Migrants in society: diversity and cohesion

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INTRODUCTION

One of the few generalisations regarding international migration, which has been totally consistent across space and time, is that it is always selective. Migrants are never a random cross section of the populations at either their place of origin or their destination. Accordingly, the impacts of the losses or gains of people at both ends of the migration process can be out of proportion to the numbers involved in the movement. Migration historically has been the process by which different ethnic, cultural, language, religious and groups have come into contact and thus presented both migrants and host communities with many challenges. In the contemporary era of globalisation, the potential for such mixing has reached unprecedented levels so that the challenges of coping with diversity are increasing and will increase further. Migrants are often perceived as the "other" and regarded with suspicion by receiving communities, at least during the initial period of settlement. Much of the controversy and problems associated with contemporary migration is associated with this issue. Castles and Miller (2003, 14) have identified two central global issues, which have arisen from the mass population movements of the current epoch – the regulation of international migration on the one hand, and its effects on increasing ethnic diversity on the other.

The present paper seeks to firstly summarise the cluster of issues, problems and dilemmas associated with this increasing cultural diversity emanating from global mobility and secondly to assess the range of policy options that have been adopted in relation to that diversity. Its specific objectives are:

- To identify the principle policy challenges relating to the social and cultural dimensions of international migration.
- To explore the impact of international migration in its different forms on host societies and culture.
- To analyse the difficult ways in which states, other institutional actors and migrants themselves are approaching the social and cultural dimensions of international migration including policies and practices related to assimilation, integration (and non integration), multiculturalism, transnationalism and citizenship.
- To explore the potential tension that exists between social disunity on one hand, and social cohesion on the other, identifying lessons learned and good practice in relation to these issues and their applicability across different regions.
- To examine the impact of transnational social networks, family reunion and domestic integration policies on the size, direction, duration and organisation of migratory moves and explore the implications of such linkages for future migration policies.

SOME KEY FEATURES OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY

Global international migration is increasing exponentially not only in scale but also in the types of mobility and the cultural diversity of groups involved in that movement. As a result more nations and communities will have to cope with increased levels of social and cultural diversity. Moreover, the nature of the migration itself is changing so that the lessons of the past with respect to coping with that diversity may no longer be appropriate. Experience in some parts of the world suggest that it may be difficult to reconcile the increasing diversity with social harmony and social cohesion.

1.   It is occurring on an increasing scale

There can be no doubt that international migration has entered the calculus of choice of a much larger proportion of the global population as they weigh up their life chances than has ever been the case. Hence, more people are moving between nations, and whereas in the early postwar decades migration was a factor of significance for only a small minority of nations it is now important for a majority of countries. The latest United Nations World Migration Report 2003 (United Nations 2004) estimates the number of migrants (persons outside their country of birth) increased from 84 million in 1985 to 175 million in the year 2000. Moreover, it is projected to increase to 230 million in 2050. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) confirms that an increasing number of countries are hiring foreign workers rising from 42 in 1970 to 90 in 1990. They estimate there are around 100 million migrant workers world wide – 20 million in Africa, 18 million in North America, 12 million in Central and South America, 7 million in South and East Asia, 9 million in the Middle East and 30 million in Europe (*Asian Migration News*, 16-31 January 2005). Moreover these figures undoubtedly underestimate the amount of movement since data collection systems are poor and much mobility which occurs is clandestine. In addition, since much of the movement is circular, the actual numbers of persons who have ever lived in a foreign nation is larger than those currently abroad because of the revolving door pattern of much global migration. The reality of greatly increased global significance is nowhere more evident than in Asia, which with 57.3 percent of the globe's population must loom large in any consideration of the world's population. Each decade the United Nations makes a formal assessment of the population issues which are of concern in the region. The 1972 assessment (United Nations 1972) did not mention international migration once, reflecting the fact that it simply was not important in most Asian nation states. The transformation three decades later is reflected in the latest assessment (United Nations 2002) where it looms large as one of the regions most significant and pressing population issues.

2.   It is involving a wider diversity of ethnic and cultural groups

Whereas in the early postwar years international migration was dominated by that among the so called "north" countries, the major direction of movement is now from low income to high income nations. Every year it is estimated 2.3 million people emigrate from developing to more developed nations and now account for two thirds of population growth in the West (United Nations 2004). There are substantial migrations out of the worlds' largest countries of China and India but virtually all low income nations experience it to a greater or lesser extent. In some nations the outflow is so great as to slow down national population growth (e.g. Mexico and the Philippines). The much greater involvement of Asia, Africa and Latin America in global immigration is increasing the cultural diversity of migration flows, especially that into OECD nations. Migration has through history involved the mixing of diverse groups but in the contemporary context the diversity of migrants has increased substantially.

3.   The replacement of more or less permanent migration by circulation as the dominant paradigm of global migration

One of the most striking differences however has been the replacement of more or less permanent migration by circulation as the dominant paradigm of global migration. Indeed some have called for the rethinking of the concept of international migration which so often has been associated with permanent relocation. Of course "sojourning" involving circulation

between origin and destination and only a temporary commitment to the place of destination have a long history in global population mobility. Much of the Chinese migration to Southeast Asia and Australia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, was of this type (Skeldon and Hugo 1999; Choi 1975). However this circulation is now occurring on an unprecedented scale and has been facilitated by developments such as the revolution in transport, which has seen the real costs of international travel plummet and their speed increase. Accordingly, it is now much more possible for people to work in one nation while keeping their "home" in another country than was ever the case previously. Moreover, the cheapening of international telephone communication and the emergence of the internet has enabled temporary migrants to maintain intimate and regular contact with their home area. This does not mean permanent settlement is insignificant. Indeed it has increased and often is associated with migrants maintaining strong relationships with their origin countries. However, the new reality is that more people are living and working in one country but still call another country home, many of their family members remain there and they maintain a fundamental commitment to the homeland.

4. The emergence of transnationalism and transnational communities

Linked to the increasing degree of circularity in international movement has been the emergence of transnationalism which refers to the multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the boundaries of nation states (Vertovec 1999, 447). While such long distance ties have a long history, new technologies in transport and communication have facilitated greater speed, efficiency and intimacy in such connections and relationships. As Portes, Guarnizo and Landholt (1999) point out, it is the massive contemporary scale and simultaneity of long distance, cross border activities which provide the recently emergent and distinctive and in some cases, normative social structures and activities which has led to the emergence of transnationalism. Vertovec (1999) explains that transnationalism is grounded on six distinct conceptual promises.

(a) Social morphology – social formations spanning borders – in particular, diasporas (Cohen 1997; Butler 2001) and networks (Castells 1996).
(b) Type of consciousness – increasing numbers of people have dual or multiple identifications (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc 1992).
(c) Modes of cultural reproduction – involving cultural interpretation and blending across a range of areas of life. A significant channel for the flow of cultural phenomena and the transformation of identity is through global media and communication.
(d) Avenue of capital – a new mode of global economic practices through Trans National Corporations (TNCs) and a transnational capitalist class comprising TNC executives, globalising bureaucrats, politicians and professionals and consumerist elites in merchandising and the media. Remittances are an increasingly important source of income to families in many LDCs.
(e) Site of political engagement – an increasing transnational political activity involving groups like international non-government organizations (INGOs), Transnational Social Movement Organisations (TSMOs) and ethnic diasporas. The politics of homeland is also important.
(f) (Re)construction of place and locality – production of *places*, social fields that connect and position actors between physical and virtual places through high mobility, the internet, telecommunications, satellite T.V., etc.

As Glick-Schiller et al. (1995) have pointed out…

several generations of researchers have viewed immigrants as persons who uproot themselves, leave behind home and country, and face the painful process of incorporation into a different society and culture ….A new concept of transnational migration is emerging, however, that questions this long-held conceptualisation of immigrants, suggesting that in both the U.S. and Europe increasing numbers of migrants are best understood as 'transmigrants'.

5.   The increasing significance of diaspora

As indicated above there has been increasing interest in diaspora. The term diaspora has been employed in a number of contexts. Although its origins lay in the Greek word "to colonize" it was until relatively recently used to refer largely to a group of people who are linked by common ethno-linguistic and/or religious bonds who have left their homeland, usually under some form of force, and who have developed a strong identity and mutual solidarity in exile. The Jewish diaspora has been the classic example (Cohen 1997).   In the contemporary context, with the acceleration in international mobility, the term has been used more broadly to encompass expatriate populations who are living outside of their home countries (Safran 1991; Vertovec 1997).   Reis (2004, 46) distinguishes between two groups of diaspora theorists. On the one hand are those who focus on "classical" diaspora based on the Jewish archetype, while on the other are those who co-mingle contemporary diaspora with issues of transnationalism and globalisation.   Safran (1991) has identified the following defining characteristics of diasporas as a basis for systematic comparative analyses of diasporas:

- dispersal to two or more locations
- collective mythology of homeland
- alienation from hostland
- idealization of return to the homeland
- ongoing relationship with the homeland

However as Reis (2004, 43) has pointed out…

> Very few modern day diaspora ascribe to all of the aforementioned characteristics. Safran did not intend that all of the above criteria should apply in order for a group to be considered a diaspora.

Butler (2001, 192-3) argues for the following common features of diaspora:

- a scattering of destinations
- a relationship to the homeland
- self awareness of the group's identity
- existence over two or more generations

He argues that diaspora needs to be viewed not only as an ethnicity but also as a framework for the study of a specific process of social formation.

While diasporas have a long history, the growth of the internet and other forms of international communication has made it easier for expatriates to maintain regular contact with their homes and with other elements in the diaspora. This raises crucial issues about individual identity and where people's primary allegiances lie.

While in the past the concept of diaspora has been confined to specific ethnic contexts, there is a growing recognition that the wider view of diaspora expressed by Butler is of significance and that it is a crucially important social, cultural and economic unit in the contemporary world. Reis (2004, 47) has written

> [t]he emphasis or adherence to the state centric model in the realm of international relations has contributed to the sidelining of entities known as diaspora as a valuable unit of analysis. In this sense, the nation state cannot account for certain features in the emerging global political economy, which can be better explained by using diaspora.

The growing significance of diaspora in the contemporary world is reflected in Portes[1] contention that it is impossible to understand the sociology of many nations without consideration of their diaspora.

6.   The importance of spatial dimensions and global cities

While the unit of analysis of international population movement is usually and understandably the nation state it is important to recognise that migrants are drawn from, and disproportionately attracted to, particular regions of those nations. Hence, the impacts of migration are concentrated in those particular areas. The changes in global migration patterns have coincided with (and are related to) the emergence of "global" or "world" cities. It is the largest metropolitan areas in countries, which are most tightly linked into the global economy, which are the predominant targets of international migrants. As Sassen (2001) has explained, these cities are the places where the new highly mobile global elite of highly skilled professionals, managers and entrepreneurs concentrate. Moreover, in these cities labour market segmentation is occurring with the creation of many low status, low income and low security service jobs which are eschewed by the native population and open up opportunities for less skilled migrants. These cities are, hence, absorbing a greater proportion of all migrants. Cities, which are linked most strongly into global economic networks, are the ones where most international migrants settle. Hence, while the scale of global migration has increased massively, they have tended to concentrate more and more in the major globally connected cities in the destination countries. There can be no doubt that challenges of diversity, harmony and cohesion are magnified and are particularly pronounced where migrants concentrate. This is especially the case in world cities which absorb the greatest proportion of migrants and where poorer members of the host population may reside. Hence, in addressing issues of diversity and social cohesion it is important to adopt regional, city and local scales of analysis and policy development as well as operate at a national level.

7.   There is an increasing polarisation or bifurcation in international migration

One of the features of the new international mobility is that it is less selective than in the past. The option to move is now within the conscious calculus of choice of a wider spectrum of gender, ethnic, regional, socio-economic and cultural groups than ever before. However, Another of the new dimensions of international migration has been what Castles and Miller (2003) refer to as a "bifurcation". On the one hand, mobility of highly skilled professionals, managers and entrepreneurs between countries has been greatly facilitated by streamlining visa application systems, increasingly international labour markets, etc.. On the other, the

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[1] Presentation to Conference on African Migration and Urbanisation in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa, 4-7 June, 2003.

movement of less advantaged groups has become increasingly constrained by the erection of greater barriers to entry than was the case in the past. Hence, while the option to move may be there for many of the poor, the unskilled, etc. they are often confronted by greater barriers than is the case for the empowered elite skilled groups. Accordingly, many are forced into becoming irregular migrants, while others are subject to crippling transaction costs in the migration process and substantial barriers to their inclusion at the destination. Hence, the challenges of increased diversity and cultural difference may be felt more strongly among poorer migrant populations and diasporas than is the case among highly skilled migrants (Koser and Salt 1997).

8.   Social networks have proliferated and increased in significance

It is one of the enduring myths of international migration that most migrants arrived wide eyed, Dick Wittington like at alien destination not knowing anything about, or anybody, there. It is clear that most international migrants do not move in situations of great uncertainty. Most move to places where they have family or friends who are already established. This link often assists them in migrating (funding, sponsorship, etc.) but is crucial in assisting their adjustment at the destination by providing them with an initial place to stay, helping them get a job, providing social and economic support, etc. In effect, most migrants move to a place where they have social capital. The exponential expansion in global migration in the last two decades has seen a proliferation of these social networks linking potential migrants in low income countries to friends or relatives in high income countries. New migrants in a destination provide an important piece of social capital to their friends and relatives at home. Accordingly, a significant and increasing proportion of potential migrants in low income countries have linkages to people in high income countries, along which they can migrate. Social networks are a key intermediary in new migrants' interaction with, and adjustment to, the host society as well as an essential element in the maintenance and operation of diaspora. Networks have important social, psychological, cultural, religious and economic functions which are rarely considered in the development of policy toward migration and migrants.

9.   There is a proliferating global immigration industry

Like networks, this involves complex webs linking origin and destination communities but not involving family. It is the complex group of migration agents, brokers, lawyers, travel providers, officials, housing providers, document forges, middlemen and middlewomen, remittance media, etc. who facilitate migration to, and adjustment at, the destination. They operate both within and beyond the law. They are too often dismissed as people smugglers although that group are of significance. The fact is that there are a whole range of actors beyond officials and family who play crucial roles in the migration and adjustment processes. While rarely considered in examining the social dimensions of migration they often play a fundamental role.

