

**MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:
POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGIES**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

There is a growing consensus that population movements, both within a country and across borders must form an integral part of national development planning and international development assistance. Within countries, economic growth can lead to urbanization and population growth in faster-developing regions, migration that may be necessary for long-term development -- and create new opportunities at the household and national level -- but which is associated with a host of potentially destabilizing social accompaniments. Long-term environmental changes, due both to local land management and global climate change, can threaten the agrarian base of rural economies through increased disasters or decreased agricultural productivity, ultimately leading to population shifts.

The migration of workers from less-developed to more-developed countries offers an opportunity for economic inputs through remittances and skills gained by workers abroad, but also threatens to drain developing economies of the most talented individuals necessary for growth. Many developing countries themselves face challenges in integrating migrants into their societies and economies, whether they are immigrants -- formal or informal -- attracted by economic opportunities, or refugees fleeing war or oppression.

Considering the matrix of challenges and opportunities that migration poses for development planning, this paper surveys the ways in which National Development Plans (NDPs) incorporate migration planning. In so doing, this note aims to complement the background note submitted by the World Bank for Session 3.2 of the 2007 Global Forum on Migration and Development, entitled "The Role of Migration in National Development Strategies: A Review of Poverty Reduction Strategies." This paper brings the previous note up to date, by including fifteen PRSPs issued or revised since the drafting of the background note for GFMD 2007. These new or revised PRSPs include Afghanistan, Benin, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Maldives, Mali, and Moldova, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Uzbekistan and Zambia. This paper expands on the earlier paper by examining the treatment of subsets of migration issues in comparative perspective across 33 PRSPs (the 15 new ones, and 18 completed between 2001 and 2006).

Issues Covered in PRSPs

Countries issuing their first PRSPs since 2007 showed a strong commitment to including migration. Many countries develop a more comprehensive policy in their second paper. This suggests that the increased international attention has led to greater

planning. However, translating analysis into policy remains a challenge. Some PRSPs that are low-scoring on migration continue to see little analysis or policy related to migration issues. Others systematically included migration in the analysis contributing to their first and second PRSPs, but do not see this emphasis reflected in any policy recommendations emergent from the papers.

Countries address the development benefits of their Diaspora in three forms, within their PRSPs – as sources of revenue, of technical expertise and of cash flows within the country (for example from Urban to Rural areas). Wealth transfers from abroad serve as a vital source of revenue for developing countries. Remittances, in particular, form an important component of economic projections for macroeconomic stability and household poverty reduction. A number of PRSPs identify the distinct contribution of migrant remittances to economic health at the household, as well as the macroeconomic level. Remittances are not only vital to rural poverty reduction when sourced from abroad, but monetary flows from internal labor migrants to family members frequently in rural areas are noted as a key factor in income security.

Some PRSPs note that remittances produce inequalities. They argue that remittances contribute greatly to inequalities both between households and between emigrant-sending and non-emigrant sending regions. One strategy to harness the contribution of remittances to overall national development is to turn remittances at the household level into a platform for broader-based investment and development.

The PRSPs also reflect that Diasporas represent an important group of skill sets for developing countries. PRSPs cite the need for the important technical expertise gained by citizens living abroad, and the need to seek their return. Some PRSPs note that the country does not take full advantage of this diaspora's potential, and suggest that information exchange between the diaspora and the country should be strengthened in order to not only harness their financial contributions but other sorts of potential. They suggest collecting better data on the geographic, professional and socio-economic characteristics, improving organizational ties between the nation and its migrants, and providing diasporas with information about opportunities, business procedures, and organizations in the home country.

Even though a number of PRSPs worry about the effects of brain drain, a number of countries also seek opportunities for their nationals to study and learn skills in more developed countries. They see the potential of out-migration, particularly for educational training, as a strategy to strengthen the available pool of skilled labor. At the same time, most PRSPs are concerned by the loss of expertise, technical know-how, and the expenses of providing training to encourage students to achieve a high level of professional acumen, only to emigrate. The cost of replacing these émigrés represents a challenge for stretched budgets. However, while the impact of skills loss is oft-cited, few

PRSPs present policy options aimed at curtailing or reversing the flight of key personnel.

Migration from rural to urban areas and the population explosion in cities has emerged as the most-addressed migration issue in the PRSPs. Fully 81% of the PRSPs reviewed for this paper address this issue, but craft different policy responses, including mitigating the harms in urban spaces, developing alternate urban areas in "second cities" and promoting rural development. However, while harmful social and economic effects of increased migration to the cities pose a number of risks, many PRSPs observe that this migration also serves as an important "coping mechanism" and reduces poverty at the household level. At the household level, many note, migration to cities corresponds to an increase in income and security.

