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Migration and Social Protection: A Concept Paper

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C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

While social protection as an agenda for reducing vulnerability and risk of low-income households with regard to basic consumption and services has become an important part of development discourse at both national and international levels, there is little literature linking migration to social protection frameworks or policies. The social protection agenda is an evolving one, typically focusing on vulnerable and poor groups, differentiated according to age, health status and their relationship to the formal urban labour market. This paper attempts to locate 'migration' within a social protection framework both theoretically and empirically. We add to the dominant theoretical discourse around social protection by introducing a 'transformative' element. We unravel the links between social protection and migration by exploring migration-specific vulnerabilities. Social protection concerns can emerge at all stages of a migration process as different vulnerabilities characterise the 'deciding migrant', the 'mobile migrant', the 'arrived migrant', the 'returned migrant' and the migrant's family that may remain at home. While the need to manage risk and secure livelihoods can be the main driver of migration decisions, a derived demand for various forms of social protection, state and non-state, may also arise from the migration process. This paper makes a distinction between migration as a social protection strategy and migration as leading to vulnerabilities that require specific social protection instruments. The empirical literature on migration and social protection is reviewed in the second part of the paper with the aim of providing a foundation from which to build future work.

PART I: LOCATING MIGRATION IN A SOCIAL PROTECTION FRAMEWORK

Evaluating the Social Protection Agenda

The popularity of the term 'social protection' is evidenced in the recent plethora of literature and policy debate on the subject. This has variously focused on analysing the conceptual underpinnings of social protection, the key issues that the concept throws up for policy making, the range of measures subsumed under the concept and the implications all this has for state involvement in the provision of social protection. This paper does not provide a comprehensive review of this literature; for this the authors refer the reader to the vast range of literature covering these debates (Conway and Norton 2002; Devereux 2001; Holzmann and Jørgensen 2000, Kabeer N., 2002). Rather, our aim is to use a 'migration' lens to build on existing frameworks to conceptualise social protection.

Social protection is an agenda primarily for reducing vulnerability and managing the risk of low-income individuals, households and communities with regard to basic consumption and social services. However, it remains a confusing term mainly due to the range of existing definitions and the variety of ways it is interpreted by policy-makers implementing social protection programmes. Box 1 provides a range of definitions currently used by different agencies. To confound matters further, within the range of definitions of social protection, vulnerability is conceptualised in different ways. At times vulnerability is limited to 'economic vulnerability'. For instance, in the World Bank definition, vulnerability is seen in terms of risk in relation to income and consumption instability. The ILO tends to define social protection in terms of living standards and human rights. Other agencies focus on health and physical vulnerabilities in relation to adequate consumption (IADB). The ODI definition emphasizes normative and contextually specific notions of vulnerability and focuses explicitly on the poorer individuals and groups in society. The focus of any one agency or actor depends on a variety of factors related to the mandate of the agency, the position of the agency in relation to other actors and the path-dependent way in which social protection discourse has emerged in that agency.

BOX 1
Definitions of Social Protection

ILO

- Definition: *The provision of benefits to households and individuals through public or collective arrangements to protect against low or declining living standards*
- Conceptual emphasis mainly in terms of insurance and extension of provision to those in the informal sector.

World Bank

- Definition: *Public measures intended to assist individuals, households and communities in managing income risks in order to reduce vulnerability and downward fluctuations in incomes, improve consumption smoothing and enhancing equity*
- Conceptual emphasis on risk management which frames social protection as both safety net, and spring board through human capital development.

IADB

- Definition: *Social protection refers to the set of public policies directed towards lessening the impact of adverse shocks on consumption over time*
- Conceptual emphasis: People are vulnerable to risk without social protection; deleterious effect of the lack of social protection on human and physical capital.

ODI

- Definition: *Social protection refers to the public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society*
- Conceptual emphasis: contextually specific understanding of vulnerability and deprivation. Social protection is targeted at the poorest and most vulnerable.

When these various definitions are translated into policy and actions, a common range of public programs of assistance, insurance and benefits emerge. These include:

- ***Social insurance:*** *Combines a large number of similarly exposed individuals or households into a common fund, thus eliminating the risk of loss to individuals or households in isolation.* Formalised programmes such as pensions, health insurance, maternity benefit and unemployment benefits are financed by contributions that are either earnings related or collected through payroll taxes. Non-state (or informal) mechanisms, such as savings clubs and funeral societies also function on the same principles.
- ***Social assistance:*** *All forms of public action which are designed to transfer resources to groups deemed eligible due to deprivation.* Formal programmes are usually financed from tax revenues and include targeted resource transfers – disability benefit, single-parent allowances, and 'social pensions' for the elderly poor that are financed publicly. Non-state provision may be in the form of extended family support, religious support, or borrowing from friends.

