

RELEVANCE, NEXUS & PROSPECTS

An Impact Study of the GFMD
and Its Migration Paradigm

Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants
supported by KARIBU Foundation

April 2012

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April 2012

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The tireless effort of hundreds of volunteers from migrant organizations must also be mentioned here, for without their eagerness to provide the necessary data this study would not have been as substantial and scientific as we conceived it to be. Special mention must be made of Migrante International (MI) and its regional and national chapters worldwide as well as the International Migrants' Alliance (IMA) and its vast global network of migrant organizations and advocates, including individuals who lent their precious time during the interview.

FOREWORD

Ligaya Lindio-McGovern*

The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) has become an ideological and policy tool of neoliberalism, which is increasingly being contested on an international scale. In this politics of contestation there occurs discursive struggles, where one sector—the migrants themselves—are claiming greater voice in the discourses on development and migration, as government entities dominate such discourses within GFMD. Discourses—where language is the means of defining or naming reality—can play a subtle but significant role in constructing consent to the ideology and policies of neoliberalism, as these discourses shape public consciousness or awareness about it. When powerful institutions, such as governments, institutionalize this kind of discourses, by creating entities, such as the GFMD that regularizes discussions about migration and development, they are actually creating an ideological apparatus with policy power. When they marginalize the political migrant organizations and the migrants themselves—whose experiences embody the national and global power structures that created them and the stream of forced migration and export labor in the first place—then something is certainly wrong.

Thus, this study conducted by Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants together with IBON Foundation is truly significant since it contributes to this unequal, imbalanced discourse. It brings to light alternative perspectives, ideas, and insights vis-à-vis GFMD's assumptions about migration and development -- in many ways pointing out the problematic in the development and migration paradigm or ideology promoted in GFMD.

It is important to note that while this report and GFMD both use the term “development”, there is a distinction in the way they conceptualize it. For GFMD, “development” is thought of as capitalist development and its global expansion—what neoliberalism actually is. In framing its discourse on migration and how it can be linked to development, GFMD is actually thinking about: how can migrant labor that is mobile and disposable be made to serve global capital expansion and accumulation as neoliberal regimes produce and reproduce it? In GFMD's notion of migration as a strategy for development, the migrant worker becomes the commodity for exchange for those who profit from labor migration.

On the other hand, in this report, “development” is conceived more within the concept of social development which entails the restructuring of the political economy so that the structural causes of poverty, unemployment, underemployment and its consequent economic diasporas and forced migration are addressed, and that greater economic and political democratization are ensured. GFMD's dissemination of the notion of migration as a strategy for capitalist development distracts attention from this concept of social development, and legitimizes the contradictory policy of labor export, which reinforces the neoliberal structural adjustments promoted by the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. As well, it distracts us from questioning the global economic crisis as a crisis of global capitalism sustained by cheap migrant labor. It further distracts us from viewing labor migration from the periphery to the core and semi-periphery as a consequence of capitalist development linked historically to colonialism and imperialism, and contemporarily a consequence of the negative impact of neoliberal policies.

This study, however, attests to the fact that there are segments of the migrant labor force who think differently and do not consent to the neoliberal hegemony that the GFMD participates in maintaining. It must be widely disseminated. It deserves attention from the constituents of GFMD, governments, neoliberal regimes and instruments, and others who are engaged in the process of empowering migrants and transforming policies for a more just and equitable development.

**Ligaya Lindio-McGovern is Professor of Sociology at Indiana University with special fields in Sociology of Development, Gender and Globalization, and Social Movements. She has published books on gender and globalization, labor export and migrants' resistance.*

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AN IMPACT STUDY OF THE GFMD
AND ITS MIGRATION PARADIGM

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ABSTRACT

While the relevance of the Global Forum on Migration and Development and the line under which it operates has been under question by grassroots migrant organizations since its inception, there has not been any empirical study that concretely presents the weaknesses and limitations of this intergovernmental body on migration. Has it been effective in its avowed mission, and has it been responsive to the concerns being raised by the migrant sector as principal stakeholder? These are the questions that this study wants to answer. From the onset, the scope of the research as well as limitations in time and resources have been problems that presented huge challenges to the researchers. The need to gather evidence from among a wide range of respondents (migrant workers, organizers, activists, service-institution advocates, academics and even government officials) by using three types of data-gathering methods – key informant interviews, focus-group discussion and surveys – compelled the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM) to reach out globally and tap into its network, no matter how tenuous the connection. But in doing so, it also gained new allies and strengthened its relations with existing ones, and gathered a wealth of primary data that goes into proving that the GFMD and its paradigm are indeed considered irrelevant by most stakeholders in the migration discourse, and that alternatives are being advanced by these stakeholders – ranging from reform of the Forum towards adopting a rights-based approach, to its outright abolition and replacement by grassroots-oriented formations. The significance of the findings and recommendation in this study are points that may be used by all migration stakeholders towards finding more effective ways to advance the sectoral interest of migrant workers, and towards addressing the roots of forced migration as a global phenomenon.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) is now in its sixth year. Launched in 2006 during the United Nations High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development, the GFMD has since served as a venue for “dialogue and partnerships” among governments and other stakeholders that ostensibly aim to find ways “to maximize migration’s developmental benefits while minimizing its negative impacts”.

From its first meeting in Brussels (2007) to its fourth one in Puerto Vallarta (2010), the GFMD has also been subjected to constant and intense criticism by civil-society organizations, which perceive it as a tool for promoting labor-export and parroting the neoliberal line in social development. Declares the first International Assembly of Migrants and Refugees (IAMR, 2008): “The GFMD is a device to sell neoliberal anti-poverty and financing strategy. It thrives on the poverty of Third World countries, directs them to institutionalize migration policies as a mechanism for development and development cooperation.”

Recently, views questioning the basic assumption under which the GFMD operates (viz., that labor migration can be made to serve socio-economic development) and even the forum’s effectivity as a channel for social dialogue on forced migration have been gaining ground among various stakeholders in the process. Avers David Khoudour-Castéras (2011) of Development Centre: “The 4th Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), held in Puerto Vallarta, Mexico, 8-11 of November, has been the opportunity for representatives from the civil society and governments to share and discuss on the migration-development nexus. But it is not sure that the vivid debates that have taken place since the beginning of the meeting really contribute to changing the preconceived thoughts that each delegate had previously to her arrival. As a matter of fact, the 2010 Global Forum has confirmed that we are still far from a global consensus on migration issues.”

Just how valid and prevalent these views are needs to be assessed empirically through social research. This project is conceived as filling in this need, gathering data and views from all stakeholders in order to substantiate the GFMD critique. Such a qualitative research will also enhance our understanding of globalization’s overarching role in promoting forced labor migration and underdevelopment.

A Preliminary Report on this research was presented at the 5th GFMD in Geneva on November 29, 2011, during a parallel forum organized by migrant activists. The report included complete data sets from the Middle East and Oceania, and showed initial trends on views regarding the Forum in the Asia Pacific. The current paper serves as the Final Report on the study, and presents results that were derived from all global regions.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This GFMD Impact Research has the objective of studying – and will attempt to substantiate – claims by critics of the GFMD regarding its “irrelevance” and the “bankruptcy” of its line. A key to studying this presumed irrelevance of the GFMD as a channel for productive discourse on migration are expressions of discontent from inside and outside the Forum over the direction it appears to be taking.

The GFMD's misfocus on promoting labor migration vis-a-vis protection of migrant rights has led to major disagreements among its participants, even among institutional stakeholders that generally conform to its line. A case may be made that this continuing absence of a unified view on migration and “development” is becoming a major hindering factor in sustaining the interest of participants to the GFMD, while providing further evidence that its chosen paradigm is fraught with incompatibilities that might prove to be insurmountable under the prevailing global division of labor.

Hypotheses to be tested are the following:

H1 – The assumption that labor-export may be used as a development strategy for origin-countries is a fallacious one. There is substantial proof that its constructive impact on the economic fundamentals of sending-countries is superficial at best, while its adverse effects on the comprehensive development of these countries are profound and strategic.

H2 – There is general dissatisfaction with the GFMD among major migration stakeholders worldwide, resulting in their loss of confidence on its effectiveness and legitimacy. Furthermore, this loss of confidence is based on the recognition that the GFMD line itself is fundamentally flawed, or that the annual meetings themselves do not serve to promote the core interests of migrant workers.

METHODOLOGY

Based on the need to test these two hypotheses, three methods were identified as most appropriate: an awareness survey among migrants; key informant interviews (KIIs) among migrant advocates; and a focus-group discussion (FGD) among grassroots migrant organizers.

The survey is crucial in determining the awareness-level of the principal stakeholder in migration – the migrants themselves. Since APMM subscribes to the view that any forum on migration should take the rights-based approach, the awareness-survey has focused on sounding out migrant perceptions on the GFMD and their opinions regarding its paradigm and modalities. The assumption is that the true gauge of the forum's impact lies in concrete programs that address migrant concerns, and not through non-binding recommendations of governments, that furthermore are presumed by the Forum to be the main stakeholders.

The KIIs were important in extracting views from advocates who have been involved in the migration discourse, as well as attended some or all of the Forum's Civil Society Days (CSD). They were expected to assess not only the GFMD, but its ideological line of “migration for development”.

APMM selected two sets of interviewees – one composed of academics and NGO officers, and another made up of leaders of migrant organizations – who were well-known personages in migrant advocacy. They were then interviewed directly or through email.

The purpose for the FGD was to measure perceptions on the GFMD among migrant organizers, as respondents who are well-versed in migration policies and their corresponding effects on the ground. As most of the participants have closely followed the progress of the Forum since Brussels, they were able to provide highly-contextualized answers to the prepared set of questions.

After the FGD, KII responses and survey responses were gathered, these were synthesized and analyzed for trends. Secondary source data were then integrated into the research narrative to present a more or less objective assessment of the GFMD's line, as well as its relevance to the migrant workers' movement.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Though massive labor migration has been occurring for decades, the topic has gained bigger attention since the first Global Forum on Migration and Development was convened in Brussels, Belgium in 2007.

The GFMD was held following the United Nations High Level Dialogue on Migration held in 2006. Though it resulted from a UN meeting, the GFMD, however is held outside the formal ambit of the UN though cooperation with UN System agencies is mandated and practiced. It is a state-led forum whose expressed role is “to identify practical and feasible ways to strengthen the mutually beneficial relationship between migration and development.”

By taking it out of the UN processes, the GMFD maintains its non-binding nature which has resulted to civil society organizations taking a wary stand of its effectiveness though hope is still expressed that its convening “may yet be the beginning of a new era” as countries commit to continuing the dialogues on migration and development (MPI, 2006).

In his opening speech during the 2006 UN HLD, former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, posited a triple win scenario with the discourse on migration and development – for the migrants, for the countries of origin and for the receiving countries.

The hopeful view is best reflected in the report of the first GFMD.

In said report (GFMD, 2008), the GFMD is said to have shown ‘the extraordinary collaboration possible today among governments, and between governments, international organizations and other civil society players, on migration and development and mutually reinforcing policies in these areas.’

The report presented the positive outcomes of the GFMD that include a so-called “shift in migration and development paradigm” by changing the framework of viewing migration now as a positive development rather than a threat. The GFMD was also hailed as having opened up a space where dialogues on policies and exchange of experiences, innovative and good practices can be held. It was also seen as a proof that “sharing responsibilities between developed and developing countries can make migration work better for

development and vice versa”, and that more coherence on migration, development and other national policies can be achieved.

Since then, the GFMD has become the major global platform of governments for the migration-development discourse. As such, the themes and discussions in the succeeding GFMD meetings (Manila in 2008, Athens in 2009 and Mexico in 2010) revealed what governments deemed as important topics to be discussed and negotiated on; and to what direction are the governments leading migration policies to.

A review of available literature on the GFMD reveals two major types and themes of resources.

The first are primarily explorations and elaborations of major themes of the GFMD following the objectives and debates in the various GFMD meetings. These resources were produced mainly by governments and intergovernmental bodies and were focused on studying existing structures, policies, mechanisms and practices on the various GFMD themes. There were also commissioned studies with specific topics that were in line with the GFMD's discussion points. As well, reports of GFMD-related events were released by the different operating modalities of the GFMD including the two Working Groups currently in operation.

The GFMD in Geneva Switzerland in 2011 planned to take the outcomes of previous GFMD meetings a step further. Taking the theme *Taking Action on Migration and Development -Coherence, Capacity and Cooperation*, the GFMD chair implemented a “series of smaller thematic meetings (workshops, seminars, etc.) around the world, dedicated to focused and action-oriented debate, and engaging as wide a range of governments across regions and other relevant GFMD stakeholders as possible.” (GFMD, 2011, p.2)

Said meetings that were part of past GFMD resolutions and agreements were done through the various operating modalities of the GFMD, mainly the two working groups established (Working Group on Protecting and Empowering Migrants for Development and the Working Group on Policy Coherence, Data and Research) and the Platform for Partnerships. These were established as a “tool to facilitate exchange and showcase initiatives, projects and programs undertaken by governments in the field of migration and development which are related to GFMD themes, debates and outcomes, as determined by the Chair and the Working Groups.” (ibid, p.3)

The Working Group on Protecting and Empowering Migrants for Development reported three main outcomes of its work - studies on the 1. Social Protection for Temporary Migrant Workers: Conceptual Framework, Country Inventory, Assessment and Guidance and 2. Testing low cost loans schemes for migrant workers; and a project on Establishing a Culture of Equality.

