the bulk of international migration takes place. There are significant flows of migration in a South-South context, whereby nearly one half of all international migration and a majority of migration between neighbouring countries takes place (Ratha and Shaw 2007).

2. What is social policy?

Social policy contributes to the welfare of society as a whole and in a broad sense includes redistribution, production, reproduction and protection. It concerns the collective provision, financing and delivery of services that contribute to the welfare of individuals, groups and families, which result in transformations in social welfare at a societal level. In practice social policies are closely connected to economic policy, the outcomes of which can have direct or indirect social impacts. Welfare systems in developed and developing countries are increasingly shaped by a dominant discourse that stresses the importance of the “productivist” welfare model, active labour market policies and the contribution to funding social protection through work. They have been important to European Union policies as well as those of international organizations and can be seen in the concepts used to describe developmental social policy regimes in some developing countries, for example, South Africa.

In the main social policy goals include government provision, and/or regulation, of social welfare in areas such as education, social security, health and social care, and the labour market. Social policies exist at the national and international levels in order to transform welfare, meet basic human needs, improve livelihoods, to accord social justice and human rights, to facilitate the inclusion and integration of diverse population groups, and to create the optimum level of societal cohesion and economic development. In this sense it is defined by the way that it can mediate well-being, equality, participation, inclusion and autonomy in society. For instance, although many of the indicators concerning development address income inequalities, it is relevant to examine the extent to which social policy can mediate well being, autonomy and human capabilities, rather than just how they contribute to material well-being (Sen 1999; Gough 2000).

In a development context Mkandawire (2001) defines social policy as being collective interventions designed to transform social welfare, social institutions and social relations. Transformations in social welfare encompass access to adequate income and welfare provisions that provide social protection and maintain livelihoods and well-being. This can include the provision of services such as health and social care, education, housing and water; while income maintenance provisions can cover minimum incomes, social security and pensions. Social policies can impact positively or negatively on social relations in areas such as class, race, ethnicity and gender, and in turn on inequalities

between groups in their access to resources, recognition and participation. Social institutions are also an important aspect of social policy, since the capacity of the State is central to the delivery of welfare and in connecting economic and social development. While there are significant differences in social policy regimes between developed and developing countries, social policy in developing countries has been largely residual.

As Mkandawire argues it is necessary to remove this residual role: “Social policy should be conceived as involving overall and prior concerns with social development that works in tandem with economic policy to ensure equitable and socially sustainable development” (2001:1). He argues that political and societal variables and institutions that shape social policy have different “policy implications of different political, economic and social settings” (2001:24). Part of this argument is related to the role played by social policy in poverty reduction programmes and of the intrinsic importance of social policy to both social and economic development. The developmental role of social policy can be seen in the beneficial impact that investments in social expenditure in areas such as health and education have on human development with regard to life expectancies, livelihoods and economic growth, while social policy can also have important income redistribution and equity outcomes. Similarly global human rights discourses have situated social rights within a development context with an emphasis on the role of the State in recognizing human rights. At the same time, the role of social security is recognized as being important in providing stability, cohesion and economic security.

There are significant conceptual differences and research focus in the social policy literature from developed and developing countries. Social policy has remained marginal in many developing countries, where the remit is often narrowly focussed on poverty reduction and residualism. Social policy can play an important transformative and instrumental role in development, with evidence that universalistic models of service provision have been important to poverty reduction in some countries (Mkandawire 2005). While the social and economic contexts vary hugely, social policy insights, particularly concerning welfare regimes, from developed countries can provide useful analytical understandings that can help to inform social policies in developing countries.³

3. The migration-social policy nexus

The migration-social policy nexus defines the relationship between migration and social development and social policy. It has the potential to provide a focus to the role of migration on social welfare systems in developing countries, to how social policies respond to migration and to how social welfare systems are transformed through migration, in areas such as social development, care regimes, social protection and redistribution. Putting a lens on the migration-social policy nexus raises three important questions. What are the implications for the development of social welfare systems of South-South migration on both countries of origin and destination and what is the impact of migration policies on social welfare systems in these countries? How far will welfare

³ Mkandawire 2001; Gough 2000; Kuhnle and Hort 2004

systems be dependent on immigrant labour in the future and if so how will this be managed so that migration policies of countries of destination can enhance the benefits of migration, and in turn impact on social policy and social development in the South? To what extent are the new patterns of international migration impacting on the demand for welfare services in the North and the South?

The limited connection between migration policy and social policy means that the issues are treated as separate policy domains; the impact and contribution of migration on the welfare and well-being of migrants can, as a result, be under-played in both developed and developing countries. As a result the migration-social policy nexus raises important questions about the way in which government policies can be structured to take account of migration and the structuring and shaping of welfare systems, and to how welfare systems adapt to and are affected by international migration and globalization.

The emergence of a transnational approach to social policy and an interest in the social impacts of migration policy highlights the need for analytical frameworks to improve the coordination and understanding of global social policy connections, on the one hand, and socially focussed migration policy, on the other hand. As Mkandawire (2001) argues the outcome and nature of social policies, and the institutions that are developed in tandem, are highly dependent on the relationship to the political contexts in which they are situated, the relationship between economic and social policies, and between macroeconomic and social policy: “One implication is that social policy must be designed not only residually, to cater for social needs, but as a key component of policies that ensure the wherewithal for their own sustainability” (2001:23).

While the social and development implications of international migration have received less attention than economic issues, social policy and social development issues are increasingly being discussed in the context of the migration-development nexus (Global Commission on International Migration 2005; Van Hear and Nyberg Sørensen 2003). However, this is to a lesser extent in the context of social relations and transformations in social welfare systems within the migration-social policy nexus. The conceptualization of the migration-social policy nexus builds on the framework for migration and development that has been elaborated in the migration-development nexus, which highlights social development, the development potential of migrants and the coordination between migration and development aid regimes (Levitt and Nyberg Sørensen 2004). Adding a social policy dimension to this nexus provides a rich understanding of the implications for social welfare systems in those countries affected by migration and improving the linkages between international migration and transnational social policy. As a result the migration-social policy nexus is an important area for future policy coordination in order to integrate social policy and migration policy domains, since as Papademetriou (2003) argues this policy coordination is crucial to “mainstreaming” immigration decisions across different across different policy areas such as social welfare, education and training, and foreign and development policy and so on.

As mentioned above most research in the field of migration policy and social policy has tended to focus on the consequences of migration on receiving countries, rather than countries of transit or origin (de Haas 2005a, 2005b). We know little of the contribution of migration to the welfare and wellbeing of international migrants. The theory that either poverty or overpopulation causes migration is widely seen as an oversimplification and as O'Neil argues, "people move for a variety of reasons, and their movements are facilitated by complex and enduring transnational social networks"(2003:12). Consequently there are a wide diversity of migration experiences in the areas of pre-departure, transition and post-arrival.