An increase in migration to developing world cities poses serious challenges, however, for both urban and rural areas. Urban unemployment represents one of the major concerns for nations faced with rapid urbanization. The lack of housing stock in many urban areas has led to conflict over urban land tenure, and the extension of social services have not kept up with rapid population increases and the expansion of urban areas into surrounding territory.

An emerging area of interest in PRSPs is the migration ramifications of climate change. Environmental changes serve as key drivers of migration throughout the world, and can pose obstacles for development. Overgrazing, soil degradation, and changing climate patterns endanger rural livelihoods, in many cases driving migration to urban centers or more fertile areas. Global climate changes also lead to higher risks of natural disaster-induced displacement in vulnerable regions, an issue tackled by some nations in their overall planning process.

The receipt of refugees from neighboring countries is identified as a problem in some countries. However, the role of refugees and IDPs in the local economy goes largely un-addressed. This may be due in part to the political contingencies and fluid situations surrounding refugee crises are not well suited to long-term planning, or perhaps due to the extensive role of non-governmental and international actors involved in responding to refugee crises. However, whatever the reason, the exclusion of displaced persons in the PRSPs of the host countries misses an opportunity to integrate planning for this migrant population into overall national development.

A number of the countries drafting PRSPs have experienced armed conflict, and the lingering effects of internally displaced persons. The Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal, Azerbaijan, Uganda, and Timor-Leste all include the reintegration of conflict-induced refugees and displaced persons in their strategies, while Mozambique and Rwanda address the lingering effects of wartime displacement on post-war recovery.

The lack of key data is one impediment to policy formation in developing countries across the board. Migration is no exception, and several countries in which migration has

been most thoroughly developed cite the need to develop migration monitoring and information systems. However, while only a few nations cited plans to strengthen the monitoring of migration flows, it is clear, as noted in the World Bank paper, presented at GMFD 2007, that there remains substantial data gaps regarding both migration flows, as well as underlying demographic data. Furthermore, there is little capacity to collect and process data on environmental or other factors that may shape long-term migratory patterns in the least developed countries.

Conclusion

International debate on the nexus of migration and development have led a number of countries to give more serious consideration to such issues as remittances, diaspora investment and philanthropy, emigration for skills development and brain drain/circulation in developing their strategies for poverty reduction. The poverty reduction strategies still lag behind, however, in identifying and assessing specific policies and programs to address the issues raised in the papers regarding migration. An absence of reliable information further impedes the integration of migration considerations into poverty reduction strategies. One could conclude that many countries are still in a consciousness-raising stage, as reflected in the discussion of migration but the absence of specific strategies to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of internal or international population movements.

1. INTRODUCTION

There is a growing consensus that population movements, both within a country and across borders must form an integral part of national development planning and international development assistance. Within countries, economic growth can lead to urbanization and population growth in faster-developing regions, migration that may be necessary for long-term development -- and create new opportunities at the household and national level -- but which is associated with a host of potentially destabilizing social accompaniments. Long-term environmental changes, due both to local land management and global climate change, can threaten the agrarian base of rural economies through increased disasters or decreased agricultural productivity, ultimately leading to population shifts.

The migration of workers from less-developed to more-developed countries offers an opportunity for economic inputs through remittances and skills gained by workers abroad, but also threatens to drain developing economies of the most talented individuals necessary for growth. Many developing countries themselves face challenges in integrating migrants into their societies and economies, whether they are immigrants -- formal or informal -- attracted by economic opportunities, or refugees fleeing war or oppression.

Considering the matrix of challenges and opportunities that migration poses for development planning, this paper surveys the ways in which National Development Plans (NDPs) incorporate migration planning. In so doing, this note aims to complement the background note submitted by the World Bank for Session 3.2 of the 2007 Global Forum on Migration and Development, entitled "The Role of Migration in National Development Strategies: A Review of Poverty Reduction Strategies." This paper brings the previous note up to date, by including fifteen PRSPs issued or revised since the drafting of the background note for GFMD 2007. These new or revised PRSPs include Afghanistan, Benin, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Maldives, Mali, and Moldova, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Uzbekistan and Zambia. This paper expands on the earlier paper by examining the treatment of subsets of migration issues in comparative perspective across 33 PRSPs (the 15 new ones, and 18 completed between 2001 and 2006).

2. HAS ANYTHING CHANGED?

Although only one year has passed since the 2007 GFMD, it can be said that the treatment of migration in PRSPs has increased. In that paper, the authors adopted a five point scale for evaluating the treatment of migration in the 53 PRSPs they reviewed. For the sake of continuity, we retained this five point scale as we evaluated both second-

round PRSPs and newly-issued papers.¹

Countries issuing their first² PRSPs since 2007 showed a strong commitment to including migration.