It is widely agreed that while social insurance and social assistance are clearly elements of social protection in practice, most agencies view social protection as more than just this traditional package of social security. However, there is lack of consensus on what else 'social protection' includes. Some stakeholders see social protection narrowly, essentially as a new label for old-style social welfare provided to conventionally defined 'vulnerable groups' (e.g. people with disabilities, widows, orphans). Others adopt a very broad approach to social protection, including even universal primary education, microcredit and job creation programmes, as well as safety nets and social services for groups that may be vulnerable to shocks, but are not usually regarded as among the poorest strata of society. Still others conceptualise social protection so broadly as to include the majority of development activities. Crucially though, the majority of agencies take an instrumentalist approach to social protection policies, seeing it as a collection of measures to manage risk and thus improve or protect livelihoods.

Rather than focusing on changing the source of risk itself, current conceptions of social protection are about managing the risk as an exogenously given factor so that one or more vulnerability (economic, physical, consumption) can be alleviated. While this is certainly an important focus, especially when one thinks of natural disasters and other shocks that could be argued to be exogenously determined, there is little discussion on the endogeneity or socio-political construction of most shocks and risks. Thus, a different way of conceptualising vulnerability is to focus on the construction of the source of vulnerability, rather than vulnerabilities reflected in group or individual characteristics, and to

deconstruct the source, so that long-term radical solutions can be found. To elucidate this point, imagine a space or context constructed to allow maximum ease of use for people who are blind. It is very likely that people who are not blind would have difficulties navigating and living in that space. The point is that the construction of that space determines the relative vulnerabilities of individuals and groups.

Focusing on the vulnerabilities of individuals or groups *in any given space or at any given moment* to enable them to better access and make use of that space is certainly important in the short run. This type of analysis dominates the social protection agenda and is reflected in the range of policy instruments suggested, such as reception centres for orphans; shelters for domestically abused women; disability aids for farmers living with disabilities; food grain warehouses and various social assistance programmes. However, if we re-focus our attention to include also the second conceptualisation of vulnerability as presented above, space, context and time no longer bind, but instead become the crucial point of our understanding of constructions of vulnerability. The question no longer becomes how do we design a policy so that various groups face less risk in given spaces, but, how did this space, or context, emerge? Whose interests were served in the creation of the space and whose interests are served in maintaining status quo? A focus on space and time necessarily leads to contextual socio-political analyses of vulnerability. This way of looking at vulnerability is particularly relevant to the process of migration which links temporal, spatial and socio-political vulnerabilities.

In line with the forthcoming work by Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004), we claim that the dominant policy agenda around social protection is almost exclusively concerned with measures and programmes that stabilise expectations of risk without affecting fundamental causes of vulnerability that are embedded in social and political relations at all levels. While we certainly recognise the importance of social assistance, insurance and emergency responses in the face of various shocks, we add the 'transformative' element to the current discourse around social protection. This additional 'transformative' element of social protection is overlooked in both the social risk management framework of the World Bank and the ILO framework (which is based on Guhan's work, 1994). 'Transformative' here refers to the need to pursue policies that relate to power imbalances in society that encourage, create and sustain vulnerabilities over time and space. The term 'transformative' also enables us to move away from viewing social protection as merely a form of dependent security towards a rights-based approach where security becomes a process of gaining rights through negotiation of the social contract. For instance, support of trade unions may enable socially marginalised groups to claim rights to livelihood enhancing assets; sensitisation and awareness raising

campaigns to transform public attitudes and behaviour; and changes to the regulatory framework that protect vulnerable or minority groups against discrimination and abuse. This transformative element is particularly pertinent for the study of migrants who often find themselves in destinations where their rights are ill-defined and the process by which claims on states and public institutions are not transparent or even accessible.

Defining Social Protection

This paper distinguishes between the following elements of social protection[1]:

- *Promotive* measures, which 'aim to improve real incomes and capabilities'. These may include macroeconomic, sectoral and institutional measures relevant to poverty reduction, such as improving primary education, reducing communicable diseases and facilitating access to land or sanitation.

- *Transformative* measures, which aim to alter the bargaining power of various individuals and groups within society such that social equity concerns are addressed, and people are protected against social risks such as discrimination or abuse. A 'transformative' view extends social protection to arenas of equity, empowerment and 'social rights', rather than confining the definition to targeted income and consumption transfers or insurance mechanisms.

- *Preventative* measures aim to 'avert deprivation in specific ways'. These typically refer to both state and non-state social insurance provision.