Notable of the studies conducted were that they were focused on migrants foremost as economic development actors and have thus explored human rights of migrant workers on the myopic lens of increasing the economic contribution of migrants. The first study (GFMD, 2011a), for example, recommends adequate financial instruments for retirement savings; regulation and supervision of the financial institutions; and safeguards for the investors/migrants.

The Working Group on Policy Coherence, Data and research focused on “selected outcomes from earlier GFMD meetings, relating to (1) policy and institutional coherence; (2) data collection and research; (3) impact assessments of migration and development policies and practices in migrant integration, migrant return and reintegration, circular migration and diaspora contributions, (4) promoting the implementation of migration profiles by interested governments; and (5) mainstreaming migration into poverty reduction strategies.” (GFMD, 2011b)

Thus its work consisted mainly of assessing development policies of countries and analysing what it perceived as weak points of governments in mainstreaming migration to development policies and practices such as systematic data collection, migration profiling and research capacity.

The second set of resources on the GFMD consists of critical articles that assess the GFMD from its conceptual framework to the respective themes of the meetings.

In her paper, Prof. Robyn Rodriguez (2009) analysed the GFMD and its effectiveness in protecting and upholding the rights of migrants based on the Philippine experience. She posited that the GFMD focuses on the Temporary Labor Migration Programs (TLMP). These, she argued, “are neoliberal strategies adopted by labor-sending states, in cooperation with labor-receiving states” and that “the informal and formal agreements forged by the Philippines with labor-receiving countries are less about the protection of migrants’ rights, as GFMD stakeholders seem to believe, but rather are more concerned with ensuring that transfers of labor occur from the Philippines to other countries in a continuous and trouble-free basis.”

The Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM) and the Study Commission No. 16 on Im/migrants, Refugees and Displaced Peoples of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle (ILPS) have released critical assessments of each of the GFMD meetings based on their analysis of the framework that the GFMD works with and the themes and topics discussed in every GFMD meeting.

These critiques also situated the GFMD as within the framework of neoliberal globalization. For the said groups, the GFMD is “globalization applied to migration”. (APMM, 2008)

Criticism of neoliberal globalization constituted the foundation of the critical position of APMM and the ILPS Study Commission No 16. For them, the failure of neoliberal globalization could be seen in the heightened poverty, unemployment, landlessness and displacement of people especially in underdeveloped and developing countries. Compounded by the impacts of the global crisis that are also felt even in the most advanced of countries, the groups believed that mainstreaming migration in national development policies is a neoliberal globalization way to solve the problems that, ironically, neoliberal globalization also created.

Thus, the groups believed that promotion of the rights of migrants will never constitute the framework or the agenda of the GFMD. "The GFMD does not, in any way, attempt to address the root causes of forced migration. While it hides under the cloak of universally-accepted concepts and principles such as the right to migrate and the "right to development", its support for the perpetuation of forced migration and denial to take into account globalization as a cause of poverty, joblessness and maldevelopment is evident."

Meanwhile, in terms of labor-importing countries, the groups argued that "integration of policies in labour-importing countries is only to the extent where they can benefit from the cheapened labour of skilled migrant workers." (APMM, 2009) This resulted to policies in labor-importing countries that keep the wage of migrants low, make them socially-excluded from society, and keep access to service and even to the justice system limited.

In their succeeding critiques, APMM and the ILPS Study Commission No. 16 criticized the GFMD as working not for the benefit of all (as expressed in its theme) especially the grassroots migrants. The groups pointed out: "The agenda and direction set forth by the Athens GFMD 2009 still do not address the flawed framework of development and labour migration that labour sending and receiving countries are working on. Neo-liberal globalization's design on migration and development pervades the GFMD process and under such framework, migrants will always be on the losing end."

Meanwhile in the fourth meeting of the GFMD, the groups focused on the concept of partnership and argued that within the current world structure, partnership as expressed in Bilateral Labor Agreements contained or not in Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) will not be on equal basis and shall always have a bias towards the more developed and powerful party.

In the past three GFMDs, the most critical of platforms held parallel to the GFMD meeting was the International Assembly of Migrants and Refugees or the IAMR. The past three meetings of the IAMR was spearheaded by the International Migrants' Alliance or IMA¹.

¹ Established in June 2008, the IMA was founded by 108 organizations from 25 countries and composed mainly of grassroots migrant's groups. Thirty-two (32) NGOs and institutions that provide services to migrants took part in the founding assembly. IMA is a broad international alliance composed of progressive and anti-imperialist migrant organizations of different nationalities. It is unified under a clear Basis of Unity and General Program of Action.

The IAMR (2008) deemed the GFMD as “essentially an anti-poverty and financing scheme designed by the World Bank and the OECD to perpetuate the semicolonial and semifeudal character of many poor and underdeveloped countries. By designing this scheme, the WB and OECD, and other international financial institutions, want to ensure that the poor, debt-ridden countries would be able to pay their huge debts through migrant remittances, thus transforming those remittances as a 'tool for development' .”

While there is a number of resources critical to the GFMD, there does not exist yet an evidence-based research that assesses the GFMD from its framework on the migration-development nexus to its operations including its relationship with civil society organizations particularly the grassroots migrants and their families.

Switzerland as the 2011 Chair of the GFMD has planned to initiate the first phase of the assessment process of the GFMD that was discussed and endorsed in the 2010 GFMD meeting. The assessment is planned to be released in 2012 and is hoped to be a useful guide for the continued operations of the GFMD. However, such process and document is still restricted from the public.

SYNTHESIS OF RESULTS

I. AWARENESS SURVEY

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

Target countries identified for the global survey represent most of the global regions - North America, Latin America, Europe, Africa, Middle East, South Asia, East-Asia Pacific and Oceania. The total number of respondents (1,000) is computed in proportion to the migrant population in each of these target countries. Ideally, the population of working migrants or the estimated stock of migrants aged 18 and above would have been a more appropriate base for deriving the sample population; however, there is no single source that shows the said data as of the same year for all the target countries.

Manual interviews and an internet-based facility were used to conduct the survey using the survey instrument drafted and finalized by the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM) and IBON Foundation, Inc. (IBON). The network of migrant organizations in coordination with the APMM conducted the manual surveys, while SurveyMonkey (<http://www.surveymonkey.com>) was used for the online conduct. These were carried on from September 20, 2011 to February 5, 2012.

OUTCOMES OF THE SURVEY

Background of the Respondents

NATIONALITY (see Figure 1). Filipino migrant workers account for most of the respondents with 38.6% of the total, which is also the same on some regions, i.e. North America with 48.0%, Europe with 26.3%, Africa with 32.0%, Middle East with 56.0%, East-Asia Pacific with 51.9%, and Oceania with 52.7 percent. In Latin America, Brazilian and Mexican migrant workers dominate with 36.7% and 33.3%, respectively, while in South Asia, most were Sri Lankans with 37.4 percent.

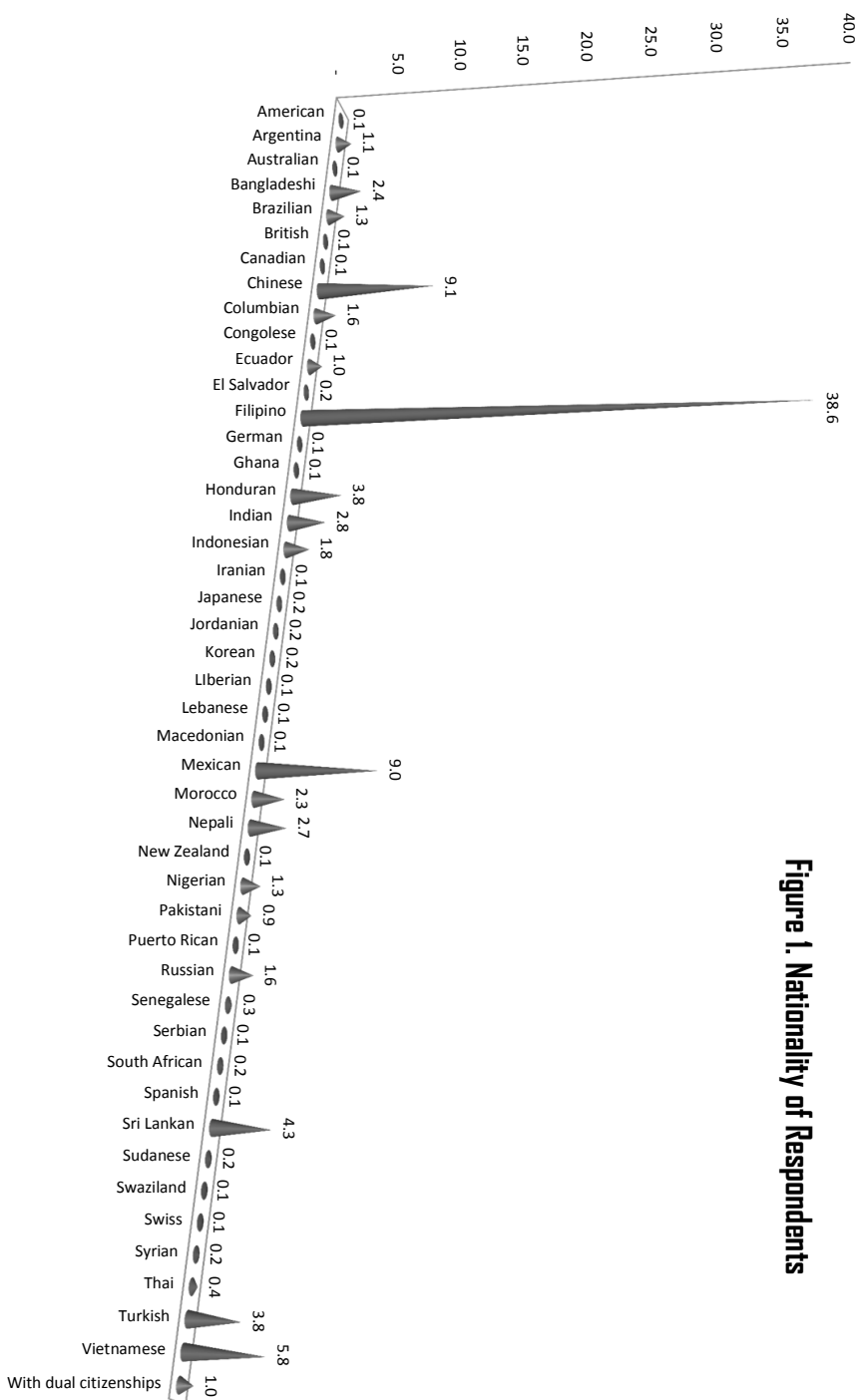
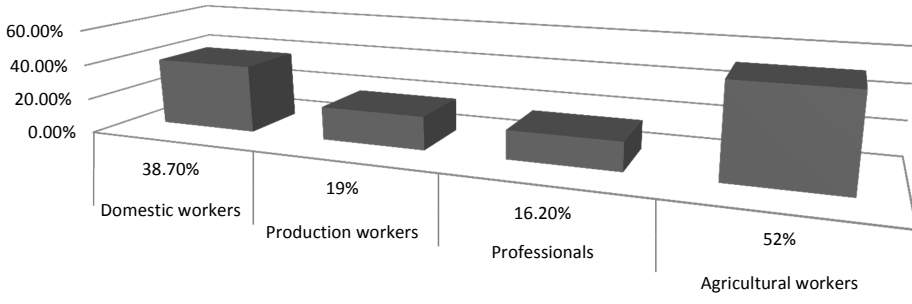


Figure 1. Nationality of Respondents

Figure 2. Occupation of Respondents



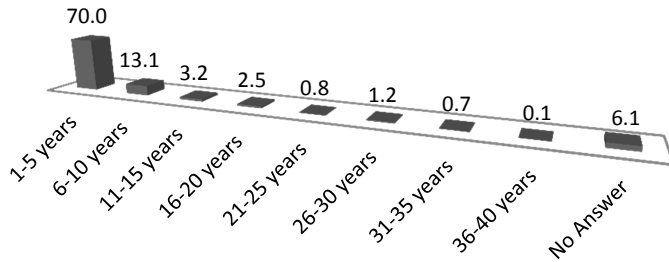
OCCUPATION (see Figure 2). Looking at the major skill groups, service workers dominate with 38.7% of the total, most of whom as domestic workers. The same trend can be observed in the following regions: North America with 54.6%; Europe with 36.2%; and Australia with 41.8 percent.

