



Making the Case for Including Migration into the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda

Background paper¹

High Level Panel on the Post-2015 Development Agenda – Expert Policy Dialogue on Migration
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Sarah Rosengärtner and Lars Johan Lönnback²

Executive summary

With one out of seven on the planet on the move, migration and the networks it creates will be a defining feature of the 21st century, affecting the lives of people, communities, and countries around the world. Migration is driven by development opportunities, but it also drives development and enables people to lead a better life. Although migration and development are inextricably linked, the current Millennium Development Goals make no reference to human mobility. This paper argues that the post-2015 agenda provides an opportunity to rectify this omission and outlines a few options for how human mobility could be addressed in the post-2015 narrative that is currently being shaped.

Migration is an integral part of the big development questions that are being put on the table for the post-2015 agenda, including: How to generate inclusive growth and create employment for a growing world population? How to manage new global risks, such as reducing vulnerability to shocks and disasters, and adapting to climate change? How to mobilize financing for development in a world of decreasing aid budgets?

Migration and the resources it generates in the form of remittances and diaspora investment can help address these global challenges. Migration is often an enabler of individual capabilities and human development at the household level, but it also contributes to national development and resilience to economic and environmental risks and shocks. At the same time, however, mobility can be associated with new inequalities and vulnerabilities, especially when it is poorly governed and occurs under conditions of insecurity.

In order to function as a human development enabler, including for the migrants and families involved, migration requires cooperation at all levels, across borders and a variety of stakeholders. Just as other global interdependencies, migration is best addressed through partnerships.

It is unclear if and how the post-2015 agenda will include a new Global Partnership for Development. The High Level Panel will have the opportunity to formulate a proposal in this regard. Whatever proposal it will make is likely to have an impact on the prospects for integrating migration into the next development framework.

¹ This paper reflects the views of the authors and not those of IOM and UNDP.

² Migration and Development Expert, UNDP New York and Senior Policy Adviser, IOM Geneva.

This paper outlines a number of ways in which migration might feature in global development partnerships. It explores four possibilities:

1) Migrant and diaspora contributions as part of a partnership on Financing for Development.

Presumably the least controversial approach, commitments in this area could relate to creating investment opportunities for diasporas; lowering the costs of sending remittances; and promoting financial literacy and access to financial services among migrants and their families.

2) Human Mobility as a global partnership in its own right.

A 'high risk – high reward bet' for political leaders, a partnership on mobility would need to acknowledge the different interests and challenges attached to high vs. low-skilled migration, focusing on the retention of talent and access to mobility, through investments in skills, the reduction of upfront costs, and improvements in legal and social protection for migrants.

3) Migration in a global partnership related to Health Systems and the global Care Economy

The movement of health and care workers affects not just health systems, but economic and social development overall. We suggest scope for cooperation on ethical recruitment, investments in health worker training, and online delivery of services, as well as better visa conditions and legal and social protection for care workers.

4) Human mobility and a partnership on Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Risk Reduction

Adapting to climate change and managing disaster risk will inevitably involve grappling with human mobility in order to: prevent forced displacements; define guidance or rules for the protection of people displaced by environmental changes and disasters; and facilitate adaptive migration and prevent people from becoming 'stuck' in areas that become uninhabitable or can no longer support their livelihoods.

We conclude by laying out some ideas on how the High Level Panel might pave the way for the inclusion of migration as a development enabler in the narrative for the post-2015 agenda:

Firstly, by advocating for a post-2015 development agenda that emphasizes human development outcomes and puts 'people first', including by recognizing the important development contributions of non-institutional actors, such as migrants and diasporas.

Secondly, by making a strong case for multilateralism and the need to strengthen the role of partnerships in the post-2015 agenda to give adequate attention and 'teeth' to commitments on those global challenges that create interdependence and require collective solutions, including migration.

Thirdly, it could highlight the fact that migration is an important, so far overlooked development enabler – but migrants are no means for development. Migration contributes to human development when migrants' rights and wellbeing are ensured. Much can be gained from better facilitating human mobility, while ignoring it risks being costly in human, social and economic terms.

The growing relevance of migration across countries of the global North and South and for a whole range of policy sectors, combined with the built-in flexibility to tailor global goals to national contexts that the post-2015 agenda will likely need to offer, should make the proposition of addressing human mobility less 'threatening' than sceptics may contend.