That said an understanding of migrants' transnational practices raises a number of policy questions and the need for a conceptual approach embedded in the migration-social policy nexus. There is a general consensus in the literature on transnational migration about the positive effects of migration on the economic and social development of countries of origin.⁴ However, less is known about the impact of refugee migration on social development and of poverty on refugee cross-border movements, forced labour or trafficking. Similarly, relatively little is known about South-South migration and the maintenance of transnational social networks that can impact on social development and social welfare systems. As Nyberg, Sørensen, Van Hear and Engberg-Pedersen argue:

Migration and development are linked in many ways – through the livelihood and survival strategies of individuals, households and communities; through large and often well-targeted remittances; through investments and advocacy by diasporas and transnational communities; and through international mobility associated with global integration, inequality and insecurity (2003: 267).

However, the links between poverty reduction and international migration are uncertain and are described as “unsettled” (Papademetriou and Martin 1991). As Sørensen, Van Hear and Engberg-Pederson's (2003) review of literature in this area shows migration has always been about economic and social development, although in recent years displacement of populations within and across borders, and the related growth of refugees fleeing war or conflict, has impacted on the capacity and impact of development policy. The relationship between migration and poverty reduction is therefore highly complex and Sørensen, Van Hear and Engberg-Pederson conclude that: “There is no direct link between poverty, economic development, population growth, social and political change on the one hand and international immigration on the other. Poverty reduction is not in itself a migration-reducing strategy” (2003:5). Nevertheless, poverty reduction and development can enhance people's opportunities and possibilities to migrate, particularly as migration can incur significant economic resources and costs. Although it is known that a lack of local development options can impact on economic migration, there has been limited research on external factors such as structural adjustment policies on welfare, well-being and access to resources, and the extent to which these impact on decisions to migrate.

⁴ IOM 2004, 2005b; Levitt and Nyberg Sørensen 2004; Global Commission on International Migration 2005

One allied development has been the way in which international human rights can be optimized and realized in relation to the social development potential of international migration. While the Global Commission on International Migration (2005) addressed these issues in its remit, only in passing did it address the connections between migration and social development and social policy in a systematic way. Key areas are the implications of international migration on health, the interrelationship between migration and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, and the vulnerabilities faced by different groups of migrants, including women and children. Translating these goals into government programmes and policies that impact on the long-term development of welfare systems remains an important challenge.

3. The connections between global social policy and international migration

The development of a global or transnational approach to social policy is central to how welfare systems respond to and deal with international migration in a South-North and South-South context. Emerging ideas on global and transnational social policy highlight the impact of globalization on social welfare and social inequalities, the need for global institutions to respond to the growth of economic globalization and the way that social policies can operate in a global context in the areas of social regulation, social rights and social redistribution Deacon and Yeates (2006).

Although in recent years there has been a growth of research interest in global social policy and comparative social policy, it has largely not been focussed on migration decisions and migration policy issues. Where migration has been linked to social policy this has tended towards a lens on how Western states are coping with or responding to migration in different contexts, for example, in the development of integration policies (Jones-Finer 2006). Research on comparative social policy and welfare regimes has also been focussed on European and developed countries, and to a lesser extent on developing countries (Alcock and Craig 2001; Esping-Andersen 1990, 1996). Nevertheless, the attention to global social policy issues in the social policy literature has grown considerably in recent years.⁵ In this context global social policy has linked national to regional, international and transnational perspectives in social policy (Deacon 2003, 2007; Yeates and Deacon 2006), in providing a new framework for understanding welfare regimes in a global and development context (Hill and May 2006; Gough et al. 2004), in advocating for social policy as a key element of economic development, capable of achieving equity and social protection (Hall and Midgley 2004); and in linking social development to social welfare and poverty reduction in developing countries.⁶ There is an important role for research on transnational social policy to factor in the impact of migration on social policy regimes in developed and developing countries. However, in some senses it is also difficult to separate discussions of the differences between developed countries, as countries as destination, from developing countries, as countries of destination and origin, in the light of neo-liberal policy convergence and the importance attached to 'productivist' social policies. These transnational developments

⁵ Deacon 2007; Mishra 1999; Midgley 1997; Deacon et al. 2003; George and Wilding 2002; Jones-Finer 1999 and 2006; Yeates 2001

⁶ Midgley 1995; Mkandawire 2004; Yeates 2001

also present significant challenges in the shaping of national and global social policy frameworks.

That said, research on welfare regime provides some important insights into the emergence of distinct regimes related to development. These are valuable for understanding of the migration-social policy nexus, and the theoretical possibilities for linking migration and social policy as a dynamic of regime development. For example, Gough, Wood, Barrientos, Bevan, Davis and Room's (2004) and Woods and Gough's (2004) work on comparative welfare regimes in the global South has led to the categorization of three meta-regime types: welfare state regimes, informal security regimes and insecurity regimes. In Wood and Gough's (2004) analysis of welfare regimes in poor and developing countries four different and contrasting regimes are identified: Peru (liberal welfare regime), Thailand (productivist-informal welfare regime), Bangladesh (informal welfare regime) and Ethiopia (informal-security regime). They argue that two features of an effective welfare regime are missing in many developing countries, notably, a legitimate state providing social infrastructure, the social institutions and resources for welfare and a formal labour market providing the basis for funding welfare benefits and services, and as well as the engine for economic growth. In this analysis social policy is viewed as an important vehicle for the development of the nation state and for creating effective labour markets. In the East Asian developmental welfare model, for example, welfare policy developments have been shaped around industrialization and economic development and have had a regressive distributional impact that has reinforced inequalities (White and Goodman 1998). A crucial issue is how migration relates to these welfare policy developments and how the migration-social policy nexus can help to integrate welfare regime development with migration policy issues.

As a result the role that international migration plays in shaping and creating welfare systems necessitates an understanding of the role of the migration-social policy nexus. First, the capacity of social welfare systems to be transformative, developmental and redistributive depends on a variety of political, economic and social factors and conditions, which can be influenced by international migration. Second, the impact of migration on brain or care drains or gains can affect the capacity of the State to provide effective welfare systems. Third, is the role played by international migration in the development of universal access to education, health care and work, individual and collective social rights, as well as social institutions and governance structures that are generated to deliver welfare in countries of origin. Fourth, because social policy can impact on social relations in areas such as class, race and gender, it is interesting to assess how far migration interacts with equality of access, social participation and integration into society for those most marginalized groups affected by migration. This is particularly relevant in the development of appropriate welfare provision in areas such as health, education, income maintenance (social security and pensions), housing and employment. How far social policies can be redistributive or whether they maintain existing social inequalities will depend crucially on the welfare system that is in developed. The crucial issue that we are concerned about in this paper is the extent to which international migration shapes and makes welfare systems and whether the effect is transformative,

neutral or regressive. Fifth, it also needs to be acknowledged that many emerging contemporary social welfare systems in developing countries are the product of colonial and historical relationships that have resulted in particular linkages between poor and rich countries and global institutions, and in the case of many ex-colonies resulted in welfare systems that were transposed from the West. These historical and colonial legacies also need to be linked to the material conditions under which people live and social policy developments in developing countries, as factors influencing processes of outward migration.

4. Transformations in social welfare systems in countries of destination

Much of the research on social welfare systems has been on countries of destination, with limited attention to those countries of destination in the South. In Europe the integration of migrants into countries of destination raises “the tensions between European welfare statism and notions of mass immigration” (Jones Finer 2006) with access to welfare and welfare systems defining the parameters of the inclusion and entitlements for different groups of migrants (Geddes 2003; Dwyer 2005). Integration debates have ranged from the need for broad based measures to promote the social inclusion of immigrants (Spencer 2004) that recognize integration as equal treatment and the prohibition of discrimination (United Nations 2006), to measures required to foster integration. At the other end of the spectrum are more limited integration measures that focus on how migrants can be assimilated into one society (Brubaker 2001).