10.   There is an increasing involvement of women in migration

Another of the abiding myths relating to migration is that it has involved mainly men and when women move it is largely as "passive" followers of men. This has never been true and is especially not relevant in the contemporary migration scene where there is extensive and increasing involvement of women. In several Asian nations, for example, (Hugo 2005) women outnumber men in labour migration as they do in much south-north migration (Hugo
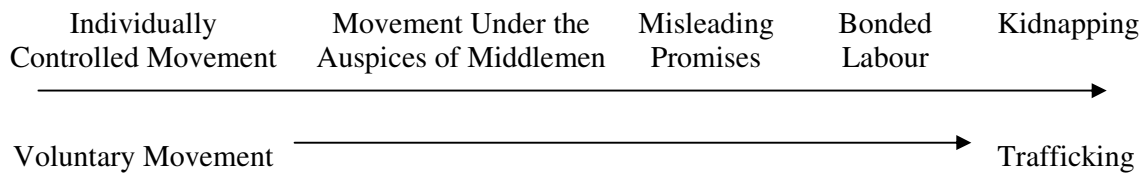
1997). This movement tends to be more occupationally selective than for males. A large number of female labour migrants work in the domestic service in other Asian nations or the Middle East. Such work often exposes women to exploitation because of its isolation and the lack of coverage of the home by workplace legislation in destination nations. Hence overwork, poor conditions and sexual abuse frequently occurs. The role and status of women is undergoing rapid change throughout the world as indicated by rising education, increasing labour force participation, and the growing use of contraceptives. Little is known about the impact of these changes on population mobility, or whether or not international migration empowers or subordinates women. Too much of the migration research remains gender-blind, or, even worse, relegates women to the category of "associational" migrants, even though their independent migration is clearly gathering pace. The fact that women do often move for marriage, domestic duties and jobs in entertainment or the sex industry means they are uniquely vulnerable to exploitation.

On the surface, increased migration of women would appear to offer them awareness for social and economic improvement. Frequently, moves are between contexts where, other things being equal, one might expect some empowerment to occur (rural to urban, familial labour to enterprise production, traditional to modern). Leaving home often involves moving away from the immediate control of a traditional, patriarchal family to a situation where women are paid for their work and retain control over their earnings. For the first time they may live away from home and are exposed to a range of new, nontraditional ideas and to a wider range of people. Although such transitions can and do result in empowerment, this outcome is by no means automatic. Indeed, migration can operate to preserve and even strengthen the status quo with respect to gender relations (Hugo 1997) and many female migrants continue to move into very vulnerable situations, creating a pressing need for policies and programmes to protect their rights (Lim and Oishi 1996).

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN DESTINATION COUNTRIES

In the exponential increase in scale and diversity of international migration, it is common to present issues in dichotomous terms – permanent vs temporary migration, legal vs illegal movement, forced vs voluntary movement, etc. The reality is that in many cases such distinctions are not easily made and the variables are continuous rather than dichotomous. An example in point relates to undocumented and documented migration systems which are not totally separate, although they are often portrayed as such. Usually undocumented flows duplicate documented flows, some middlemen and officials are involved in both types of movement and the networks established by documented migrants are often utilised by later undocumented migrants. Undocumented labour migration can be differentiated along a wide spectrum ranging from totally voluntary movement in which the mover controls the migration process through to kidnapping and trafficking at the other extreme. While there is a great deal of justified concern globally about trafficking of workers, there is an array of other undocumented migration types and a more meaningful differentiation of undocumented labour migration is depicted in Table 1. This shows a continuum of types of undocumented movement. At one extreme are migrants who control each aspect of their own movement. In fact there is much exploitation of "legal" migrants and policy needs to not only focus on trafficking in addressing exploitation in migration.

Table 1:   A continuum of undocumented international migration

Individually Controlled Movement	Movement Under the Auspices of Middlemen	Misleading Promises	Bonded Labour	Kidnapping

Voluntary Movement ⟶ Trafficking

One of the frequently used binaries in migration study is between receiving and sending countries. In fact in a globalising world all nations are influenced by both immigration and emigration although one usually assumes more significance than the other. For convenience here, social issues are considered for destination and origin countries separately. However it must be recognized that nations simultaneously experience immigration and emigration so that issues regarding both are relevant in individual countries. Firstly we will consider some issues associated with immigration.

Increased multicultural diversity

While historic migrations have led to increases in diversity in nations, there can be no doubt that the contemporary increases in international mobility have increased the amount of diversity within nations. The massive extension of global international migration so that it embraces a wider range and a greater number of destination and origin countries has implications for diversity. Clearly the increasing prevalence of south-north migration means that the numbers of settlers from ethnic groups, cultures and religions, which are quite different from those of the majority of the host populations, has increased. This is evident in recent work undertaken by the OECD, which aimed at assembling data on the stock of foreign-born population in OECD nations largely drawn from OECD censuses. The new data base on immigrants and expatriates in OECD nations is the first internationally comparable data set with detailed information on the foreign-born population for almost all members of the OECD and details of immigrants from around 100 countries of origin (Dumont and Lemaitre 2005), 4-5). These data represent a considerable underestimate of the migrant population for a number of reasons:

(a)   Censuses may seek to exclude persons who are not citizens and/or permanent residents which will exclude some expatriates.
(b)   In some cases, expatriates have not got full working rights and avoid being counted in an official census.
(c)   Some expatriates avoid being counted in national censuses because they perceive that it is not relevant to them.
(d)   The census may not be able to identify all expatriates since it may have only a question on birthplace, which doesn't necessarily identify expatriates, or it may only have a question on citizenship which has similar problems.
(e)   Undocumented migrants often seek to avoid inclusion in the census.
(f)   Second and later generations are excluded.
(g)   Data are not available for all countries (e.g. the OECD data set excludes Italy – an important migrant destination).

The limitations of this data can be seen from the fact that the 2001 census of the United Kingdom counted the number of Australians as 107,817 but other estimates place the number of Australian expatriates in the UK as 300,000 (MacGregor 2003).

Table 2 presents some of their results which indicate that in the OECD nations in 2000 there were enumerated 106.8 million foreign-born persons. Of these over a fifth (23.9 million) came from other OECD nations in North America, Europe and Oceania. This compares to 16.8 million from Asia, 15.6 million from Latin America, 12.1 million from elsewhere in Europe, 7.1 million from Africa and 5.2 million from the Caribbean. Table 3 shows some estimates of the size of the diaspora of some national populations of MDCs and LDCs and it can be seen that they are substantial in size.

Table 2: **Percentage of foreign-born and non-citizens in the total population in OECD countries**

Source: Dumont and Lemaitre 2005, 6

	Percentage of	
	Foreign-born	Non-citizens
Mexico	0.5	..
Turkey	1.9	..
Poland	2.1	0.1
Slovak Republic	2.5	0.5
Finland	2.5	1.7
Hungary	2.9	0.9
Czech Republic	4.5	1.2
Spain	5.3	3.8
Portugal	6.3	2.2
Denmark	6.8	5.0
Norway	7.3	4.3
United Kingdom	8.3	..
France	10.0	5.6
Netherlands	10.1	4.2
Greece	10.3	7.0
Ireland	10.4	5.9
Belgium	10.7	8.2
Sweden	12.0	5.3
United States	12.3	6.6
Germany	12.5	..
Austria	12.5	8.8
Canada	19.3	5.3
New Zealand	19.5	..
Switzerland	22.4	20.5
Australia	23.0	7.4
Luxembourg	32.6	36.9
Japan[1]	..	1.0
Korea[1]	..	0.3
Weighted average for above countries	**7.8**	**4.5**

1. In the absence of place-of-birth data for Japan and Korea, it has been assumed that all non-citizens are foreign-born and that nationals are native-born.

Table 3:   **National diasporas in relation to resident national populations**
Source: US Census Bureau 2002a and b; Southern Cross 2002; Bedford 2001;
                   Ministry of External Affairs, India, **http://indiandiaspora.nic.in**; Naseem
                   1998; Sahoo 2002; Iguchi 2004; Guitierrez 1999; Dimzon 2005

USA:	7 million – 2.5 percent of national population
Australia:	900,000 – 4.3 percent of national population
New Zealand:	850,000 – 21.9 percent of national population
Philippines:	7.5 million – 9.0 percent of national population
India:	20 million – 1.9 percent of national population
Pakistan:	4 million – 2.8 percent of national population
China:	30 to 40 million – 2.9 percent of national population
Japan:	873,641 – 0.7 percent of national population
Mexico	19 million* – 19 percent of national population

* Mexican diaspora in the U.S.

From the perspective of this paper, the following points need to be made. For many of the destination countries like those listed in Table 2, multicultural diversity wrought by the new migration is a new phenomenon. Many nation states have hitherto been relatively culturally and ethnically homogeneous and indeed that has been one of the bases on which national solidarity has been built. Whereas net migration was only a significant factor in the population growth of the New Migration countries (Canada, US, Australia, New Zealand) in the early postwar years, it now accounts for an important part of growth in all developed nations. The United Nations (2002), estimates that around 56 percent of population growth in more developed nations between 1990 and 2000 was due to net migration gains from less developed areas. In the European Union nations as a whole, net migration has contributed more to population growth than natural increase since the late 1980s (OECD 2003). Moreover, migrants are major contributors to the natural increase element of population increase in OECD nations. In some OECD countries births to foreign women make up a substantial and increasing proportion of all births. Luxemburg (49 percent), Switzerland (22.5 percent), Australia (23.2 percent) and England and Wales (15 percent) are some cases in point (OECD 2003, 56). However, even in nations where migration is a very new phenomenon, births to foreign women are increasing. In Taiwan 15 percent of all births are to foreign women (Hugo and Thi 2004). The significance of the unprecedented rapid growth of a second generation in which at least one parent is from a different cultural ethnic background than the national majority population, is increasingly important in discussing policies to cope with increased diversity.

The point is that there is little reason to anticipate that the current drivers of accelerated global mobility are diminishing in influence. These include:

- a widening in the demographic gradients between more developed and less developed countries with youth populations growing substantially in the latter and declining in the former.
- a widening in economic gradients producing even greater gaps in wages.
- globalisation of labour markets and internationalisation of other economic activity.
- the cheapening of international transport.
- increased levels of formal education.
- proliferation of mass media.
- the growth of the international migration industry.

- the spread of international social networks which have meant that many Asians now have social capital in the form of friends and relatives living in foreign countries.
- labour market segmentation in destinations ensures a continuation of demand for migrant workers.

All of these drivers are increasing in their effect so that the outlook is for international mobility especially south-north movement to increase.

As a result of the increased and increasing scale of international migration, nation states have become more involved in attempting to influence its flow. This is evident in Figure 1, which shows the substantial increase in the numbers of laws and regulations relating to migration enacted in the last decade. The United Nations (2002, 21) reports that in the 1990s over 100 countries enacted legislation or signed agreements relating to migration.

Figure 1:   **National laws and regulations concerning migration by year of enactment**
Source: United Nations 2002
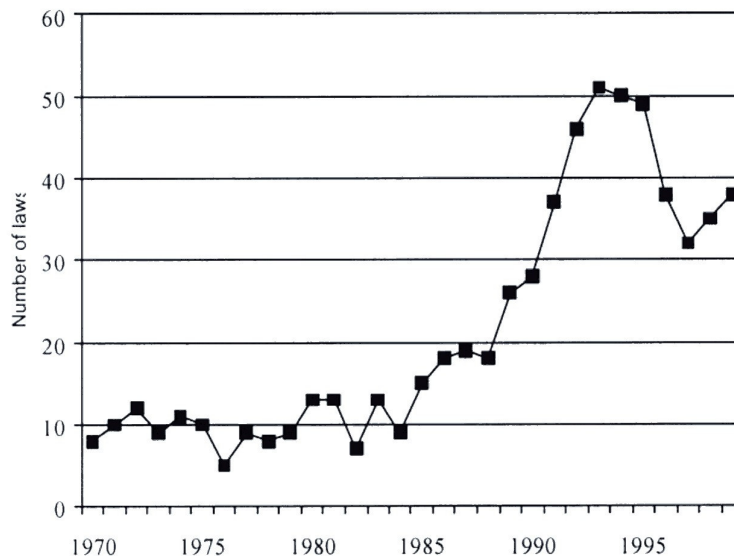
With all of these forces in operation and the intensification of globalisation forces strengthening interdependencies and linkages between nations, it is apparent that international migration is going to continue and increase. Moreover several of these structural features operate to a degree independently from fluctuations in economic conditions and of the policies and programmes initiated by receiving countries. Hence, it is difficult to see any realistic future scenario other than one, which sees high income nations experiencing increased ethnic and cultural heterogeneity over the early years of the twenty first century. This makes it all the more important for those countries to develop effective ways of coping with this increased diversity.

Temporary vs permanent migration

Many aspects of international migration are subject to national approaches, policies and laws. Part of the sovereignty of Nation-States is to have control over who is admitted to the country. Here the most fundamental decision is whether the nation accepts immigrants as settlers, as temporary residents or a mix of the two. However there are some issues which are universal. Even if a nation admits migrants on a contractual basis and rejects the idea that migrants settle

and become a permanent member of society they are obliged to recognise the rights due to the migrant workers under international law. In Asia, for example, there are increasing numbers of nations which are unable to meet their internal labour requirements due to fertility decline, rapid economic growth and labour market segmentation. The majority of such nations have opted for policies which allow the entry of temporary migrant workers. As Castles (2003, p. 6) has correctly pointed out, the dominant policy model for dealing with migration and ethnic diversity in Asia migrant destination countries can be summed up in the following principles:

- Immigrants should not be allowed to settle.
- Foreign residents should not be offered citizenship except in exceptional circumstances.
- National culture and identity should not be modified in response to external influences.

Accordingly, the bulk of Asian and Middle Eastern nations which are destinations for Asian migrants have adopted policies which attempt to ensure that the stay of migrant workers is temporary. The major exceptions are for those with high levels of financial or human capital where countries like Singapore have encouraged such workers to settle. Where other migrants are able to enter under temporary immigration criteria, their rights are generally severely curtailed in comparison to citizens. The destination country puts in place a range of measures designed to ensure the unskilled migrant worker returns, such as:

- Disallow family to accompany or visit the worker.
- Limit the travel of the worker within the country.
- Tie them to a single employer.
- Disallow them to marry citizens.
- Enforce other restrictions on rights and movement.