Production workers, such as factory workers and those involved in construction work, follow with a rather distant 19.0 percent. They comprise the largest in East-Asia Pacific with 48.1% of the total.

The third highest are the professionals and those into technical and related work, i.e. engineers, nurses and teachers, with 16.2 percent. They account for the largest bulk in the Middle East with 36% of total migrant workers in the region.

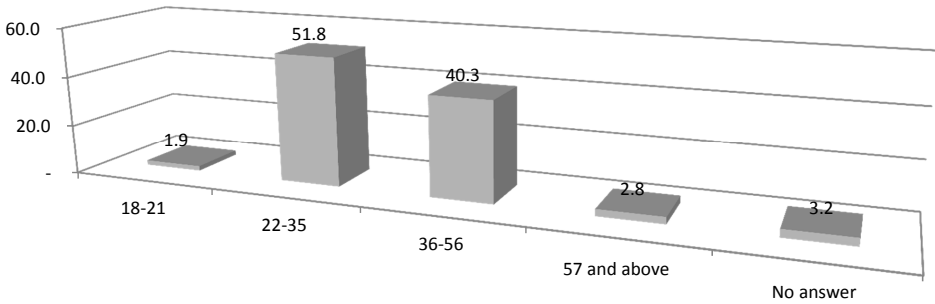
It should be noted that agricultural workers dominate in two regions - 52.0% in Africa and 50.5% in South Asia. On the other hand, administrative and managerial workers comprise the highest in Latin America with one-third of the total.

Figure 3. Number of Years Working as Migrants

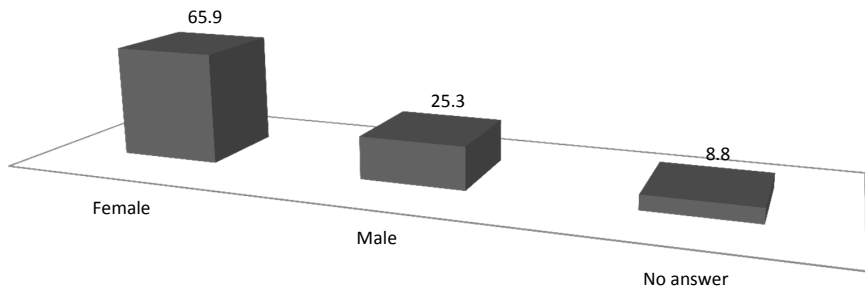


NUMBER OF YEARS WORKING AS MIGRANT WORKERS (see Figure 3). Seventy percent of total respondents have been migrant workers for 1-5 years, followed by a distant second by those working for 6-10 years with 13.1 percent. The same can be seen at the regional levels at varying rates, except for the Latin American and African respondents who are all migrant workers for the said length of time.

The respondents were also asked if they have worked as migrant workers elsewhere prior to their current occupation and most of them responded that they have not (73.0%).

Figure 4. Age of Respondents

AGE (see Figure 4). The relatively young age group of 22-35 years old comprise the largest among the respondents with nearly 52% of the total. They are followed with 40.3% by those in the 36-56 year old bracket. The trend is apparently the same at all regional levels, except for Oceania where most migrant worker respondents belong to the 36-56 year old bracket.

Figure 5. Gender of Respondents

GENDER (see Figure 5). Female migrant workers dominate with almost two-thirds of the total number of respondents, which is common in most regions. The only regions where male migrant workers were higher are in Middle East and East-Asia Pacific.

Knowledge of the GFMD and Their Rating of Its Main Objectives

More than half of the migrant worker respondents have not heard about the GFMD (54.7%). On the other hand, those who have accounted for around 44% (see Figure 6), and among these 444 respondents, nearly 82% have heard it from migrant workers' organizations. Media sources, i.e. publications, television and radio, and peer migrant workers were also sources with 44.8% and 40.8%, respectively.

Most of the respondents in most regions have not heard about the GFMD; these are in Europe, Middle East, South Asia, East-Asia Pacific and Oceania. On the other hand, it is the opposite in Latin America and Africa. North American responses were distinctly different as those who answered "Yes" and "No" comprise the same share of the regional total.

It is noteworthy that among the respondents who have heard about the GFMD across all regions, majority have heard it from migrant workers' organizations (see Figure 7). In particular, all of the respondents indicated this in Latin America, Africa and South Asia. In East-Asia Pacific though, media sources were identified the highest by most respondents.

With the declared five main objectives of the GFMD enumerated, the respondents were then asked to rate each with one (1) to five (5), with 1 as Very Beneficial and 5 as Not Beneficial At All. Generally, responses gravitated in rating these main objectives with either 1 or 5, ranging from 19.1% to 26.5 percent.

At the regional level, almost the same trend can be seen in two regions - North America and South Asia - but with varying ranges with the responses. With North America, those who gave the rating of 1 accounted for 26.6%-28.3% and those with 5 16.9%-17.8 percent. Respondents with the rating of 1 in South Asia ranged with 23.2%-30.3% and with 5 22.2%-25.3 percent.

On the other hand, there are regions where most respondents gave the rating of 5 for the said main objectives. In Latin America, two-thirds (66.7%) of total respondents indicated this, while in Africa 48.0%-56.0 percent. It is also the same with East-Asia Pacific with the range of 25.9%-37.0 percent.

In Europe, those who gave the rating of 1 dominated with 23.0%-32.9%, followed by those who gave the rating of 3 with 21.0%-22.6 percent.

Lastly, it is glaring that most respondents in Middle East and Oceania didn't know what rating to give, accounting for 40.0%-43.0% and 41.8% of the respective regional totals. They differ, however, with the responses that gave the highest rating; the rating of 1 was the highest in Middle East with 27.0%-30.0%, while it is 5 in Oceania with 32.7%-34.5 percent.

Figure 6. Knowledge about the GFMD

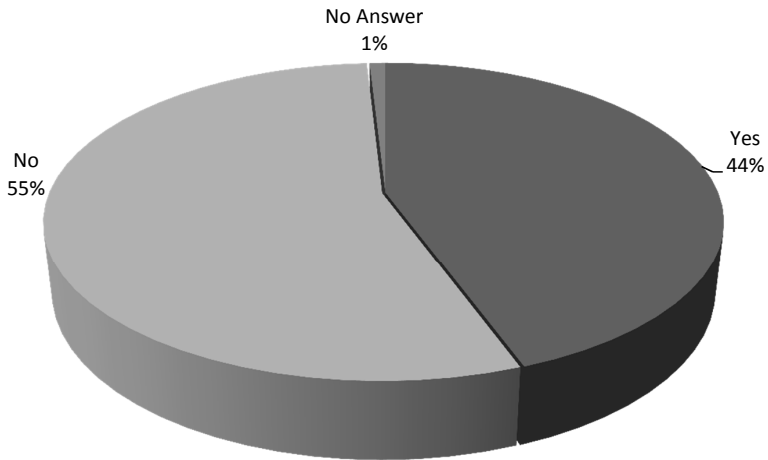
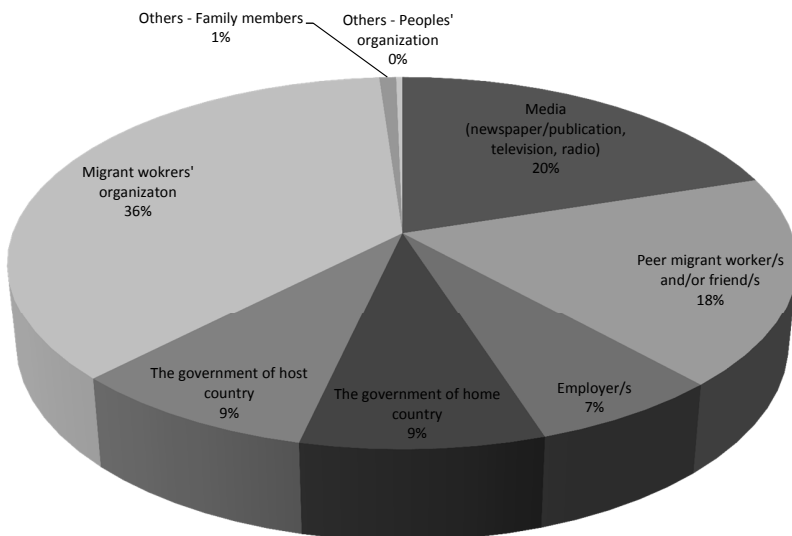


Figure 7. Source of Information about the GFMD



The So-Called Connection Between Migration and Development

Some 58% of the respondents said they have heard about the so-called connection between migration and development and that overseas remittances help drive the economy in the migrant worker's home country. The rest said they have not heard about it. (see Figure 8)

Among these 575 respondents who have heard about the said migration-development nexus, 53.9% does not agree with relying on overseas remittances for development objectives in the migrant workers' home country. On the other hand, 40.5% agrees with it. (see Figure 9)

In addition, also 54.1% of the 575 respondents said that relying on overseas remittances for development objectives will not result in long-term benefits for the migrant workers' home country. Only 37.4% thought otherwise.

It is nearly the same with most regional results. Those who have heard about the migration-development nexus dominate in North America, Latin America, Africa, East-Asia Pacific and Oceania. It was the opposite only in Europe, Middle East and South Asia.

Among those who have heard it, most who do not agree with it comprise the largest bulk in North America, Latin America, Africa, Middle East, South Asia, East-Asia Pacific and Oceania. It is only in Europe where most are in favor of the migration-development nexus.

The same trend can be seen with the question on whether or not relying on overseas remittances will have long-term benefits for the migrant workers' home countries in the context of the current global economic crisis.

Figure 8. Connection between Migration and Development

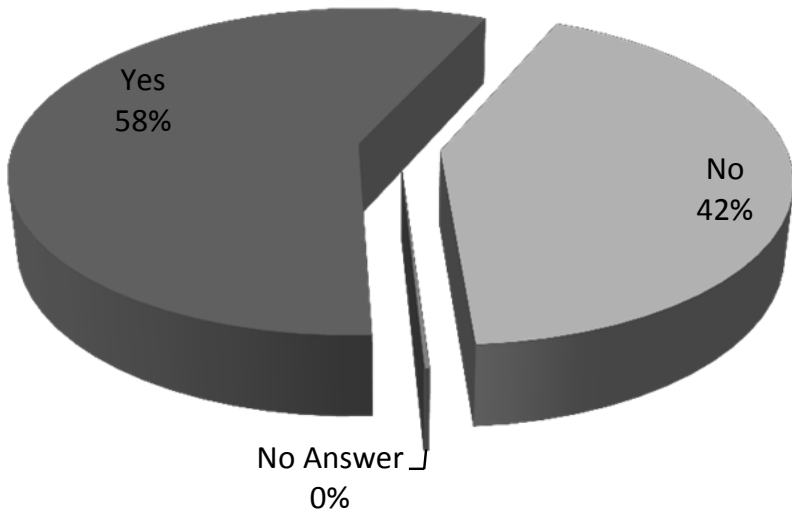
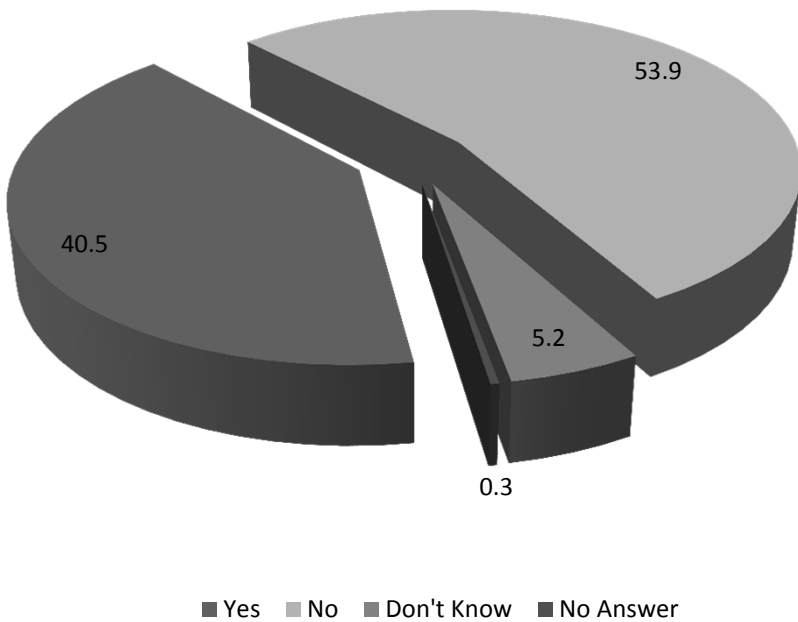


Figure 9. Relying on Overseas Remittance for Development



The Promotion and Protection of the Rights and Welfare of Migrant Workers

Sixty percent of the total respondents said that the promotion and protection of rights and welfare of migrant workers should be one of the main objectives of the GFMD, while only 13.7% said otherwise. Significantly, one-fifth of the migrant worker respondents didn't know if the GFMD should indeed include it as one of its main objectives or not. There were a few that didn't answer the question, accounting for 6.3 percent. (see Figure 10)

Among the regions, it is only in Latin America where there were more respondents who do not think that migrant workers' rights and welfare should be one of GFMD's priorities but only by a difference of 3.3 percentage points. On the other hand, both who agree and do not agree in Africa each accounted for 44% of the regional total.