- *Protective* measures are even more specific in their objective of 'guaranteeing relief from deprivation', which are narrowly targeted safety net measures aiming to provide relief from poverty and deprivation to the extent that promotional and preventative approaches have failed to do (Kabeer 2002: 595).

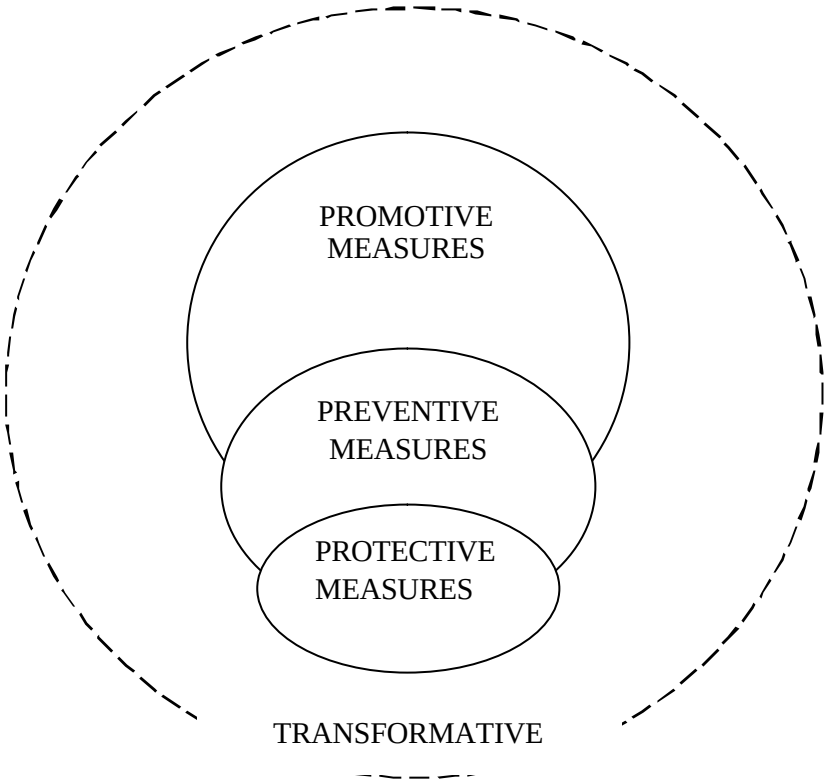
These may be overlapping categories in that measures can simultaneously 'promote' as well as 'prevent.' Promotive, preventive and protective measures can be thought of as a gradation of

[1] While this paper relies largely on Guhan's conceptualisation of the basic elements of social protection we draw on the recent work of Devereux, Ntale and Sabates-Wheeler (2002) that extends this framework.

measures, which proceed from a wider domain of application to increasingly more specific ones (see Figure 1). Thus there is an outer circle of promotional measures, which would include macro-economic, sectoral and institutional measures. Preventive measures, which make up the middle circle, are made up of direct measures for averting deprivation. Finally, the inner circle of protective measures consists of narrowly targeted safety net measures in the conventional sense, which aim to provide relief from poverty and deprivation to the extent that promotional and preventive approaches have failed. Transformative measures can interact with, or be a part of, all other measures, though the dotted line indicates that this is not typically the case.

Norton, Conway and Foster (2002) express concern with including promotive measures within a social protection agenda as this element broadens the agenda too much, at times leaving it indistinguishable from areas of general development policy. While we would agree that promotive measures can unmanageably broaden the agenda, we would argue that promotive policies overlap and interact substantially with other policies, making it conceptually problematic to remove this element from the social protection framework. We suggest that the way this agenda can become operationally manageable is by defining specific sections in society as focal points for social protection intervention, or/and by focusing on one or two elements within the framework. A further benefit to retaining a promotive element is that it encourages and affords donors, NGOs, governments and informal systems (such as the extended family or burial societies) an exit strategy in the longer-run.

Figure 1
Conceptualising Approaches to Poverty and Vulnerability



The above conceptualisation is intended to draw attention to the need for multiple approaches to social protection in countries where poverty and vulnerability are both widespread and highly differentiated. As Kabeer (2002) points out, it also corresponds to the needs of different vulnerable groups within the population: those whose livelihoods are too precarious to guarantee basic survival needs and who need straightforward assistance; those who are able to meet their basic needs but need greater security of livelihoods; and those who would benefit from an improvement in the overall structure of opportunity. Furthermore, it corresponds to the needs of the socially excluded, the marginalised and 'voiceless.'

