



Editorial

The Changing Face of Migration

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Ten years ago the *development* journal published an issue on 'Immigration and the international division of labour'. A decade later *development* is revisiting the theme with this issue on 'Migration: Citizenship, identity and rights' with a decided shift from an economic development and population policy perspective to a citizen and human rights framework.

The earlier issue in 1993 assumed that the 1990s would face up to the 'problems' migration posed to development and find durable solutions based on sound policy to achieve a more balanced world economy that would diminish the pressure of mass movements of people. The focus of that set of articles was on repatriation and the changing economic climate. The articles spoke confidently of sustainable development (one year after the Earth Summit) to ensure more even patterns of economic development North–South, with resources to be found in the dividends development would reap in the wake of the end of the Cold War. If xenophobia or racism was discussed, it was in relation to ensuring smooth integration, better education and ways to prevent movements of economically poor people. Solidarity with refugees and migrants meant encouraging southern governments to help avoid South–North migration by making their economies more attractive to workers. The discussion was of potentially thorny international development issues solved by sound national and international policy. The journal did take up rights issues, in particular of domestic maids in Asia and of the need for southern governments to ensure that domestic workers have a secure passage to and from the foreign work place and their economic rights respected. There was little talk of permanent movement or disruption, nor did it seem conceivable that displacement and migration could become a way of life for the very poor in an endless search to find economic, social and political security.

A decade later the scenario is very different. Globalization is centre stage along with a strong concern about the harsh reality of the nastier side of economic and social trends for the majority of migrants, refugees and displaced people whose search for a decent living for them and their families seems an inevitable, unstoppable part of today's global world. Legal, health and rights issues are underlined rather than economic development policy. As Bimal Ghosh points out in his discussion of international treaties to uphold migrants' human rights, increased competition, rapid technological change and the decline of the organized manufacturing sector have contributed to an unprecedented expansion of the informal sector everywhere, creating an increasing demand for cheap, unorganized and often irregular, immigrant workers. Upfront in these discussions are the growing racism and xenophobia, violence, ill health and vulnerability faced by all types of migrants, refugees and displaced people in the North and the South.

The human rights framework in which this journal issue is couched shifts the discussion from how to prevent mass population movement from South to North or within the South, to the rights of migrants, refugees and displaced people within their new environment, and their possibly permanent sense of loss of home, identity and citizenship rights, even if experienced as a very fluid situation. The concept of integration is therefore far more nuanced and difficult. There seems less acceptance of migrants, migrants themselves are organizing more as a political identity, and the 'rainbow' class of second-generation migrants, as discussed by Alejandro Portes, is clearly not in the same position as those in earlier waves of migration.

How to tackle prejudice, how to respect the different histories and identities, how to ensure the social, legal and health rights of migrants, nationally and globally, have become the burning questions. The acceptance of migration can lead, as Laura Agustín argues, to migrants being seen in a prejudicial and unhelpful way as victims of economic structuring or of criminal elements, rather than as economically poor people in search for a living by travelling – a parallel and uncommented upon pursuit of many better off, educated people.

She argues that in our acceptance of migrants as part of the global order we need to re-confirm the idea of agency for migrants, with emphasis on the process they are going through. She suggests that we see them as transnationals living through situations that show creativity and strength, rather than undermining their choices as just those of exploited, perhaps desperate, people. Marco Zupi and other authors show just how much migrants give to different economies in their work, their remittances and also in their cultural and social contributions.

This issue gives us a small glimpse of how to move beyond labelling and to take seriously the issue of identity even while acknowledging that the category of citizen and rights are strongly contested grounds in arenas where very few migrants' voices are heard, and that indeed the situations faced are very harsh. The statement by the European Network Against Racism and its president Bashy Quraishy make those points strongly. The story of Juan, his creative survival on the margins and his adoption of a feminine identity as a transvestite in prostitution, as related by Marie-Louise Janssen, underscores the problem of illegality and the types of policies that are policing and protecting national citizens rather than taking into account the much more complex reality of illegal migrants. Rebecca Surtees and the Delhi-based World Feature Service tell the stories of increased trafficking of women and children and the difficulties of responding to their needs, a concern echoed in Joanne Mariner's more legal evidence-based examination of the problem of racism, citizenship and identity.

Many articles also show the very real problems refugees and migrants face – the study of violence inflicted on women in the camps of northern Kenya by Linda Bartolomei, Eileen Pittaway and Emma Elizabeth Pittaway is deeply disturbing, as is the difficulty of African countries trying to cope with the influx of people displaced by war and conflict described by Aderanti Adepoju and Sanjuga Vas Dev. The analyses of Stephen Castles and others suggest just how deeply embedded migration is in our globalized economy, how difficult it is for individuals to be protected and the very real struggle of nations and international institutions to do so.

The statements from The Hague Declaration, including by the Secretary General of the United Nations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, aim to present a commendable set of positive and dynamic policies for asylum and migration. At the same time, they also reveal just how difficult it is to achieve international security for migrants that would grant them agency and full human rights given the present reality of today's multilateral system and the restrictive agreements already in place in the North.

Articles by writers in Australia, the USA and Europe, however, do show that, as with the committed signatories of The Hague Declaration and the academics who dedicate their lives to working on the issue, there is not only prejudice, but also solidarity expressed by concerned citizens – doctors and lawyers supporting migrants on the fringes of society to gain access to health and legal services, activists fighting to end exploitative and racist treatment.

This issue reflects very much the insights and work of the Guest Editor Pascale Allotey, herself a

transnational from Ghana now living and working in Australia at the University of Melbourne, who, along with her colleagues and students, is responsible for much of the resource material as well as some of the most challenging articles. The issue also demonstrates the efforts of the SID Netherlands Chapter to put the issue of migration on the development policy map and of the SID programmatic work on women and the politics of place. In bringing together such a unique combination of learned scholars, committed policy makers, activists and migrant workers groups, the journal is, as I hope *development* readers agree, a valuable resource for all of us puzzling over the changed geopolitics of today's world and the lag in the international system to protect the rights of migrants as they move in search of economic, political and social security. Or as Laura Agustín might prefer us to say, from these articles, we should collectively no longer speak of a migration crisis, but of the need for global and national machineries to respect the agency of transnational people in their wily negotiations through the maze of globalization.

development is abstracted in *Academic Search*, *Cab Abstracts*, *Communication Abstracts*, *Environmental Abstracts*, *GEOBASE*, *Geo Abstracts: Human Geography*, *HRI Reporter*, *International Development Abstracts*, *International Labour Documentation*, *International Political Science Abstracts*, *Social Services Abstracts*, *Sociofile and Sociological Abstracts*; and is indexed in *Business Source*, *CSA Political Science & Government*, *Econlit*, *Environmental Abstracts*, *Environmental Sciences & Population Management*, *Human Population & Environment*, *International Bibliography of the Social Sciences*, *Journal of Economic Literature*, *MasterFILE fullNET*, *OCLC Public Affairs Information Service*.