The PRSP for Afghanistan refers to migration at twenty different points, and it includes a full section on the challenges attributed to the return of refugees and displaced persons. The Democratic Republic of Congo refers to migration at twelve different points, surveying the challenges posed by urbanization, the resettlement of those forcibly displaced during the nation's civil war, and harnessing the skills gained by the diaspora to promote national development. Diaspora investment is a main feature of Haiti's PRSP, which presents data showing the economic reliance on remittances, and considers strategies to convert remittances into investments in national growth. The Maldivian PRSP outlines a national resettlement strategy, which aims to concentrate and centralize populations scattered across remote and vulnerable islands, in order to facilitate service provision, and mitigate the effects of climate change on the archipelago. The PRSP for Uzbekistan addresses the potential role that internal and external migration can play in creating new opportunities for Uzbeks.

Country	First PRSP	Second PRSP
Benin	0 (2002)	3 (2007)
Gambia	0 (2002)	1 (2007)
Ghana	3.5 (2003)	3 (2005)
Guinea	0 (2002)	0 (2007)
Mali	4 (2006)	* (2008)
Moldova	5 (2004)	4 (2008)
Niger	0 (2002)	4 (2008)
Rwanda	3.5 (2002)	4.5 (2008)
Senegal	0 (2005)	5 (2007)
Zambia	0 (2002)	4.5 (2006)

*PRSP only partially available

¹ To systematically apply the ad hoc scoring to the new PRSPs, we selected three PRSPs receiving each of the seven scores assigned (0 through 5, as well as 3.5 and 4.5), with the exception of "X" and "2," where fewer than three PRSPs received that ranking. We then counted: the number of references, paragraphs and sections devoted to migration issues for each, as well as the number of demographic and economic migration statistics presented, the number of migration topics covered, and the number of policy recommendations made in each PRSP. We weighted these in order to establish an index providing a range of scores for each of the new PRSPs. We selected a final score within this range based upon the subjective evaluation of the importance of migration in the context of the entire strategy paper.

² These countries may have issued interim poverty reduction strategy papers prior to this period.

Many countries develop a more comprehensive policy in their second paper. This suggests that the increased international attention has led to greater planning. Senegal, Niger, Zambia and Benin were among those paying the least attention on their initial PRSP for their treatment of migration, but devoted much greater attention in their second edition. Senegal covers a broad array of migration issues, including emigration, forced displacement, urbanization, HIV/AIDS among migrants, and remittances. Niger devotes substantial space to the migration implications of environmental change. Benin devotes substantial space to reforming *immigration*, while Zambia considers the impact of brain drain, a large refugee population from neighboring countries and regional demographic shifts due to changes in the mining industry.

However, translating analysis into policy remains a challenge. Some low-scoring PRSPs, such as the Gambia and Guinea continue to see little analysis or policy related to migration issues. Others, such as Rwanda and Ghana, systematically included migration in the analysis contributing to their first and second PRSPs, but do not see this emphasis reflected in any policy recommendations emergent from the papers.

3. HOW ARE ELEMENTS OF MIGRATION ADDRESSED?

The PRSPs address the development implications of both international and internal migration. Interestingly, the discussion of internal migration often focuses on the causes, particularly of rural to urban movements, whereas the discussion of international migration generally focuses on the role of migration in stimulating or retarding development. The analysis of internal movements is pertinent to this paper (even though the GFMD focuses on international migration) because the insights as to the causes of internal migration, and possible ways to address it, often apply to international movements as well.

3.1 Remittances and Diasporas

Countries address the development benefits of their Diaspora in three forms, within their PRSPs – as sources of revenue, of technical expertise and of cash flows within the country (for example from Urban to Rural areas). Wealth transfers from abroad serve as a vital source of revenue for developing countries. In Haiti, where nearly 20% of the economy depends on remittances, increased remittances

Remittances form an important component of economic projections for macroeconomic stability and household poverty reduction. A number of PRSPs identify the distinct contribution of migrant remittances to economic health at the household, as well as the macroeconomic level. Haiti's PRSP observes that nearly 20% of the country's economy depends on remittances, making it among the most remittance-reliant in the world. It takes these figures into account in its macroeconomic projections, noting that remittances are both vital to stabilizing the deteriorating terms of trade and current account balance for the island nation, as well as providing vital income to its

people, but also notes that remittances lead to income disparity. This is observed by others, as well. For example, the Afghan PRSP notes that while 15% of the rural population receives remittances, only 10% of the poorest families receive them. \

The Uzbek PRSP notes that about 10% of GDP is derived from remittances from abroad. The household effects vary among regions. While labor migration is high generally, the percentage of households in which at least one family member was a labor migrant varied between 10 and 27% -- and it noted a clear link between migrant remittances corresponded and lower poverty rates in some regions. The regional aspect is also noted in the Senegalese PRSP, which observes that the regions of the nation where poverty is the lowest receive substantial remittances and that in the case of at least one region, remittances were the key factor driving down the poverty rate. The PRSP also notes that the \$700 million received in remittances have different impacts on household incomes across regions, ranging from 30 to 80% of income.