Until states discuss and decide on this proposition, the High Level Panel has an important chance to 'keep the door' open for migration. Migrants and the people who depend upon them have a stake in the post-2015 agenda. Might it be time to acknowledge that some of the world's emerging priorities also have a stake in migration?

INTRODUCTION

We do not yet know what the next global development agenda will look like. It remains a moving target for efforts to include migration.³ There is much ambition to broaden its scope as compared to the current Millennium Development Goals. At the same time there is consensus that the strength of the MDGs lies in their brevity, clarity and measurability. They are also based on an unprecedented global consensus, namely the Millennium Declaration.⁴

Freedom of movement is a fundamental element of human freedoms. The ability to move and choose one's residence is of intrinsic value; at the same time mobility has also been instrumental for human advancement throughout history, in terms of economic, social and cultural development. Migration remains today one of the most effective strategies for individuals and their families to improve their lives. It also touches the lives of more and more people around the world. Estimates of international migration mask the fact that mobility, past and present, reaches deeply into the lives of people; people with more than one passport; with family or friends across the globe; with neighbours who do not speak their language.

Migration will influence the development trajectory of countries over the lifetime of the next development agenda. An agenda that ignores its opportunities and impacts will be increasingly 'out of touch'. Where it aims to bring about inclusive globalization, but fails to understand migration dynamics, it risks exacerbating vulnerabilities, cementing privileges, and squandering talent and resources.

This note argues for migration as one of the 21st century challenges shaping the new development 'narrative' that the post-2015 agenda and, in a first step, the High Level Panel seeks to articulate. The note will:

1. Reflect on the current development context and foreseeable patterns of human mobility;
2. Discuss the role of migration as a development 'enabler'; and
3. Suggest ways in which migration as an enabler might be included in the post-2015 development agenda and what role the High Level Panel could play in this regard.

1. THE EVOLVING MIGRATION & DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

The development landscape is currently going through significant changes both in terms of subject matter and means of implementation: i) there is a decreased relevance of the dichotomy developed/developing countries; ii) there are diminishing prospects for increased levels of official development assistance (ODA), indeed its overall relevance is decreasing; iii) the nature of partnerships is changing with the emergence of South-South

³ A number of ongoing processes are seeking to frame the next global development agenda. Under the auspices of the UN, global, regional and national consultations are being organized to feed into the deliberations and report of the High Level Panel, which has been created to advise the UN Secretary General on the post-2015 agenda and is due to report in May 2013. At the same time, UN member states have created an Open Working Group, following up on the Rio+20 Summit in 2012, which is to develop and agree upon a set of sustainable development goals, or SDGs. While it is currently unclear how the two processes will converge, ultimately they must. One possible scenario is that the current post-2015 process will formulate the broad framework or narrative for the next development agenda (similar to the Millennium Declaration) including an indication of global priorities, while the OWG will define the goals that are to fulfill the aspirations of the broader narrative.

⁴ Karven, Jonathan, Charles Kenny, and Andy Sumner: MDG 2.0: What Goals, Targets, and timeframes?, Center for Development Policy, Working paper 297, June 2012.

cooperation and influential non-government and private actors; iv) policy coherence will be increasingly important to tackle the interrelated challenges of social and economic development and environmental sustainability.

These kinds of changes and evolutions are mirrored by transformations in the scale and patterns of human mobility. There are an estimated 215 million international migrants in the world, as well as about 740 million internal migrants. Taken together, at least one in seven people on the planet are on the move. Many of them will have family or others who depend upon them, so the actual number of people directly affected by migration is much larger than the share of migrants alone would suggest. Diaspora communities are growing as more and more people will have more than one nationality or secure residence in a country other than their own, contributing to ever denser transnational networks. Remittances from internal and international migration will likely play an important role in an age of increased volatility, helping people cope with economic and environmental shocks and crises.

Migration is increasingly multi-directional, notably with South-South migration by now at the same level as South-North flows. Furthermore, global demographic imbalances and new poles of growth in emerging economies can be expected to lead to new migration patterns over the coming decades. Movements are already – and will probably remain – predominantly short distance and short term rather than intercontinental and permanent. At the same time, labour markets will increasingly rely on finding necessary skills at all levels in a “globalised labour market”, as already is evident in several sectors of developed countries.