Those who do not know whether the GFMD should include this or not vary at the regional levels. Such responses were low with Latin America, Africa and Oceania, while it is even higher than the global level with Europe, South Asia and especially in Middle East. In North America and East-Asia Pacific, they are just a little lower than the global level.

Given that the GFMD has not identified the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of migrant workers as one of its main objectives, the respondents were next asked if the GFMD is being able to do this and nearly 35% answered that they don't know. Following closely are those who answered "No" with one-third of the total. There were those who checked "Yes, but not enough", accounting for some 16%, while those who were definite that the GFMD does so comprised 15.5 percent. (see Figure 11)

Again, the trend on the regional level varies greatly. While most similarly do not know if the GFMD is being able to do this in Middle East, East-Asia Pacific, Oceania, Europe and South Asia, Latin American and African respondents answered "No" on this question, which even cornered a whopping 93.3% and 80% of the respective regional totals. Only North American responses have little disparity in terms of share to the regional total.

Those who answered "Yes, but not enough" and "No" were next asked if they think that the GFMD would include the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of migrant workers as one of its main objectives. Although there were more who answered "No" (44.8%), the difference with those who answered "Yes" (42.6%) was only 2.2 percentage points.

Figure 10. In your opinion, should the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of migrant workers be one of the main objectives of the GFMD?

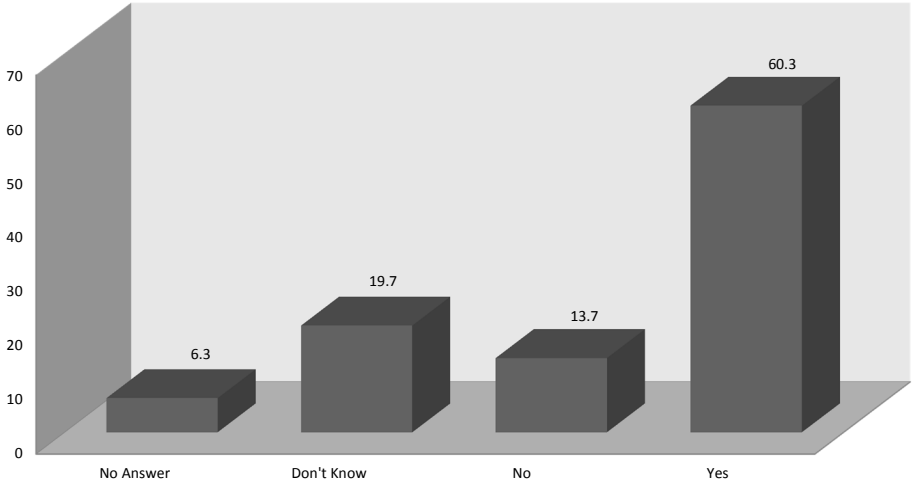
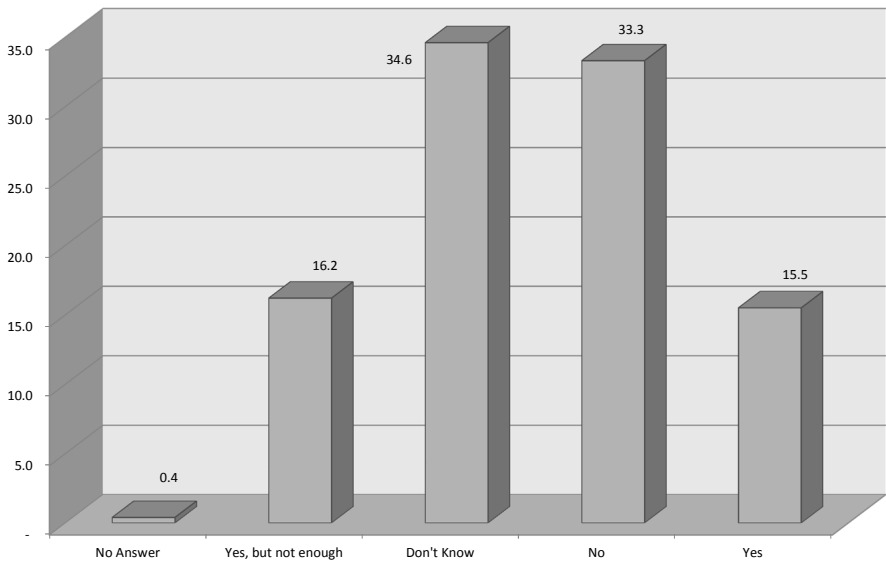


Figure 11. Do you think that the GFMD to date is able to promote and protect the rights and welfare of migrant workers?



The difference between the said responses was higher on the regional level. With African and Latin American responses, the difference is 10.0 and 13.8 percentage points, respectively, with “No” being with the higher percentage of responses. The disparity is a lot bigger with three other regions: East-Asia Pacific with 45.5 percentage points; South Asia with 49 percentage points; and Oceania with 60 percentage points.

European and Middle Eastern responses are quite the opposite with those who answered “Yes” dominating and with a difference of 24.7 percentage points and 50 percentage points, respectively. Also, in North America, each accounted for 44.4% of the regional total, while nearly 11% didn't know if the GFMD would include it as one of its main objectives.

The 211 respondents who answered “Yes” were presented an enumeration of options by which the GFMD would be able to further promote and protect the rights and welfare of migrant workers and were asked to rate its importance with one (1) as Very Important and five (5) as Not Important At All. Most respondents with the global total gave each the rating of 1 or Very Important, ranging from 42.7% to 45 percent. This was followed by the rating of three (3), accounting for 24.2%-26.5%, and those who didn't answer with 16%-17% of the total. There was one respondent who added that “Stop graft and corruption in the government and we will have a favorable system answering all the GFMD's concerns”; this was from the Middle East.

North American responses are quite the same except that there were more of those who did not give their rating (24%-25%) than those who rated each option with three. There are some regions where those who provided the rating of one was definitely higher - Middle East, Oceania, Africa and Latin America. In South Asia, more than half of the respondents did not answer with any rating, while in East-Asia Pacific, half gave the rating of 1 and the other half did not have any rating. Lastly, European responses mostly gave the rating of 3 (67.9%-71.7%) followed distantly by those with the rating of 1 (13.2%-15.1%).

On the other hand, the 222 respondents who answered “No” were presented an enumeration of alternatives to the GFMD in order to promote and protect the rights and welfare of migrant workers and asked for their corresponding rating. Similarly, most respondents provided the rating of 1 for each of the said alternatives, ranging from 49.1% to 72.5 percent. They are followed by a distant second by those who rated the said alternatives with five (5), accounting for 16.2%-18.0%, except for two options - coordination with international organizations that sincerely address migrant workers' rights and welfare, and abolishing the GFMD - which respectively comprise 5.4% and 6.3 percent. Those who did not give their rating made up 16.2%-18% of the total. (see Figures 12-16)

Figure 12. Create venues to meet migrant workers' organizations with wide and varied membership

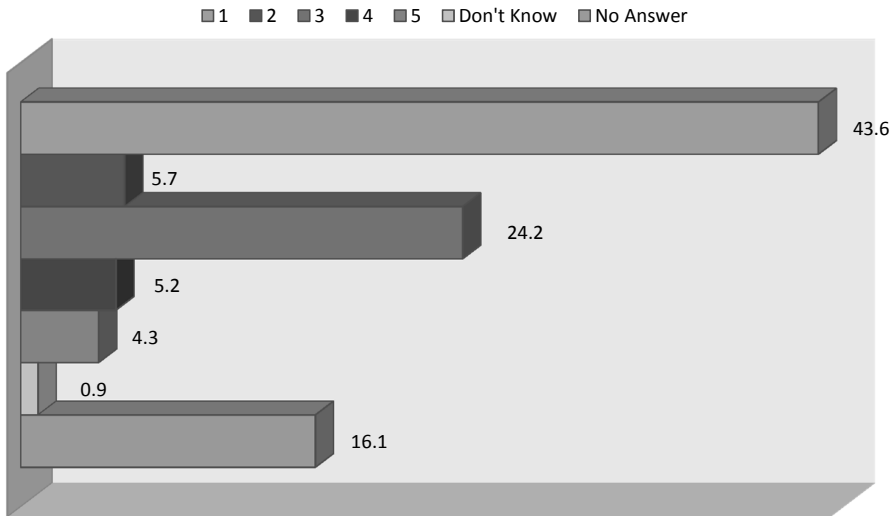


Figure 13. Push for policy changes in host countries for migrant workers to enjoy the same right as local workers

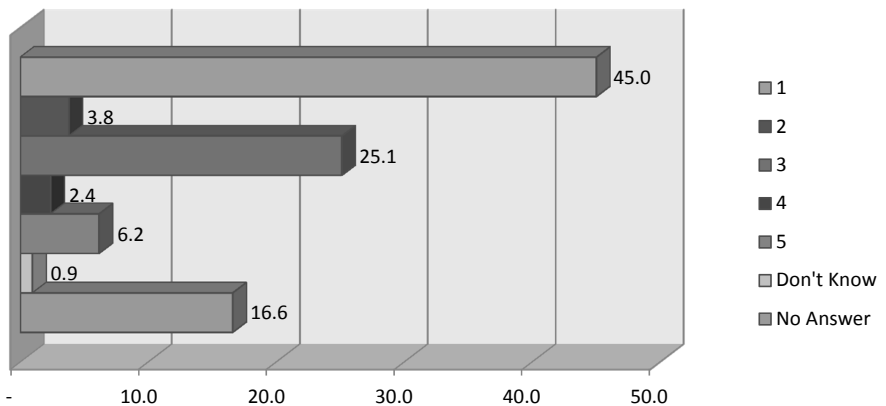


Figure 14. Push for policy changes in home countries of migrant workers to still prioritize local generation of decent employment over labor export

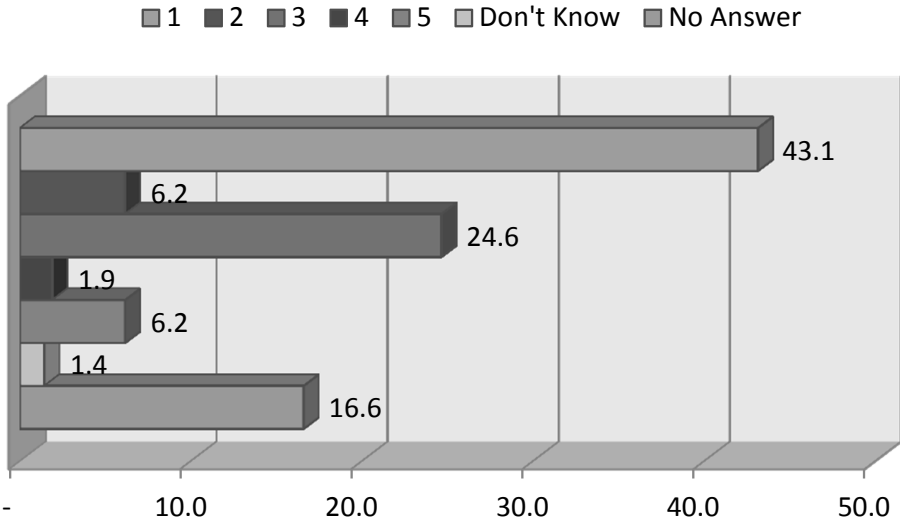


Figure 15. Open more venues to involve other sectors, such as labor organizations, both in the home and host countries in exchanging practices and experiences