However, some would argue that there is a need to reassess the prevailing mindset regarding temporary migrants in many destination countries. This is summarised in the oft-repeated phrase that 'there is nothing as permanent as a temporary migrant'. The fear that temporary unskilled workers will stay grew out of the experience of post-war Europe when several countries opted to cope with labour shortages by importing temporary guest workers but these groups subsequently developed substantial permanent communities. However, it is relevant to ask whether in the contemporary situation temporary migration is necessarily a prelude to permanent settlement. There is some evidence that this is less the case than in the past because modern forms of transport and communication have greatly reduced the friction of distance between origin and destination countries. This has meant that migrants are able to maintain closer and more intimate linkages with their home area than ever before. Cheapening the cost of phone calls, the introduction of email and fax and the cheapening and speeding up of international travel have not only made it possible for migrants to interact in real time with their home country on a regular basis but visit home more frequently in emergencies and for breaks. This has greatly reduced the imperative for many temporary workers wanting their family to join them in the destination. Indeed, in the writer's experience, many low skilled migrant workers see a number of advantages of maintaining a regular pattern of circular international migration in preference to permanent settlement at the destination for the following reasons:

- They are able to 'earn' in the high income, high cost destination and 'spend' in the low income, low cost origin and hence maximise the purchasing power of their earnings.
- They seek to retain the traditional cultural language and other associations of their homeland.
- They wish to maintain strong family linkages and this can be more easily done at home rather than at the destination.

In the contemporary situation, in the right contexts, circulation can become a permanent international migration strategy. However, this does presuppose the migrant worker being able to interact freely with her/his home country. Frequently, it is the case that such interaction is made difficult, especially where the migrant workers are undocumented. Hence, increasing policing of the Mexico-United States border has resulted in a reduction in circulation and an increase of Mexicans permanently settling in the United States (Cornelius 2003).

The protection of the basic rights of temporary migrants presents an important challenge. Undoubtedly one of the main barriers to improving the situation of migrants and migrant workers are the often powerful vested interests in destination countries who perceive that they benefit from the inferior status of migrants and would suffer losses if they had equal rights with citizens. Very often, there is a strong business/capital lobby which wishes to preserve the lower wages, poorer conditions, lack of security etc. of migrant workers since this keeps their production costs down and increases profit. In some cases an argument is made that if migrant workers were treated the same as local workers then export markets would be lost because costs of production would not be competitive. There are other vested interests in government which also wish to see preservation of the status quo because they receive financial gain from recruiters of migrant workers, both from those operating within legal regulations and those outside of them; through unauthorised taxes and charges being placed on migrant workers themselves and from the employers of migrant workers. It needs to be appreciated that a substantial industry has grown up around the movement of migrant workers, both documented and undocumented and in many respects they have not always operated in the interests of individual workers and often in the interests of the employers and the intermediaries facilitating the migration. These interests will need to be overcome if the wellbeing of workers is going to be dominant. In many countries, too, corruption runs deep and also is a major barrier to change, especially where salaries for immigration officials, police border officials etc. are very low.

As indicated earlier, an increasingly important feature of destination countries is the development of labour market segmentation whereby certain sectors of the economy come to be dominated by migrant workers. These tend to be areas involving heavy manual work, low status, low wages and low security which are increasingly eschewed by the local labour force. There is a great deal of vested interest in maintaining low costs for labour in such areas. Even at the household level, many households want to keep the cost of domestic workers very low and may be opposed to foreign workers being granted equal status and conditions as local workers.

There is a need to recognize that non-permanent migration has become an important structural feature of contemporary economies. There are two components of this. The first, involving skilled, high income groups is relatively unproblematic with most such migrants being awarded a full range of appropriate rights. The greatest area of concern relates to the low skill, low income groups whose insecurity in the destination is associated with their ethnic, religious, cultural or language difference to the host population, the tenuous legality of their presence and restrictions on their rights. There are a number of challenges in the destination countries of migrant workers including the following:

- Breaking down unsubstantiated stereotyping of migrants and unfair scapegoating of migrations for crime, the spread of disease, environmental degradation and other problems among the media, the government and the community.

- Developing a widespread understanding of the need for migration in the host society and its significance for the country's long term sustainability and prosperity.
- Avoiding discrimination of immigrants in wider society.
- Ensuring that the real criminals in the migration system are detected and punished (exploitative employers, agents, traffickers, etc.) while migrants are not unfairly victimised.
- The development of the institutions and institutional framework which will facilitate the adjustment of migrants to local labour markets, housing markets and society generally.
- Above all the protection of the basic rights of migrant workers.
- Development of systems which facilitate and encourage (as opposed to forcing) the return of migrant workers. These could include:
  - Total portability of pensions. In South Korea, for example, all workers contribute part of their wages to the national pension scheme but only 16 nations have existing arrangements for reciprocal rights so that many foreign workers are not able to get their money back when their contract expires. It has been estimated that US$32 million has been contributed by migrant workers who are not eligible (*Asian Migrant News* 16-31 October 2004).
  - Facilitating migrant workers to travel freely to their origin country and visit family without incurring penalties or entry/exit expenses.
  - Facilitating interaction with home country.
  - Facilitating transfer of funds to the home country.

A corollary of the dominance of transnationalism discussed earlier is that there will be increased coming and going of migrant workers, skilled and unskilled, between nations. It is crucial therefore that there is an acceptance of the long term significance of this in both receiving and sending societies and that it not be seen as a temporary fix for short term labour deficits. It is therefore not only in the interests of the movers that institutions be developed to protect and support the workers but also to the benefit of the economies of the destination countries.

Integration of migrants

While there is increasing non-permanent movement there also will be increased permanent settlement of immigrants in destination nations. The integration of migrants into destination societies and economies is an issue of considerable and increasing public policy significance. It impacts across crucial national issues such as the maintenance and evolution of national identity, national sovereignty, political institutions, labour and housing markets, social welfare, security and education. Inclusion of migrants into the mainstream in these areas within destination countries can be hindered by:

- Perceptions by host populations of unwillingness of immigrants to embrace aspects of the mainstream society. This can be exacerbated by immigrants living together in spatially concentrated ethnic communities. However research on the latter has indicated that such communities can be highly effective in assisting newcomers to make the transition from origin to host society and economy in a relatively painless and effective way without imposing costs on government and community support systems.
- Exclusionist elements in social, education and other policies, which unfairly exclude immigrants from access to health, education and social security systems.
- Elements within labour markets, which discriminate against immigrants by non-recognition of qualifications, exclusion from some jobs on the basis of background rather than qualifications or proven ability and experience.

- Citizenship and residency qualification guidelines that restrict access of immigrants and their children (and subsequent generations).
- Racism and racial harassment cannot only be enormously distressing for immigrants but it can also be a substantial barrier to them adjusting to the host society.
- Immigrant groups' cultural and linguistic rights are not recognised in some host societies. These rights must be seen as basic rights. They can be fundamental to the cohesiveness and meaningfulness of the lives of immigrants yet they can be seen by some destination groups as divisive, separate and "other". In fact, the experience in countries like the United States, Canada and Australia has been that multicultural and multilingual diversity can be both culturally enriching and economically beneficial to host nations.

One of the fears that destination nations have with respect to immigration is that they will lose their perceived sovereign right to decide and control who can come to, or leave from, their nation. There is a fear, often exacerbated by uninformed and sensationalist media, that according full rights to migrants and/or migrant workers will lead to the country being swamped by newcomers. Such a scenario, however, is most unlikely for at least the following reasons:

- In the modern global international migration system there is an increasing dominance of non-permanent migration. Many movers prefer not to settle at the destination but to circulate to it (often on a relatively frequent or long term basis) and keep their family and citizenship in their home nation. This is made possible more than ever before by the reduced cost, speed and frequency of international travel and communication systems. In such contexts, strict compliance activity and hampering coming and going and communicating with the home area may lead migrant workers to settle at the destination and bring their family to join them.
- Governments often underestimate the pull of the home countries of migrant workers. It is assumed all will wish to settle.
- Full recognition of the rights of migrant workers in no way obliges nations to open their borders. Countries still have the power to decide who enters their nation. They retain full sovereignty. However, having granted people entry they then have obligations to ensure the migrants' full human rights are fully acknowledged and protected.

Moreover, the reluctance to allow migration and settlement is often based on a general misunderstanding of migration trends including:

- One of the most abiding fears expressed in destination countries is that migrant workers will take jobs away from nationals'. However, it is clear that this is not necessarily the case for a number of reasons. The first is that migrants are usually brought in to fill gaps in the local labour market. These could be skill gaps, which the local training/education system has been unable to fill, or they could be low status, low paid jobs that locals are unwilling to fill. Migrant workers are rarely encouraged to enter situations to compete directly with local workers. As such, the workers often can create more jobs by contributing to the economic growth of the destination country. Indeed, exhaustive research on the impacts of immigration in the developmental, traditional immigration nations has shown that the impact of immigration on jobs for local populations is at worst benign and at best it creates jobs (Wooden, *et al.*, 1994).
- The positive contributions made by migrants and migrant workers are often not acknowledged. Rapid economic growth, fertility decline and ageing often means that fast growing economies cannot meet their own labour market needs and shortages of numbers or types of workers becomes a constraint on growth.

- There is also often a failure to recognise that migrants and migrant workers usually contribute economically to the destination, not only through their work but also by paying tax, which should entitle them to access to the services and infrastructure provided by government. Indeed, their net contribution to the economy is often greater than non-migrants since the host nation has not had to bear the cost of the education, training and rearing of the migrant. In many cases they do not have to bear the cost of old age dependency either, since the migrant often spends their old age in the origin country.
- It is often not recognised that migration is a highly selective process which often means that it is the risk takers, entrepreneurs, self starting, hard working and skilled persons who are more prone to move. Hence, their impact in the economy can be disproportionately great as the experience of traditional migration nations like the United States, Canada and Australia has definitively shown.
- There are compelling arguments that countries wishing to avail themselves of the advantages occurring from increased global flows of e.g. finance, capital, and trade information need to recognise that increases in these beneficial flows may not be achieved without simultaneous increase in movements of people. More favorable insertion in global markets may entail more people moving into and out of the nation.
- There are clear interdependencies and relationships between various kinds of movement. Hence, a country's efforts to maximise income from tourism and incoming business people may well necessitate opening up the nation to other forms of movement. For example, it may be necessary to bring in nationals of origin countries to help provide services to tourists (such as language specific), and some tourists and business visitors may meet and marry locals etc.

Models of incorporation of migrants into destination societies

The term inclusion is used to refer to the process by which immigrants are incorporated into the receiving society. Governments have responded to the issue of integration of migrants in a range of ways and there are various frameworks available to consider these approaches (e.g. Castles and Miller 1998; Soysal 1996). Castles (1998, 247-250) argues that it is necessary in examining the incorporation of migrants to consider not only government policies but also:

- a range of social processes such as incorporation into social, economic and political structures.
- degree and nature of migrant participation in societal institutions.
- emergence of various forms of inequality.

He has identified four possible approaches to migrant incorporation:

(a) *Assimilation* – "… the incorporation of migrants into society through a one-sided process of adaptation in which migrants are expected to give up distinctive linguistic, cultural and social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population." (Castles 1998, 247)
This approach was dominant in the countries that experienced mass migration in the early postwar years and is inherent in human capital approaches to migration which imply that the State should leave all matters relating to migration to market mechanisms (Castles 1998, 248). Assimilation was dilegitimised as either a policy or analytical concept of the 1960s (Freeman 2004, 946; Zolberg 1997, 150). However, some commentators (Freeman 2004) have suggested that there is a need to reconsider the assimilationist model properly modified to account for the contemporary era (Alba and

Nee 1997), while others have detected evidence of a return to assimilation policies in Western democracies (Brubaker 2003; Freeman 2004, 946).

(b) *Integration* which "…refers to a process of mutual accommodation involving immigrants and the majority population." (Castles 1998, 248). Immigrants are expected to cease over time to be distinctive in culture and behaviour but there is also some adaptation on the part of the host society. Castles (1998, 248) shows that Australia and Canada and the United States have adopted aspects of this approach in the period after assimilationist approaches were rejected.

(c) *Exclusion* – where immigrants are incorporated legally and/or informally into some areas of society (especially the labour market) but not others such as the welfare system, political participation and citizenship (Castles 1998, 248). Germany and other European former guest worker countries have been examples of such approaches.

(d) *Multiculturalism* – while this has taken different forms in different societies, it refers to the development of immigrant populations into ethnic communities that remain distinguishable from the majority population with regard to language, culture, social behaviour, etc. and migrants are granted more or less equal rights. As Castles (1998, 248) points out, it implies the willingness of the majority group to accept or even welcome cultural differences and adapt institutions accordingly. Although there are variations, Canada and Australia are generally taken as examples of nations having overall multicultural policies while countries like the UK and the Netherlands have adopted some dimensions of it (Castles 1998, 248). For example, the guiding principles of Australia's multiculturalism (Jupp 2002, 87) are as follows:

- all members of society to have equal opportunity to maintain their culture without prejudice and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures.
- all should have an equal opportunity to realise their full potential and get equal access to programs and services.
- needs of migrants should be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services are necessary to ensure equality of access and provision.
- services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients and self help and self reliance encouraged.

There are other structures proposed for examining the incorporation of immigrant groups in destination societies. Soysal (1994) identifies models of migrant membership in the receiving state:

(a) The *corporist* model where migrants are incorporated as groups in structures sponsored by the State and where central authority is quite strong as is exemplified by Scandinavian countries.

(b) The *liberal* model where migrants are incorporated as individuals mainly in the labour market. Central authority is weak and local level initiatives are stronger. The UK and Switzerland are examples.

(c) The *statist* model where migrants are incorporated as individuals that adhere to a set of civic rules at state level as exemplified by France.

(d) The *fragmented* model where migrants are partially incorporated into the labour market but the dominance of primordial groups such as clan, family, church, etc. do not create any opportunities for other types of participation. The Gulf countries and Japan are examples.

From an analysis of each of these approaches in a number of countries Castles (1998, 263) has drawn five conclusions:

(a) Policies of temporary labour migration recruitment almost certainly lead to permanent settlement and the formation of ethnic groups.
(b) The character of ethnic groups is shaped by what the State does in the early stages of migration.
(c) Ethnic groups established by migration need their own associations, social networks, languages and culture.
(d) Successful integration requires active policies emanating from the State including settlement services, help in finding work, language training, etc.
(e) The State needs to introduce regulation for removing barriers that prevent the full participation of migrants in society.

He concludes that on this basis, multicultural policies constitute the best path toward migrant integration. However, he identifies the fact that it would be difficult for the new migration countries in Europe and Asia to adopt this policy. The development of racist violence and the mobilisation of the extreme right anti-migration forces would make it extremely difficult. Moreover, even in Australia and Canada where multiculturalism has been the official government approach to integration, it has come under increasing attack in the last decade or so, especially from conservatives.