With these four elements of social protection in mind – promotive, transformative, preventive, and protective -- the definition of social protection that we appropriate for this paper is:

> Social protection describes all public and private initiatives that provide income or consumption transfers to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised; with the overall objective of reducing the economic and

> social vulnerability of poor, vulnerable and marginalised groups (Devereux, Ntale and Sabates-Wheeler, 2002[2])

According to this definition three general groups are identified: the poor, the vulnerable and the marginalised. Suitable measures for providing transfers to the poor include a range of social assistance and social services (protective). Measures to protect the asset-constrained vulnerable against livelihood risks may include formal social insurance and safety nets to the vulnerable (preventive). Measures to enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised may include social equity and economic, social and cultural rights to the marginalised (transformative). It may include sensitization campaigns and behavioral change, and these are likely to have more long-term and promotional outcomes in so far as they are empowering. Of course, 'the poor', 'the vulnerable' and 'the marginalised' are not always exclusive categories -- poverty can exacerbate vulnerability as can marginalisation. The reason we distinguish between these three groups is to highlight the fact that they do not necessarily include the same groups of people and appropriate initiatives need to be designed for the different groups.

While it could be argued that this definition remains broad in scope, it holds out some advantages over other definitions. First, it focuses on poor and marginalised individuals and groups in the population. Like the ODI definition (see box 1) this definition requires a normative judgement on what constitutes 'poor', 'vulnerable' (usually defined in terms of their asset base) and 'marginalised.' That is, it does not include pension and insurance programmes of wealthier segments of the population. Neither does it include all pregnant women as a category in need of social protection. Also, it supports universal targeting as an appropriate form of social protection. Furthermore, the definition brings in a transformative element that has been largely overlooked in the literature. We now move on to think about migration and vulnerabilities related to migration within this social protection framework.

Conceptualising Migration within a Social Protection Framework

Social Protection and the Migration Process

There exists a broad and rich literature on risk and vulnerability informed by a range of disciplines. Quantitative, economic approaches view risk from the perspective of the individual actor and risk is described in terms of probability and scale. Longitudinal or panel data is increasingly becoming the medium by which to explore vulnerability. Ethnographic and participatory understandings of vulnerability

[2] '[Asset-constrained]' addition to the original text.

focus more on the realities of poor people and their families and the effects that risk has on livelihoods (see, for instance, Moser 1996; Scoones 1998). At the policy level risk and vulnerability are frequently discussed in terms of shocks and hazards. A shock can be viewed as a deviation from the longer run path of some phenomenon. This means a shock is of limited duration, not a permanent or long-run shift. Shocks can be idiosyncratic (impacting on only certain individuals or households, such as unemployment or death of a breadwinner), or covariant (impacting a whole community or region, such as a flood or price change). Furthermore, shocks can be recurrent or cyclical (floods, droughts), long-term (civil war) or one-off (financial crises). The magnitude of shocks, whether they are minor or catastrophic, is also a crucial factor in determining the extent of vulnerability and risk that an individual or group is exposed to. Vulnerability measures the resilience against a shock, that is, the likelihood that a shock will result in a decline in well-being. Therefore, vulnerability is primarily a function of individual, household and community asset endowment, insurance mechanisms, and the characteristics (severity and frequency) of shocks.

Within the migration literature vulnerability and risk are key concepts in explaining migration from the point of view of the 'migrant at origin', 'migrant in transit', the 'migrant at destination' and the 'migrant's family at source' location. They are important concepts because the everyday realities of many migrants, especially those migrating illegally, reflect a wide range of vulnerabilities and risks. Furthermore, vulnerability and insecurity have implications for downward spirals into poverty. In an analysis of 27 studies from developed and developing countries, Yaqub finds that economic insecurity, understood as the exposure to transitory fluctuations in income, is one of three key factors explaining downward mobility among households (Yaqub 2002). Similarly, in a review of literature on vulnerability, Dercon asserts that 'persistence in poverty is caused by the presence of risk and its consequences' (Dercon 2001: 11). It is clear then that from the perspective of planning for protecting migrants' rights and poverty reduction, there is a strong need for implementing social protection policies to protect the migrants against the adverse economic and social consequences of their vulnerability.

In keeping with much of the literature on vulnerability, the above discussion has drawn attention to resilience against a shock being a function of resources and the nature of shocks. Policy analyses of vulnerability are typically presented in a livelihoods framework emphasizing the various assets that are affected by risks (human, physical, natural, social, financial). This is useful for thinking about policy responses and for classifying various formal and informal social protection mechanisms (see the social risk management framework of the World Bank presented by Holzmann and Jorgenson 2000; World Bank 2000).