An estimated 105 million people in the world have moved for the purpose of work, while about 200 million people are unemployed, in addition to about 400 million counting as working poor (living on less than \$1.25 a day)⁵. Creating more and better opportunities for internal and international labour mobility will almost certainly have to be part of the policy response to tackling the challenge of job creation for a growing world population. Informality of settlements, labour, and movements, will be an integral part of people’s development and resilience strategies. Strong linkages between formal and informal institutions and markets will be required to reduce vulnerabilities and improve poor people’s lives.

Whereas the migration and development discourse has traditionally framed migration as a problem to be solved by fostering development in countries of origin, it has come to recognize mobility as an integral part of development processes that presents both, important human development opportunities, as well as trade-offs and costs. This shift in perception is reflected in a slow but steady increase in facilitative rather than control focused policy responses to migration.⁶ Progress has also been made in terms of international dialogue and cooperation on migration and development, notably through the first UN General Assembly High Level Dialogue on this topic held in 2006, and the ensuing Global Forum process. Countries of the North and South see their roles as destination vs. origin in flux; increasingly they are facing the same challenges when it comes to governing migration.

⁵ ILO, World Employment Report. International Labour Organisation. Geneva, 2012.

⁶ Black, Richard and Jon Sward, Migration, Poverty Reduction Strategies and Human Development, Human Development Research Paper, 2009/38.

Migration, therefore, fits well within a universal framing of the post-2015 development agenda that would be built on a symmetrical partnership between countries at all levels of development and around universal goals applying to all countries but with differentiated targets to account for differences in development status. At the same time, there is much ‘unfinished business’ from the current MDGs, supporting the case for a post-2015 focus on poverty eradication and reaching those left behind. The two scenarios are not mutually exclusive and migration has a role to play under both. Without downplaying the costs for the migrants involved, we might look at the contribution that China has made towards achieving the poverty reduction goal of the current MDGs and ask if the same would have been possible without large-scale internal mobility.

In order to reap the assets (in terms of labour, capital and knowledge) that come with migration while at the same time ensuring the human development of those involved and social inclusion, countries will need to integrate migration into their national strategies and development plans, and build international partnerships, including with non-state stakeholders.

2. THE POST-2015 PROCESS: FRAMING MIGRATION AS A DEVELOPMENT ENABLER

Laying the foundation for much of the current post-2015 discussion, the report of the UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, “Realizing the Future We Want for All” frames migration as:

- 1) A key dimension of global population dynamics;
- 2) An enabler for inclusive economic and social development if well managed; and
- 3) A possible element of a renewed global partnership for development, building on the current MDG8.

Rather than constituting separate agendas or work streams, these three considerations are mutually reinforcing. The dynamic and complex nature of global mobility patterns has demonstrated that States can neither effectively govern international migration nor ‘unlock’ its full developmental benefits through internal policies alone; only collaboration between countries will be able to achieve this. Even in the case of internal mobility, the role of climate induced environmental changes as drivers of such mobility and the associated challenges of rapid urbanization and, in many cases, enhanced vulnerability to disasters make it an issue for global cooperation.

Considerable evidence exists to document the development contributions of migration at different levels:

- Migration can be an enabler of individual capabilities and human development by enhancing people’s income, health, and education. The 2009 Human Development Report found that those migrants who moved from countries with a low human development index (HDI) to a higher HDI country experienced, on average, a 15-fold increase in income; a doubling in education enrolment rate; and a 16-fold reduction in child mortality.⁷ Remittances have been shown to contribute to poverty reduction among families left behind by increasing household incomes and enabling them to invest in housing, health and education.

⁷ 2009 Human Development Report, *Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development*. The HDR also found that the selectivity of migration flows – the tendency for those who move to be better off and better educated in the first place – can only explain a fraction of these gains.