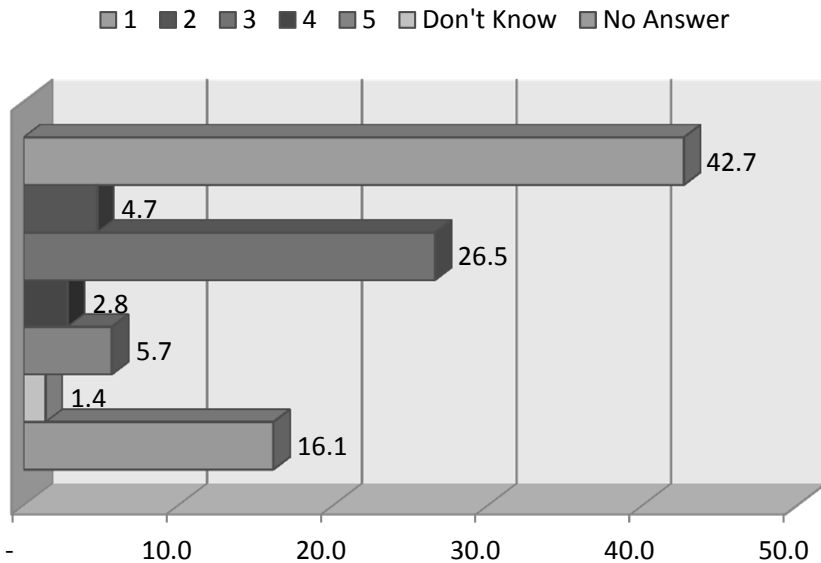
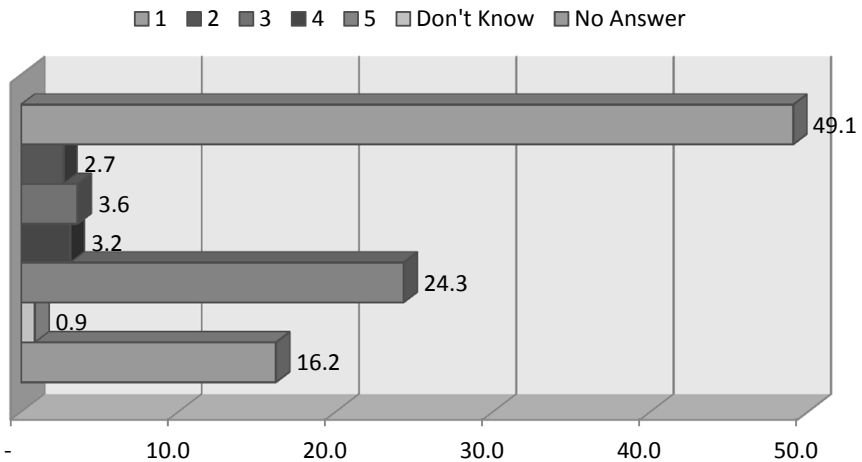


Figure 16. Lobby with the GFMD that the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of migrant workers be included as one of its main objectives



At the regional level, respondents from Middle East and Oceania overwhelmingly rated all alternatives with one, followed closely by those from East-Asia Pacific with 85.7%-100.0%, and Latin America and Europe with 75.0%-87.5% and 79.3%-93.1% respectively. Though most South Asian responses were also the rating of one, the range was wider with 33.3%-60.6 percent. Lastly, 60% of African respondents did not give their rating, followed by 30%-40% who rated the alternatives with one.

2. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS (KII)

There were thirteen (13) respondents to the emailed KIIs from majority of the global regions, and seven (7) of them were able to attend the Civil Society Days (CSD) since the Brussels GFMD. The rest were long-time leaders of grassroots migrant organizations and advocates in migrant service institutions.

Diplomatic officials of countries that have consulates in Hong Kong were also invited to take part in the KII through emailed questionnaires and telephone calls, but majority did not respond at all. Those that did respond (Germany, Switzerland and South Korea) declined to participate, citing diplomatic or policy restrictions as reasons. The consular officials of Burma and Indonesia showed more interest in the research by forwarding the KII questionnaire to their headquarters, but their superiors failed to respond for unexplained reasons.

GAUGING THE GFMD'S PERFORMANCE BASED ON ITS MISSION

Among those who were able to attend the CSD, the view prevails that while the GFMD has been “successful” in bringing governments together to discuss migration concerns, it has generally failed in concretizing the recommendations coming out of these meetings. Some attributed this to the ad hoc nature of the Forum, while others still to its “flawed” ideological assumptions about migration becoming a tool for development.

Within this CSD group, there are still a few who are more categorical in their evaluation of the GFMD, in that it has failed utterly in its avowed mission, especially on the part of “minimizing (migration's) negative impacts”. The common view here was that migrant sector interests have been mostly ignored in favor of those of governments, and that the GFMD erroneously highlights the latter as the principal stakeholder in the migration discourse. Migrant leaders and advocates who have not attended the CSD have similar views on the GFMD's performance.

ON THE RESPONSIVENESS OF THE GFMD'S OPERATING MODALITIES

There is consensus among all twelve respondents that GFMD's operating modalities favor governments one-sidedly, rather than the migrants themselves. While some space has been allotted to civil society actors through the CSD, there is not much "interface" between the official meeting and that of the CSOs.

The respondents were also one in questioning the composition of CSD representatives, which they consider to be uneven in quality and representativeness. It was noted by some that the CSD's most active component was academy-based researchers and NGOs, while grassroots migrant organizations were poorly represented. Many suggest that the GFMD should conform to a multi-stakeholder approach in its meetings, one that gives proper representation, or at least 50% in quantitative and qualitative terms, to grassroots migrant organizations.

ON THE "CREATIVE NEXUS" BETWEEN MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Here the respondents are fairly unified in their rejection of the remittance-driven framework in development, many pointing out that there has been no case of a country developing on the basis of migration alone. Two of the respondents cited very specific conditions for such a framework to possibly succeed in some country, such as those very low material-resource bases and given fundamental reforms in economic policies to address the current crisis. These were also considered as far-fetched possibilities under neoliberalism.

For those who answered categorically in the negative, the common line of reasoning is that modern migration is forced migration, and that it is actually a symptom of a lack of development in sending countries. Attempting to harness remittances for economic growth is also a problematic one, as these are private rather than public funds and might conceivably be tapped only with the close cooperation of migrants and their own organizations. The argument goes on to propose sounder economic and political fundamentals in sending countries as a way to eliminate push factors in migration.

ON THE ROLE OF MIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS IN GLOBAL MIGRATION FORUMS

There was no contest among the respondents as to which sector should be the principal stakeholder in migration dialogues - the migrants themselves. While their suggestions on the numerical representation of migrants in a global forum such as the GFMD vary from 1/5 to a half of the participants, all are agreed that migrant rights and welfare should be a central agenda in such dialogues. It was also suggested that the government meeting and the CSD should be merged, and the composition of the CSO participants be re-tailored to favor grassroots migrant organizations.

ON VIABLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE GFMD

The responses to this question were very varied, from reorientation of the GFMD to its abolition and replacement with a “migrant-friendly” global forum. Those who have attended the CSD tend to hew more along the lines of maintaining but reforming the Forum, while those who have opted (or were forced by restricted access to CSD) to limit their focus on outside lobbying strategies suggested the GFMD’s total abolition.

There were also recommendations to eliminate the development finance line of the GFMD by transferring it within the UN system, and thus integrate into the machinery for realizing the aims of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). However, such a notion is also considered by some to be creating a redundancy within the UN system itself, as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) already play roles of engaging migration concerns for the UN.

Majority are unanimous in the need to reform the GFMD towards promotion and protection of migrant’s rights. Those who subscribe to a “GFMD-less” global migration discourse believe that the UN system already has adequate mechanisms to pressure sending-country governments to put their economies on firmer ground, and that it should work towards the elimination of push factors to forced migration.

3. FOCUS-GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD)

The focus group discussion (FGD) was joined by 19 migrant workers and organizers from 11 countries, most of whom are Filipino nationals (see table). They were presented with the same set of questions as in the survey and the KII. But unlike in the two other methods, there was more interaction from among the participants, and a brief input on the history, objectives and operating modalities of the GFMD was presented by the FGD facilitator.

ON GFMD'S PERFORMANCE AND ITS MISSION

The participants all agreed that the GFMD has not been looking to the interests of migrants, but has been serving as an intergovernmental platform that formulated policies on the optimization of remittances for macro-economics. They said it has failed not only in mitigating the negative impacts of migration, but has also been bogged down by the non-binding nature of recommendations coming out of the meetings.

Many participants could not but compare the usefulness of the International Assembly of Migrants and Refugees (IAMR) to that of the GFMD. For them, the IAMR is the more relevant of the two as it allows the voices of migrants to be heard, and the recommendations are translated into concrete action. They scored the GFMD for being a mere "talk-shop" that spends millions of dollars of taxpayers' money a year without engaging the demands of migrant workers worldwide.

Distribution of Participants by Current Country of Location or Employment

Country	Number of Participants
Bangladesh	1
Hong Kong	5
Indonesia	2
Italy	1
Japan	2
Korea	1
Macau	2
Netherlands	1
Senegal	1
Switzerland	1
USA	2
Total	19

ON THE RESPONSIVENESS OF THE GFMD'S OPERATING MODALITIES

Majority answered in the negative, citing the primacy of government role in the official meetings. They also called the CSD as a mere lip-service to CSOs, with a composition that is not truly representative of grassroots migrants' organizations.

This means that abuses against migrants are not being addressed, but are even being magnified, by the GFMD due to its focus on macro-level migration policies for governments. The participants stressed the need for the official meetings and the CSD to be merged for the GFMD to be minimally responsive to migrant interests.

ON THE "CREATIVE NEXUS" BETWEEN MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The FGD respondents are agreed that there is no real sense of development among migrants, citing the exorbitant agency fees, the crisis at home and falling wages in receiving countries as factors that contribute to lack of savings even after years of service abroad.

They also described the GFMD paradigm as a "failed solution" especially under the current crisis, scoring the Forum for banking on private income to develop sending-country economies. According to them, there is simply no way of redirecting such incomes into the public domain, as these are usually household funds that go into day-to-day expenditures.

For the respondents, the current global economic crisis actually proves that labor migration is unreliable in keeping the sending countries afloat. Migrant workers are actually the first to go when enterprises decide to reduce workforce. Moreover, they cannot enjoy certain social services unlike fellow displaced local workers.

ON THE ROLE OF MIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS IN GLOBAL MIGRATION FORUMS

A number of participants said that while there are very limited chances for migrant workers to represent themselves in the GFMD, it should still make every effort to grab opportunities when it can actually participate. In addition to this, exposing the adverse effects of the migration and development paradigm perpetuated by the GFMD should be continually done even beyond the confines of the Forum.

On the other hand, it has also been strongly suggested that these very migrant workers organizations must lead in the migration and development discourse and not the governments and so-called NGOs that claim to represent migrant workers' interests. It should be the other way around; they should be the one sitting as such formations and the governments should be the ones listening.

ON VIABLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE GFMD

According to the participants, there are other means and venues where migrant workers' rights and welfare are sincerely and thoroughly addressed. For them, the GFMD can be left to itself and "die a natural death" while migrant workers and migrant advocates participate in alternative venues. The necessary thing to do, they said, is build one's own guidelines for development with the rights and welfare of constituents prioritized.

ANALYSIS: THE VALIDITY OF THE “MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT” PARADIGM

The H1 hypothesis that this study has set out to test has been substantially validated by respondents in all three methods that were used. Among migrant grassroots organizations, there is an overwhelming rejection of the main propositions of the “migration for development” line. There is even increasing skepticism and disillusionment among orthodox migration advocates, who tend in the past to uphold its essential validity.

Those who are very critical among the KII respondents make the point that “migration and development” is essentially an oxymoron (a contradiction in terms), because the principal reasons for labor migration are economic underdevelopment and inequality in sending countries, on one hand, and labor flexibilization and outsourcing in receiving countries on the other (or the so-called “push” and “pull” factors in migration).

Migrant workers leave their home countries not because it is a convenient option but because of the lack of other means for their families’ survival. While some KII respondents concede that the skills migrant workers develop can be maximized later on and upon return, in the same mocking logic that technology transfer from industrialized nations can be enjoyed by adopting underdeveloped economies, these acquired skills are usually not of the type that can be readily utilized in the local economy on the bases of existing infrastructure and priorities. They still contend that pursuing labor migration programs would never prompt and, moreover, sustain economic development most especially in the light of the current global economic crisis. For them, genuine development can only be achieved when governments stop ignoring the basic fact that it needs to create sound economic fundamentals – strong nationalist economic/production base and protectionist trade policies that would eventually lead to sustainable job-generating opportunities – and establish a reliable system in providing basic social services.

A few KII respondents cited cases where sending countries have shifted to becoming receiving countries, as in the case of India, Taiwan, Malaysia and more recently Thailand. They note, however, that this is due more to the private entrepreneurial developments rather than state initiative. Antonio Tujan of IBON International in particular believes

that labor migration for development can be valid only if a sending country has very low or does not have the essential material-resource base for the development of local agriculture and industries, and that under such severe conditions, overseas remittances can make a difference in terms of subsistence and development potential. But he also notes that “viable and long-term strategies for development” should be given principal stress as the fact remains that, “there is not a single example of a country that developed mainly or solely on account of remittances.”

Participants in the FGD were even more unequivocal, taking the position that “there is no real sense of development where migrant workers are concerned, whether in their home or host countries.” For them, dependence on overseas remittances is a failed solution to underdevelopment in the sending countries, especially in the context of the current global economic crisis.