Locating migration within the social protection literature is interesting as it can be conceptualized in a variety of ways depending upon the unit of analysis. In section one we explored vulnerability from two angles. Conceptualizing vulnerability as a characteristic of the migrant individual or group can help us focus on the migrant's access to social protection during and after the migration process.[3] We can also think about the changing social protection needs of the migrant's family that may remain in the origin location. Alternatively we can think about the fundamental causes of vulnerability that affect migrants and families of migrants. For purposes of this paper we highlight four categories of vulnerabilities that migrants are especially prone to: temporal, spatial, socio-cultural and socio-political. These ways of linking migration and social protection can be explored within the framework provided in the previous section. The rest of this paper is largely dedicated to exploring these linkages, that is, as evaluation of formal and informal social protection mechanisms available to migrants and their families in source and destination areas.

Temporal determinants of vulnerability factor largely in migrants' lives. In a static sense the migrant faces different vulnerabilities associated with different points in the migration process (migrants in transit, migrants at destination, and the migrant's family at source). In a dynamic sense the temporal vulnerabilities of a migrant and the family of the migrant at the source are nuanced by the length of migration (temporary, seasonal, long-term, daily, temporary, lifetime). We have not elaborated on this second dimension of temporal vulnerability here (see Kothari 2002 for a typology of migration time-spans). Intergenerational vulnerability is another type of temporal vulnerability (for instance, see Zohry 2002 for Egypt). Table 1 below illustrates how spatial, socio-political and socio-cultural determinants of vulnerability interact with temporal determinants of vulnerability for migrants.

A major factor causing vulnerability for migrants is spatial dislocation associated with mobility. In transit, migrants may be 'remote' in terms of geography and in terms of access to basic services such as health and education. A large number of undocumented migrants are vulnerable to health problems because of inhospitable terrain on transit and isolation. They are also vulnerable to exploitation and poverty due to their spatial dis-location from economic and social opportunities.

[3] Here 'migrant' can refer to the individual or the migrant family.

TABLE 1
Migration-Specific Vulnerabilities by Determinant of Vulnerability

Determinants of Vulnerability	TEMPORAL: Stages of the Migration Process
SPATIAL/ ENVIRONMENTAL	Transit: Environmental hazards: especially in the case of undocumented migrants. Risks associated with dangerous climate/geography/remoteness from points of help; health risks (HIV/AIDS). Destination: Re-location constraints: unfamiliar with surroundings (especially international migrants); problems in acquiring adequate housing. For undocumented migrants: constant need to remain hidden and 'unidentified', leads to exclusion from livelihood promoting possibilities. Hazards associated with work environment; dirty, dangerous, demeaning work. Health risks. 'Ghettoisation' of immigrant communities (eg, urban informal settlements). Family at Source: Remoteness from main income earner. Possible decline into poverty over the longer term if remittances are not forthcoming.
SOCIO-POLITICAL	Transit: Exploitation; lack of legal representation (illegal); lack of legal protection. Destination: Lack of representation (illegal); lack of rights to formal institutions due to restrictive legislation; lack of access based on discrimination; exploitation; more prone to injustices; discrimination and disadvantage of some groups to education, social services and economic opportunities; unequal distribution of resources; denied participation in political life; lack of rights due to illegal status. Family at source:
SOCIO-CULTURAL	Transit: Social exclusion based on ethnicity or illegal status; cultural devaluation disadvantage (Kabeer 2000:6); isolation; marginalization; exclusion from participation in social life. Exclusion of certain groups more than others (women, men; children, elderly..); harassment. Destination: (as above); language and cultural barriers, especially in the case of international migration. Family at source: Children may drop out of school in response to the drop in family labor; the elderly may not obtain as much care; burden on family members' time at source is likely to increase.

This latter point also holds for many migrants in destination, especially undocumented migrants. Spatial dis-location and the remoteness of transit migrations in particular, makes it very difficult for the government to provide formal social protection schemes. It is more often the case that migrants use informal social protection mechanisms to help manage risk during transit. Many migrants rely on

informal social protection mechanisms, such as migrant networks, to enable them to better manage the spatial dislocation from source to destination. Spatial vulnerability also interacts with vulnerabilities related to environmental hazards.

Socio-political determinants of vulnerability refer to the institutional constraints facing migrants and typically reflect the lack of political commitment from the destination government/society to the migrant. This type of vulnerability is especially pronounced for undocumented migrants who, by definition, are excluded from participation in political life, from access to legal institutions, as also social and economic benefits. The exclusionary processes resulting from this determinant of vulnerability often causes the illegal migrant to become further marginalized over time, prone to exploitation and discrimination leading to a spiral into poverty. Furthermore, governments may actively discourage legalization of certain categories of migrants so that the economy is able to benefit from access to cheap (exploited) labour.