Research suggests that internal remittance flows are probably most important for poverty reduction, as internal migrants make up three quarters of the world's migrants and their remittances typically go to the rural poor.⁸

- Migration can also enable national development opportunities by supplying countries with needed labour and skills, and by contributing to innovation.⁹ For a number of countries, remittances make up a significant share of GDP, support national income and represent the largest source of foreign currency earnings, allowing countries to pay for critical imports, gain access to capital markets, and pay lower interest rates on sovereign debt.
- Migration has a role to play in helping to manage global risks. Remittances have helped countries and households cope with the global economic crisis and with more frequent environmental shocks. In many regions, migration is already part of adaptation strategies to environmental change, allowing affected households to diversify their income.

Yet, when framing migration as a 'development enabler', it is important to keep in mind that the movement of people is fundamentally different from other global flows of goods and finance. **A post-2015 development agenda that puts "people first"¹⁰ must recognize that the potential of migration to advance development goals is always tied to the migration process itself being an opportunity for human development.** In other words, migration cannot be treated solely as a means for development, without considering migrants as an end. Thus, if we aim to harness migration as an enabler of development, we need to be mindful of the fact that this "enabler" potential is contingent on:

- a) The overall *size or quantity* of migration: How many people can move?
- b) The *selectivity* of migration flows: Who has access to migration opportunities?
- c) The "*quality*" of migration opportunities, i.e. whether respect for and the protection of migrants' rights are guaranteed: Under which conditions does migration take place?

Building upon these variables, the post-2015 agenda has several levers to 'unlock' the development potential of migration:

- 1) Greater liberalization or better facilitation of movements;

⁸ 2009 HDR, p.81.

⁹ Economic research suggests that foreign nationals living in the United States accounted for 25.6 percent of all patent applications and founded 26 percent of start-ups, including a majority of Silicon Valley start-ups. In addition, an increase in immigrants with higher education diplomas is associated with an increase in patenting. An expansion of high-skilled visas passed in 1998 increased revenue at affected companies by 15 percent.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/01/29/five-things-economists-know-about-immigration/>

¹⁰ See: "People First: A Post-2015 Development Agenda", High Level Panel Working Paper Series, drafted by the High Level Panel Secretariat, prepared for the Second HLP Meeting in London, Nov. 1, 2012

- 2) Equal access to migration, enhancing the circle of people able to move;
- 3) Stronger focus on the well-being of migrants, i.e. through better integration, and legal and social protection of those who move throughout the migration cycle (pre-departure, en route, at destination and upon return);
- 4) Improved facilitation of the transfers of money and knowledge that come from migrants and diasporas; as well as
- 5) Improved mitigation of the social costs of migration and other potentially negative impacts at origin, in transit countries and at destination.

It is important to keep in mind that advancing these migration-related objectives as part of the post-2015 process will require not only an explicit commitment on migration in the next development agenda. We also need to look at commitments and actions in areas other than migration that may, for example, enhance people's ability to move or to integrate into their host communities. Thus, we should from time to time flip the 'migration-as-a-development-enabler' narrative on its head and ask not only what migration and migrants can do for development but also what development can do for migrants and migration.

While the post-2015 discussion has acknowledged migration as a development enabler, it remains unclear what this means in terms of integrating it in any future development framework. The following section argues that formulating an overall framework for articulating the relationship between development enablers and development goals will be an important task for the High Level Panel, and a stepping stone for including migration in the post-2015 agenda.

3. INTEGRATING MIGRATION INTO THE POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

The current MDG framework addresses development enablers through MDG 8 on Global Partnerships for Development. There could be various scenarios for how a commitment to global partnerships might be framed in the post-2015 agenda:

1. The next development agenda could have one global goal on Partnerships for Development, similar to the current MDG8, but equipped with measurable targets and indicators this time;
2. It could attach a specific partnership to each thematic goal, thereby spelling out more directly the relationship between enablers and goals;
3. It could formulate a whole set of global partnership goals that would cover key enablers of human development, and which would complement the set of goals that will be focused on final human

development ends. This would elevate the status of the enablers, equalling a post-2015 development agenda in two parts.¹¹

Whichever scenario the HLP and ultimately member states will opt for, we dare to assume that some form of global partnership commitment will be maintained in the post-2015 framework, and that migration clearly would be a candidate for being included. This could be done in various forms, reflecting the different sets of challenges and interests associated with different types of migration (regular or irregular; high-skilled or low-skilled; voluntary or forced etc.). Migration could be recognized as a ‘priority enabler’ with a partnership in its own right¹²; and it could play a role in a number of other thematic partnerships. Presumably, making commitments that relate directly to facilitating mobility would be a ‘high risk – high reward bet’ for political leaders. The stakes will be much lower for including migration related commitments indirectly in the form of initiatives related to migrant remittances and diaspora engagement.