The example of Australia is an interesting one. Until the 1970s, Australia's postwar response to increasing cultural diversity was the adoption of an assimilationist policy. However, Australia officially adopted multiculturalism as a formal policy to cope with increasing ethnic and cultural diversity a few years after Canada. It was first officially defined in the Australian context in 1977 in an Australian Ethnic Affairs Council Report and its basic principles a year later in the Galbally Report. It is not intended here to provide a comprehensive account of the changes which multiculturalism has undergone subsequently, as these have been well described elsewhere (Lopez 2000, Jupp 2002). However there are some distinctive features of Australian multiculturalism.

• Despite the significance of Australia's indigenous population, they were not included in the original statements about multiculturalism and indeed were only explicitly included in 1989.
• The stress has been on the adjustment of the immigrant generation and the provision of services to assist this.
• As Jupp (2002, 84) points out, "language was seen as the core of ethnic diversity and the target group was largely those of 'Non English Speaking' background" (NESB).
• There is less emphasis on cultural maintenance in Australian multiculturalism than in Canada.
• The importance of media was recognised and special telecasting and broadcasting initiatives were taken.
• While initially multiculturalism was developed and services initiated at the federal level, over time the involvement of the federal government has varied while that of states and territories has increased.

The first issue with respect to multiculturalism in Australia, which is discussed here, relates to the critique which it has attracted, especially it the last decade or so. It has been criticised from its introduction but was widely accepted in the 1970s and 1980s. With the strengthening of criticism in recent years and the withdrawal of resources from some of its institutions, Australia's multiculturalism no longer enjoys "the enthusiastic and widespread support for it which was evident before 1988" (Jupp 2002, 120). The dominant critique has been a conservative one although it also has attracted criticism from other groups (Jupp 2002). The conservative critique is based around the following areas:

- it is alleged firstly that multiculturalism is divisive, encouraging separations among cultural groups with some groups having high rates of crime and unemployment.
- secondly, there is a "political correctness" issue whereby multiculturalism is seen as focusing the views of a small liberal elite and stifling the views of the migrants.
- thirdly, it is seen as stifling the debate about national unity.
- fourthly, some have argued that excessive sums of money have been spent on the ethnic industry.

However few areas in Australian public discourse have been characterised by as much misinformation, bigotry, stigmatisation and stereotyping as that relating to multiculturalism. Few of the criticisms bare close examination against the empirical evidence. There is little evidence of divisiveness in Australia. Indeed as Jupp (2002, 117) points out, few global societies are more stable, united and self satisfied. There is little evidence of massive spending in this area and of a government funded "ethnic industry". As is the case in other parts of the world, there is little evidence based discussion of issues like migrant adjustment and impact. It is desirable and important to have debate but that debate needs to be informed by empirical evidence. However misrepresentations of the actual situation has in some contexts remained unchallenged. The media too is involved. Undoubtedly there are valid national debates to be had about such issues as national identity, the role of immigration and declining with increasing diversity. However the debate needs to be informed and not be allowed to be hijacked by arguments which are not supported by the evidence. There is a pressing global need for more informed public discourse on migration and Australia is no exception, despite a long tradition of migration and strong community acceptance that it can have positive impacts.

The original formulation and latter revisions of multiculturalism in Australia stressed inclusion rather than exclusion, although it was depicted by many to be only for the migrant population and not to spread to the entire population. Multiculturalism was, and is meant to be, for all Australians. Overcoming this perception, however flawed it is, will not be readily achieved. Some have suggested that the goals of multiculturalism policy may be fulfilled in the development of a more comprehensive and inclusive policy toward citizenship. It can incorporate all forms of the multicultural principles listed above but are explicitly inclusive of all groups, migrants, indigenous, second generation, different religious groups. There is a need for social justice, freedom to maintain culture and language, freedom to practice religion, achieving equitable access to services, etc., for all Australians including immigrants. It is likely to take specialised institutions and agencies to achieve these goals for immigrants and for other groups like the indigenous population. A new discussion around citizenship within which multiculturalism is an important part may be more inclusive.

In Australia the original ideas of multiculturalism were created and developed at a time when the dominant paradigm of migration was permanent settlement. The principles of social justice, equity, freedom to maintain culture, practice religion, etc. are of course relevant regardless of whether migrant's stay is permanent or temporary. However, the reality is that contemporary migrants have varying degrees of commitment to their destinations under the new paradigm of transnationalism. There is a need for, and a growing global emergence of, new citizenship polices which allow for citizens, permanent residents, temporary residents and even the absentee diaspora of nations. The growing number of nations who are allowing dual nationality is evidence of an acceptance of an array of commitments to the country of residence with many having multiple national commitments. In such circumstance there are rights, obligations, access to services, freedoms, etc. which should be available to all legal residents. On the other hand, there are some things which should be the preserve of citizens and in many cases permanent residents. Certainly much of Australian multicultural principles

can be applied to all migrants but the fact is that not all newcomers are committed to settling in Australia.

In considering the whole area of integration of migrants it is necessary to observe that each of the approaches considered above relate basically to migration involving permanent settlement at the destination. However, it was shown earlier that this paradigm of international migration is increasingly being replaced by a transnationalism paradigm involving more coming and going of migrants and commitment and loyalties to more than one country. It may be that we are entering an era where a more flexible approach to integration is adopted. This would perhaps revolve around a new concept of citizenship, which recognises that people in a country can have different types of citizenship depending on the nature of commitment they have to that country. Of course there must be some basic entitlements and rights which are common to all residents. It would seem too that it would be possible to incorporate many of the principles of multiculturalism, for example, those identified for Australia above within a new concept of citizenship. Such a formulation could be inclusive without giving the perception of favoring some groups over others.

Freeman (2004, 946) argues for a more disaggregative perspective in examining incorporation schemes in nations. He maintains, "No state possesses a truly coherent incorporation regime. Instead one finds ramshackle, multifaceted, loosely connected sets of regulatory rules, institutions and practices in various dimensions of society that together make up the framework within which migrants and natives work out their differences… (this) defeats efforts to identify national models or construct abstract typologies of incorporation regimes." He proposes a multi-sectoral framework for understanding incorporation processes and outcomes in Western democracies and identifies four sets of institutions that affect the incorporation process – states, market, welfare and culture. He argues that in individual countries there are often differences between modes of incorporation across these four domains and identifies four "syndromes" pertinent to immigrants incorporation in Western democracies (Freeman 2004, 461):

(a) open immigration and citizenship practices, liberal political economies and welfare states and *laissez-faire* or formal multiculturalism. This is exemplified by the United States, Canada and Australia.
(b) moderately open immigration and citizenship regime, co-ordinated market economies, social democratic or corporalist welfare states and formal settlement policies uneasily embracing multiculturalism. The examples here are Sweden and the Netherlands.
(c) open to labour migration, co-ordinated market economy and corporalist social welfare but discourage access to citizenship and accept permanent settlement. They have resisted multiculturalism and are exemplified by Germany, Austria and Switzerland.
(d) A few countries have lacked formed migration programmes but have condoned irregular emigration or recruited foreign labour. They have restrictive citizenship policies, liberal political economies and welfare states and no policy on assimilation or multiculturalism, although they are perilously close to a defacto policy of differential exclusion. Examples here are Portugal, Spain and Greece.

Citizenship

The emergence of transnationalism as a major paradigm in international population mobility (Portes *et al.* 1999; Portes 2001; Vertovec 1999) has bought into question traditional conceptions of citizenship. The overwhelming norm has been for people to be citizens of a single nation's state and for nation states, with some important exceptions, to restrict

acquisition of citizenship to the *issanguinis* principle or descent from a citizen parent. In the traditional immigration nations, access has been available through naturalization or ius soli (being born in the country). The expectation was that legal immigrants to a nation would eventually apply for citizenship of the destination country and commit themselves fully to that country. Even when countries like Australia and Canada adopted multiculturalism as their policy for incorporation of immigrants, the expectation was still that they would give up their citizenship and become citizens of their new home. In Australia, despite the fact that nearly a quarter of the nation was foreign-born and another fifth are Australia-born with at least one foreign parent, it was not until 2001 that it became possible to hold dual nationality in Australia[2]. Moreover, when government changed this policy it was in response not to a realisation that many Australians are close to their migrant origins but it was responding to pressure exerted by the Australian diaspora and the realisation that Australia could benefit from its diaspora and could lose if it forced them to give up their Australian nationality.

It is apparent that citizenship policy is being transformed in response to transnationalism with more than a half of the world's nations now recognising dual citizenship (Vertovec 1999). Bauböck (2004) has shown that the most substantial changes in citizenship policy have occurred in Western migrant receiving nations. Transnationalism obviously involves people having commitments of various kinds to more than a single nation so that individuals have varying identities, commitments and affiliations with origin and destination countries. A citizenship which demands full commitment to a single nation state and in which other non-citizen permanent residents are excluded in various ways would no longer seem appropriate in destination countries. Bauböck (2004) has argued that in this changing situation

- There is a need for more consistent and inclusive citizenship policies which take account of this new complexity.
- That these policies need to be developed so as not to ignore state concerns about self determination of its own nationals.

He puts forward a number of principles for citizenship policy – generalisability, integrity of territorial jurisdiction, freedom of exit and a stakeholder principle. The changed situation has been summarised by Castles (2003, 19) thus:

> Transnationalism will inevitably lead to a rapid increase in multiple citizenship – creating the phenomenon most feared by nationalists – the potentially divided loyalties of people with an instrumental rather than emotional attribute toward state membership. The growth of transnationalism may in the long run lead to a rethinking of the very contents of citizenship. Differentiated forms of state membership may be needed to recognise the different types of relationships transmigrants have with different states – such as political rights in one place, economic rights in another and cultural rights in a third.

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[2] Of course many of those who took out Australian nationality did not formally renounce their former nationality and retained the citizenship and passport of their origin nationality a form of *de facto* dual nationality which was accepted.

The role of media and public opinion

In considering migrant destination nations there is a broad but clear difference between the so-called "traditional" immigration nations (United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) and the new destinations of the European Union and Asian nations like Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, etc. On the one hand, in the traditional immigration nations, while there are significant lobby groups opposed to migration on environmental, racist, cultural homogeneity and/or social cohesion grounds, there is a broad public recognition that immigration has had, and will continue to have, a net positive impact. While it is a gross generalisation an observer in the new immigration countries cannot but help note a quite different situation in public opinion.

Undoubtedly, fears of migrants and migrant workers breaking down social cohesion within countries is a major barrier to immigration. However, a breakdown of social cohesion is more a result of failure to institute appropriate policies and programs to facilitate ethnic and racial diversity than any intrinsic differences between language, religious and ethnic groups. Indeed, a failure to give equal rights to migrants and migrant workers may in itself produce and exacerbate division between groups by institutionalising the perceived differences and placing some groups in an interim position compared with others. There are frequently beliefs that social cohesion is dependent totally on ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural homogeneity. Such beliefs are very deeply ingrained in some countries and widely accepted by policy makers and the public alike. In such contexts there are fears that immigration of any different groups will automatically break down social cohesion.

There can be no doubt that in some cases it is purely prejudice and bigotry which is a barrier to the acceptance of the immigrants in destination societies. In most countries groups who have prejudices against particular ethnic, national and religious groups hijack discussions about migration. These discussions are often effective in the use of media to spread unfavourable stereotypes about migrant groups and to unfairly make scapegoats of them with respect to crime, health and other issues. There is a great deal of myth creation in relation to migrants and migrant workers. They are frequently made scapegoats for all kinds of problems being faced by host societies. They are often blamed for a high incidence of crime when in fact the objective data more often indicate a low involvement in crime. They are often stigmatised as the spreaders of disease like HIV where in fact this is not the case. They may be blamed for the inadequacy of services or infrastructure when in fact it is inadequate or poor planning which is the real cause of such problems. They are often unfairly stereotyped in negative ways which creates myths of negative impact. In previous times this racism was explicitly built in to immigration legislation and while this has been progressively dismantled over recent decades there are still elements of it that survive.

In some destination societies the whole issue of integration of immigrants and foreign workers is not even on the agenda for public discussion. The overwhelming discourse is on homogeneity and even though there is a manifest demand for workers from the outside, discussion of the rights of those workers has not been part of public debate at all. Migration issues are confined to issues of compliance policing and border control. Because of this emphasis on security issues, the question of migrants' rights, as promoted by the International Convention, is not a topic high on the agenda. What is becoming apparent, however, is that labour migration in these countries is not a temporary phase while adjustments are made in the national economy and labour force to new economic and demographic situations. The labour migration is here to stay as an important structural feature of their economies. This behoves such countries to begin entering into discussion about the rights of those workers. It can be equally said that migration is also becoming a structural feature of the economies of

the sending countries as well and similar adjustments in public discussion are needed there as well.

One of the major elements reflecting, but also shaping, public opinion is the media. There can be no doubt that the role of the media, especially electronic and print media, in influencing public opinion has been greatly enhanced during the era of globalisation. Also in the new immigration nations the media is in some cases complicit in:

- Developing and exacerbating unsubstantiated ideas that migration threatens national sovereignty and national social cohesion.
- Spreading uninformed stereotypes regarding migrants.
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It could be argued that media often present a negative picture of migration in many of these contexts and there is a general failure to report the positive dimensions. There is definitely a need for more evidence-based reports regarding migration and its impacts. For example, the following findings from migration research rarely find their way into media reports:

- One of the most abiding fears expressed in destination countries is that migrant workers will 'take jobs away from nationals'. However, it is clear that this is not necessarily the case for a number of reasons. The first is that migrants are usually brought in to fill gaps in the local labour market. These could be skill gaps which the local training/education system has been unable to fill or they could be low status, low paid jobs that locals are unwilling to fill. Migrant workers are rarely encouraged to enter situations to compete directly with local workers. As such, the workers often can create more jobs by contributing to the economic growth of the destination country. Indeed, exhaustive research on the impacts of immigration in the developmental, traditional immigration nations has shown that the impact of immigration on jobs for local populations is at worst benign and at best it creates jobs (Wooden *et al.*, 1994).
- The positive contributions made by migrants and migrant workers are often not acknowledged. Rapid economic growth, fertility decline and ageing often means that fast growing economies cannot meet their own labour market needs and shortages of numbers or types of workers becomes a constraint on growth.
- There is also often a failure to recognise that migrants and migrant workers usually contribute economically to the destination, not only through their work but also by paying tax, which should entitle them to access to the services and infrastructure provided by government. Indeed, their net contribution to the economy is often greater than non-migrants since the host nation has not had to bear the cost of the education, training and rearing of the migrant. In many cases they do not have to bear the cost of old age dependency either, since the migrant often spends their old age in the origin country.
- It is often not recognised that migration is a highly selective process which often means that it is the risk takers, entrepreneurs, self starting, hard working and skilled persons who are more prone to move. Hence, their impact in the economy can be disproportionately great as the experience of traditional migration nations like the United States, Canada and Australia has definitively shown.
- There is increasing evidence that the international remittances which are sent to home nations by their diasporas and by migrant workers sent out to other countries are currently the most effective form of redistribution of wealth from more developed to less developed countries. Currently estimated to be worth at least US$130 billion each year[3], remittances are considerably greater than global ODA (Overseas Development

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[3] Of which US$70 billion go to developing nations. It is estimated that remittances could be as high as US$300 billion if transfers through informal channels are included (*Asian Migration News*, 1-15 January 2005).