Remittances are not only vital to rural poverty reduction when sourced from abroad, but monetary flows from internal labor migrants to family members frequently in rural areas are noted as a key factor in income security. Many PRSPs echo Bolivia's, which notes that "the linkage that has developed between urban and rural areas has shown that migration is a way of diversifying activities which in turn helps to manage risk and reduce poverty."³ This view of internal migration, particularly to urban areas, as a household-level diversification strategy underlies the approaches adopted to tackle hyper-urbanization, which is discussed in detail below.

Converting remittances to investments. The contribution of remittances to both macroeconomic stability and to household level survival is noted in a number of PRSPs. However, some also notice that remittances produce inequalities. Both Haiti and Senegal note that remittances contribute greatly to inequalities both between households and between emigrant-sending and non-emigrant sending regions. One strategy to harness the contribution of remittances to overall national development is to turn remittances at the household level into a platform for broader-based investment and development.

Haiti for example proposes an investment promotion and incentive campaign to target foreign investors, Haitian investors, and the Diaspora, viewing the community abroad as a potential source of broader economic growth, and suggesting that legal and structural changes to the business environment would be necessary to catalyze investment. Senegal takes a similar tack, considering that the strong social capital and cohesion around cultural and religious norms promote networks of mutual assistance that can facilitate emigration. These same networks also promote diaspora contributions to home communities through mutual assistance and local development groups. Senegal notes that these diaspora groups play a central role not only because of their financial transfers, but

³ PRSP of Bolivia at 83.

because of their “private and collective investments, thereby contributing to the fight against hunger, access to social services, and the fight against poverty within the country.”

While the underlying logic and supposed diaspora motives differ slightly between the two – seeking free-market investments in Haiti, while seeking community assistance and development contributions in Senegal – both PRSPs share the underlying theme that the remittances sent to family-members should be harnessed to promote the well-being and growth of the society beyond the relatives of those who emigrated.

Diasporas represent an important group of skillsets. The Democratic Republic of Congo’s PRSP cites the need for the important technical expertise gained by Congolese abroad during the war, and the need to seek their return, such as through the Belgian-led MIDA process. Rwanda, another MIDA beneficiary, makes a similar commitment including both MIDA and government-run capacity-building programs.

Senegal devotes a section specifically to “managing expatriates.” Noting that more than two million Senegalese live abroad, and their important financial contributions noted above, it also recognizes that this community represents a key source of skills and capacities required for development. It laments that Senegal does not take full advantage of this diaspora’s potential, and suggests that information exchange between the diaspora and the country should be strengthened in order to not only harness their financial contributions but other sorts of potential. It suggests collecting better data on the geographic, professional and socio-economic characteristics, improving organizational ties between the nation and its migrants, and providing diasporas with information about opportunities, business procedures, and organizations in Senegal.

3.2 Migration for Skills Development

Encouraging emigration to develop skills abroad. Several nations focus on the potential of out-migration, particularly for educational training, as strategy to strengthen the available pool of skilled labor, which to some extent runs counter to general concerns over the development challenges posed by “brain drain.” Uzbekistan emphasizes the need for government to facilitate legal skilled migration to other countries, in order to earn higher incomes, professional development, and to send remittances that can be reinvested in Uzbek families and businesses. The PRSP considers that the lack of rights and opportunities for skilled Uzbeks in Russia is an impediment to development, since it excludes them from the formal economy, and also minimizes their ability to contribute at home.

Emigrant unskilled workers form a significant component of the Bangladesh PRSP, which notes that temporary emigration to the Middle East offers opportunities for the poorest sector of society and remittances provide for development at home. The PRSP outlines a plan to streamline and formalize expatriation, including developing training

programs for Bangladeshis in response to the needs in target markets, spread information on opportunities, and sensitize workers on savings plans, HIV/AIDS, and occupational health. It also recommends tighter regulation for the recruiting industry, and the exploration of alternative schemes to assist labor migrants in making the initial overseas voyage.