To date there has been very little research on South-South migration in identifying the nature and scope of integration policy frameworks, with little or no research examining whether and how international migration is changing welfare systems. This includes understanding how migration in a South-South context has affected the movement towards or away from universalistic welfare provision and the way that integration can also benefit the host society by “opening up institutions and granting equal opportunities to immigrants” (Boswick and Heckman 2006). In recent years attention has been given to the labour market and societal integration of migrants and their children by researchers, NGOs and policy makers and many countries of destination are considering integration policies in the context of international legal norms.⁷

Despite these developments, social inclusion and entitlements in the welfare system are closely tied up with immigration policies, while at the same time there has been an historical under-investment in the integration of migrants. Governments regularly see the control of immigration and integration as inseparable. The financing of integration programmes through taxation can cause resentments, while the lack of transparency of policy frameworks and migration policy creates suspicion (Spencer 2004). Of particular

⁷ National developments are also informed by international and European policy frameworks. There are basic social standards established in the United Nation’s *Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families*. The ILO (2004) has drawn up a non-binding multilateral framework for a rights-based approach to labour migration with guidelines and principles for policies based on best practices and international standards.

interest to this paper is that countries of destination may affect the extent to which migrants can influence the economic and social development of their countries of origin, for example, through knowledge transfer. From a social policy perspective this raises a number of questions about the different types of bilateral and multilateral policy coordination is needed in the area of migration and social policy, as well as the impact of restrictive immigration policies on welfare entitlements, particularly in a cross-border context. Consequently, social integration as a determinant of international migration is an area that merits new research, in the same way that migrants can be enabled or constrained in their roles as agents of development by immigration and integration policies of countries of transit and destination.

Identifying the extent to which social welfare systems can be adaptive to and accommodating of new migrant groups raises challenges for policy makers and service providers. This includes ensuring that services are culturally adaptive and have the capacity to reach and include a diversity of minority ethnic and migrant people. These issues have implications for the long-term planning of services and the involvement of migrants in meeting the needs of the most vulnerable groups who may experience poverty, poor living conditions, social exclusion and racism. In particular, important challenges exist for the design and implementation of national and transnational social policies in the way they address the vulnerability of unaccompanied minors, women and children who have experienced trafficking for sexual exploitation, people who have experienced trafficking for work, low paid and exploited migrant workers. In this context the need for a gender-based approach is crucial in identifying issues that are unique to migrant women in areas such as childcare and maternity services, and in the provision of specific and targeted support and outreach programmes for women who are socially isolated and at risk of abuse or violence.

5. Transformations in welfare in countries of origin

Transformations in welfare in countries of origin are affected by a range of economic, political, economic and cultural factors. In recent years international migration has been viewed as an opportunity and a positive force for development, while the role and impact of migration in economic and social development is closely connected to the role that social institutions play in improving life expectancies, health and well being. For example, these issues are articulated in the Millennium Development Goals in areas such as education, health and gender equality. Lessons from industrialized countries tell us that investment in public services for health, education, and water and sanitation were critical to improving life expectancies and well being during industrialization. However, many developing countries report of grossly inadequate resources, low levels of public expenditure and shortages of staff in health and education. The constraints imposed by migration including human resource shortages on the provision of health and welfare services, are as important as the conditions that have been put in place in developing countries that have resulted in significant transformations in democratic accountability, welfare and well-being.

Globalization presents both constraints and opportunities. Opportunities exist because of the international discourse on social rights and through the actions of transnational actors such as NGOs and transnational companies, many of which are shaping the private provision of welfare. There are constraints that result from globalization which can restrict funding for social programmes, for example, in order for nation states to compete globally, or resulting from restrictions placed on the funding of social policies required by structural adjustment policies. Global restructuring, neoliberal policies of deregulation, privatization and structural adjustment, pursued by the IMF, World Bank and the OECD, have impacted on the delivery of welfare, with an emphasis on private social welfare provision. These have been typified by the post-Washington consensus agenda of pro-market policies and western style democracy. This raises the question of the extent to which decisions to migrate are also affected by the conditionalities attached to the receipt of World Bank and International Monetary Fund strategies neo-liberal policies on privatization and private service provision, as well as IMF imposed ceilings on public sector wages and recruitment, to tackle public service failures.

In recent years there has been a discernible shift of attention given to equity and poverty reduction, including the role of social protection, education and health, as poverty reducing mechanisms, and to developmental social policy, by the World Bank and the IMF (World Bank 2000; Mkandawire 2001). Much of this has been a response to the evidence that poor countries are negatively affected by the World Bank and the International Financial Institutions that are under the control of the richer countries (Room 2004; Rieger and Leibried 2003) and a recognition that social policies are integral to economic development. Sasin and McKenzie's (2007) research questions emerging for the World Bank's operational programmes highlights the need to address the complexity and broad impact of migration on poverty and human capital, as opposed to a narrower assessment of the role and impact of remittances, in order to provide a better analysis of the role that migration plays in government policies. This raises important questions about the need for data and statistical indicators that can more effectively map the extent and impact of migration. Similarly, improving the linkages between migration policies and poverty reduction has been a subject of the World Bank's migration and development poverty reduction programme, with operational guidance to development practitioners about data and information that can improve the understanding of migration on policy developments.

Equally important is the role of international trade liberalization on international migration is important in this context, particularly the impact of Mode 4 of the World Trade Organization (WTO) General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) which relates to the temporary cross-border movement of people to supply services and where barriers to movement of people have been identified as impediments to economic gains from trade liberalization. The social consequences of this liberalization of trade and migration, seen in the WTO and bilateral and regional "Free Trade Agreements", impacts on the provision of public services and limits how governments regulate global service providers. This is part of a broader debate about liberalizing migration regimes in order to ease migration movements, while the GATS argues for a liberalization of services, including those in the remit of social welfare, such as health. In this context and in the

face of these neo-liberal challenges transnational social policy plays an increasingly important role in mediating some of the effects of economic globalisation and in providing alternative scenarios to neo-liberalism based on principles of redistribution and in transforming social relations.

A second area of interest to the issues of how social welfare systems can be transformed in countries of origin is the role that migrant diasporas play in shaping social policy and social relations. International migration and global economic networks have generated a corresponding set of processes and social networks that help to maintain migrant diasporas through remittances and knowledge transfer, however, little is known about how they impact on social policy. These have the potential to impact on areas such as gender equality, human rights and transformations in social welfare. The potential impacts on social policies can include a transfer of knowledge and expectation about the provision of universal health care services, the role of gender equality and the provision of care services, human rights and rights based approaches to social policy, the role of governance, partnership and democratic accountability, and the roles that can be harnessed in social mobilisation for access to quality of services, social protection, welfare and well-being.