The following presents a preliminary sketch of what different migration-related global partnership options might look like:

Global Partnership and Financing for Development

Arguably, the least controversial way of enhancing the benefits of migration for migrants, their families, communities, and countries of origin and destination alike, will be to improve the facilitation of remittances and other forms of diaspora contributions with a view to enhancing migrants’ choices when it comes to sending, saving and investing their money. International migrant remittances to developing countries through official transfers alone amounted to around USD 406 billion in 2012.¹³ It is estimated that lowering the cost of international remittance transactions by five percentage points could lead to gains in the order of 16 billion dollars a year.¹⁴ Internal remittances are less well documented, but may hold bigger potential to support the poorest, as they typically go to poor households in rural areas.

Remittances are private funds that primarily go to support household expenditures and sometimes community investments. The post-2015 discussion on development financing should steer clear of comparing remittances to ODA or suggesting that they could be a replacement. In some cases, migrants and members of the diaspora have contributed to their country of origin’s development as investors and entrepreneurs, creating businesses and jobs where they deem local conditions conducive enough, or through trade, tourism and philanthropy.¹⁵ A number of existing schemes seek to harness the financial resources of migrants and diasporas for productive purposes, including by extending financial services to migrants and their families and providing migrants and members of the diaspora with investment opportunities, such as through diaspora bonds, for example.¹⁶ Yet,

¹¹ This kind of two-part agenda has been proposed by the German Development Institute, see: Loewe (2012), p.4.

¹² See: “Analysis and overview of new actors and formats for the global partnership for development post 2015 Thematic, a UNTT Think Piece, pp-5-9.

¹³ World Bank, Migration and Development Brief, No. 19, November 2012.

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1288990760745/MigrationDevelopmentBrief19.pdf> (accessed February 2013)

¹⁴ World Bank, Remittance Prices World Wide, <http://remittanceprices.worldbank.org/>, (accessed February 2013).

¹⁵ Agunias, Dovelyn Rannveig and Kathleen Newland, Developing a roadmap for Engaging Diasporas in Development, Handbook, IOM/MPI, 2012.

¹⁶ “[N]ational diasporas represent a potentially significant source of financing for many developing countries. Multilateral development institutions and national development banks could help to tap these resources for development by facilitating investment in productive

these kinds of initiatives are only likely to succeed if migrants and diasporas have trust in the institutions and overall economic management and prospects of the country they are asked to invest in. International partners could play the role of an honest broker and assume a ‘quality assurance’ function. A Global Partnership on Financing for Development could thus focus on issues such as:

“Promoting opportunities for migrants and diaspora to securely transfer and save money, and provide them with incentives to invest their funds to support economic and social development, resilience, post-conflict reconstruction and disaster relief interventions”.

Ideally, the next iteration of the global partnership for development, like the other MDGs, will be equipped with measurable indicators. Indicators relating to remittances and diaspora contributions could revolve around the following:

- Cost of transferring remittances;
- Percentage of remittance flows that moves through formal channels and is recorded in national accounts according to the current IMF manual;
- Percentage of remittances transferred using new technologies;
- Percentage of remittances senders and receivers with access to financial services;
- Rates of financial literacy of senders and receivers of remittances;
- Number of countries that have issued diaspora bonds and volume of funds invested;
- Share of remittances and diaspora contributions going to countries affected by conflict and disaster;
- Number of businesses and jobs created with diaspora resources.

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It will presumably be much more difficult to foster any global commitment relating to the movement of people and the conditions under which such movements take place. Any global partnership in this area would probably have to leave open the possibility that arrangements pertaining to human mobility might be developed at regional and bilateral levels rather than at a global scale. Nonetheless, there could still be a global agreement on the overarching objectives and principles that should govern such arrangements and anchor them within the post-2015 development framework.