They are aware of the fact that overseas remittances comprise a large portion of some of the major sending countries' national income, a promised outcome of the 'migration and development' policy line that will consequently lead to development. But they aver that this 'additional' to national income is easily mistaken, as these incomes are private funds that go to households are different than public funds that are at government disposal. For the FGD participants, it is quite understandable that strong economic fundamentals remain unbuilt and social services unprovided despite massive inflow of remittances. They also point out that large portions of the national income are constantly allocated to foreign debt payment and not invested towards the development of a self-sustaining, domestic economy.

Some FGD participants also scored what they call “intergovernmental migration institutions” (IMIs) like the GFMD and IOM for creating confusion as to which stakeholder should truly be the subject and gauge of development. These IMIs promote remittances as aid to economic development and poverty reduction in the sending countries, as well as facilitating the “selling and buying” of labor migration to increase the flow of remittances. And with this in hand, they encourage the coursing of remittances through banks and other money transfer agents that in turn use the remittances to subsidize their own crises. Such a setup is made possible by transnational banks (TNBs) and private agents from host countries that already have branches in the sending countries, so that they rake in huge profits from charging exorbitant service fees on all such international transactions.

The cultural impact of labor migration was also subjected to criticism by the FGD participants, who cited certain “self-destructive attitudes” as being by-products of imposed First World lifestyles on Third World values and mores. As examples, they cited consumerism and dependency among households in sending countries, viewing these subcultures as deeply ingrained in remittance-driven employment programs that are even

encouraged by big business and governments to boost profits and lower perceptions of poverty. Another is that migrant workers experience hostile attitudes from local workers because they appear as competition, or threat even, to their own employment opportunities. These are perceived by the FGD participants as unacceptable social costs that are not being adequately addressed by the IMIs.

Reference was also made to the current global economic crisis and its negative impact on migrant employment as actual proof that labor migration is unreliable in bolstering the economies of sending countries. They observed that migrant workers are often the first to go when enterprises decide to cut costs by reducing their workforces, and that they are not provided with the same safety nets as displaced local workers.

Validation of the H1 hypothesis from the global awareness survey with migrants, while not as dramatic as those of KII and FGD respondents, was also significant at 53% of 575 survey respondents who have knowledge of the so-called "migration and development nexus". Only 40.5% of this number agrees with the supposed nexus.

Furthermore, 54.1% of the 575 respondents do not believe that relying on overseas remittances for development will result in long-term benefits at home. Only 37.4% thought otherwise, attesting to weak support among migrant workers of the idea that remittance-driven economic policies in sending countries hold lasting positive impact.

One interesting point to note in this area of the survey is that majority of the respondents in Europe are favorably inclined to the nexus. Since 82% of those who have knowledge of the GFMD and its paradigm are organized migrant workers, this may be indicative of the level of organizing and the content of awareness-raising that generally avail in the region. Corollarily, regions that have vibrant migrant movements (such as East Asia Pacific and Oceania) manifested through the survey overwhelming disagreement to the paradigm and its long-term benefits.

The prevalent view among migrant organizations and advocates that the "migration and development" paradigm is based on fallacious assumptions has found a measure of support in academic circles. An empirical research published by the International Migration Institute (IMI) of the Oxford University in 2012 found out that among countries that were investigated, "there is no evidence of a substantial improvement of agriculture at the regional or national level." As part of the research, case studies were conducted in seven Commonwealth countries, namely India, Jamaica, Kenya, St. Vincent, the Grenadines, Tonga and Jamaica. Further, the report (Lacroix, 2011) concluded: "Migration on its own cannot support an agricultural development strategy."

Although the IMI report found evidence that migration does improve household security, it was not able to "give a quantitative assessment of the improvement of food consumption

induced by the reception of remittances”. And while it also found evidence that migration alleviates poverty, the report qualifies that this has limited effect on rural poverty, as few countries source their labor exports from the rural areas (or from among low-skilled farmers) and tend to recruit from wealthier urban areas.

These findings are highly significant in that majority if not all migrant-sending countries have predominantly agrarian economies. What this means in terms of policy direction is that underlying problems in rural development have to be addressed internally, and not externally through remittances or foreign aid. Such hindrances as land monopoly and landlessness, backward modes of farming and human rights violations have long hobbled rural development, and can only be resolved with policies that go beyond the question of remittance utilization, such as genuine land reform and so on.

The same conclusions may be derived from the second point raised in the IMI report about the sourcing of migrant workers from urban areas. Migrant flows originate internally from each country, but only indirectly from the rural areas. The analysis about landlessness driving the peasantry towards urban centers in search of jobs and livelihood, only to be stymied by shrinking industrial bases that are so prevalent in Third World countries, has never been more applicable today with the worsening global economic crisis. With closures among local industries and the scaling down of workforces proceeding at a more rapid pace in sending countries (even more so than in developed countries), the compulsion on governments to ease the pressure of unemployment and socio-political unrest has never been greater. But again, it is apparent that the internal sources of urban unemployment are not being confronted squarely, and that labor migration has become a perennial stop-gap measure that spins in a vicious downward spiral, another “race to the bottom” in a more localized social context.

Hence, the discourse on forced migration faces a dead-end when the main solution being offered is a specious paradigm extracted from the interwoven abstractions of intergovernmental technocrats. For migrant organizations and advocates who see migration as one that is forced by underdevelopment at home, the solution must begin with sending countries' sound economic and political fundamentals. These are core concerns that intergovernmental bodies on migration are not facing up to, and one that they will continue to ignore for as long as they are beholden to states that adhere to the failed agenda of neoliberal globalization.

ANALYSIS: THE CASE FOR THE CONTINUING RELEVANCE OF THE GFMD

Based on responses from all three methods of data-gathering, there is firm consensus among principal migration stakeholders that the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) is no longer relevant in the migration discourse nor has it been able to fulfill even its avowed objectives. The most categorical expressions rejecting GFMD's relevance were from participants in the KII and the FGD. This empirical outcome overwhelmingly affirms hypothesis H2 of the impact study.

On gauging the GFMD's performance based on its mission (i.e., "to maximize migration's developmental benefits while minimizing its negative impacts"), KII respondents who have engaged with the Forum through the CSD clarified the limitations of its role. They made the point that to begin with, the GFMD is a non-binding, non-committal platform for state and non-state actors to discuss the promotion of remittance-driven economic development, working under the assumption that labor migration does bring about developmental benefits. They say it has been successful in promoting the migration and development policy line in this light. However, they also believe that the level of 'success' in concrete terms is unclear as governments are not compelled to address vital migration and development issues, i.e. migrant workers' rights and welfare, and that there are no definite benchmarks set by which it can be actually measured. They opine that this can be measured by looking at how governments are now emboldened by the GFMD for continued implementation of labor export programs, in the form of elevating such compliant countries as the Philippines for being models of good practices in toeing the line of 'migration and development'.

Majority of the KII respondents, on the other hand, are increasingly frustrated that the GFMD has not sincerely recognized labor migration as a phenomenon that is symptomatic of widespread poverty, joblessness and fundamental lack of social services in sending countries, factors that are "the very components of underdevelopment". They say that migrant workers still endure the injurious consequences in both sending and receiving countries that they have been struggling against over the many decades – physical, emotional and sexual abuses, ill-treatment, government and/or private agency exactions

and debt bondage. In addition, migrant workers are treated as second-class workers in receiving countries such that, to quote, “Loss of jobs especially in the manufacturing sector has been recorded in many countries with some government even exhorting companies to consider laying off migrant workers instead of locals in order to appease the populace. Erosion of labor rights manifested in wage reduction and slash in benefit while discrimination becomes more rampant as restrictive policies for migrant labor were put in place.”

Thus, the term “modern-day slaves” is considered by many KII respondents to be appropriately descriptive of the sector, as migrants are made to serve as milking cows or pawns recruited and managed by the governments of sending and receiving countries and their private agency partners, who in turn have been enjoying the most out of the promise of ‘developmental benefits’ through the facilitation of overseas remittances. And because “the GFMD has not been looking at the cost of migration but rather [at the] remittances”, it cannot be qualifyably said that it has minimized the negative effects. In this sense, the GFMD may be viewed as a failure and its existence utterly irrelevant in the labor migration discourse.

Regarding the responsiveness of the GFMD’s operating modalities, the KII respondents generally view these as having been very favorable for governments of sending and receiving countries as “the government authorities have all the decision-making power in this process”. One respondent said that, “the meeting itself is the government; the Civil Society Days (CSD) merely recommends”. This concisely expresses the mutual exclusivity of individual meetings of the governments and civil society organizations (CSOs), with which “governments can simply ignore or merely pay lip-service to the recommendations put out by CSOs instead of engaging in real-time dialogue to arrive at a mutual consensus”.

The interests of the more important sector among all the stakeholders – the global migrant workforce – are thought to have been deprived of proper representation in the official discussions. Crucial issues that need to be decisively addressed are being consistently ignored, such as extremely limited employment mobility, high levels of job insecurity, lack of state accountability in sending countries, lack of concrete support for migrants in destination countries by their own governments, debt bondage, agency control and exactions and so on.

Some KII respondents also noted that the intergovernmental formation lacks the “expert knowledge about the interrelationship between migration and development”, which somehow merits the GFMD’s eventual CSD sessions parallel to the governmental meetings. Nevertheless, they contend that CSO participation in itself does not guarantee the migrant sector’s co-equal status in the Forum and, as was fairly apparent, the most active participants were academy-based researchers and international non-governmental

organizations (NGOs) that cannot be said to genuinely represent migrant workers' interests.

Based on the respondents' own experiences, the sessions were hardly conducive to in-depth and well-grounded discussions, for the following reasons: there was not enough time for interaction; speakers for most sessions were conservative academics whose framework was very narrow; sessions did not need the speakers and it would have been better to use the time to have more discussion and dialogue between the civil society members; there was only time for points to be made and not real consensus in the sessions, although there was some effort in one of the sessions to try and get some consensus on the main recommendation points; it was voluntary on the part of the governments to attend the two-hour "dialogue" with the CSOs; and there was a very distinct gender imbalance among the speakers, most of them being men.

They also took issue with the selection process for CSO participants lacking transparency in terms of method and criteria, believing that contracting out the selection process to certain private entities such as the International Catholic Migration Mission (ICMC) merely aggravated the problem. The participation of self-organized sectoral groups was not solicited, especially the trade unions and migrant worker organizations such as Migrante International, outrightly missing out on genuine representation of the migrant workers' sector.

For the respondents, this oversight is made more glaring by the fact that apart from the CSD, there is no other official venue in the modalities for CSOs to participate in the GFMD. In the working groups that were formed to facilitate the annual meetings, grassroots migrant organizations that would have provided essential inputs to thematic discussions are excluded as a matter of policy and practice.

The GFMD has not taken on the recommendation by the Post-Washington Consensus, which requires policies to undergo a multi-stakeholder process. Having effectively excluded proper representation of the migrant workers' sector as the principal stakeholder, representation of the private sector – that includes remittance centers, banks, real estate operators, recruitment agencies – was allowed in the Manila GFMD. At this point, the alienation of the migrant sector from IMI-led policy discourses on migration had already become complete and blatant.

On the role of migrant organizations in global migration forums, the KII respondents believe it is quite unthinkable for IMIs such as the GFMD to encourage, or accommodate at the very least, the active participation of migrant workers organizations and genuine migrant advocates. "To begin with, it [the GFMD] wrongly presumed governments to be playing this role, despite the obvious fact that remittances are distinct from other forms of capital inflows, being private rather than public income. But without the decisive role of

the migrant sector in GFMD meetings, any scheme to tap into these consumer funds and transform them as public funds is bound to fail.”

The cost-effectiveness of the Forum was also put into question, as respondents consider it “a huge drain in funds that could be put to better use in development projects”. They said that attention and resources should be paid more “to the internal development of sending countries”. As already seen in the past GFMD rounds, “they only pay lip service to the participation of civil society and practice tokenism – inviting only those migrant organizations who are like minded and only seek minimal reforms within the system.” It was suggested that the GFMD’s existence is already unnecessary.

The idea that the GFMD is somehow a redundant IMI was again broached by some reform-minded respondents. They say that it needs to “get back to the UN [United Nations] high-level dialogue” and that the UN should host this Forum with a “different model, which aims to protect migrant workers by core Labour Rights and Decent Work Standards set out in ILO [International Labour Organization] conventions and related human rights instruments. The UN and ILO should set up an effective tripartite plus model which will have substantial space for migrants associations, and also ensure that human rights and social justice be core standards for development and in line with the definition and framework stated in the UN Declaration on the Right to Development (1986).”

If the GFMD were to shift to a rights-based approach, stakeholder roles within the whole process will necessarily shift, and logically so in favor of migrant organizations and advocates who are most capable of advancing the rights and welfare of migrant workers. In striving for this pro-migrant balance in representation, the GFMD should ensure that at least half of the participants in the meetings are composed of credible migrant organizations and advocates. In addition to this, they should also have the role to oversee “the work that comes out of the GFMD and to assess whether these recommendations are viable and are likely to win the support of migrants”.