Curbing the harmful effects of brain drain and encouraging skills return. Despite the few PRSPs that recognize the advantages of professional emigration, far more are concerned by the loss of expertise, technical know-how, and the expenses of providing training to encourage students to achieve a high level of professional acumen, only to emigrate. The cost of replacing these émigrés represents a challenge for stretched budgets. For example, Tajikistan notes that due to a lack of financing, many qualified specialist workers lost their jobs, either reentering another part of the labor market or emigrating. Replacing these workers, many of whom were lost to emigration is difficult, and increasing with the loss of qualified personnel to instruct a new generation of home-grown expertise. The PRSP notes that “the training of young specialists is also a concern. Training of specialists abroad requires substantial costs.”⁴

However, while the impact of skills loss is oft-cited, few PRSPs present policy options aimed at curtailing or reversing the flight of key personnel. A more common policy approach is that adopted by Senegal or the MIDA countries, discussed above, which seek to harness diaspora skills, rather than reverse the trend. Zambia is one exception to this. It considers labor migration to be one of its key overall action points, and recommends taking steps to reverse brain drain, including advertising local job openings to skilled Zambians living abroad, improving the working conditions for highly qualified specialist positions, and standardizing pay systems. It also suggests maximizing the contributions of skilled refugees and migrant workers from neighboring countries, including identifying key needs that might be filled by migrant workers, keeping better track of migrant workers and their skills, and including these workers in training Zambians.

3.3 Rural-Urban Migration

Migration from rural to urban areas and the population explosion in cities has emerged as the most-addressed migration issue in the PRSPs. Fully 81% of the PRSPs reviewed for this paper address this issue, but craft different policy responses, including mitigating the harms in urban spaces, developing alternate urban areas in "second cities" and promoting rural development. However, while harmful social and economic effects of increased migration to the cities pose a number of risks, many PRSPs observe that this migration also serves as an important "coping mechanism" and reduces poverty at the household level. For example, in its PRSP, the Democratic Republic of Congo notes that “People living in urban areas are better off than those living in rural areas. The same pattern may

⁴ Page 32 of the PRSP of Tajikistan.

be observed with regard to vulnerability to poverty. This evidence tends to favor urban migration in the DRC.”⁵

At the household level, many note that migration to cities corresponds to an increase in income and security. The observation from the DRC’s PRSP that migration generally improves living conditions represents a general consensus. Benin notes:

In 2006, non migrants are, overall, poorer than migrants. The incidence of poverty for these households is estimated at 41.95 percent, as compared to 21.7 percent for migrants. This confirms the trend observed in 2002, when there were 2.5 times poorer among non migrants than among migrants.⁶

One thoughtful treatment of this topic appears in the PRSP of Bangladesh, which notes that the possibility of quick migration has broadened the opportunities available to rural poor, and that migration to urban centers offers women new chances for empowerment. But this migration has corresponded with little to no increase in political rights among this migrant class. It also observes that a “continuum” is emerging, whereby the former dynamic whereby migrants moved to urban areas and only sent money home to families has begun to erode. According to the PRSP, migrants have, themselves, begun to move back and forth between rural and urban areas. They write:

“A silent structural transformation has been underway whereby a growing rural-urban continuum is coming to define the ‘local.’ Within this rapidly changing context, the poor have become highly mobile and they move back and forth between economic sectors and between rural and urban realities in quest of a better livelihood.”⁷

An increase in migration to developing world cities poses serious challenges for both urban and rural areas. Urban unemployment represents one of the major concerns for nations faced with rapid urbanization. The lack of housing stock in many urban areas has led to conflict over urban land tenure, as noted in the Niger PRSP, and the extension of social services have not kept up with rapid population increases and the expansion of urban areas into surrounding territory. The Nigerien PRSP sums up the perspective espoused in many of the PRSPs:

⁵ Paragraph 59, PRSP of the Democratic Republic of Congo

⁶ Page 29, PRSP of Benin. A similar observation is made in the PRSP of Afghanistan. However, it is worth noting that this much-observed correlation between migration status and poverty may also mask the trend that in some contexts the poorest of the poor lack even the resources to migrate, while the better-off take advantage of the additional opportunities offered by a move to urban centers.

⁷ Page 47 of the PRSP of Bangladesh

The rural populations hope to enjoy better living conditions by migrating to towns. However, they increase the social expenses of the municipalities receiving them. Social demand for infrastructures (schools, health services, housing) and sanitation (roads, waste disposal system, etc.) increases, while the available resources become scarce. Social investments then become inadequate, in a context of scarcity, or even reduction of national resources (the sector is financed mainly by internal resources). Urban facilities and jobs cannot keep pace with the population growth.⁸

One important observation, from the Mozambique PRSP, is that it is not only the poor who are attracted to the city, but also the highly-skilled workforce. As a result, the rural areas are increasingly denuded of educated professionals available to provide services to the rural population as city life becomes more of a draw.