Socio-cultural determinants of vulnerability for migrants reflect differences in the norms, values and customs which constitute local constructions of the 'migrant'. These constructions are often interwoven with culturally-held notions of race, gender and illegality which can constrain the nature of migrants' participation in labour markets (obviously depending on different categories of migrants and demographic characteristics). That is, social constraints may militate against their taking up certain occupations. This is likely to hamper migrants' search for employment, especially in situations of recession and unemployment. These socio-cultural constraints can lead migrants to be relatively excluded from access to public goods, such as health and education, and from civic engagement.

Clearly at any point in the migration process a migrant may (or may not) be affected by one or more vulnerabilities. Furthermore, the vulnerabilities may reinforce each other. All these features of poverty and vulnerability point to substantial unmet needs for social protection, and at the same time pose significant challenges to the effective provision of both formal and informal social protection to vulnerable migrants. The advantage of analysing vulnerability by focusing on determinants of vulnerability in addition to factors that enable the management of risk (the dominant perspective) is that policy solutions can include a structural, long-term perspective rather than just a remedial perspective. Below we link social protection, migration and vulnerability within the context of the social protection framework presented earlier in the paper.

A useful way to think about social protection mechanisms for migrants is presented in Table 2 below. This matrix uses concepts discussed above and indicates a possible range of state and non-state/informal social protection mechanisms for migrants by type of strategy (promotive, transformative, preventive and protective). This is not an exhaustive list. The matrix is meant as a tool for framing future work on social protection for migrants within the DRC.

TABLE 2
Social Protection Instruments for Migrants by Strategy and Provider

Provider Strategy	Formal (state and market)	Informal (non-state/non-market)
Promotive	- Labor market policies - Social services for migrants - Housing benefits, travel benefits - Local development schemes in migration source areas seeking to reduce distress out-migration	- Migration - gifts from friends - development programmes funded by religious organizations.
Transformative	- Legislation for migrants - Public awareness campaigns - Union action - International conventions protecting migrants abroad - Bi-lateral agreements between labour sending and labour receiving countries - Regulatory framework on employment established by source country government for their nationals abroad - Sensitization of migrants on hazards associated with migration, such as HIV/AIDS, trafficking and illegal migration - Capacity-building for returnee migrants and areas prone to distress migration	- Cooperative/group action - Campaigning and sensitization by migrant associations in destination areas
Preventive	- Government inducements for legal migration in destination location - Insurance for international migrants in destination countries provided by sending country states - Insurance initiatives for international returnee migrants in countries of origin	- Migration - Diversify household strategy by only sending one or two migrants - Keep land and property in origin as fall-back position - Migration only to locations with existing networks - Community-based organizations helping migrants by providing funds for organizing marriages and scholarships for instance - Friend and families of migrants provide loans to finance migration and medical expenses in destination areas - Employers/recruiters of migrant labour provide loans for medical care and cash advances on wages for food

Protective	- Subsidies - Housing benefits - Handouts - Legal aid - Counseling for international migrants in destination areas as well as for returnee migrants - Shelter for vulnerable international migrants	- Migration - Help from friends and migrant networks - Family, friends and members of the same community help migrants in destination areas in finding housing and work - Employers/recruiters of migrant labour offer patronage in the form of housing, food, work security - Friends and family in source areas help migrants by providing financial assistance - Support of community based organizations and migrant associations in destination areas

Migration as Social Protection

Until now we have utilized two conceptualizations of vulnerability: one characterizing an individual or group, and the other emphasizing the source of vulnerability. A third way of linking migration to social protection is to see the action of migration itself as an informal social protection mechanism for people/families that are vulnerable in their destination, or alternatively seek risk reduction by migrating. Within this conceptualization migration as social protection overlaps substantially with the literature on coping strategies, such that migration becomes a coping strategy within a portfolio of livelihood choices. This is not an unambiguous relationship, as will be discussed below.

Holzmann and Jorgensen point out that migration as an informal coping strategy may be conceptualized as a means of reducing the probability of shocks before they happen, or an informal means of coping with shocks once they have occurred (particularly in the cases of seasonal or temporary migration) (2000, cited in World Bank 2001: 141). Given both, the generation of income and the transfer of income through remittances associated with migration, it can be argued that migration acts as a private or informal social protection strategy, usually at the individual or household level, that primarily provides income transfers to disadvantaged households.