Of interest to the migration-social policy nexus is the role that remittances play in either enhancing social provisioning and reduce inequalities by targeting resources, or the extent that they create divisions and inequalities between communities and households (Levitt and Nyberg Sørensen 2004). There is also a danger that dependence on remittances may mean that some governments will not be prepared to invest in and develop social reforms or social policies that are geared to redistribution and poverty reduction. This raises some questions about the types of policy frameworks that could be developed to link remittances to poverty reduction and combating inequalities, for example, by targeting resources on those individuals, families or communities that do not have access to the benefits of transnational migration.

The relatively new research interest in political and social remittances, as opposed to economic remittances, opens up a number of questions about how to identify and influence the social dividend and social policy impact of remittances, in the same way that the ideas, knowledge and practices in the economic sphere are seen to impact on production and the creation of small business. Remittances are largely of benefit to lower-middle income and low-income countries, and while they can be an important source of post-conflict reconstruction,⁸ they also have a significant social development potential (de Haas 2005). Remittances can complement macroeconomic policies and welfare transfers in offsetting the impact of the brain drain, for example, by improving the economies of developing countries and enhancing service provision and employment opportunities in the health and welfare sectors (Brown 2006). Research by the Asian Development Bank (2005) has examined how to improve the financial and human resources of diasporas as a key element of development, recommending improved remittance flows and effective use, and better use of knowledge networks.

⁸ Sørensen, Van Hear and Enberg-Pedersen 2003; IOM 2005; Adams and Page 2003; Chimbowu et al. 2005

There is no doubt that remittances have huge productive and social potential; they have had the effect of creating economic stability and even preventing the economic collapse of countries like Albania, El Salvador and Lebanon, and they have the potential to be a spur for government action on welfare funding. Remittances make up the second largest source of external financial flows, after Foreign Direct Investments, to developing countries. Ghosh (2006) shows that in 2004 flows of formal remittances to developing countries rose to \$160 billion, compared to \$18.4 in 1980, while ILO (2006) figures shows that recorded formal remittances flows in 2006 were \$206 billion.

A key question is how immigration policies of developed countries impact on the development benefits of remittances in a welfare context and how they in turn impact on welfare regime development. This is particularly important as remittances tend to support private welfare investments and private social provisioning, for example, in private health, education and housing. It is important to ask what is the impact of remittances on poverty reduction and for whom; to what extent do remittances contribute to health, education and other welfare gains; what is the gender impact; and so on?

There are a number of ways in which the developmental benefits of transnational migration have been harnessed and although international migration can be an important vehicle for socio-economic development, countries of origin have tended to not be the poorest, since the migration process requires some human and financial resources and a degree of socio-economic development to stimulate migration (de Haas 2005). Understanding these processes can also help with understanding the development impact of transnational and cross-border mobility on the economic and social development of the homeland (Levitt and Nyberg Sørensen 2004) and hometown associations (Alarcon 2002). In some cases remittances stimulate community development and the provision of basic services in local communities, while research shows that women send a higher proportion of their earnings to their families.⁹ However, remittances also represent important social obligations that can place heavy burdens on migrant workers, adversely impacting on their settlement patterns in countries of destination. Many migrants living and working in host countries experience exclusion and marginalization. These financial obligations may prevent occupation and social mobility, access to decent housing and other social benefits. Research needs to factor these issues into the role that social policy can play in working with community and grassroots groups and those that are most marginalized and vulnerable in the migration process.

Knowledge networks can also have positive development and social policy outcomes (Xiang 2005; Van Hear et al. 2004). Transnational migration has led to significant global economic, political, social and religious networks in destination countries; these often link into local economic and social development in countries of origin through homeland associations and community projects. As Levitt and Nyberg Sørensen's (2004) argue social remittances can be important to the development of identities, norms and ideas in key areas impacting on democracy, health, gender, equality, human rights and community organization. In some cases globalization has created new forms of activism,

⁹ UNIFEM 2004; Murison 2005; Sørensen 2004

global social movements and development cooperation. Migrant sending countries may use migrants working abroad as resources and advocates for development or as lobbyists for development assistance and foreign policy changes with governments in sending and receiving countries, for example, to encourage measures to keep the identity with the sending country through the granting of political and voting rights. In the same way remittances can also provide an important connection and sense of social belonging with family, kinship and communities in home countries, as well as impacting on norms and expectations (Riak 2005).

The way that migration is integrated with social policy is also relevant to discussions about the “brain drain” and “brain gain”. For example, in the social welfare and care sectors this has two dimensions. First, is the impact on the welfare systems of developing countries, which increasingly send migrant workers to provide services in developed countries (particularly in welfare services in order to meet labour shortages in health care, child care and elder care, and so on). Second, is the question of the social costs and impacts resulting from either a brain gain or the brain drain and the extent to which these help to strengthen democracy and social development in home countries and foster migrant political integration in host countries. There is, however, a limited evidence base of the impact of international migration on the so called “brain drain” and “brain gain” in countries of origin and in key sectors that can impact on social development and social policy (Stark 2004). While the majority of migration is unskilled or low skilled (de Haas 2005) there are a sizeable number of skilled workers who migrate to work in unskilled jobs. There is evidence, for example, in Ireland of migrant workers working substantially below their skill level and potential (Pillinger 2006; Ruhs 2005).

There is a similar lack of clarity about the social impacts of the “brain drain” or “brain gain” within South-South migration. The role of the “brain gain” from skilled migration (although substantially lower levels than unskilled levels) on migrant diaspora networks is also under-researched. The extent to which diaspora networks influence social policy and political developments in the homeland raise important policy questions for developing countries about how best to maintain links with emigrant communities, for example, by granting emigrants a range of economic, political and social rights that connects them economically and socially with their homelands. Examining the impact of these policy developments in the context of the migration-social policy nexus in countries such as India, South Korea, the Philippines, Mexico and Tunisia could open new insights into how development policies can connect with workers and their families who live transnationally and whose migration patterns are often typified by circulation and commitment to two societies.

6. Transnational social policy and the social context of modern day migration

From a social policy perspective international migration raises a range of issues related to diversity, equality and social change, including the relationship to governance structures, citizenship and democracy, social relations and social capital. Modern day migration exists in a diversity of social, political, cultural and economic contexts. People migrate for different reasons and are often part of national and transnational groups, with multiple

national and religious identities, functioning across different cultures and countries. Their identities, sense of belonging and their experiences of migration, welfare and well-being are also constructed by race, ethnic origin, class and gender. How these challenges are negotiated has a significant impact on how people enter into and experience migration, how they define their belonging, how effectively they integrate and keep their connections with their countries of origin.

The management of migration tends to be limited by a range of political factors (Papademetriou 2003). However, migration policy has largely focused on immigration (shaping entrance, settlement, length of stay in a country, access to social rights and family reunification) and to a lesser extent on issues related to integration and social policy (IOM 2006). International migration raises a number of challenges and vulnerabilities for migrant and their families and communities. Countries of destination have also had to meet demands for health, education and social services as well as resources to ensure that migrants are integrated into the societies where they settle. There has also been a positive economic impact of migration on countries of destination, including contributions to tax revenue and as valuable workers in “welfare state” jobs. For countries of origin migrants often contribute considerable resources to the individual and collective provision of welfare in their home countries, through remittances and social knowledge transfer.