However, population migration has not only been directed from urban to rural areas. Both Zambia and Chad note that population patterns have moved in response to the discovery of natural resources. In Zambia, this has led to demographic shifts as mines close, and new mines open, while Chad demonstrates some concern that the oil boom will lead to unsustainable migration into oil-producing areas. Zambia observes that the mining migration, immigration, and agricultural growth have led to population booms outside of urban areas, which have “combined to exert pressure not only on social and economic services, but also on land, resulting in deforestation, biodiversity loss, land degradation, and scarcity of agricultural land in some areas,” which has in turn encouraged out-migration from the overtaxed regions.

Developing urban areas to cope with migration to cities. The Bolivian PRSP observes that unlike in other countries where city dwellers tend to be better-off, urban migration has meant that the poor are more heavily represented in cities, at least in absolute terms. As a result, combating urban poverty is a major focal point of the Bolivian PRSPs’ strategy of adapting to the development challenges that migration poses.⁹ Benin arrives at a similar conclusion, recognizing the growing importance of urbanization, and viewing the upgrading of urban infrastructure as the primary and most urgent policy response, particularly in the realm of sanitation, transportation and planning, lamenting the unstructured urban development.

Urbanization is particularly disorganized on land that has not been divided into plots and is not connected to main services. This lack of urban management is the result of the dearth of both community management capacity and the financial resources to respond adequately to the growing demand for services, as well as the

⁸ Page 43 of the PRSP of Niger

⁹ Paragraph 20 of the PRSP of Bolivia

anarchical occupation of plots in areas unfit for habitation.¹⁰

Developing "intermediate cities" to shift migration to regional urban centers.

Several nations, including Honduras and Senegal do not seek to prevent urbanization per se, but rather seek to redirect the flows away from national capitals by increasing the services available in mid-sized cities. The Honduran PRSP recognizes "urban - urban" migration as the principle driver of demographic change, leading to decreased quality of life in the largest urban centers, as migrants enter from less developed regional cities.

Besides programs aimed at improving housing and other urban services, the government proposes the development of "intermediate cities," as trading centers and alternative migratory destinations. The PRSP promotes regional markets to serve as supply centers for raw materials, decreasing the cost of rural production, encouraging small scale enterprises, and supporting local chambers of commerce and business groups. Besides the economic development component promised by reduced distances from producer to market, this is also presented as a strategy to lessen the strain of migration from rural and underdeveloped urban areas into the largest cities in the country.

Senegal's PRSP observes that six out of ten migrants move to Dakar, the capital, and that the majority of these migrants emigrate from provincial and commune centers. Whereas the Honduran PRSP focuses on the creation of economic opportunities in these centers and strengthening the private sector, Senegal's PRSP emphasizes the need to extend social services to secondary cities. Thus, the PRSP focuses on improving infrastructure in and around secondary cities, such as access to water, sanitation, and the quality of transportation infrastructure, as well as encouraging local governments to play a larger role in development planning.

Extending services into rural areas. The third way in which PRSPs address rapid rural-to-urban migration is through rural development strategies designed at extending services and improving livelihoods in rural areas themselves. The Afghan PRSP notes that agriculture forms the largest component of the national economy, and emphasizes improving rural livelihoods so as to remove the impetus for migration to cities. For example, it suggests that improving agricultural standards and technologies would "greatly improve the productivity of agriculture and pastoralism, expand the range of high-value crops produced, and reduce migration to cities" and that encouraging non-farm employment in rural areas, especially for women would "enable families to diversify their survival strategies with a range of activities without migration that strains family relations."

While some view improvements in the rural economy to be central to making rural life more attractive, other PRSPs, such as that of Mali, also focus on the extension of state

¹⁰ Page 53 of the PRSP of Benin

services into rural Areas. For example, the Malian PRSP suggests that implementing sports and job training programs targeting rural youth would make rural life more appealing, and would promote the “settlement of youths, consequently reducing rural exodus and migrations.”¹¹ Bangladesh, which notes that mobility both to and from rural areas is a positive trend, and increasing, nonetheless observes that the priority solution to the urban housing crunch is increased rural development and rural employment opportunities to prevent urbanization and migration.

3.4 Climate Change/Desertification

Environmental changes serve as key drivers of migration throughout the world, and can pose obstacles for development. Overgrazing, soil degradation, and changing climate patterns endanger rural livelihoods, in many cases driving migration to urban centers or more fertile areas. Global climate changes also lead to higher risks of natural disaster-induced displacement in vulnerable regions, an issue tackled by some nations in their overall planning process.