Global Partnership and Human Mobility

More predictable regimes for bilateral, intra- and inter-regional labour mobility could make an important contribution to future economic growth, especially in view of global demographic imbalances and the skills crisis projected in the coming decades.¹⁷ Economists estimate that open borders would increase world GDP by up to

activities by members of the diaspora and/or remittance recipients. This could provide a source of small-scale foreign direct investment (FDI), whose developmental benefits would be enhanced (relative to more conventional FDI) by being more deeply rooted in local economies.” World Economic and Social Survey 2012, In Search of New Development Finance E/2012/50/Rev. 1 ST/ESA/341pp. 71, 72 UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs

¹⁷ There are projections indicating that current population dynamics will lead to severe skills shortages at global level, notably including India and China, and it has been estimated that by 2020 such shortages would amount to around 85 million skilled persons at various levels. See: “The world at work: Jobs, pay, and skills for 3.5 billion people” McKinsey & Company, June 2012

ten times as much as completely free movement of capital and completely free trade with developing countries.¹⁸

If we assume that the post-2015 agenda is likely to feature a goal related to inclusive growth, states might want to consider reinforcing such a goal through a targeted partnership on labour mobility. Greater labour mobility could be facilitated by ‘trade in services’ provisions in trade agreements, through explicit labour mobility agreements at various levels, as well as through reforms to national visa regimes.

National policies and mobility agreements around the world tend to give preference to the movement of students and skilled people.¹⁹ These preferences are unlikely to shift dramatically in the near future. In order to enable the growing number of young people in the world to access migration opportunities and respond to labour market needs, while addressing prevalent concerns in developing countries regarding ‘brain drain’, a partnership on labour mobility should include a concerted effort to expand education and skills development opportunities in developing countries, and to ensure the recognition of skills and qualifications.

When it comes to low-skilled migration, it appears rather unlikely that states will commit to any expansion of legal migration opportunities. A global partnership could, however, seek to enhance the poverty eradication effects and gains that accrue to migrants and their families by addressing barriers to mobility in the form of high upfront costs of migration, including for official documentation, visa and recruitment fees. In addition, it should not shy away from addressing the often difficult conditions under which migrants move and live, in line with the agreed language from the Outcome Document of the Rio+20 Summit, notably the section on “Promoting full and productive employment, decent work for all and social protection”, which calls upon states to protect the human rights of all migrants.²⁰ The 2009 Human Development Report made a number of related recommendations for reform.

Building on the proposal for a migration-related partnership goal developed by Justin McDermott and Kathleen Newland, a global mobility partnership could be framed as:

“Creating cooperative international systems for labour mobility that ensure access to safe, lawful, and less costly movements across borders.”

Such a partnership could rely on indicators along the following lines:

- Number of higher education and vocational training institutions established in developing countries through international partnerships; enrolment rates disaggregated by income, location (rural/urban), sex and age; and graduate employment rates disaggregated in the same manner.
- Number of national laws and international agreements on the recognition of foreign qualifications & number of foreign qualifications recognized.
- Number of labour mobility agreements & number of people moving under those agreements.

¹⁸ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/01/29/five-things-economists-know-about-immigration/>

¹⁹ Klugman, Jeni, and Isabel Medaño Pereira, “Assessment of National Migration Policies: An emerging picture on admissions, treatment and enforcement in developing and developed countries”, Human Development Research Paper, 2009/48.

²⁰ UNCSO “Rio+20” Outcome document paras. 147-157

- Existence of provisions for the protection of migrants' rights under mobility agreements.
- Number of countries offering consular services to migrants abroad.
- Number of portability of benefits agreements & number of people covered, or volume of funds transferred, under those agreements.
- Number of partnerships on migrant recruitment integrity schemes
- Costs for obtaining documentation and visas

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The impacts of both skilled and less-skilled labour migration are usually particularly tangible in certain sectors of the economy. Concerns about skilled emigration and 'brain drain' have been most pronounced when affecting key social service sectors such as health and education. At the same time, there are sectors that warrant particular attention when it comes to addressing vulnerabilities of migrants and the protection of their rights. We suggest that, broadly speaking, the sector of health and care services is and will be of particular relevance when looking at ways in which migration can lead to better human development outcomes for all involved.