In contrast to the approaches taken in social policy research, migration policy research has largely been focused on the benefits and impacts of migration on countries of destination as it relates to immigration policies, asylum and refugee policies, attracting skilled labour, filling labour gaps, and developing integration policies. Research on the countries of origin has tended to focus on the impact of outward migration in terms of loss of skilled labour (the brain drain) and the economic and social impact of remittances and to a lesser extent on the impact on welfare systems in countries of origin, and associated issues concerning the provision of care services, gender relations and the contribution of migration to social development.

As a result much of the literature on migration highlights the economic motivations behind migration, in the areas of recruitment, remittances and return (Papademetriou and Martin 1991). Migration occurs because of geo-political inequalities and imbalances in the supply and demand for labour, fuelled by unemployment and underemployment, poverty, population growth and the unequal distribution of income and resources. Access to better incomes impacts on remittances and returning migrants bring skills and resources back to their countries of origin. However, economic assessments of migration do not necessarily address social policy considerations, the impact on welfare systems, or the social, cultural and political factors that link development, for example, with refugee movements and forced labour in countries of origin, transit and destination (Sørensen, Van Hear and Engberg-Pederson 2003).

Of interest to social policy is the extent to which restrictive immigration policies may have a negative impact on development, for example, by forcing migrants or refugees into long-term residence, rather than allowing for short-term legal rights to migration and

circular migration (Global Commission on International Migration 2005). In countries of destination migration policy regimes often determine the scope of social policy and the resulting entitlements that migrants have to benefits and services. Differential access to rights and entitlements, determined by restrictive migration policies in destination countries, can in turn affect the social impact of migration in countries of origin. In effect the differential risks and benefits of migration are mirrored by differential entitlements to welfare benefits and services. This will vary according to whether a migrant has an irregular or regular status, to their income and skill levels, and whether their migration is temporary or permanent. For example, the absence of social welfare and social protection for those migrants who are trafficked, smuggled or who have an irregular status, means that being outside of the protection of society will result in difficulties in accessing health and social welfare services. Access to rights and entitlements is granted by virtue of ascribed legal / immigration status which accords differential rights to certain groups of migrants in their access to the labour market, family reunification, third level education, free health care or social housing. For many migrants service exclusion means further marginalization and separation from society, with additional risks of economic or sexual exploitation (MacPherson and Gushulack 2004).

As said, migration policy, by encouraging long-term settlement, limits opportunities for short-term migration and circular migration routes.¹⁰ There is increasing evidence to show that social development is more easily facilitated through circulatory migration. How does this impact on the development of social welfare systems? Circular migration has grown in recent years, particularly in a South-South context, although most research and international migration data collection relates to the “permanent settlement migration paradigm” (Migration Policy Institute 2003). Because of this paradigm there is a neglect of the social and cultural effects of temporary migration, and therefore of the development of social policy and integration programmes in countries of origin and destination. However, the implementation, in destination countries, of restrictive immigration policies tends to favour measures to reduce the growth of undocumented migration and the criminalization of migration. These processes have negative impacts on the creation of social policy frameworks and social development in countries of origin, and in particular the role that migrants can play in the social development of their countries of origin.

7. Transnational social policy in practice: access to services, transnational care networks and family and household strategies

How emerging ideas on transnational social policy can be integrated with international migration is now examined in relation to access to services, transnational care networks and with regard to family and household strategies. This suggests that there is a strong rationale for and relevance of transnational social policy in the context of modern day migration,

¹⁰ De Haas 2005; Global Commission on International Migration 2006; Van Hear and Nyberg Sørensen 2003

First, access to services, including income maintenance and social protection, in the migration process is an important factor influencing migration decisions and outcomes. However, little is known about migrants' relationships with their countries of origin, which also in turn impacts on the social policy development in the homeland. Sabates-Wheeler and Waite (2003) locate "migration" within a social protection framework, theoretically and empirically and identify a framework for thinking about the relationships between vulnerability, migration and social protection, something that until now has not been covered in the literature. This is particularly important as accessible and portable systems of social protection can be vital to managing migration, including the need to manage risks and secure livelihoods, particularly for the most vulnerable migrants (Sabates-Wheeler and Macauslan 2007). The issue of the portability of pensions and health insurance schemes has been discussed by the World Bank (Holzmann et al. 2005), although this had tended to be narrowly focussed on skilled and permanent workers, rather than the most vulnerable workers whose access to social protection is often restricted (Sabates-Wheeler and Macauslan 2007).

In recent years there has been an increasing research and policy focus given to how the provision of universal public services can help to meet economic and social development goals.¹¹ As stated above there has been less attention given to the role that migration plays in economic and social development in countries of origin, with the emphasis placed on the role of public services in supporting the integration of migrants in countries of destination.¹² The question then is what role can service provisioning play in transforming social welfare? It can be argued that the provision of public services in areas such as education and health are ultimately what enables societies to function and prosper. Public services can enable societies to be cohesive, inclusive, equal, dynamic and prosperous. They can provide the conditions for democratic accountability and meet economic and social development goals (Pillinger 2007a). In many countries, particularly developing countries, the experience of privatization, contracting out and private provision of services has been negative, resulting in two-tier services, inefficient or poorer quality services, and an inequality of access to services and service provision that does not meet the needs of all users (Oxfam International 2006).

Universal access to services is increasingly being advocated by global trade unions and NGOs. According to the Public Services International (Pillinger 2007a) quality public services are services that are equitable, accountable and user focused. In this context the quality of services is determined by the extent to which services are adequately funded, provide decent employment and training for personnel providing services, ensure universal and equal access to services, and have the capacity to meet broader economic and social development goals. Oxfam International and Water Aid (2006) have linked the investment in and provision of quality public services to migration of workers in health and education as being closely tied up with development. They argue that essential services should be available to all and that this is possible as demonstrated by successful

¹¹ IOM 2005; Usher 2005; UNFPA 2005; UNRISD 2006

¹² Spencer 2004; Pillinger 2007c; IOM 2006

governments that have achieved promising results by providing universal services¹³ and by improving the capacity of the public sector to deliver these effectively.

Social policy analysts and policy makers have increasingly advocated minimum standards and rights-based approaches to accessing universal services and for the progressive realization of UN rights frameworks on economic, social and cultural rights. Whilst many of these issues are connected to poverty alleviation and to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (IOM 2005; Usher 2005), there has been relatively little research that has addressed the link between migration, social development and social policy, for example, how remittances impact on the achievement of the indicators set out in the Millennium Development Goals. This implies that there is a need for research on the relationship between migration and income and other indicators of development; of importance is that this also strengthens the links between countries of origin and destination.

Identifying minimum service, employment, ethical, rights and democratic standards necessary for transformative social policy and good quality public services also needs to be considered for their linkages to migration policy outcomes. This also means translating human rights and rights based ethical frameworks as they impact on migration and social policy, including the targets contained in the Millennium Development Goals, into more clearly defined and practical concepts for meeting basic human needs and social justice. This requires highlighting how and under what conditions and processes political, social, economic and labour rights are realizable in practice and the conditions of governance, finance and capacity that can result in the creation of sustainable social policies (Robinson 2006; Pillinger 2007a, 2007b). Because national social policies may miss the complexity of international migration and the players involved, there is a need to articulate how transnational social policies respond to, and how can partnership, participation and engagement with other governments and other stakeholders (employers, NGOs, ethical globalization organizations etc) be harnessed, to create more integrated and joined up approaches that respond to migration.