Planning for Disasters. Climate change is a significant component of planning for the Maldives, where sea level rise both poses the danger of increased and unacceptable vulnerability as well as possibly making some low-lying areas permanently uninhabitable. The Maldives include a resettlement strategy in their PRSP, which is detailed and represents tough political choices – including relocating population away from all islands with less than 1,000 people, or that are deemed highly vulnerable. This process of encouraged migration is mainstreamed throughout the PRSP, including the adaptation of services, and regional economic development, both of which will be promoted by the increasing centralization of the population. The planned migration component is combined with disaster risk reduction strategies, which focus on creating the legal, institutional, and local capacity to respond to natural disasters – including the temporary migration or displacement of people that may result.

Increased and unacceptable risks from climate change are not unique to island states; South and Southeast Asia is also significantly exposed although these countries do not include the possibility of planned migration in response to climate change. Bangladesh devotes attention to mainstreaming natural disaster planning and mitigation, including coping with the resultant displacement, and increasing response capacity. For example, the Bangladesh PRSP notes that a number of standing, government-run, credit facilities make low and no-interest loans to those whose are displaced or made homeless by natural disasters, or to provide loans for prevention activities.

Coping with Slow-Onset Change. Besides the risks caused by natural disasters, global climate change and desertification driven by unsustainable local land use drives

¹¹ Page 62 of the PRSP of Mali

migration increases the vulnerability of rural populations and drives migration. Niger's PRSP targets ecological degradation as the driving factor behind urbanization, and notes that desert land has increased from 66% to 77% of the nation's surface area. Citing other studies, the PRSP identifies the level of risk faced by each district and predicts the continued reduction of cultivable areas and pasturelands, and increased desertification. Although the PRSP does not present any key or conclusive policy guidance to respond to the desertification, it does cite the need both for increased investment in irrigation systems to preserve pastureland, and to diversify incomes away from the agricultural economy altogether.

Few nations tackle the issue of desertification within the PRSP, but one response to mitigating the effects of climate change, proposed in the Ugandan PRSP is an overhaul of the weather forecasting and information system, in order to predict the local effects of climate change, and how it will shape economic prospects across the country, as well as the conditions of the rural poor, especially in the coffee industry. While not expressly linked to migration issues, data and forecasts on likely patterns and changes at the local level will be essential to responding to migration patterns ultimately caused by climate change.

Tajikistan recognizes the threat posed by climate change and desertification, but notes that anti-desertification, natural disaster planning, and environmental management strategies exist under separate national plans. This response may be typical of many nations in tackling these complex issues, but also misses a key opportunity, since the migration impacts of all of these will have reverberations in overall poverty reduction planning.

3.5 Reintegrating Refugees and Displaced Persons

Responses of Refugee-Receiving Countries. The receipt of refugees from neighboring countries is identified as a problem in Guinea, Zambia. However, the role of refugees and IDPs in the local economy goes largely un-addressed. This may be due in part to the political contingencies and fluid situations surrounding refugee crises are not well suited to long-term planning, or perhaps due to the extensive role of non-governmental and international actors involved in responding to refugee crises. However, whatever the reason, the exclusion of displaced persons in the PRSPs of the host countries misses an opportunity to integrate planning for this migrant population into overall national development.

Guinea, for example, writes that the Forest Guinea region, which was the least poor in 1994, currently registers a poverty rate of 54.4%, a change that the PRSP attributes exclusively to the increase of refugees and the spillover of the conflict in Liberia and Sierra Leone. However, in the Guinean case there is little discussion at all of official response planning, or any attempt to mitigate the negative effects of this influx within the host region.

Zambia provides significantly more attention to refugees, observing the same effects as Guinea (increased population and poverty in refugee-receiving areas) but does issue some policy responses. This includes, as noted above, maximizing the contributions of skilled refugees to the Zambian economy, and also includes measures to protect refugee rights and provide support to the hosting communities. Because the Zambian government submitted reservations to the 1951 refugee convention regarding refugees' access to employment, the status of refugees in the local economy is altogether unclear. However, the PRSP does recommend that this issue be addressed via the Ministry of Home Affairs, which will be charged with both developing national and local development plans with regard to refugees, and further exploring the legal issues surrounding refugee rights.

Reintegration in Source Countries. A number of the countries drafting PRSPs have experienced armed conflict, and the lingering effects of internally displaced persons. The Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal, Azerbaijan, Uganda, and Timor-Leste all include the reintegration of conflict-induced IDPs in their strategies, while Mozambique and Rwanda address the lingering effects of wartime displacement on post-war recovery.

Senegal notes that violence and displacement from a long-running secessionist movement in the southern Casamance region has been a driver of poverty and sap on regional development. It includes reinsertion for those displaced by the conflict, either within Senegal, or as refugees in neighboring countries, within its PRSP and the accompanying budget – a step that few other nations take. It recommends establishing a special support fund for reconstruction of war affected regions, in order to encourage returns, the reconnection of social services, and training and development programs for returnee populations. It further notes plans to establish and train an eligibility commission to supervise the triage and resettlement of refugees from neighboring countries. A similar plan is outlined within the DRC's PRSP, which comprises both return and rehabilitation programs, under the auspices of a National Commission for the Rehabilitation of Victims from that nation's extended period of instability, although it goes into little detail as to what policies or activities might accompany the commission's formation.