Lastly, the KII respondents recommend that within and outside such international platforms, it is important that migrant organizations are actively involved in the areas of research, education and advocacy: “[R]esearch, to document their experiences and develop political critiques that constitute advocacy agendas; [E]ducation, to disseminate information that educates the public about the experiences and rights of migrants; and advocacy, locally, regionally and internationally to bring about transformations to migrants’ rights.”

On viable alternatives to the GFMD, most KII respondents are of the opinion that bilateral and multilateral policies recognizing, respecting and protecting migrant workers’ rights and welfare are more effective than any IMI, as these generally cover both sending and receiving country territories and their nationals. With sending countries, “it is their

job to protect their nationals overseas as it is their duty to create jobs and conditions of economic opportunity at home that provide migrants/their citizens the option of not emigrating for economic survival". Clearly, this requires policy changes and shift to pro-people attitude that would consequently "eliminate poverty and corruption" alongside the fact that sound economic fundamentals are basic.

On the other hand, governments of receiving countries are compelled to understand that as members of the UN, they "allow" immigration to serve the needs of their own citizens while respecting equally the rights of foreign nationals under the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights. A good example would be rights to safety, i.e. against trafficking of any kind, that if "guaranteed and enforceable everywhere, and where criminal elements or behavior to migrants were punishable to the fullest extent of the law, then all migrants, skilled or unskilled, professional or otherwise, should be able to find employment and work anywhere in the world where their services were needed without the current measures that oppress them".

In particular with the alternatives within the GFMD, the respondents aver that it can "become relevant only if it reorients itself from the development finance approach and towards addressing the roots of global labor migration and promotion of migrant rights". In this light, it should break away from the control of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) to effectively reform. Also, "[i]deally, it should become part of the machinery for the realization of the UN's Millenium Development Goals in order to effectively break away from the control of the IMF-WB."

Failing the shift from a remittance-centered to one that is rights-based, the GFMD should be abolished, said many critical KII respondents. For outright "abolitionists" though, the GFMD's redundancy is reason enough for doing away with the Forum altogether. They believe there exist established institutions within the UN system that are much more effective than the GFMD in engaging the issues of labor migration – namely, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) – and which need only to be attuned to grassroots dynamics to be fully utilized by the migrant sector.

Some respondents noted that outside of the inter-governmental IMIs, there are other formations that the UN and other multilateral governing bodies may work with directly to advance the short- and long-term interests of migrant workers. These channels of cooperation may also open opportunities for dialogue with other stakeholders without necessarily veering away focus on recommendations by migrant organizations. They cited these formations as the following: International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), which is composed of people's organizations of workers, women, migrants workers and others; the International Migrants' Alliance (IMA) and its International Assembly of Migrants and Refugees (IAMR), a counterpart event to the GFMD also held annually; and an academe/

CSO initiative based in Canada that is also being formed to provide an alternative forum to the GFMD, which puts migrant rights and interest at the fore.

FGD responses are even more unanimously critical of the GFMD, given that the composition of the participants (i.e., organizers and leaders of grassroots migrant organizations from six global regions). With regard to gauging the GFMD's performance, FGD participants unanimously opine that the GFMD has failed, especially as there still persists the call for coherence among countries with regard to migration-related policies. Another basis is that the governments of developed countries have not succeeded after several GFMD rounds in convincing most governments around their 'migration for development' policy line. They note that there are only a few countries that have aligned their policies to the demands of developed countries, and cited the Philippines, which has been lauded by the GFMD as an example of "best practice" in efforts to operationalize the paradigm. The discussants also criticized the Forum for failing to unite on migration as a problem, as well as forward solutions to the underdevelopment of sending countries.

The fairly common perception of GFMD as a mere "talk shop" cropped up frequently in the FGD, which was then linked to the observation that by all intentions, the Forum is a non-binding formation whose real task seems to be the propagation of the "migration for development" ideology among governments. Thus, regardless of how far the discussions have gone on migration as being the solution to development problems of sending countries, little practical progress has been made because governments are not obliged to align their policies with that of the GFMD.

The discussants point out that migrant workers' rights and welfare remain unrecognized and are even violated – with physical abuse, exploitation, death threats and inhuman working conditions. They added that not only have these negative effects gone unminimized, but they have been even magnified and frustratingly, have not been addressed under the operating modalities of the GFMD.

On the responsiveness of these operating modalities, the FGD participants are of the same opinion as the KII respondents, which is that the GFMD is clearly not meant as a vehicle to foreground the interests of migrant workers. Said one migrant organizer from Germany: "The GFMD, from the very beginning, is an intergovernmental platform for them to discuss and formulate policies to optimize migration, but not to solve the problems faced by migrant workers, not to alleviate their plight."

The GFMD's focus on governments and failure to engage the grassroots migrant workers' sector as the principal stakeholder was considered by the discussants to be grossly unfair and lopsided. Mentioned one: "How can such a body discuss labor migration without involving migrant workers? What right do they have to talk about migrant workers' problems if the sector is not properly consulted? What the GFMD has been doing is just

talk about 'development' without tackling the issue of recognizing migrant workers' rights as human rights." Others say it is necessary that they are enjoined in these discussions, alongside non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other migrant advocates who truly represent the interests of the grassroots and who have direct knowledge of the situation of migrant workers at the ground-level.

On the role of migrant organizations in global migration forums, a unity that came out of the FGD was that while there are very limited chances for migrant workers to represent themselves in the GFMD, they should still exert effort to grab opportunities for participation when these materialize. The GFMD this year [2011] is said to be organizing satellite forums where countries are clustered "by continent". Self-organized grassroots migrant worker organizations should assert their active participation and leadership in these forums to prevent governments and other institutional parties from misrepresenting their concerns and issues, and make their voices heard within the limited space allocated for them. On the other hand, they were also quick to point out that exposing the real meaning of GFMD's "migration and development" paradigm should be continually done even beyond the confines of the Forum.

Regarding views on viable alternatives to the GFMD, the FGD participants opine that there are other means and venues where migrant workers' rights and welfare may be sincerely and thoroughly addressed. "In a manner of speaking, the GFMD should just be left alone to die a natural death while migrant workers and migrant advocates participate in alternative venues," one migrant leader argued.

Some of them introduced the International Assembly of Migrants and Refugees (IAMR) as a viable alternative, a migrant conference which is held annually parallel to the GFMD. As there have been three IAMRs in the past, there are already many lessons and experiences that may be shared and duplicated. Resolutions addressing migrant workers' problems were passed in the plenaries and the attention of governments have been called to these. Education and advocacy output from the IAMRs were also being disseminated continuously. Also crucial is a resolution to unite with the local workers in the host countries so they can become familiar with migrant workers' concerns, and thence coordinate on common advocacies.

The GFMD-awareness survey among migrant workers presented some peculiar methodological problems, in terms of concretizing abstract policy concepts and simplifying the academic language used in the Forum's key documents for the migrant workers. This applies especially to its strategic objectives, which are couched in the rarefied jargon of state policy-makers. Given the need to preserve their exact formulation for purposes of accuracy, the objectives were included in the survey in their original phraseology. How this has affected the outcome of the survey cannot now be

substantiated, but this may explain the unanswered fields in the accomplished survey forms from certain regions, such as the Middle East and Oceania.

At any rate, more than half of the migrant respondents (54.7%) have not heard of the GFMD. On one hand, this statistic speaks volumes on the irrelevance of the Forum among most migrants. On the other, it is very revealing of the Forum's misfocus in terms of identifying and addressing the principal stakeholder, such that its efforts to reach out to the migrant sector have been severely deficient. This is in direct contrast to the level of awareness among migrant advocates and service institutions that normally participate in its Civil Society Days (CSD) which, as evidenced by this study's KII responses, rates high both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

Among those who rated the GFMD's objectives on a scale of 1-5 (with the higher number being less favorable), the percentages across regions showed some unevenness. However, most respondents in majority of the regions (or 5 out of the 8) gave a rating of 5 to these objectives, with the exception of Europe, North America and South Asia where 1 and 3 were the prevalent ratings. While the margins between favorable and less favorable ratings were small in the three aforementioned regions, this outcome still amounts to a clear affirmation of GFMD's objectives, since the aggregate number of respondents in these regions comprise the bulk of all survey respondents.

Despite this rather ambivalent result pertaining to the Forum's objectives, the survey responses to other GFMD-related questions are more unequivocal about the need to reform the Forum towards its adoption of a rights-based agenda. Sixty percent (60%) of the total respondents said that the migrant rights protection and promotion should be a principal objective of the GFMD, while only 13.7% said otherwise. One-third of total respondents also believed that the Forum has not been able to achieve this, or what it terms in its mission as "minimizing [migration's] negative impacts." This is most pronounced among Latin American and African respondents, at 93.3% and 80% respectively.

Among those who answered in the negative, the most accepted alternatives still hew along the line of reforming the GFMD through lobbying and advocacy. On the other hand, some regions such as Middle East, Oceania, Latin America and Europe rated all alternatives as "Very Important", including the abolition of the GFMD and participation in other global migration forums that are more rights-oriented.

Clearly, most migrant workers who are familiar with the GFMD and its essential functions are not satisfied with its current state and levels of achievement. They see the need to reorient the Forum to one that is more attuned to the promotion and protection of their rights, with a significant section favoring its total abolition and advocating for participation in alternative venues that see migrants as the principal stakeholders.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The validity of the hypotheses that this impact study has set out to test have been affirmed by the final research results. All three scientific methods used in the study – the KII, the FGD and the survey – show empirically that the “migration and development” line is widely considered to be an untenable paradigm by migrant workers and advocates, and that there is general dissatisfaction and loss of confidence with the GFMD among these major stakeholders.

Considering plans by the GFMD to conduct a self-assessment of its performance thus far, the points raised by the respondents in this study should be factored into future plans for the organization. At present, however, there appears to be no recommendation from among members of the official GFMD for any major change in its policy orientation. The only sign so far that it is beginning somehow to respond to criticism has been its recent commitment to “regionalize” its meetings beginning in 2012, ostensibly to make its recommendations more adoptive of downstream migration realities. But then again, this move might just as well have been prompted by liquidity problems attendant with maintaining highly-centralized annual meetings, which have also come under fire from migrant organizations and advocates for being both expensive and unproductive.

The recommendations on GFMD that are derived from responses in this impact study are the following:

1. Reorient the GFMD towards a rights-based approach, rather than a remittance-based one that is premised on a presumptive “creative nexus between migration and development”.
2. Remove the utilitarian, remittance-focused migration discourse from the GFMD discourse by integrating it fully within the UN system.
3. Shift the stakeholder balance within the GFMD towards one that reflects the paramount interest of migrant workers by ensuring the participation of grassroots migrant organizations in the CSD and merging it with the official one.
4. Abolish the GFMD and have the UN deal directly with migrant organizations and advocates at the national, regional and global levels.

APPENDICES

LIST OF KII RESPONDENTS

RAMON BULTRON – has been Managing Director of the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM) since 1998. He has been closely following the GFMD discourse since its inception, and was able to attend its Civil Society Days meeting in Athens, Greece (2009). He has also participated and taken a lead role in the International Assembly of Migrants and Refugees (IAMR), a parallel event organized by the International Migrants' Alliance (IMA) to coincide with the GFMD meetings beginning in Manila.

AMY SIM – is Associate Professor in Sociology at the Hong Kong University (HKU). She has been engaging in migration for years now, and has attended the parallel event in the Mexico GFMD.

HARUN AL-RASCHID – is the Regional Coordinator of the Coordination of Action Research on AIDS and Mobility – Asia (CARAM Asia), and NGO in Special Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. He has attended the GFMD meeting in Athens, Greece (2009).

IRENE FERNANDEZ – is the director and co-founder of the non-governmental organization Tenaganita, which promotes the rights of migrant workers and other oppressed and poor people in Malaysia. She has attended the IAMR1 in the Manila GFMD.

ROBYN RODRIGUEZ – is a faculty member of Asian American Studies at the University of California, Davis (UCD). Prior to this, she was Assistant Professor at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. She has authored a book on migration entitled “Migrants for Export: How the Philippine State Brokers Labor to the World” (University of Minnesota Press, 2010). She also attended the Civil Society Days of the Manila GFMD.

MARUJA ASIS – is the director of research and publications and co-editor of the Asian and Pacific Migration Journal and the Asian Migration News. She has a background in Sociology (BA, 1979) and Demography (MA, 1984) from the University of the Philippines. She holds a PhD in Sociology (1989), with specialization in Population Studies and Social

Change, from Bowling Green State University. She has attended all GFMD Civil Society Days events since Brussels.

KATE LAPPIN – is the Regional Coordinator of the Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD). She has undertaken researches on migration in line with her work in the institution.