There is no doubt that investment in core public services has a social development dividend. Qiang Cui et al.'s (2004) study for the International Monetary Fund used panel data from 120 developing countries between 1975 and 2000, to show a direct link between social spending on education and health and a significant direct impact on the accumulation of education and health capital. This was linked to higher economic growth

¹³ Countries that have been successful in improving life expectancies, health and well being such as Botswana, Malaysia, Kerala state in India or Sri Lanka did so by investing in public services and in some cases introducing universal rights of free access to education, health, and water. In particular, women and girls have gained and there is greater respect for civil and political rights. As Oxfam states, meeting the MDG targets on health, education, and water and sanitation would require an extra \$47 billion a year. To assess the performance of developing country governments, Oxfam has devised an Essential Services Index. This ranks countries in four social areas — child survival rates, schooling, access to safe water, and access to sanitation — and compares their performance with per capita national income. Some countries have been highly successful, for example, even though more than one-third of Sri Lanka's population still live below the poverty line, investment in child and maternal health services means that its maternal mortality rates are among the lowest in the world.

and was seen as helpful in moving countries toward the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).¹⁴ However, investment in services is not the only factor impacting on social development. To be successful these objectives have to be coupled with improved forms of governance, reducing corruption and improving accountability on public spending. As Yeates (2005b) argues there is an important role to be played by civil society in the construction of social policy in a development context. This includes new forms of transnational collaboration between civil society, NGOs, trade unions and other stakeholders in a regional and global context. These issues are discussed by Nicola Piper in this volume.

The second area of relevance is that the migration-social policy nexus has the potential to show the centrality of family and household strategies to migration decisions, particularly decisions affecting children. Transnational family and household strategies are central to the emergence of transnational approaches to social policy. Migration policies can have adverse effects on family life, for example, limiting rights to family reunification for some categories of migrants and forcing families to split up over immigration and residence status.¹⁵ The migration-social policy nexus can provide analytical insights into the role played by family reunification policies and the extent to which immigration policies can facilitate family reunification or temporary return of parents to country of origin. For example, the impact of international migration on children is relatively under-researched and children are often hidden from migration policies. Where children have been trafficked, mistreated or exploited there are significant child protection issues that need to be addressed; children may migrate alone or with their families or they may be left behind by migrating parents, or because they live in a country affected by migration because of war or conflict. In countries of origin, children may be affected in different ways by international migration. The role of transnational parenting, care by grandparents or other family members can similarly impact on family relations. Conversely international migration can also have positive impacts on children; remittances can lift children out of poverty and provide access to education and improved well being. Research by UNICEF is currently looking at the impact of remittances on children and the impact of development on child labour, discrimination against girls, education and health of children affected by migration. One study of migration of people from Mexico to the US showed that children who stayed behind were less likely to drop out of school, while other studies have shown that transnational parenting can provide children with stability and love when they are in regular contact with their parents (UNICEF 2005 cited in UN 2005b). UNICEF is promoting compulsory education in order reflect the rights of migrant children.

¹⁴ For example, it was found that an increase in education spending of one percentage point of GDP is associated with three more years of schooling on average and a total increase in growth of 1.4 percentage points in 15 years. Similarly, an increase in health spending of one percentage point of GDP is associated with an increase of 0.6 percentage points in the under-five child survival rate and a rise of 0.5 percentage point in annual per capita GDP growth.

¹⁵ This is despite the fact that the Convention on the Rights of the Child protects every child, irrespective of nationality or immigration status. This includes their physical integrity, health, education and the right to be free from discrimination, exploitation and abuse. Article 10 provides the right to family reunification.

The third area of relevance is that of transnational care networks and how they link with transnational social policy developments. The rationale for transnational social policy is particularly evident in the care sector, since it is characterised by transnational movement of care labour and the transnational provision of care services. The global economy of care exists, first, because of growth of an international health care market as global commercial institutions increasingly dominate the public and private market in health care. Second, there has been a massive increase in the scale and volume of migration in the formal and informal health and care sectors, which includes public and private care provision, and care provided in the home. Third, is the impact of poverty in developing countries which lead people to migrate in order to make better lives for themselves and their families (Arya and Roy 2006; Stilwell et al. 2004).

The growth of demand for both domestic services and a global shortage of skilled health workers have had a major impact on women's patterns of migration in particular.¹⁶ The global labour shortage in skilled health care workers has resulted in an unprecedented level of international migration.¹⁷ The 2006 WHO World Health Report reports a shortage of about 4.3 million health care workers that are needed to fill the existing recruitment gaps and that "at least 1.3 billion people worldwide lack access to the most basic health care often because there are no health workers". The Public Services International's research on women's migration in health care estimates that there is a need for 1.7 billion health workers if quality health care is to exist in all countries (Pillinger 2007). However, there is a dearth of data on the impact of the global shortage of nurses in developing countries (Diallo 2004). While much of this research has been small scale or anecdotal, there has been little systematic research to map where chronic shortages in health care staff have impacted on closure of health facilities or reduced access to health care.¹⁸

The impact of an ageing population and a greater propensity for women to work outside of the home has resulted in a shortage of care workers in many developed countries (Alvarado and Creedy 1999). This increased demand for care workers, Yeates (2005) argues, arises because of socio-demographic, labour market and welfare factors. In Ireland, for example, the absence of affordable childcare and other supports for working mothers corresponds with the significant increase in employment rates of migrant women (Pillinger 2007d). Migration is seen as one way to solve this problem prompting governments to consider a range of measures to enhance migrant labour and to ensure

¹⁶ Anderson 1997; Yeates 2005; Kofman et al. 2000; Piper 2005a

¹⁷ In 2000, 31 per cent doctors and 13 per cent nurses were non-UK born; in London this was 23 per cent and 47 per cent respectively. Half of those workers contributing to the National Health Service had qualified abroad. In France a quarter of all hospital doctors are foreign or naturalized, and concentrated in the least desirable specialisms (Kofman et al. 2000).

¹⁸ The author of this paper witnessed this factor in parts of rural Philippines where there was evidence of the closure of rural health clinics because of migration of rural health care workers to Manila and then onwards to developed countries. Most health care workers expected at some stage to work overseas, even if only for a short period of time, in order to get out of poverty, save up for houses or education for their children. The impact of the migration from rural areas was that the provision of health care continued to be provided almost exclusively by community health care workers who work on a voluntary basis in local communities (Barangays).

that this is carried out in an ethical way. An example of this is the UK's state to state agreement on the recruitment of overseas health care workers in the UK, which provides a model that could be developed within a south-south migration context. Conditions of work, pay levels and scarcity of resources in health care can affect the decisions of health workers to migrate. There are, therefore, a variety of motivations for migrating, which are closely connected to the social development of countries of origin, including poverty, low pay and poor working conditions, staff shortages and intolerable work pressures. It is important to ask about the impact on poverty and social development programmes of the migration of nurses, midwives and doctors from poorer to richer countries. To what extent do remittances and knowledge transfer offset health care crises that have arisen in some countries where labour shortages undermine the provision of basic health care programmes?