Global Partnership and Health Systems and the Care Economy

The post-2015 agenda can almost certainly be assumed to include a goal on health. To deliver on such a commitment, the capacities of health systems will be critical. Health systems in many countries will be strained by the demands of ageing societies and by new forms of health risks (such as non-communicable diseases) that go along with better standards of living. Health systems also need to adapt to be able to respond to the health profiles and needs of more culturally and ethnically diverse societies.²¹ In a globally interconnected world, public health will hinge on inclusive and accessible systems geared towards prevention and early intervention, including by extending primary health care, early treatment, and disease-control programmes to all, including migrants.

Mobility is already a reality in the global health sector, which employs a large migrant workforce and is seeing an increase in medical tourism, but also the outsourcing of long term care provision from developed to less developed countries. How the movement of health and care workers (and potentially that of patients) will be managed will have a significant impact on the delivery capacity of health systems in countries of origin and destination.²² There are a number of domestic measures that countries of origin have taken to mitigate the impacts of health worker emigration, including improvements in remuneration, 'bonding' of medical school graduates, and reform of education financing, so that people seeking training as a way of moving abroad rely on private resources rather than public funding. These could be complemented by a global partnership that promotes: 1) the implementation of the WHO Global Code of Practice on the International Recruitment of Health Personnel, which was adopted by the World Health Assembly in 2010; 2) investments in medical skills in both countries of origin and destination; in developing countries of origin, these could be supported through

²¹ Health in the post-2015 development agenda: The importance of migrants' health for sustainable and equitable development by Davide Mosca, Barbara Rijks and Caroline Schultz, Migration Policy Practice (Volume II, Number 6, December 2012-January 2013)

²² The Future of Health Worker Migration, Background paper for World Migration Report, IOM 2011.

ODA or private investments in those skills that are particularly useful in-country but less tradable across borders; and 3) investments in alternative technologies for delivering health services, which would allow skills that are in short supply to benefit larger numbers of people.²³

Beyond doctors and nurses, at the lower end of the skills ladder, care functions for children and the elderly are being carried out by migrant women around the world, many of them employed as domestic workers with little legal and social protection. The recent adoption of the ILO's Domestic Workers Convention provides a building block for improving the situation of these vulnerable migrants. Oftentimes migrant care workers leave their own dependants in the care of other, mostly female, relatives. Visa regimes that allow for multiple entry and frequent returns or, better, family reunification would allow these, mostly female, migrants to stay connected with their families and children. More broadly, the valuation and remuneration of care work and gender roles in its provision will be a key issue to consider when aiming for "achieving structural transformations through a global development agenda"²⁴, including the empowerment of women and girls.

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Although much larger in scale than international migration, internal mobility may not appear to be a pressing global concern warranting the attention of a development partnership. Yet, it is an integral part of the inter-related global challenges of rapid urbanization, climate change adaptation, and disaster risk reduction. Of further concern in that context, is the blurring of lines between voluntary and forced movements, and the implications this may have for the protection of those who move.

Global Partnership and Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Risk Reduction

In tackling the growing global challenges of climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction, states will inevitably have to deal with questions of human mobility: 1) They will want to ensure that their response to these challenges, including in the area of urban planning, prevents forced displacements. 2) Where displacement due to environmental factors happens, and where it crosses national borders, they will have to define some form of guidance or rules regarding the protection of the people displaced.²⁵ And, 3) they should not overlook the role of facilitated migration – whether internal or international – and the remittances it can generate in helping households and communities adapt to the effects of climate change, preventing them from becoming 'stuck' in areas that become uninhabitable or can no longer support their livelihoods, without resources to move out of harm's way.

Migration is already an adaptive strategy, as recognized in the Cancun Adaptation Framework. However, just as it serves to reduce household vulnerability at origin, it can contribute to generating increased vulnerability at destination: Evidence suggests that rural-urban migration over the coming decades will often be driven by

²³ See: 2009 HDR, p. 109.

²⁴ Communiqué from the Meeting of the High Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda in Monrovia, Liberia, 1 February 2013.