PRANOM SOMWONG – is a Program Officer of APWLD, and has attended the GFMD Civil Society Days (CSD) as well as the IAMR2 in Athens. She will also be attending the CSD event in Geneva this November.

DON FLYNN – is Director of the Migrants' Rights Network (MRN). He researched and founded MRN after many years of experience working with migrant community organisations through his previous roles as Policy Officer with the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and as an immigration caseworker in London. He also chairs the UK Race and Equality Network (UKREN) and the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM). He has attended all GFMD CSD meetings since Brussels.

ANTONIO TUJAN JR – is a social activist who has worked on international issues and those relating to the Philippines for forty years. One of the founders of the Philippines-based IBON Foundation thirty years ago, he is the foundation's current International Director. As such, he is active in international networking, and is the Chairman of both the Asia Pacific Research Network, a network of more than fifty major research non-governmental organizations in the Asia Pacific, and of Reality of Aid, a global network on poverty eradication. He is also Chair of the International Steering Group of the Civil Society Parallel Process to the Accra High Level Forum.

GARRY MARTINEZ – is the Chairperson of Migrante International, a Philippines-based grassroots migrant organization that has chapters in most receiving-countries. He has attended IAMR1 (Manila) and IAMR3 (Mexico).

HSIAO-CHUAN HSIA – is Professor at the Shih Hsin University in Taipei, Taiwan, as well as the Director of its Graduate Institute for Social Transformation Studies. She also heads the Organizing Committee of the TransAsia Sisters Association in Taiwan (TASAT), an NGO that conducts organizing and advocacy among marriage migrants in the country. She has attended all IAMR events since the Manila GFMD.

CYNTHIA ABDON-TELLEZ – is General Manager of the Mission for Migrant Workers (MFMW) and member of the Regional Management Committee of APWLD. She has been

conducting organizing, advocacy and networking activities in the Asia Pacific since 1981. She attended the Brussels GFMD and IAMR1 in Manila.

LIST OF FGD PARTICIPANTS

BANENG MENDEZ – Pinatud a Saleng ti Umili, Hong Kong
SRINGATIN – Indonesian Migrant Workers' Union, Hong Kong
ROSSI – PILAR, Hong Kong
ROSELA PIDIG – Abra Tinguian Ilocano Society, Hong Kong
BUTCH PONGOS – MIGRANTE Japan, Japan
CATALINA YAMAT – MIGRANTE Macau, Macau
SHIELA TEBIA – LIKHA Filipino Migrant Cultural Organization, Hong Kong
MALICK SY – CNTS, Senegal
ANISUR KHAN – IMA Research Foundation, Bangladesh
PETER CHUA – NAFCON, USA
RUBI HB DAMA – GSBI, Indonesia
ARID ADITYO – INDIES, Indonesia
GRACE PUNONGBAYAN – MIGRANTE Europe, Netherlands
TEDDY DALISAY – UMANGAT, Italy
JAKE CLEMENCIO – MIGRANTE Switzerland, Switzerland
MIKI GOTO – Filipino Migrant Centre, Japan
JANG CHANGWEDON – Asia Pacific Workers' Solidarity Link, Korea
INDARTI – Asosiasi Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, Macau
ROSA MARTHA – La Alianza de Ex-Braceros del Norte 1942-64, Mexico

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN THE SURVEY

Region and Country	Migrant Population [WB, 2010]	Number of Respondents
Total [8 regions, 28 countries]	118,933,900	1,000
North America	50,015,600	421
Canada	7,202,300	61
USA	42,813,300	360
Latin America	3,600,300	30
Mexico	725,700	6
Ecuador	393,600	3
Honduras	24,300	1
Argentina	1,449,300	12
Venezuela	1,007,400	8
Europe	29,077,700	243
Germany	10,758,100	90
Italy	4,463,400	37
Spain	6,900,500	58
UK	6,955,700	58
Africa	2,879,600	25
Ghana	1,851,800	16
Kenya	817,700	7
Senegal	210,100	2
Middle East	11,887,600	100
Qatar	1,305,400	11
Saudi Arabia	7,288,900	61
United Arab Emirates	3,293,300	28
South Asia	11,700,800	99
Bangladesh	1,085,300	9

continuation of the table

Region and Country	Migrant Population [WB, 2010]	Number of Respondents
India	5,436,000	46
Nepal	945,900	8
Pakistan	4,233,600	36
East-Asia Pacific	3,269,300	27
Indonesia	122,900	1
Japan	2,176,200	18
Philippines	435,400	4
South Korea	534,800	4
Oceania	6,503,000	55
Australia	5,522,400	46
Fiji	18,500	1
New Zealand	962,100	8

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

INSTRUMENT 1

AWARENESS SURVEY ON THE GLOBAL FORUM ON MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT (GFMD) AND ITS IMPACTS ON MIGRANT WORKERS

This survey is being done by the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM) and IBON Foundation, Inc. (IBON) as part of its research project “Gauging the Relevance of the GFMD and Its Line”. The series of questions below mainly aims to determine the level of awareness of migrant workers about the GFMD and draw out their views on its impact and on migration and development in general.

Kindly input your answers on the grey areas indicated per item. For items with choices, please put “x” on the space corresponding your answer.
Thank you very much for your participation!

RESPONDENT’S BACKGROUND

1. What is your nationality?
2. What is your occupation?
3. In which country are you currently in as a migrant worker?
4. How many years have you been a migrant worker in this country?

Yes	No
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5. Have you worked as a migrant worker elsewhere?
 - 5.1. If “Yes”, what was your occupation, in which country/countries and what years in each?

Occupation	
Country	
No. of Years	
Age:	18-21 22-35 36-56 57 or older
Gender:	Male Female

Date of accomplishment:

ON THE GFMD, AND MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Have you heard about the Global Forum on Migration and Development or GFMD?

Yes No

[If the answer is "Yes", proceed to question no. 2;

If the answer is "No", skip question no. 2 and proceed to no. 3.]

2. How have you heard about the GFMD? [Please mark all that apply.]

Media (newspaper/publication, television, radio)

Peer migrant worker/s and/or friends

Employer/s

The government of home country [including the country's embassy in the host country]

The government of host country

Migrant workers' organizations

Other/s, please specify:

3. The GFMD is an informal, non-binding and voluntary process participated by national governments, international institutions and non-governmental organizations that generally aims to address the connections between migration and development and the different impacts of these connections on the national and international scale. In your opinion, is each of the following main objectives of the GFMD beneficial to you or your condition as a migrant worker?

[Please answer with 1 to 5, with 1 as Very Beneficial and 5 as Not Beneficial At All.]

GFMD's Objectives	1	2	3	4	5	Don't Know
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To provide a venue for policy-makers and implementors of policies to informally discuss relevant policies and practical challenges and opportunities of the migration-development connection, and engage with others involved in migration and development discussions, including non-governmental organizations, experts and migrant organizations, to come up with practical and action-oriented outcomes at national, bilateral and international level;

To exchange good practices and experiences, which can be used in other circumstances, in order to maximize the development benefits of migration and migration flows;

To identify information, policy and institutional problems needed to improve cooperation and policy coherence at national, regional and international levels between migration and development policies;

To establish partnerships and cooperation between countries, and between countries and others involved, such as international organizations, migrants, academia etc., on migration and development;

To identify the international priorities and agenda on migration and development.

4. Have you heard about the so-called connection between migration and development and that overseas remittances help drive the economy in the migrant workers' home country?

Yes No

[If the answer is "Yes", proceed to question nos. 5 and 6;

If the answer is "No", skip question nos. 5 and 6 and proceed to no. 7.]

5. Do you agree with using overseas remittances in the economic development of the migrant workers' home country?

Yes No Don't Know

6. With the current global economic crisis, do you think using overseas remittances for economic development will result in long-term benefits for the migrant workers' home country?

Yes No Don't Know

7. In your opinion, should the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of migrant workers be one of the main objectives of the GFMD?

Yes No Don't Know

8. Do you think that the GFMD to date is being able to promote and protect the rights and welfare of migrant workers?

Yes Yes, but not enough No Don't Know

[If the answer is "Yes" or "Don't Know", the survey ends here;

If the answer is "Yes, but not enough" or "No", proceed to question no. 9.]

9. Do you think the GFMD would include the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of migrant workers as one of its main objectives?

Yes No Don't Know

[If the answer is "Yes", proceed to question no. 10 and skip question no. 11;

If the answer is "No", skip question no. 10 and proceed to no. 11;

If the answer is "Don't Know", the survey ends here.]

10. How do you think can the GFMD further promote and protect the rights and welfare of migrant workers? [Please mark all that apply.]

Create venues to meet with migrant workers' organizations with wide and varied membership

Push for policy changes in host countries for migrant workers to enjoy the same rights as local workers

Push for policy changes in home countries of migrant workers to still prioritize local generation of decent employment over labor export

Open more venues to involve other sectors, such as labor organizations, both in the home and host countries, in exchanging practices and experiences

Other/s, please specify: _____

11. What are the alternatives then for the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of migrant workers? [Please mark all that apply.]

Lobby with the GFMD that the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of migrant workers be included as one of its main objectives

Lobby with the government of the migrant workers' host country to recognize equal rights and welfare as those with its local workers

Lobby with the government of the migrant workers' home country to assert for their rights and welfare to be recognized in the host country through bilateral agreements if the GFMD would not be an effective venue for such assertion

Lobby with the government of the migrant workers' home country to prioritize the local generation of decent employment over labor export

Coordinate, participate and/or join with other international organization/s that sincerely address/es the migrant workers' rights and welfare

Abolish the GFMD as it espouses an unsustainable development model and does not put the migrant workers' welfare upfront among its main concerns

Other/s, please specify:

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INSTRUMENT 2

GAUGING THE IMPACT OF THE GLOBAL FORUM ON MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT (GFMD) AND ITS LINE

Questions. Please type your answers in the textbox provided after each item. Thank you very much!

1. How has the GFMD fared in concretizing its avowed mission of seeking ways “to maximize migration’s developmental benefits while minimizing its negative impacts”?
2. Do GFMD’s operating modalities respond adequately to the interests of major stakeholders in global labor migration? Please explain how if the answer is “Yes” or how they don’t if the answer is “No”.
3. Is there really a creative nexus between migration and development? Can remittance-driven economic programs really have long-term benefits, especially under the current global crisis?
4. What should be the role of migrant organizations and advocates in global stakeholder dialogues on labor migration such as the GFMD?
5. Are there viable alternatives to GFMD? If so, what are these?

INSTRUMENT 3

GAUGING THE IMPACT OF THE GLOBAL FORUM ON MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT (GFMD) AND ITS LINE

Questions. Please type your answers in the textbox provided after each item. Thank you very much!

1. How has the GFMD fared in concretizing its avowed mission of seeking ways “to maximize migration’s developmental benefits while minimizing its negative impacts”?
2. Do GFMD’s operating modalities respond adequately to the interests of major stakeholders in global labor migration? Please explain how if the answer is “Yes” or how they don’t if the answer is “No”.
3. Is there really a creative nexus between migration and development? Can remittance-driven economic programs really have long-term benefits, especially under the current global crisis?
4. What should be the role of migrant organizations and advocates in global stakeholder dialogues on labor migration such as the GFMD?
5. What do you think are the prospects and ways forward for the GFMD?

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ABOUT THE APMM

The Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM) is a regional migrant center committed to support the migrants' movement through advocacy, organizing and building linkages for the advancement of migrants' rights.

Established in 1984, the APMM continues to work towards helping build a strong movement of migrants of different nationalities in Asia Pacific and the Middle East (APME). We envision this as organized into a strong migrant movement, actively defending their rights, advancing solidarity with people's movements in the countries where they are working and linking up with their peoples' movements in their home countries.

To do its mission and achieve its vision, the APMM conducts advocacy, education, research, organizing, welfare and linking work. These are expressed in the various thematic programs of the APMM that include Marriage Migrants, Migrants Trade Union, Undocumented Migrants, Domestic Work as Work, Development and Forced Migration and the Faith Communities Witnessing With Migrants. APMM also receives interns and volunteers to augment its personnel and promote the cause of migrant workers in the region.



ABOUT THE BOOK

Has the Global Forum on Migration and Development been effective in its avowed mission? Has it been responsive to the concerns being raised by the migrant sector as principal stakeholder? These are the questions that this study wants to answer.

From the onset, the scope of the research and the limitations in terms of time and resources have been problems that presented huge challenges to the researchers. The need to gather evidence from among a wide range of respondents (migrant workers, organizers, activists, service-institution advocates, academics and even government officials) by using three types of data-gathering methods – key informant interviews, focus-group discussion and surveys – compelled the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM) to reach out globally and tap into its network, no matter how tenuous the connection.

The significance of the findings and recommendation in this study are points that may be used by all migration stakeholders towards finding more effective ways to advance the sectoral interest of migrant workers, and towards addressing the roots of forced migration as a global phenomenon.