There is substantial evidence of chronic under-funding and shortages of staff in many developing countries. The NFPA State of World Population Report special issue on women cites evidence from research of the impact of the global nursing shortage on the migration of nurses from poorer countries. These findings are reflected in studies carried out in various countries, such as the Caribbean, Ghana, South Africa and Zimbabwe. For example, based on a study carried out between 2004 and 2005 in three South African provinces, over half of the nurses interviewed were considering moving abroad NFPA (2006). The WHO's recommended minimum ratio of 100 nurses for every 100,000 people is hardly met in many developing countries (Buchan and Calman 2004). In Europe the average ratio of health workers to population is ten times higher than developing countries. For example, Uganda, Central African Republic and Liberia have only 10 nurses for 100,000 population, compared to an average of 2,000 nurses per head of population in Finland and Norway. The problems are particularly acute in Africa where the annual migration of 20,000 highly qualified nurses and doctors has left a region with huge health needs, arising from rising infant and maternal mortality rates and HIV and AIDS, without adequate health staff (WHO et al. 2003). It is estimated that in Sub-Saharan Africa there is a need for a one million additional health workers to meet the Millennium Development Goals of reducing HIV and infant and maternal mortality by 2015 (UNFPA 2005). In the Philippines WHO (2007) data shows that among 192 countries the Philippines ranks 156th regarding the share of government funds allocated to health (of interest is that the proposed 2008 national budget provides for only 1.5 per cent of the total government budget planned for health care – equivalent to 0.31 per cent of GDP and representing a significantly reduced share of GDP compared to 1990 and 1997).

While it is important to see the emergence of research that maps these trends more effectively, there is also a need for research that connects migrant labour in health and care services with geo-political inequalities and ways of keeping social expenditure on health services down. This phenomenon is not new; in the UK migrant women from former UK colonies were the mainstay of the post-war welfare state. As Williams and Gavanis (2005) state many post-war welfare states were built by migrant workers, many of who were not always provided with social protection and eligibility to receive services.

At the same time the internationalization and feminization of migration means that women are now a growing share of those migrating to work and they are moving in new ways and in larger numbers.¹⁹ Women's migration is often risky and open to exploitation (UNFPA 2006). In recent years the international community has begun, on the one hand, to recognize the potential and positive impact that women's migration has on social development and social policy, while on the other hand, realizing that the human rights of women are integral to a properly managed approach to migration (UNFPA 2006; UN 2006).

Transnational care networks are closely connected to the feminization of migration. The scale of the international migration of women has implications for social policy, gender regimes and care regimes, particularly because the majority of women's migration predominates in the care and domestic service sector (Migration Policy Institute 2003; Giullair and Lewis 2005). Piperno's (2007) study of the migration of Romanian and Ukranian women carers shows care exists within a framework of transnational welfare networks, which in turn impact on the possibilities for care remittances, as well as skills and contacts acquired abroad to be used to transform welfare in countries of origin. This highlights the importance of viewing the links between countries of origin and destination as interdependent, and as Piperno argues for connecting welfare systems through positive transnationalism and "co-welfare",. As a result using these transnational welfare networks can help to promote a care gain in countries of both origin and destination (Piperno 2007:67)

So how do the different conditions faced by women in developing countries impact on social policy systems and care regimes? The first issue concerns the relevance and appropriateness of Western models of welfare systems to developing countries, and particularly to the conditions experienced by women. Social policy is central to women's roles, choices and capabilities, and to reproduction and the ways in which households and markets operate. They are essential to supporting women's economic and social positions, and in providing social protection and income transfers (unemployment, pensions, child and family benefits etc), funding childcare, facilitating family-work reconciliation and in providing core public services such as health and education. However, problems exist where inappropriate models of welfare exist. This can be seen in the formation of welfare systems in sub-Saharan Africa that resulted in differential systems of access to social protection benefits by gender and an essentially urban based model of welfare provision that benefited men rather than women. Western models of social protection, funded through work based systems of taxation, in union organized workplaces and with labour rights associated with minimum wages and employment protection, may not be within the reach of workers in the informal economy. Similarly, in developing countries, informal and kinship networks are more important sources of care.

A second and related issue is the extent to which women's exclusion and differential rights to welfare in developing countries, including the growth of women's informal labour in the care sector, impacts on their decisions to migrate, and in turn on the provision of care and other services in the countries of origin. This is exemplified by the

¹⁹ UNFPA 2006; Piper 2005a; Yeates 2006; Pillinger 2007d

global care chain. Working women have used domestic labour from overseas for childcare and other domestic support resulting in a transfer of female labour from poorer to richer countries to fill the care deficit associated with work traditionally associated with women's roles as carers and homemakers (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003). Although the global care chain is a useful analytical tool, research on the global care chain needs to be further developed. As Yeates (2005) suggests research should encompass a wider range of migrant care workers, including skilled workers, and a wider range of family and household status, including single women migrating and migration for inter-generational care within families. She also argues that the focus should be broadened out to other settings to examine state and non-state care work settings in order to reflect the diversity of care services in the public, private and domestic environments, and to understand global care chains within changing historical contexts.

The global economy of care is driven by supply and demand from South to North and from South to South (Yeates 2004; Piper 2005). There are some important theoretical and policy questions about how we understand work and care in "adult worker" welfare regimes in the context of the global economy of care and geo-political inequalities. Looking at this from the perspective of the global economy of care, Williams and Gavanas (2005) provide a fascinating insight into the relationship between different migration regimes (covering immigration policies and practices) and care regimes (covering different types of care provision in the public, private or domestic settings). They argue that variations in care cultures are closely connected to the cultural legacy, cultural context and practices that have evolved over time around race, ethnicity and religion and which offer important insights into the formulation of policy.

Understanding how migrant labour shapes and changes welfare and care regimes can help to provide unique insights into the changing nature of social policy. The need for cross-national research that analyses the relationship between changing care regimes and the employment of migrant workers in care and domestic work settings is needed in this context.

8. The role of transnational social policy and governance on the migration-social policy nexus

Globalisation has redefined the role of the nation state and as the emerging literature on global and transnational social policy shows that social policy is directly affected by the creation of multi-tiered systems of governance (Deacon 2007, Yeates 2001). This can be seen, for example, in the role played by the World Bank and the IMF and the impact of economic globalisation in shaping both a global market in, and international migration for, the provision of public and private health and welfare services. The emergence of social movements, trade union action and NGOs locating their strategies for social justice and change at a global level are a direct response to globalisation and multi-tiered and transnational systems of governance.

It is not surprising then that international migration has implications for national, regional and global governance structures (Deacon 2007). There are also formal and informal

institutional, organizational and political processes that can impact on the linkages between migration, social policy and service provisioning in developing and developed countries. For example, one of the most significant barriers to social development is corruption and unnecessary bureaucracy, coupled with a lack of trust in government institutions, a lack of infrastructure and inadequate or inappropriate policy frameworks. However, there exists no multilateral forum to address the links between poverty reduction, social policy and migration (UN 2005).