We can think of migration as social protection as fulfilling promotive, preventive and protective elements of social protection. Some individuals may migrate in order to improve their life chances or incomes. This would be a promotive strategy. Others use migration as an insurance or risk diversification strategy (preventive). That is, a family strategy may be to send one or more of its members abroad or from a rural to an urban setting, but the whole family will only move once the migrants have secure livelihoods. By diversifying their activities the family reduces vulnerability through both income diversification (agricultural and non-agricultural for instance) and informal insurance (retaining a

livelihood at origin represents a fall back position for the migrants in case they are unsuccessful in the destination location).

Migration can also be used as a protective strategy, essentially a safety net for very vulnerable/poor households. 'Migration as a last resort' or as a response to a severe shock presents a dilemma for the theory of social protection, one which the 'risk coping' category of the World Bank's Social Risk Management Framework has failed to address.[4] The dilemma hinges on the distinction between migration as a forced reaction to shock or severe vulnerability and migration as a voluntary social protection choice. In the former one can think of migration as a reaction to flooding or severe poverty, for instance the seasonal flooding that occurs in, say, Bangladesh. As the migration represents a reaction to negative conditions it cannot at the same time be argued to be part of a strategy (which requires at least a little forward planning). Similarly it is problematic to categorise the movement as a coping strategy as often migrants move from a very bad situation to an even worse one. For these reasons this paper does not consider unplanned forced migration as a social protection strategy, but rather focuses on the social protection needs for this situation. The second case – migration as a choice in the context of extreme shock or vulnerability/poverty – clearly falls within the previous definition of social protection.

The distinction between migration as a coping strategy and migration as social protection can be made still clearer by considering the role of remittances in migration. The economics of migration literature provides a framework for understanding how migration may be conceptualized as a social protection strategy. De la Briere et al. (1997) develop two models, using insurance and investment as the two main alternative motivations for migrants to send remittances back to their families:

The first model is premised on an 'insurance contract' between the household and the migrant. The decision for a member or several members of a household to migrate may be motivated by insurance (Rosenzweig 1988) or as a risk diversification strategy in conjunction with local sources of income (Stark 1978; Stark and Lehvari 1982). More specifically, the 'new economics of labour migration', pioneered by Stark (1978) and Stark and Levhari (1982), suggests that migration as a strategy seeks to reduce income risks related to market failures such as absence of affordable insurance coverage and the high cost of credit through high interest rates (Gubert 2002: 269). Underlying this approach is the assumption that 'institutional mechanisms for managing risk are imperfect or absent, giving agricultural households an incentive to self-insure through the geographical dispersion of their members' (ibid.:

268). Migrants therefore play the role of financial intermediaries, substituting imperfect markets by smoothing consumption of their households through transitory income shocks related to local circumstances (ibid.).

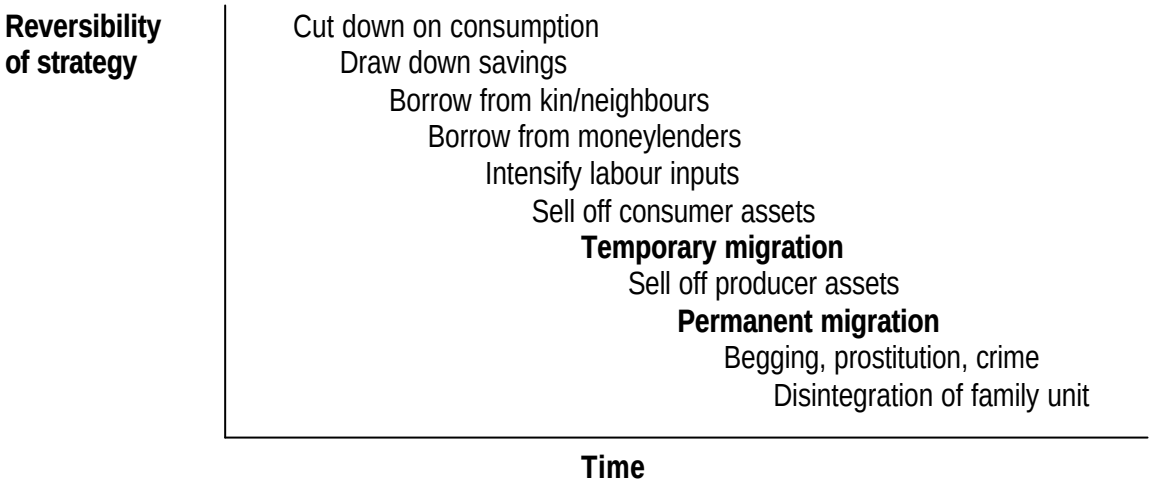
The second model centres on migrants themselves, examining the migrant's motivations for remitting incomes as a trade between the migrant and the household. The migrant remits and contributes to investments in household assets, which will later be inherited by the migrant himself or herself (Hoddinott 1992; Lucas and Stark 1985). It is based on models found in the literature related to bequests in developing countries.