Assistance) and in net terms probably greater than net FDI (Foreign Direct Investment). Hence, countries may well be assisting the development of poorer nations by facilitating some migration between them.

• There are compelling arguments that countries wishing to avail themselves of the advantages occurring from increased global flows of e.g. finance, capital, trade information need to recognise that increases in these beneficial flows may not be achieved without simultaneous increase in movements of people. More favourable insertion in global markets may entail more people moving into and out of the nation.

• There are clear interdependencies and relationships between various kinds of movement. Hence, a country's efforts to maximise income from tourism and incoming business people may well necessitate opening up the nation to other forms of movement. For example, it may be necessary to bring in nationals of origin countries to help provide services to tourists (such as language specific), and some tourists and business visitors may meet and marry locals etc.

Of course to argue for an uncritical positive "spin" to reporting of migration issues in destination areas is not defensible and unacceptable. On the other hand it could be argued that there is a need for greater truth in reporting on migration and for more evidence-based reports. This needs to be achieved if there is to be an informed debate about migration conducted in those nations.

Ethics and immigration

As indicated earlier, there is a number of large and growing diaspora of migrants and migrant workers from south nations living and working in north countries. An OECD study (Dumont and Lemaitre 2005) which strongly understates the size of diaspora, found that in the OECD nations alone there were 7.1 million people born in Africa, 16.8 million in Asia, 15.6 million in Latin America and 5.3 million in the Caribbean. The focus in the migration and development literature has changed from a dominant concern with "brain drain" to investigating how south-north migrations can enhance economic and social development in origin countries. This raises the question as to whether there is anything that the destination countries, most of whom are in the OECD, can do to facilitate migration having positive impacts in origin countries. Since OECD nations espouse a wish to encourage and facilitate the progress of less developed nations, it is important to ask whether there are some policies and programs relating to migration and the diaspora which can facilitate and enhance their positive developmental impacts.

Such policies and programs confront some barriers in OECD nations including the following:

• The *raison d'etre* of the increasingly vigorous immigration programmes being practiced by OECD nations is to recruit highly talented individuals and retain them so that they contribute to their international competitiveness. Hence, to call for measures which dilute that effort is to push against the gradient of policy rhetoric of governments.

• The whole area of development assistance in OECD nations is quite divorced from immigration within government. Moreover, development assistance is usually concerned with what can be done in less developed nations rather than policies and programmes to be initiated at home. The fact that development assistance and migration are represented by different ministers and different government departments and agencies presents a barrier.

- The neo-conservative governments which dominate in many OECD nations do not appeal as being sensitive to policy advice which is based in part on ethics, altruism, social justice and fly in the face of what are perceived as "market forces".
- The rapidly ageing demographies of many OECD nations for whom immigration is not only providing access to a pool of talent but also, however limited, ameliorating the closing gap between the numbers of working age citizens and those in the retirement ages.
- Countries can argue that even if they were to develop policies which pressure migrants to return to their homeland and restrict the extent to which south to north migration occurs it will reduce their competitive position vis-à-vis other OECD nations who do not adopt such a stance.
- Restrictions on south-north migration and south-north migrants will involve selective discrimination against these groups compared to north-north migrants and hence violate the human rights of the individuals involved.
  Nevertheless, it is suggested here that:
  (a) OECD receiving nations can do things to, at worst, reduce the negative effects of brain drain and at best, can have positive impacts on economic and social development in origin nations.
  (b) There is a constituency within OECD nations for these initiatives and that there are win-win scenarios whereby countries of origin and destination and migrants themselves can all benefit as a result of migration.

What are some of the ways in which OECD country policy can enhance the developmental effects of migration in origin areas?

Migration policy

Any attempt by OECD countries to selectively exclude immigrants from south nations is not acceptable from the perspective of the rights of individuals involved and is impractical given the current priorities of OECD nations. Instead it would seem possible that receiving countries make payments of some kind either in cash or investment in training/education in the country of origin of every skill migrant accepted in relation to the costs invested by those origin nations in the development of the human capital encapsulated in each migrants. This of course would forge a link between immigration and development assistance policies in OECD nations. It should be considered that the OECD investment be simply the creation of training institutions to only produce future migrant settlers. Adoption of such a principal would be a clear recognition by OECD nations of this responsibility to meet the development costs of their own human capital. It could be a "tied aid" in the sense that it is targeted to particular areas of activity in the origin nation. In some ways this is analogous to the levies at present placed on migrant workers by some immigrant countries. Singapore, for example, imposes such a levy to be paid by the employers of skilled foreign workers and the funds generated are put into the training/education of Singaporeans so that skill shortages in the long term can be met internally. It is not too large a jump to envisage a similar payment to and/or investment in the training/education system in origin countries.

It is apparent that there is a strong and growing nexus between OECD countries efforts to attract foreign students, most being from less developed countries and their skilled immigration policies. It is becoming increasingly easy in many OECD nations for foreign students to make the transition to permanent resident without returning to their home nation. Unfortunately such policies will exacerbate the loss of skilled people from less developed to OECD nations. One policy formerly practiced in some OECD nations was to legislate that

foreign students were required to return to their homeland immediately upon graduation and were not eligible for migration for a minimum period. Such a system would not seem workable in the present context and the compensation alternative would appear more feasible.

Another area of migration policy that needs to be addressed from a migration and development perspective relates to the current overwhelming focus in OECD nations on skill in migrant selection and searching for talent. In fact with the demographic and economic change occurring in OECD nations in some countries there is growing demand for unskilled and semi skilled workers. There may be a growing mismatch between immigration policies focused on skill and a tightening labour market with demand for labour across a broader skill spectrum. While such migration in no way can be a substitute for better education, training and labour force policies in less developed nations, it can relieve situations in particular areas. In short, there would appear to be a case to look at the full gamut of labour force needs in More Developed nations and not just focus on skill and talent search in considering migration. It is not only that low skill jobs are increasingly available in OECD nations but there is also evidence that it may be that an important proportion of the remittances from MDCs and LDCs is (Saravia and Miranda 2004, 612)…

> … from unskilled labourers in lower socio-economic strata who are not highly educated. Their families in their home country depend on remittance income and this income has reduced poverty.

Remittances

There is a burgeoning literature on the significance of the flow of remittances from OECD nations to less developed countries and their role in poverty reduction (Adams 2003; Hugo 2003; Asian Development Bank 2004; USAID, Johnson and Sedaca 2004; Terry, Jiminez-Ontiveros and Wilson (eds.) 2005). It is stressed that remittances have particular value as a transfer from More Developed to Less Developed Countries since they flow directly to families and hence can have an immediate impact in improvement of well-being at grass roots level. The role of the destination countries here is in the realm of facilitating these flows and reducing the degree of rent taking exacted on remittance flows by intermediaries and ensuring that there are safe, quick and reliable channels for migrants to make remittances to their families in Less Developed Countries. Efforts to reduce the transfer costs imposed by intermediaries are needed if the full benefits of remittances are to be realised.

Other linkages with home countries

There are steps that governments of destination countries can take to encourage migrants from Less Developed Countries to maintain linkages with their origin nations. This can be a substantial "conceptual leap" for the destination nations to take since it recognises that residents of the countries have loyalties and commitments to more than a single country. This is being increasingly recognised in the increase in the number of countries which are recognising dual citizenship. However, the bulk of nations who have recognised dual citizenship have done so because they have recognised that there is a benefit to them of granting dual citizenship to their own expatriates. However, a perspective which recognises the developmental potential of south-north migration for south countries would encourage migrants to retain the citizenship of their home country and recognise this in providing appropriate access to government services and benefits. There may also be ways in which the destination government can facilitate exchanges with origin countries such as:

- Facilitating the development of networks of researchers, business people, etc. between the nations.
- Facilitating the development of markets for products of the origin country in the destination country.
- Encouraging investment from the destination country in the origin country.
- Removing any barriers to free movement to and from the country to facilitate home visiting.

Return migration

One of the ways in which brain drain can be best negated is when the outflow of skilled workers from Less Developed Countries is circular and not permanent. Hence, removal of barriers to return migration is important. This includes ensuring the portability of benefits and savings accumulated while the migrants are in the destination. Indeed one could argue that a circular pattern of south-north migration could have significant advantages to the north countries. As indicated earlier, one of the major areas of concern in such nations is the ageing of their populations. What is apparent from research on the effect of migration on ageing is that its impact is marginal because migrants themselves age and contribute to the ageing problem (United Nations 2000). However, if a pattern of circular migration is set up, the migrant workforce is maintained with a young profile because of the outflow of older workers being replaced by an inflow of younger workers.

Global cities

One of the defining features of the new international migration is that immigrants, both permanent and temporary are increasingly focused on large metropolitan countries referred to variously as "world" cities (Friedmann 1986), "global" cities (Sassen 2001) and "gate way" cities (Singer 2004). International migration has become an overwhelmingly urban phenomenon (Ley and Singer 2001, 121). A recent study by Statistics Canada (Schellenberg 2004) found that whereas at the 1981 population census, 58 percent of immigrants who had arrived in Canada settled in the megacities of Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto, their proportion of recent arrivals in 2001 was 73 percent and 90 percent of arrivals in 1990-2000 lived in those cities. Table 4 shows the situation in Australia over the postwar period. It is clear that there is an increasing pattern of concentration in urban areas. It is cities linked most strongly into global economic networks which are the ones where most international

Table 4: **Australia: Percentage of the Population Living in Sydney and Urban Areas by Birthplace and Period of Residence, 1961 to 2001**
Source: Australian Censuses of 1961, 1981 and 2001

	Percent Living in Sydney			Percent Living in Urban Areas		
	Total Overseas-born	Overseas-born Resident <5years	Australia-born	Total Overseas-born	Overseas-born Resident <5 years	Australia-born
1961	24.4	25.1	20.0	88.6	89.0	80.6
1981	27.8	33.7	20.4	92.3	93.9	84.0
2001	30.0	37.1	18.0	93.3	96.9	85.2

migrants settle. Hence, while the scale of global migration has increased massively, they have tended to concentrate more and more in the major globally connected cities in the destination countries. Again the Australian case is representative. Table 4 shows that Sydney, which has emerged as Australia's global city (Searle 1996; 1998) has increased its share of the nation's immigrants from less than a quarter to thirty percent while its share of the Australia-born has declined. Moreover, its share of recent arrivals has increased from a quarter in 1961 to 37.3 percent in 2001. Moreover it is not only the permanent immigrants which are settling in global cities. There is strong evidence that the more rapidly increasing circular transnational movers are even more likely to move to the large metropolitan centers in destination areas than permanent movers. Yet this group are rarely considered in studies of the impact of immigration on destination areas. The world cities hypothesis is about the 'the spatial organisation of the new international division of labour' (Friedmann 1995, 317). It explicitly links up the processes of city formation with global economic forces. As part of this new spatial division of labour, cities are 'the nodes in the networks that link the national

Table 5:   Sydney Statistical Division: Overseas-born Population, 1961-2001
Source: ABS Censuses, 1961 to 2001

	Total Overseas-born		Resident < 5years		Australia-born
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent
1961	434,663	24.4	116,190	25.1	20.0
1966	558,236	26.2	146,590	26.3	21.1
1976	736,754	26.4	113,776	30.3	21.1
1981	834,280	27.8	148,154	33.7	20.4
1986	912,578	28.1	152,078	33.2	19.7
1991	1,070,627	28.5	227,936	32.0	18.6
1996	1,148,869	29.4	195,187	37.5	18.3
2001	1,233,487	30.0	215,895	37.3	18.0

and local economies of an integrated world-economy and the cities at the top of that urban hierarchy can be termed 'world cities'' (O'Loughlin and Friedrichs 1996, 5). The driving force of world city formation is found in the rapid expansion of international finance, transport, communication, high level business services – such as accounting, advertising and insurance – and legal services. Geographical dispersal of production activities has not been accompanied by a parallel dispersal of control and ownership. Instead, new global players – economic giants in the form of multinationals – and the problems of co-ordination which has been mostly resolved by a new emphasis on 'headquarter' activities and the location of these activities in global cities. Global cities can be arranged into a complex spatial hierarchy with different tiers of world cities corresponding to the nature of their integration with the world economy and their interaction with global forces (Knox 1995, 15-17).

The evolution of a network of a relatively small number of cities which are nodes in the international economic system has had significant implications for immigration. While they are predominantly in OECD nations it is also the largest cities in developing areas which also have become significant magnets for international migrants. A number of elements have contributed to these cities being the main destinations of migrants:

- As the key elements channeling and controlling investment and power in the world system it is these cities that the new highly skilled peripatetic elite move to and through (Koser and Salt 1997; Beaverstock 1995).
- Sassen (1988, 22-3) ascribes the creation of new low wage jobs concentrated in the cities to a combination of factors – increased outsourcing, services demanded by the

new affluent elite of world cities, associated travel, tourism, restaurant, hospitality, entertainment, maintenance of officers. This creation of a substantial development of a low wage low status sector has attracted low-skilled migrants.

- Labour market segmentation has seen native workers in the cities shun these low status, low wage, unregulated types of work so that they become the preserve of immigrants. Illegal migrants are an important element in it.
- Migration networks operate so as to maintain a flow of immigrants especially into the low income sector. Cumulative causation plays an important role (Massey *et al.* 1998).