Azerbaijan's PRSP offers a wealth of disaggregated information on the poverty and economic conditions facing IDPs from the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, who comprise approximately 12% of the country's population. The PRSP outlines the scope of need, broken down by sector, highlights the government's humanitarian response and underscores areas where international intervention is required. In the context of planning for the displaced population, the PRSP outlines infrastructural development plans, including the extension of social services to resettled territory, and the need to continue to provide subsidized services to IDPs and refugees in their present location. However, while the PRSP notes a generally high level of poverty amongst the displaced population – and substantial disparities in income among households – there is little discussion of the need or potential of engaging this population in development planning or integrating them into the overall economic growth, beyond humanitarian need.

4. MIGRATION INFORMATION SYSTEMS AND MONITORING

The lack of key data is one impediment to policy formation in developing countries across the board. Migration is no exception, and several countries in which migration has been most thoroughly developed cite the need to develop migration monitoring and information systems. However, while only a few nations cited plans to strengthen the monitoring of migration flows, it is clear, as noted in the World Bank paper, presented at GMFD 2007, that there remains substantial data gaps regarding both migration flows, as well as underlying demographic data. Furthermore, as highlighted in the Uganda PRSP, there is little capacity to collect and process data on environmental or other factors that may shape long-term migratory patterns in the least developed countries.

In the case of Senegal, discussed above, this has been translated into the interest in collecting data on expatriate Senegalese in order to recognize their potential contributions to development in their home country. Zambia proposes the creation of a “Labour Market Management Information System” which would identify the changing levels of labor availability and needs, as well as disseminate information to employers and the general public. Through series of labor market surveys and other data collection tools, the Information System would monitor migration in response to labor market changes, to enhance government decision-making and public awareness through additional and improved information. Tajikistan makes a similar proposal, noting that contract-based migration is rare, and that there is no monitoring. As a result there is a disjuncture between the skills of migrant laborers and the needs of employers, which lead most migrants to be employed in the unskilled or semi-skilled sectors.

5. CONCLUSION

International debate on the nexus of migration and development have led a number of countries to give more serious consideration to such issues as remittances, diaspora investment and philanthropy, emigration for skills development and brain drain/circulation in developing their strategies for poverty reduction. The poverty reduction strategies still lag behind, however, in identifying and assessing specific policies and programs to address the issues raised in the papers regarding migration. An absence of reliable information further impedes the integration of migration considerations into poverty reduction strategies. One could conclude that many countries are still in a consciousness-raising stage, as reflected in the discussion of migration but the absence of specific strategies to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of internal or international population movements.

Country	Year	Enviro	Urban	Remit	Emig.	IDPs		AIDS	Labor	Indus.	Other	
						Imig.	Refs Diasp					
Afghanistan	2008		X	X	X		X	X		X		Gender, Trafficking
Azerbaijan	2003						X			X	Indust.	Trafficking
Bangladesh	2005	X	X									Trafficking, Gender
Benin	2007		X	X		X						
Bolivia	2001		X				X					
Cape Verde	2004		X	X	X					X		Gender
Chad	2003									X	Mining	
Djibouti	2004		X			X			X			
DRC	2007		X				X	X				
Gambia	2007		X		X				X	X	Fishing	
Ghana	2005		X			X				X	Labor, Seasnal	Trafficking

											Ag	
Guinea	2002											None
Guinea	2007						X		X			
Haiti	2008			X				X				
Honduras	2001		X							X	Ag.	
Kenya	2004		X			X						
Kyrgyz	2002		X		X	X				X	Indust.	
Maldives	2008	X	X				X					
Mali	2006		X	X	X				X	X	Pastorl	
Mali	2008		X					X	X			
Moldova	2008				X					X	Indust	
Mozambique	2006	X	X			X	X		X	X	Indust, Skilled	
Niger	2002			X					X			

Niger	2008	X	X									
Rwanda	2002		X				X			X	Seasonl Ag.	
Rwanda	2008		X							X	Seasonl Ag.	
Senegal	2007		X	X	X		X	X	X			
Tajikistan	2002	X			X					X	Indust.	
Tanzania	2005		X				X					
Timor Leste	2002		X		X	X		X				
Uganda	2005	X	X				X		X			
Uzbekistan	2008		X	X						X	Indust.	
Vietnam	2006		X	X						X	Indust.	
Yemen	2002		X					X				Water
Zambia	2006		X		X	X	X			X	Mining	