²⁵ The 'Nansen Initiative' provides a first step in this direction. It is a state-led consultative process aimed at building consensus on a global protection agenda addressing the needs of people displaced across borders in the context of natural disasters. Co-led by Norway and Switzerland, as well as a wider group of friends, the initiative follows up on the Cancún Outcome Agreement from December 2010 (COP16), in which states recognized climate change-induced migration, displacement and relocation as an adaptation challenge, and agreed to enhance their understanding and cooperation in this respect.

environmental changes that make subsistence farming and other livelihoods relying on ecosystem services less viable. Yet, paradoxically, migrants will often end up more vulnerable to environmental hazards and shocks as they come to inhabit the most inhospitable, disaster prone areas of a city, for instance informal settlements on deforested hillsides or on fragile river banks prone to erosion and flooding. Already the current statistics are alarming: two thirds of the cities with over five million inhabitants are situated in coastal areas that will be increasingly vulnerable to more intense weather conditions and sea-level rise. In many LDCs and SIDS, major economic centres lie in such vulnerable areas, or, indeed entire populations are under existential threat, raising the unique challenge of a whole nation facing the prospect of displacement.²⁶

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This brief overview of potential partnerships to be built around different development challenges and forms of migration is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather to provide food for further reflection and discussion on how migration might realistically be woven into the post-2015 narrative.

III. WHAT ROLE FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL PANEL?

What does all this mean for the High Level Panel? What role could it play when it comes to migration and the post-2015 agenda, assuming that the Panel will find it difficult to advocate for any one of the many issues that are being brought before it for consideration in its report to the UNSG?

We would argue that, when framing the narrative for the post-2015 agenda, the HLP could help the ‘cause’ of migration in the following ways:

Firstly, advocate for a post-2015 development agenda that emphasizes human development outcomes and puts ‘people first’, including by recognizing the important development contributions of non-institutional actors, such as migrants and diasporas.²⁷

Second, it should make a strong case for multilateralism and the need to strengthen the role of partnerships in the post-2015 agenda to give adequate attention and “teeth” to commitments on those global challenges that create interdependence and require collective solutions, including migration.

Thirdly, it could highlight the fact that migration is an important, so far overlooked development enabler – but migrants are no means for development. Migration contributes to human development when migrants’ rights and wellbeing are ensured. Much can be gained from better facilitating human mobility, while ignoring it risks being costly in human, social and economic terms.

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This paper has made the case that migration or mobility, as an important development enabler, deserves explicit recognition in the next global development agenda. Migrants and migration make significant contributions to development and poverty reduction. A global partnership could instill momentum for greater international

²⁶ Foresight: Migration and Global Environmental Change, Final Project Report, The Government Office of Science, London, 2011.

²⁷ Migrants were mentioned as one of the stakeholders in Sustainable Development at Rio+20, see: UNCSD Outcome document para: 43.

cooperation and coordination with a view to maximizing the benefits and minimizing the risks for all stakeholders, including migrants and their families. While sceptics will argue that the political economy of migration is too sensitive and migration too 'toxic' an issue to be included, we would underline that:

- 1) A number of countries from across the development spectrum have stated their wish to see migration in the post-2015 development agenda and are already taking action to better harness the benefits of migration;
- 2) The scale of migration is and will be an increasingly important reality for policy makers in a range of areas ranging including the economy, labour markets, taxation, social cohesion and integration. Changing migration patterns will entrench the need for international policy dialogue and partnerships among countries that increasingly face the same migration-related challenges.
- 3) The post-2015 agenda, like the MDGs, should be aspirational. It will come into being in an era of weakened multilateralism; at the same time that it will presumably cover all countries in the world and thus a diverse range of sustainable development challenges. The next development goals will thus require some built-in flexibility for adjustments to regional and national contexts and to multi-stakeholder implementation partnerships. Such flexibility should make the inclusion of migration-related commitments less 'threatening'.

The 2013 General Assembly High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development and the Global Forum on Migration and Development provide upcoming opportunities for states to explore areas of consensus and to articulate their migration and development priorities for the post-2015 agenda. For now, it is in the hands of the High Level Panel to 'keep the door open' by weaving migration into the post-2015 narrative. This paper has sketched out a few ways in which human mobility relates to and enables other development priorities, or how it might be included in its own right. Whether they are explicitly mentioned or not migrants, and the people who depend upon them, have a big stake in many of the post-2015 development priorities. It might be time to acknowledge that some of the world's emerging priorities also have a stake in migration.

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