Accordingly, the bifurcation in the international migration system (Castles and Miller 1998) is reflected in world cities with immigrants being prominent both in the elite skilled sector but also in the low income sector. Friedmann (1986, 75) identifies this immigration as one of the distinguishing features of world cities. Immigration is an important element in the social polarization occurring in global cities (Hamnett 1994). Labour market segmentation, whereby particular immigrant groups are concentrated in a narrow range of jobs, is becoming an important feature of global cities. This has the potential to create an ethnic underclass since immigrants may be associated with jobs which are low status, low wage and *insecure* and they may become locked into those jobs. This raises major social justice concerns if such groups are not given equitable access to education, health and other services so that there is little opportunity for upward mobility even across generations. It is often exacerbated by negative perceptions of migrants by host populations which are encouraged by media and unscrupulous politicians and officials. Discrimination also plays a role and presents barriers to entry to housing and labour markets. Cultural and language barriers also play a role and xenophobia and racism unfortunately are still evident in global cities. The development of an ethnic underclass in global cities raises questions of social justice but also adds to the risk that migration and social diversity will lead to social disharmony and lack of social cohesion which will be to the detriment not only of the migrant but also the host population.

Lessons on migration policy

All countries are distinct and the solution to the migration issues which they confront must be influenced by the particular conditions that they experience. Nevertheless, there do appear to be some lessons with respect to immigration policy which emerge from examination of such policies across a range of nations. While this doesn't amount to an international code of best practice it does give some indications of what immigration nations can consider.

1. The development of a well thought through evidence-based immigration policy where there are compelling reasons for immigration. The reality is that where there is a demand for migrant workers, migration will occur whether it is through documented or undocumented avenues. Hence, it is important that there are real avenues for documented migration in keeping with economic forces creating a demand for migration. This to a degree obviates the need for undocumented migration. Recognition that immigration is a long term structural necessity in the economies of many nations and that there are people legitimately fleeing oppression should be accompanied by the development of a range of appropriate legal mechanisms for migrants to enter a nations and adjust to it. There is a need to develop an appropriate mix of policies and programmes, which take account of the full range of types of migrants and settlers, which the nations is being confronted with. Hence, there should be a mix of policies and programmes to cope with the variety of needs for migration in the society, labour recruitment, skill, family reunion, humanitarian and special

relationships. A full suite of temporary, as well as permanent, visa categories need to be available.

2. Associated with the above is the development of a professional immigration infrastructure. The development of a bureaucracy of immigration professionals has been crucially important in the traditional migration nations, which have long had substantial immigration and relatively successful incorporation of migrants in mainstream society. This is part of the process of the establishment of a culture of migration. Moreover, in the prevailing rhetoric of the imperative to *manage* migration rather than attempt to stop it, a fundamental need is having an uncorrupted, professional, committed professional bureaucracy to assist policy makers in the development of sound policy and implementing that policy.

3. There is a need for more evidence-based policy making and for a move away from immigration policy being based on anecdotal evidence, "seat of the pants" understandings and even worse bigotry, racism, xenophobia, self interest and vested interest. The development of appropriate information collection and research capacities is thus an important element.

4. Development of a "culture of migration" is an elusive but important goal. This involves wide ground recognition of the *necessity* of immigration in the effective working of the economy and society in many immigration nations. The government is an important element in this but also the media has an important role. A long term commitment of government to immigration has helped develop a positive message about migration and migrants in the traditional migration countries. Opposing voices still exist but their debate in the media and in other dimensions of public discourse indicate a range of view points.

5. While the principle must be accepted that governments maintain full sovereignty and control over their immigration systems there is much to be gained through regional, multilateral and bilateral co-operation. There are several nations that can testify to the fact that substantial immigration intake can occur without any challenge to national sovereignty. For example, in Australia there has been over time recognition that substantial immigration can be consistent with full maintenance of the sovereignty. Certainly Australia's distinctive situation as a relatively isolated island continent has facilitated a high level of management of migration. Nevertheless, migration has massively changed and is changing Australian society in a myriad of ways but it has occurred without sacrificing any sovereignty. Critics of the "dilution" of the Anglo-Celtic heritage remain but many see the increased diversity adding considerably to the society.

Lessons regarding successful inclusion and incorporation in destinations

The integration of migrants into destination societies and economies is an issue of considerable and increasing public policy significance. It impacts across crucial national issues such as the maintenance and evolution of national identity, political institutions, labour and housing markets, social welfare, security and education. Inclusion of migrants into the mainstream in these areas within destination countries can be hindered by:

• Perceptions by host populations of unwillingness of immigrants to embrace aspects of the mainstream society. This can be exacerbated by immigrants living together in spatially concentrated ethnic communities. However research on the latter has indicated that such communities can be highly effective in assisting newcomers to make the transition from origin to host society and economy in a relatively painless and effective way without imposing costs on government and community support systems.

- Exclusionist elements in social, education and other policies, which unfairly exclude immigrants from access to health, education and social security systems.
- Elements within labour markets, which discriminate against immigrants by non-recognition of qualifications, exclusion from some jobs on the basis of background rather than qualifications or proven ability and experience.
- Citizenship and residency qualification guidelines that restrict access of immigrants and their children (and subsequent generations).
- Racism and racial harassment cannot only be enormously distressing for immigrants but it can also be a substantial barrier to them adjusting to the host society.
- Immigrant groups' cultural and linguistic rights are not recognised in some host societies. These rights must be seen as basic rights. They can be fundamental to the cohesiveness and meaningfulness of the lives of immigrants yet they can be seen by some destination groups as divisive, separate and "other". In fact, the experience in countries like the United States, Canada and Australia has been that multicultural and multilingual diversity can be both culturally enriching and economically beneficial to host nations.

For the above reasons and others, there are many immigrant groups who are not being accepted into mainstream host societies quickly enough. In some contexts this leads to marginalisation, impoverishment and exclusion. There is now considerable experience that integration requires the support and intervention of the state. This can take the form of institutions to protect the human rights of all residents, including migrants through to the provision of settlement services, which can facilitate and encourage successful integration.

A key social question in the contemporary context of expanding migration relates to the issue of ensuring the integration of immigrants while at the same time maintaining social harmony and cohesion. This has especially been a challenge where immigrants are marginalised and excluded where they are concentrated in low paid, low status, low skilled, low security jobs and when they and their children are denied access to education, health and other services. There are, however, some lessons which emerge from an examination of successful incorporation of migrants:

1. Immigrants usually tend to concentrate in particular regions, cities or communities so there is a need for policies regarding the adjustment of immigrants to be sensitive to these patterns. Hence, the involvement of sub-national government is crucially significant. National policies and programmes designed to assist in the incorporation process need to be operationalised at the community level where migrants and natives live and work.
2. There are *no "silver bullet" quick, simple solutions*, which ensure the speedy and painless integration of migrants into mainstream destination societies. Successful integration of immigrants takes *time*. In Australia the transformation from a very homogeneous Anglo-Celtic society in the early postwar years to the current situation in which more than a quarter of the population are of non Anglo-Celtic origin has been a *gradual* one. There are still undercurrents of racism and ethnic suspicion which surface from time to time but there has been no ethnic conflict and there is a broad community acceptance of the benefits of migration. At times immigration policy has run ahead of public opinion but there was time for adjustment on both sides to occur. This means that achieving integration may be more incremental than sudden. However, ensuring that these increments are more moving toward the goal of incorporation is important.
3. It is important to have an institutional structure which facilitates the immigration and settlement processes. Some immigration countries have developed a range of explicit programmes and approaches to facilitate migrant adjustment to wider society and

attempted to provide some ethnic – specific services and facilitate access of migrant groups to line services. A crucial element here is the introduction of effective institutions and mechanisms to criminalise discrimination and to address the problems of discrimination on the basis of race, culture, religion, ethnicity, etc. Not only are these actions crucial from a social justice perspective there is evidence that they facilitate the adjustment of migrants.

4. There is a need to collect appropriate information to be able to monitor the situation of immigrant groups. Too many official data collections exclude migrants or do not distinguish between key groups such as second generation migrants, temporary migrants, recent arrivals, etc. Again policy toward incorporation of migrants needs to be informed by appropriate and timely information to ensure effectiveness.

5. An important element is that governments involve all stakeholders in the development of integration policy and programmes. This means not only involving migrants and their associations but also those of the mainstream community. To not consult or to not engage the host community at the local, state and national levels in the integration process hinders the adjustment process.

6. Language is a crucial barrier to adjustment. There is overwhelming evidence that entry to the labour market and other elements involved in successful incorporation in the host society is greatly facilitated if immigrants have some local language skills. Hence, there is considerable benefit to the migrants and host societies alike if language training is encouraged.

7. Attitudes to diversity and difference are important. There is a stark attitude between on the one hand the traditional immigration nations where diversity is celebrated, terms like productive diversity are common place and there is a community recognition that there is a core set of non negotiable common values such as rule of law, human rights, gender, racial, religious and ethnic equity, tolerance, loyalty to the nation, etc. On the other are many of the new immigration nations that diversity is purgative. Development of an understanding of diversity is crucial.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW IMMIGRATION AND ORIGIN COUNTRIES

Globalisation, including the internationalization of labour markets, enhanced transport and communication technology, along with increasing demographic and economic differences between countries has opened up the possibilities for emigration in less developed nations. On the one hand it has increased the chances for labour surplus nations to relieve pressure on their labour markets by sending unskilled workers abroad. It also has opened up much opportunity for brain drain migration to impact upon migrant sending nations. High level skills are in great demand and more developed countries have reduced the barriers to immigration of these groups on both a permanent and temporary basis while the barriers against the semi-skilled and unskilled are tending to increase. However, our knowledge of the impacts of this migration on origin countries is limited. Certainly, there would seem to be benefits to countries experiencing 'brain circulation' with a constant stream of newcomers bringing new ideas, approaches and networks with them. What of the impacts on countries who are experiencing a substantial net outflow of talent? Again, we lack a solid empirical base and it is easy to point to a brain drain leading to reduction of the possibility of economic and social development at home.

There is a degree of complexity involved in addressing the social implications of emigration for sending areas since all countries have both sending and receiving roles. It is important to

address the nature of the emigration/immigration balance in countries.   One way of differentiating nations on this basis would be as follows:

- There are a small number of nations, which are key nodes in the global economy and in the global international migration system, who selectively attract highly skilled migrants from all over the world, both other developed and less developed nations. They also attract large numbers of unskilled migrants because of labour market segmentation and the slow growth (or decline) of the native labour force. Within these nations it is the global cities that are the focus of this migration.
- There is a second tier of developed nations which may have a net loss of skilled migrants to the first group of top tier nations but in turn receives a net gain of skilled migrants from less developed nations in a circulatory "cascade" type effect. They also receive unskilled migrants from less developed nations.
- Less developed nations supply a net gain of skilled migrants to both the other tiers of the cascade and experience net losses of both skilled and unskilled workers.

The policy issues relating to emigration differ according to which category a nation is in.

In the international migration research literature, especially that relating to less developed areas, it is possible to identify a number of biases among which two are relevant in the context of the present paper:
- There is a 'development' orientation which sees an overwhelming emphasis in research on the economic dimensions (especially the consequences) of the migration and a neglect of its social causes, consequences and implications.
- The unit of analysis has tended to be either at the level of the individual migrant or at a macro (usually national) scale. There has been a neglect of socially significant units such as family, household, community and region in examining the causes of international migration and its consequences.

There is a need to redress this by putting greater emphasis on social consequences of emigration and on the impacts at levels of region, community and family. It is argued here that the social consequences of migration for migrants, their origin families and communities and their destination communities are of considerable significance from both theoretical and policy perspectives. Moreover, the family as the fundamental units of social organisation in the majority of societies is important from the migration perspective because

- It can be the unit of decision making for migration.
- Changes in the family structure and functioning can influence migration.
- Migration can impinge on family structure and functioning.
- The family is often significantly influenced by migration.

Communities too are important in indicating the effects of the migration process. Because all migration tends to draw people from particular parts of nations means that the impacts tend to be spatially concentrated too. As an illustration, most studies consider the effects of remittances on national economies but the fact is that remittances are received by families and this means their impact can be quite striking for those families. Similarly remittances are concentrated in the effects on certain areas and need to be incorporated into regional development strategies.

Another important general issue relates to governmental attitudes toward emigration in destination countries.   Traditionally, two elements have dominated thinking by these governments:

- Firstly, some countries have taken a strong negative position which deplores the loss of skilled natives.
- Secondly, others have seen migration as a temporary "evil" that needs to be tolerated until the nation can absorb its own labour.

Both of these attitudes have lead to policies which have not been productive. There are some signs, however, that these attitudes are changing and that there has been a maturing and increasing sophistication in the approach of governments in sending nations. An example here has been communities. In the Philippines the high level of emigration of contract labour and permanent settlers was depicted in national discourse in the 1970s and early 1980s as a "national shame" (Aguilar 1996). This migration was seen as a temporary phenomenon which had to be endured while the Philippines made the transition to a more developed economy. The fact that millions of Filipinos were forced to seek their destiny in other nations was described as a national failure. However, in the last decade, Filipinos overseas have been hailed as national heroes (Rosales 1999) who are making a crucial and important contribution to national prosperity. This represents a major turnaround and the Philippines now has a suite of policies and programmes to support their diaspora and encourage them to maintain strong linkages with, and return to, the Philippines. A similar transition was experienced in Mexico in relation to the large scale migration to the United States. This maturation has led to governments of the Philippines and Mexico accepting that emigration is a structural feature of their societies and economies and putting in place policies and programs to enhance its positive effects and ameliorate its negative consequences. However, this approach is still the exception rather than the rule.

Social effects on origin communities and families

It is important to distinguish between two types of impact that migration has on the family in the place of origin of the migrants. Families of migrants at the place of origin must adjust not only to the permanent or temporary absence of family members but also to the influences of the newly acquired money, goods, ideas, attitudes, behavior, and innovations transmitted back to them by the movers. The adjustments to these impacts that families must make depend upon which family members move, the length of the absence, and the socio-cultural system at the place of origin, especially dominant types of family structure and the degree of flexibility within that structure (Hugo 1987).

Firstly, in the case of international labour migration, it must be borne in mind that:

- Most such movement is non-permanent.
- Most involves the separation of husband and wife.
- Most involves deprivation of children of at least one parent's influence for extended periods.

In fieldwork in the Asian region, one is struck often by the distress experienced by individual migrants because of long enforced separation from family while the spouse and children in origin areas often suffer because of the absence of a migrant. For example, in a study in East Flores, Indonesia, a source of labour migrants to Malaysia one observer (Graham 1997, 3) wrote

> Formally married or not, young women in the village frequently face the experience of carrying a child to term and giving birth without the assistance,

financial or otherwise, of the baby's father. Indeed as soon as the couple's first child is conceived many a young father-to-be leaves for Malaysia for a period of two to three years. Young women who lose a child in its infancy in these circumstances are sometimes doubly distressed by the fact that the father has never seen the child and by the apprehension that he may suspect they had not cared for it properly in his absence.