An international approach to migration, including multilateral, global and inter-governmental cooperation needs to address the social effects of global economic and migratory movements, and the social dimension of international migration. The social policy implications of global migration are multi-layered and are increasingly located at global, regional and national levels. The role and activities played by international organizations and the International Financial Institutions play a crucial role in shaping social policy, and in turn reconfiguring the role of the state as a provider of welfare. The geo-political relationships that have evolved in response to migration, which include inter-governmental policy networks and cooperation between and across different nation states, are equally important in linking migration from countries of destination, transit or origin. These intersect with separate national policy frameworks that address migration policy and social policy in a migration context in countries of destination, transit or origin.

Yeates and Deacon (2006) have highlighted the value and potential of regional approaches to migration, social policy and social development in areas such as regional social redistribution, social rights and social regulation in social security, education, utilities, health and labour. Geo-political changes resulting from globalization, economic regional cooperation and migration have seen social policy making take a global and regional dimension. In this respect the European Union's social policy development since the 1950's has resulted in a social policy framework that is integral to European economic growth and cohesion. Regional Consultative Migration Processes (RCMPs) are one example of this cooperation at the regional level, which have been a source of learning and capacity building around migration policy, cooperation and sharing of best practices between policy makers. However, they tend to exclude NGOs and participation from civil society and have limited social policy considerations. Regional economic groupings can be found in the Free Trade Association of the Americas (FTAA) and APEC linking countries in the Pacific. Examples of social policy considerations addressed in regional groupings include cooperation for poverty alleviation, child welfare and trafficking of women and children in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, and in the Andean Community a regional plan exists for social development, including regional monitoring of the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.

The shift in the development of migration policy away from national approaches to global policy cooperation has been a response to international migration particularly concerning refugee movements (Thouez and Channac 2005). However, existing migration legal regimes are considered outdated in that they were formed to respond to

refugee problems arising from the second world war, whereas labour migration, integration and issues connected to family reunification have remained with national level policies that have tended to focus on putting in place restrictions and to ensuring that there is social-economic stability (Overbeek 2001).

Finally, as Piper (2005b) points out it is important to highlight the social aspects of development by addressing political participation and political organizing of, and by, migrant workers. This includes the right to join or organize trade unions or form other organizations (as expressed in article 26 of the ICRM which applies to all migrant workers, including undocumented workers). This would also involve the right not to have to migrate and as the PSI (Public Services International) have argued “all workers have the right to remain in their home lands or migrate without economic or cultural coercion” (PSI 1996). The ILO’s rights-based approach to migration (2004) corresponds with a growing interest by governments in the migration-development nexus and the benefits that can be gained for migrant diasporas in a transnational setting (Piper 2005b).

9. Conclusions

This chapter has argued that in the future international migration needs to be closely connected to a transnational approach to social policy. The emergence of transnational social policy and the migration-social policy nexus are useful analytical categories to show the connections between social policy and migration policy. In the future the elaboration and articulation of the migration-social policy nexus will require improved research, data and evidence. In this paper the migration-social policy nexus has been discussed in relation to national and transnational approaches to social policy and migration policy, in areas such as migrant diasporas and remittances, transnational care networks and transnational governance structures. Specific issues have been raised about the social policy impacts of the migration of women in the care sector, of children affected by migration, and of the social protection and social rights of the most vulnerable and marginalized migrants. It has also shown that social welfare systems not only have to adapt to international migration in countries of origin, transit and destination, but also that migration policy frameworks can hinder important connections between migrants and their homelands and the development of social welfare systems.

How these issues coalesce in the development of welfare regimes and how social welfare systems adapt to and are affected by migration raises a number of important and tentative questions. What is the role and impact of migration policies, social policies and integration policies in developed countries in shaping the social and economic development outcomes of countries of origin? How far are the social welfare systems of countries of origin enabled or constrained by migration policies and what types of migration regimes would be most suitable to and integrated with transnational social policy in a social development context?

There are eight specific research themes that have emerged from these discussions:

First, theoretical and empirical research studies could helpfully provide an improved integration of migration policy and social policy, in areas such as the implications of

migration for welfare systems and future strategies on poverty reduction, development goals and national and international development aid. Research questions include how can the social development potential of migrants be enhanced? What is the impact of rights based approaches to migration and lessening the barriers to migration experienced by many migrants (e.g. forced into longer term migration, poor working conditions etc); how can aid and migration regimes work in tandem for social development outcomes?

Second, country case studies could examine how migration issues can be integrated into census and household panel data, the factors that make migration work to the advantage of disadvantage of a country, and in turn to act as a catalyst to government social policies. Examples of outcomes are targeted programmes for children affected by migration, the transportability of pensions and other social welfare benefits, social protection for vulnerable and temporary migrants, and policies that improve channels to enhance the social benefits of remittances. Country case studies could focus on South-South migration flows in Latin America, Asia and Africa, and east-West flows in Europe.

Third, is the development of typologies of welfare regimes that take account of the migration-social policy nexus. What types of welfare regimes benefit countries affected by migration and how are welfare regime developments affected by migration? The role of welfare regimes on patterns and flows of migration could help to identify what affects the profile and type of migrants.

Fourth, is the need for a better understanding of the role of remittances on social development in transforming welfare, through individual and collective forms of investment in social provision. This research needs to recognize the interdependence between the country or origin and destination and could examine the impact of remittances on social and political transformations at individual, household and state levels. Key questions are what are the social development value of remittances be facilitated (for example, through circulatory migration and in the context of South-South migration) and what are the social, political and development conditions that need to be put in place in countries of origin to ensure that remittances are utilized effectively for social development? How can migration policies in countries of destination be formulated and reformulated to impact on social development and social policy in countries of origin and therefore how can the migration-social policy nexus can be further developed to make the connections?

Fifth, is the impact of migration policy on the brain drain or brain gain in the provision of welfare services. What implications does the diversity and circular pattern of contemporary patterns of migration have for social policy and service provision in developing countries, and what are the implications of this in both South-North and South-South contexts?

Sixth, is the global economic of care on changing gender and care regimes and particularly for extending the analytical scope of the global care chain and its relevance to South-South migration. In the area of the global shortage in skilled health care workers it is interesting to raise the question as to whether international migration exacerbates

inequalities or whether it brought a knowledge and skill dividend to developing countries of origin. What are the impacts of the global shortage of health, social care and workers in other sectors on service provisioning, social development, health and well-being in countries of origin? How is migrant labour in health shaping and changing welfare and care regimes, and geo-political inequalities in countries of origin and destination? Little is known about the impact of international migration on family care and parenting patterns, as well as the socialization of children and family cohesion. Research could helpfully link international migration and emotional costs.

Seventh, are the organizational and political conditions and processes that are central to transformations in social welfare. How can national, regional and transnational policy political and policy networks, as well as social institutions and organizations, play a role in linking migration to social development and social policy. How are migrant diasporas, community based and migrant led organizations influencing these developments?

Finally, is the role of migrants as agents of social development. Current thinking among researchers, policymakers and donor agencies in developed countries is to view migrants as agents of social development in their roles as returning with newly acquired skills and valuable knowledge to their country of origin. There is scope for research on the impact of migration on broader social development (in areas such as education, health, social welfare, political participation) and the link between social development and democratization of human relations (anti-discrimination in terms of class, race, nationality/ethnicity, and gender). It would be of interest to examine and research those countries that have benefited from returning migrants (for example, Ireland) with a view to analysing what was the dividend in terms of social policy and social development has been.

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