The impact of international migration upon marital stability (Hugo 1994) shows that mobility-induced separations of family members for the often extended periods involved in international labour migration can lead to marital instability and the consequent permanent break-up of the family unit. In fieldwork in East Flores, Indonesia one of the most frequently voiced comments about the impact of migration to Sabah (East Malaysia) was upon marriage break-up (Hugo 1998). Indeed, in some cases men and women absentees had taken another spouse at the destination. Studies have generally found a higher incidence of divorce among migrant households than among non-migrant households although this is not always the case, especially where there are strong extended family systems. There is increasing concern in Asia too of the impacts of prolonged absence of parents on the upbringing of children (Battistella and Conaco 1996). In some cases both parents are away so that they are cared for in many of their formative years by grandparents and other relatives. Such considerations, as the effects of migration on children, tend to get lost in the dominance of concern with remittances and economic impacts in migration analyses.

There is a growing body of research which indicates that the accelerating levels of migration of women in LDCs (Hugo 1993) is leading to increased incidence of children living separately from their mothers. Analysis of DHS[4] data indicates a relatively high incidence of mothers and children living separately in a number of LDCs, especially in Africa (Ono 1993). A number of explanations can be put forward for this including divorce, a high incidence of fostering out of children, etc.; migration does play a significant role. Hence mothers may leave behind children in the village when they go elsewhere to work since conditions at the destination are not conducive to childcare. Another common practice is for urban-based parents to send their children back to their home village to grow up under the care of grandparents, aunts or uncles in what is considered to be a more conducive, traditional environment. The separation of the nuclear family by migration in LDCs is therefore an increasingly important phenomenon and its effects need to be investigated.

Richter (1993, pp. 44-45) has investigated this issue in Thailand and explains that

> in urban areas, extended family members may be far away and women working at a job in the formal sector are less likely to be able to combine work and childcare. The large numbers of immigrants to Bangkok include many women who migrate without their children, leaving them in the care of relatives in rural areas. Other working women in Bangkok, even whose children are born in the city, send them to their families in their rural hometowns if they are unable to care for them.

Her survey of 1,515 ever married women in Bangkok in 1991 found that 10 percent of their children were living separately from their mother. Even 7 percent of women who were born in Bangkok had children living separately from them. Among women who migrated after their first year of marriage almost a fifth (18 percent) were living separately from their

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4 This is an international series of Demographic and Health Surveys held in a large number of LDCs over the 1980s and 1990s in a number of rounds.

children. More than two thirds (70 percent) of children living separately from their mother lived outside Bangkok.

An interesting study on the impact of migration of parents abroad upon children left behind has been made by Battistella and Conaco (1996). They interviewed 709 children in the Philippines in four categories:

- Children with only their father abroad.
- Those with only their mother abroad.
- Those with both parents abroad.
- Those with both parents at home.

They found that children with parents away influenced the children who experienced loneliness and had lower levels of school performance than those with both parents present. Children with parents away suffered in their social development and in their psychological and emotional wellbeing. This was particularly the case when the mother was abroad.

The absence of migrant workers overseas can potentially have detrimental effects on other dependent family members remaining behind since they are usually reliant on the economic and emotional support of their children (in the case of the aged) or parents (in the case of dependent children). One of the features of outmigration villages readily apparent to the visitor is the predominance of elderly people and children and the absence of much of the 'carer generation' raises issues of their support, especially given that less developed countries lack comprehensive government funded support programs for the aged. The strengthening of ties between economically active adults and their nuclear families and the weakening ties with older parents has major implications for the welfare of older persons. In traditional societies the net intergenerational transfer not only of wealth but also of care and attention to older persons has meant that older people could count on their children for security in old age. The reversal of net intergenerational wealth flows associated with intrafamilial changes suggests that the older generation may no longer be able to count on as much support as in the past. Signs of this are already evident in some developing areas, especially cities (Hugo 1987). According to Frons, Jeffries and Nelson (1982, p. 10), 'as the younger generation becomes more affluent, more materialistic - and more preoccupied with a youth oriented Western culture - the traditional regard for the elderly is vanishing'. In highly urbanised and industrialised centres of Asia such as Singapore and Hong Kong, abandonment of old people has become a social problem. By 1982 it had become so widespread in Singapore that the government passed a lawmaking it compulsory for children to support their elderly parents.

It is increasingly being appreciated that migration is a gendered process (Hugo 2000), but there is little understanding of the complex relationship between migration of women and wider social and economic change. In particular we lack knowledge of the relationship between population mobility, on the one hand, and changes in the role and status of women, on the other. It is clearly a two-way relationship whereby increased female empowerment might encourage migration while migration may be associated with empowerment of women (Hugo 1999). The latter is the issue under consideration here and migration can impinge upon the position of women in two ways:

- Firstly, the role and status of women who move may change as a result of the migration.
- Secondly, the roles of women who are left behind by the migration of husbands, brothers and fathers may change due to the absence of these males.

Other things being equal (which of course they rarely are), it would be expected that migration would be an empowering process for women. This derives from a number of changes which are often associated with female migration, namely

- Migration often involves women moving away from the immediate control of traditional, often patriarchal, forms of authority and being separated from those controls by some distance.
- It often is associated with a move from a familial mode of production to an enterprise mode.
- It often involves a transition from a rural to an urban context.
- Migrant women may for the first time receive money for their work and have control over what they do with that money.
- They may, for the first time be living with people other than their family.
- They are likely to be exposed to a range of experiences and influences different to the traditional way of life maintained in the place of origin
- They will interact with (especially in the workplace) people from a wider range of backgrounds and experience than in their place of origin.
- They are more likely to have greater personal decision making power in relation to their day to day behavior.
- In some societies it results in a breakdown of the seclusion and isolation of women typical of the traditional situation.
- There may be a change in the relative roles of males and females.
- They may form new types of alliances and friendships with other women - e.g. through their involvement in formal and informal groups like unions, sisterhoods etc. Indeed such group solidarity of women migrants in the absence of family is common.

There are many studies which indicate that these elements do operate to empower women migrants, especially when the movement involves migration from rural to urban areas and when it is overseas. Hoy (1996), for example, found that women moving to Beijing from provincial China were able to have greater control over their own lives. The search for greater freedom and autonomy is found to be an important motive for women to migrate in different Indonesian contexts (Williams 1990; Wolf 1990; Ariffin 1984).

The complexity and variability of the migration experience for women needs to be stressed and the widespread tendency to stereotype their movement and its impacts needs to be avoided. Most migrations have both positive and negative consequences. For example, even women migrants in highly vulnerable and exploitative situations often indicate that their migration has given them greater autonomy in some areas of their lives. Brockett (1996, p. 128), for example, reports that Thai sex workers in Sydney considered that their migration had empowered them.

While the research on the relationship between migration of women and empowerment remains limited it is possible to make some tentative initial generalisations about the situations when migration is most likely to be associated with some improvement in the autonomy of women. It is more likely to occur when:

- the migration is from rural to urban areas;
- the migration is not clandestine or undocumented;
- women work outside of the home at the destination;
- women move autonomously and not as part of a family group;
- they enter formal sector occupations; and
- the migration is a longer term or permanent rather than a temporary one.

Of course, there is also considerable variation according to the cultural context, the rate of social and economic change in origin and destination and the characteristics of the women themselves and their families.

An important element in the lives of women migrants, especially those at urban destinations, is the pattern of them having a different type of relationship with other women at the destination. This is often manifesting in the forming of groups, associations or institutions, which often cut across traditionally important kin, locality and ethnic lines. Hence the sisterhoods of Shanghai women in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s (Honig 1986) are duplicated in a plethora of informal, semi-formal and formal groups formed by women migrants in cities of their own countries and other countries. The associations often replace the support systems provided traditionally by the family, provide for their recreation needs but also are vehicles for raising the consciousness of the migrant women and become a vehicle for fighting for the rights of the migrants. The pattern of Filipino women migrants forming such groups in destinations all over the world is well established.

Wong (1996, p. 103), in discussing foreign domestic workers in Singapore, suggests that with accumulated experience and widening networks such workers 'can begin to free themselves from total dependency on the recruitment and employment structure which had been resorted to for invalid entry into a foreign labour market'. She quotes the example of a Filipino maid who at the end of her contract was weighing up a number of options which had become known to her via her network of Filipino friends in Singapore:

• Getting a job in a western country (Canada).
• Getting a job as a nurse in Singapore.
• Working as a 'freelance' maid for several households in Singapore.
• Working for an expatriate family in Singapore.
• Negotiating improved terms of service with her existing employer.

Wong (1996, p. 104) also reports that maids in Singapore may also diversify their sources of income by undertaking such activities as:

• Becoming recruiting sub-agents for other maids from their home areas.
• Importing duty free and other specialist goods from their destination to their origin.
• Entering prostitution.

As she points out.

> The shy and fearful fresh entrant to a foreign, urban labour market who survives the shock and pain of the first few months of domestic servitude often embarks on a migration trajectory, the inner and outer contours of which have yet to be adequately explored and described.

While there is often an association between migration and empowerment of women, there is also evidence that migration of women does not necessarily initiate a change in their role and status. Indeed, migration can serve to entrench the existing status quo or be neutral in its impact. Hoy (1996, p. 51), for example, points out that in China patrilocal marriage involving women moving to their new husband's village helps maintain the subordination of women and binds male groups together.

Brown (1996, p. 127) argues that 'many of today's marriage migrants, particularly those whose marriages have been arranged, can be viewed as upholding a particular culture's

patriarchal system'. However, it is not only contexts where migrant women marry men of the same culture residing overseas that patriarchy is maintained. It is apparent that many of the men seeking mail order brides from countries like the Philippines are seeking women who are submissive and docile and prepared to live in a relationship where the distribution of power is unequal (Brown 1996; Cahill 1990).

Migration of women often is part of a family strategy to diversify its portfolio of sources of income. As part of an attempt to spread the risk, family members are deployed over a range of types of jobs over a range of locations. This process has greatly expanded in its spatial extent over recent years to incorporate not only other labour markets within the nation but others outside the country as well. In such circumstances, the deployment of women family members to labour markets where they are able to obtain work may be part of a strategy to maintain the status quo. It is often designed to sustain often patriarchal structures and unequal status between the genders. Family control of women migrants can still be exercised via the strong social networks which have developed between origin and destination and through the substantial communities of family members at the destination. These not only are the conduits along which remittances flow but along which traditional controls are maintained over the migrant women. This is by no means always the case, especially among educated women (Wolf 1990), this type of pattern remains common. However, the extent to which the village-based patriarchy can maintain control over women migrants while they are so far away is often limited, despite the strength of social networks. Over time there is a tendency for the control over migrant women to be eroded.

It cannot be assumed that when women work outside the home as a result of migration that they will necessarily be empowered by gaining access to all or even part of the cash income they earn. If at the destination they are still enmeshed in a patriarchal family situation, the income may in fact all be handed over to the father or husband so that the woman does not gain any financial autonomy from the migration. Moreover, it seems that in some contexts women migrants may have enhanced the economic status of their families by contributing income earned at their destination but not experienced any increase in their own overall status as a result. This would appear to be the case among some Indonesian women going to work as domestics in the Middle East (Adi 1996). In some cases there would appear to be a distinction made between the effects of migration on the overall status of women and that upon their economic situation. There may also be certain threshold effects operating so that one two-year stint in the Middle East by a West Java woman may not be enough to produce a change in her status whereas two such periods may be sufficient to produce a change.

It is apparent then that migration of women can, in particular contexts, result in little change in gender power relations. The case of women going overseas or to a major city to enter domestic service is relevant here. Such women are often moving from one household-based patriarchy to another in which their status is no better or even worse than at the origin. Moreover, because they are home-based, their contact with the outside world at the destination is often quite limited, a constraint which is often exacerbated by language and cultural barriers as well as limits imposed by governments at destinations on the freedom to travel of migrant workers.

There can be no doubt that while migration often results in women gaining a range of new freedoms, in some cases the opposite can occur. While there is emphasis placed upon how migration can result in a loosening of traditional restrictions upon women, there is another side to this change. For some women migration can mean the loss of important and valued support systems based in the village which served to protect them and to help in a range of household-based activities. Hence, migration can result in a disempowerment.

Indeed the circumstances of migration may influence the nature of the international labour migration experience of women. In Indonesia, for example, there is a very high rate of premature return of female overseas contract workers. The reasons for the premature return are several but involve health problems, homesickness and inability to adjust to the new situation. Moreover, the incidence of abuse and exploitation of Indonesian female migrants in Saudi Arabia has been found to be considerable (Pujiastati 2000, p. 54). Jones (1996, p. 16) has reported that Indonesian (and other) international migrant domestic workers have high levels of vulnerability to exploitation because:

- They usually live with employers in their homes.
- They are separated from fellow workers and support networks.
- They do not have witnesses to observe mistreatment.
- In some destinations (e.g. Saudi Arabia) they are not protected by local labour laws).

Traditional family structures in many less developed areas are emotionally extended in nature and have a strong patriarchal (and in a few cases, matriarchal) element. Migration may be playing a role in the move from emotionally extended to emotionally nuclear families and in the erosion of patriarchal power in the family. Firstly, it is clear that migration is often associated with migrants becoming independent earners as opposed to workers on the family land under the control of the family head. The consequent breakdown of the family as the key unit of economic production has certainly loosened patriarchal authority and the dominance of the extended family. The separation of family members from the head of the extended family may weaken the control the latter is able to exercise over the former. Moreover, although it is possible to exaggerate the differences between traditional rural origins and modern urban destinations in international migration out of Asian countries, there are some elements of social change which are more evident in such destination areas. For example, 'the emergence of the nuclear family, the enrichment and multiplication of individual social relationships and the challenge to collective solidarity by individual freedom' (White 1979, pp. 157-158) may become apparent to migrant workers at the destination and eventually lead them to challenge the status quo in their home areas.

Migration can affect the role of women in the traditional family. It is clear that migration is often associated with independent income-earning, independent decision making and exposure to different ways of doing things which leads them to take up different roles in the home area when they return.

International migration often leads to separation of family members, creating a greater dependence on the nuclear family, weakening wider kinship relationships, and consequently widening the roles of nuclear family members, especially women (Gonzalez 1961, p. 1274). Caldwell (1976) has identified such changes as critical to the transition from high to low fertility, which requires a reversal of the net flow of wealth. (In traditional societies the net flow is from children to parents, but in modern societies the flow is from parents to children.) Caldwell says that from a demographic viewpoint the most important 'social exports' from Europe have been the predominance of the nuclear family with its strong husband-wife ties and the concentration of concern and expenditure on one's children rather than on one's parents and other kin. There is some evidence that if such changes are not initiated by international migration, they are certainly assisted by it. Although wider kinship linkages exhibit considerable tenacity in the face of physical separation caused by mobility, the processes encouraging physical and emotional nucleation of families are likely to impinge most strongly on migrants, especially those working in more developed countries than their own.

Incorporating the diaspora

In recent years there has been an increasing recognition of the burgeoning size of the diaspora and expatriates from many less developed nations who are currently residing in more developed nations. For example, Figure 2 shows the distribution of the diasporas of four quite different African nations, at least those resident in OECD "north" nations. While patterns vary, we can make the following generalisations concerning them:

- They are growing rapidly.
- They are selective of high status, highly education skilled people.
- There are strong networks/linkages between sending and receiving countries with their development in information, communication and transportation technology enhancing this.
- There is a strong identification among many in the diaspora with their home countries.

There is an increasing recognition that the diaspora can play a positive role in the economic development of homeland areas through such mechanisms as
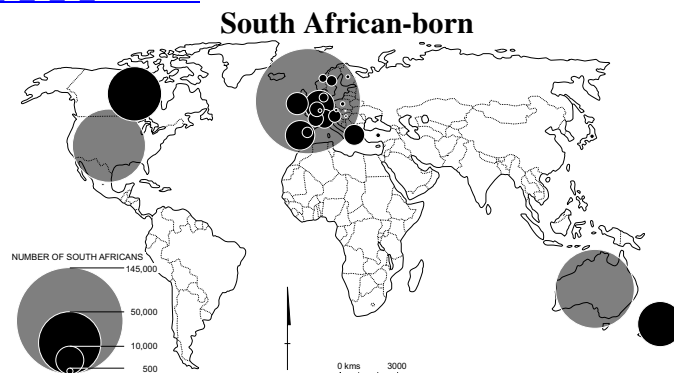
- Remittances;
- Return migration;
- Building of networks among natives and expatriates so that the inflow of capital, investment, skill and ideas from the destination nation to the origin nation is enhanced;
- Use of the expatriates as beachheads to sell goods produced in the home nation.

The emphasis in that discussion has been on economic dimensions of the diaspora and its effect but it must be remembered that diaspora are emphatically social phenomena. Hence, if diaspora are to become significant engines in the economic development of sending nations, there will need to be a better understanding of the social underpinnings of how diaspora are created, function and grow.
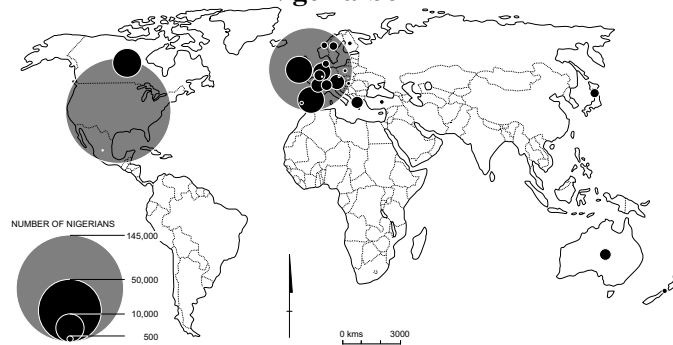
Figure 2: **Distribution of South Africa-born, Nigeria-born, Congo Democratic Republic-born and Angola-born expatriates in OECD nations, 2000**

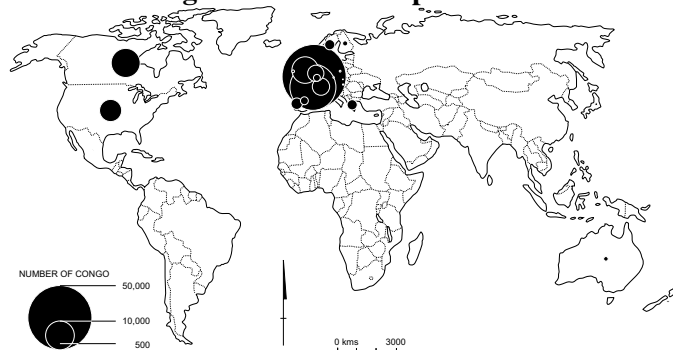Source: OECD Database on immigrants and expatriates
http://www.oecd.org/documents/51/0,2340,en_2649_33931_34063-91_1_1_1_1.--.html
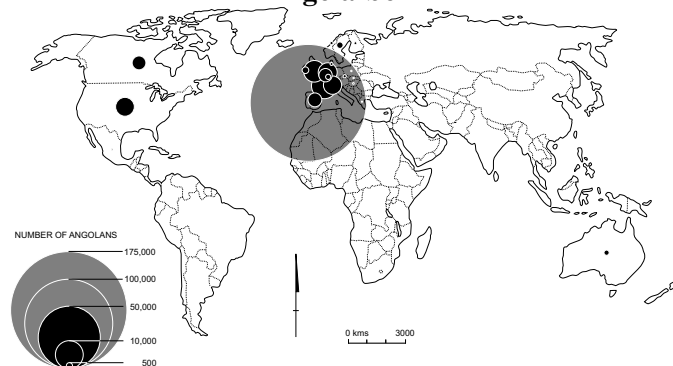

South African-born

41

Nigeria-born

NUMBER OF NIGERIANS
145,000
50,000
10,000
500

0 kms   3000

Congo Democratic Republic-born

NUMBER OF CONGO
50,000
10,000
500

0 kms   3000

Angola-born

NUMBER OF ANGOLANS
175,000
100,000
50,000
10,000
500

0 kms   3000

It is clear that if the diaspora is to be mobilised to assist development at home it will be necessary to strengthen the linkages with the diaspora and enhance expatriates identification with their homeland. There are a number of issues here. There are now complexities of citizenship which need to be addressed. Research on diaspora, at least first generation settlers in destinations confirms that a majority have a strong identification with their homeland, even if they have no intention of returning to it, have partnered with a native in the destination. However there is also often a feeling of being neglected by their homeland.

Perhaps there is a need for rethinking, in both conceptual and practical terms, what we consider to be a nation's "population". National governments, national bureaucracies and other national stakeholders define their national population in terms of those counted within national boundaries at the last population census. However, in a globalising world, it may be more appropriate for some purposes to conceive of the "national" population as including the diaspora. This would mean being more inclusive of the diaspora in the activities of the nation and taking trouble to include them in the mainstream of national thinking. It has implications for citizenship policy. Already many emigration nations are now seeing advantages in

allowing dual citizenship and discussing what this means for individuals is an important area. What rights and responsibilities are associated with dual citizenship as opposed to having a single nationality? The reality is that with improved information and communication technology, the diaspora can maintain intimate and instantaneous contact with their homelands in a way that was never possible before. Through the internet they are reading newspapers from their homeland at the same time as people in their homeland. They can interact daily with family members and in times of emergency, they can return quickly. This provides sending countries with real possibilities to be inclusive of their diaspora. There may be clever and new ways to use the new information technology to strengthen the identification of expatriates with their homelands.

What are the kinds of policies and programs which are being used by sending nations to strengthen diasporic identification and links with their homeland?

- Several nations give the diaspora voting rights in national elections either through them having their own representative in national parliament or allowing them to retain voting rights in their former home area. Clearly these should not be available for the entire diaspora since many have no intentions to return, do not pay taxes, etc. but for others with intentions to return it is often important. Hence, having arrangements which ensure that expatriates with an intention to return retain voting rights is important. Equally providing facilities for expatriates to vote is important.
- Some emigration nations have specific institutions to serve the diaspora and retain their identification with their home nation. The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) was established in 1980 with the following mandates…
    - provide advice and assistance to the President and the Congress of the Philippines in the formulation of policies concerning or affecting Filipinos overseas.
    - develop and implement programs to promote the interests and wellbeing of Filipinos overseas.
    - serve as forum for preserving and enhancing the social, economic and cultural ties of Filipinos overseas with the Philippines motherland.
    - provide liaison services to Filipinos overseas with appropriate government and provide agencies in the transaction of business and similar ventures in the Philippines.
    (Commission on Filipinos Overseas 2002, n.d.).
- Some emigration nations set up cultural and language maintenance programs in destinations.
- Some have programs to facilitate the growth of networks between expatriates and colleagues in the homeland, in business, research, etc.
- Some provide particular facilities, taxation advantages, etc. for expatriates investing in their homeland.
- Others have programs to encourage the return of expatriates permanently, temporarily or in retirement.

Developing nations seeking to develop such programs may be able to draw lessons from the experience of Italy which developed a range of mechanisms regarding its diaspora in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Social protection of nationals abroad

Sending nations, especially those sending international labour migrants to work in foreign countries, vary greatly in their commitment to the social protection of their nationals. In some such nations the government and bureaucracy completely abrogate this responsibility to the

labour protection laws of the receiving nations but in reality there is much they need to do to protect the basic rights of the workers and to minimize their chances of being unfairly exploited. In the first place much such exploitation occurs within origin countries with migrants being subject to exorbitant costs during the recruitment, preparation and travel stages. Indeed in some nations bureaucracies are complicit in this rent taking. In some Asian countries, migrant workers are less subject to exploitation if they take undocumented channels to migrate! Exaction of unfair and exploitative fees and tolls also occur when migrant workers return to their homeland. Control of middlemen-agencies, wiping out corruption among labour, immigration and police officials are important principles in labour sending nations. Some countries like the Philippines have put in place a range of policies to protect their workers from such predatory practices. In other countries there is little or no commitment to such protection.

There also are actions that sending nations can take with respect to their international labour migrants while they are working in destination countries. In fact there are many initiatives which can be taken despite the lack of jurisdiction in foreign countries. It includes the following:

• appointment of a labour attaché in each major destination to protect the situation of workers in destination countries.
• exerting diplomatic pressure.
• provision of help-line for workers in overseas countries.
• providing all workers with training which provides them with strategies and information to empower them to deal with exploitation at the destination.

One of the lessons from experience is that Non Government Organisations (NGOs) can often protect overseas migrant workers more effectively in foreign countries than can origin country governments. They often can be more effective because they do not have to follow diplomatic protocol and can often form alliances between NGOs based in origin and destination nations.

What is clear is that in many contexts migrants and migrant workers are not being extended basic human rights. This is despite the fact that there are a number of international instruments which provide an appropriate framework for the maintenance of those rights. Paramount among these is the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* which was first adopted by the UN General Assembly of 18 December 1990 but was not ratified until 1 July 2003. It took 12 years to gain the minimum 20 country signatures for the Charter to come into force. The 20 countries which have ratified the Convention are Azerbaijan, Belize, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cape Verde, Colombia, East Timor, Ecuador, El Salvador, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Philippines, Senegal, Seychelles, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Uganda and Uruguay. It is apparent that none of these nations is a significant destination country of immigrants or migrant workers and most are origin countries of a significant number of migrant workers. This, perhaps, reflects the fact that the Charter places substantial obligations of all countries to protect the human rights of migrant workers and their families. However, it is notable, too, that many origin countries whose citizens would have much to gain from the Convention have also not ratified it, which remains puzzling.

It is important also to identify a number of other international legal instruments which exist to provide a framework for improving the rights of international migrants and migrant workers. These include:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
- ILO Convention Concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions.
- ILO Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers 1975.
- Declaration of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women.
- Convention on the Estimation of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.
- 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.

Hence there is an array of instruments available which provide a basis for the protection of the rights of migrants and migrant workers in destinations. However, acceptance of these remains limited and exploitation of migrants, discrimination against them and failure to acknowledge their basic rights occurs frequently. What are the potential barriers to more widespread ratification of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families and the other instruments enumerated above?

Policy implications – sending countries

- There is a need to take into consideration the social effects of international labour migration, in particular the separation of migrant workers from their immediate families. There is a tendency to focus predominantly on the economic aspects of such mobility but the associated social costs can be high. The need to facilitate families traveling with migrants, frequent return visiting when workers move without families, provision of support services for "families left behind", facilitating regular contact between home and destination, etc. need to be considered.
- Where the outmigration is more permanent, countries should consider the development of an integrated diaspora policy, which goes beyond facilitating investment, the flow of remittances and other economic arrangements. The role of sending nations in helping organise expatriates at destinations, facilitating their home visiting and permanent return, in cultural and language maintenance, etc. can be of significance both in ensuring that the expatriate continues a relationship with the home country but also in assisting their adjustment at the destination.
- Protection of the safety and rights of expatriates abroad both permanent and temporary is an important responsibility. Entering into bilateral and multilateral relationships can facilitate this.
- Modern information technology and travel should be used to ensure that interaction between migrants and their families left behind is as cheap and readily available as possible.
- Emigration countries need to review their attitudes and policy toward citizenship and nationality. Examination of ways to incorporate the diaspora into the nation is an important priority.
- The families and communities left behind by migrants and migrant workers are a group which many need support and assistance.

NINE LESSONS REGARDING SOCIAL ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION

1. Integration is a long-term and interactive process*:* integration requires the efforts, commitment and understanding of both sides, the host society and the migrants.
2. Sending a positive message*:* it is important that states acknowledge the contribution that migrants make to their country's economy, demography, society and culture.
3. Rights and non-discrimination*:* both sending and receiving countries need to engage in the protection of migrants' rights throughout the whole migration process (emigration, en route, recruitment, temporary stay or longer settlement). Systems and institutions need to be put in place in order to safeguard the access to and provision of protection, and combat discrimination.
4. A policy framework*:* institutional structures need to be developed at state and local level that will be in charge of facilitating migrant settlement and integration; partnerships with civil society need to be reinforced.
5. The three keys to integration*:* employment, language and skills are all prerequisites for migrant integration. States need to support the effective promotion and placement of migrants in the labour market, by matching skills with needs, teaching the local language and developing vocational training programs.
6. Migrants as active agents*:* migrants need to be included as partners and active agents in the institutional and communal efforts for migrant integration. For this to happen, migrants need to be able to enjoy a sense of dignity, ownership and a role in the host society.
7. The diaspora*:* states need to foster the maintenance of regular ties between migrants and their home countries, by supporting the establishment of migrant associations and an integrated Diaspora policy.
8. The media*:* the media play a crucial role in shaping public and political opinion, and have therefore the power to obstruct or foster the integration process. The media should meet the standards of accuracy, objective and positive reporting.
9. Monitoring on the basis of common standards and principles*:* agreeing on common principles and minimum standards for the position and participation of migrants in receiving countries can assist institutions in monitoring, evaluation and further policy design. At regional level, a set of common principles can assist in structuring the dialogue and collaboration between countries.

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