The implication of this first model, based on the migrant household's household as the unit of study, is that migration may be conceptualized as an informal preventive social protection strategy used by migrant households for insurance and risk diversification. The implication of the second model is that migration is a preventative social protection strategy, for investment and inheritance. These models are limited as they focus exclusively on economic vulnerability and economic motivations for migration, and hence imply predominantly economically-motivated social protection. For this reason they are more applicable to a specific type of migration: namely labour migration. Moreover, these models neither examine the vulnerability faced by migrants in destination areas or their households in source areas. Nor do they analyse the non-state social protection strategies used to cope with these vulnerabilities.

Migration may be seen as one informal social protection strategy in a range of strategies adopted by households. Figure 2 below suggests that migration is less reversible than drawing on savings, for instance (taken from Kabeer 2002). Hence it is apparent that those that use migration as a coping strategy are exposed to crisis for longer than those using a range of means which are more reversible. At the same time, according to this gradation, temporary migrants who have migrated as a coping strategy are exposed to crisis for less time than permanent migrants who have migrated as a coping strategy.[5]

[4] Roddy MacKinnon's critique of SRMF (2002).
[5] It is arguable where temporary migration fits into this gradation especially when we consider the full range of temporary migration strategies, from daily, weekly, monthly and for longer periods.

Figure 2
Gradation of Crisis Coping Strategies by Reversibility



Source: Maxwell and Frankenberg 1992 and Lariviere et al. 1999, cited in Kabeer 2002: 594

In the second part of this paper we use the framework discussed above for linking social protection, vulnerability and migration to review relevant literature and empirical evidence. For ease of exposition of the literature we classify the migration process into the following four stages[6]:

1. Vulnerability in source areas that leads to migration being chosen from a portfolio of livelihood strategies
2. Social protection for individual migrants/migrant households in destination areas
3. Social protection for individual migrants/migrant households during the migration journey
4. Social protection of migrant households in source areas when one or more of the household members have migrated

Point 1 above emphasises migration as a social protection strategy while points 2, 3, and 4 focus on social protection for migrants. Part two of the paper is divided into two sections, the first dealing with literature and empirical evidence related to point 1 above, the second with the remaining points.

[6] Of course 'return migrants' are another group or stage we could focus on, however we have chosen not to do so for purposes of this paper.

PART II: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Migration as Social Protection

Vulnerability in Migration Source Areas

In this section we focus on spatial and socio-political vulnerabilities which motivate migrations from source areas, in a sense shaping the motivations of the 'deciding migrant', whereas the next section will examine vulnerability during the migration journey and in destination areas.

De Haan (1999) offers a comprehensive review of what the literature over the past few decades has interpreted as the factors in migration source areas that have motivated migration. He argues that theories aiming to explain the laws of migration have ranged from the conventional Todaro model, based predominately on economic motivations of the migrant individual, to Marxist or structural theories emphasizing politico-economic aspects, to Stark and the 'new economics of migration', emphasizing the importance of migration for spreading risk. More recently, in 'structuration theory' an analysis of migrants' motivations, attitudes and people's understanding of the structures within which they act as well as recursiveness and historical patterns of behaviour' have become important (De Haan 1999: 12). With an increasing emphasis on circular migration, the motives for migration have begun to be seen as part of a 'diversification' strategy in conjunction with agricultural production. Migration is also seen to be motivated by 'the nature of rural society, including patterns of landholding, land rights, and patterns of demand for labour in rural society' (ibid.: 95).

These observations offer valuable insights for this paper. They suggest a move towards a more dynamic view of the migration process and the vulnerabilities associated with migration being used as a livelihood strategy. The concept of migration as a diversification strategy forms a basis for exploring the idea of migration as social protection examined below. In addition to this, the move towards examining issues of rights, social relations and institutions in rural society is associated with the need to deconstruct sources of vulnerability leading to migration, as proposed in the conceptual framework, in order to reach an understanding of how social protection relates to migration.

Empirical evidence suggests that different types of shocks may be linked with vulnerability that leads to migration. Evidence from Egypt, for instance, suggests that broader circumstances in rural areas including high population densities in relation to cultivable land, greater land fragmentation, low wage levels, higher rates of unemployment as well as poorer education and health services, are associated

with permanent rural to urban migrations (Adams 1986, cited in Zohry 2002: 44). This implies that poor economic and social opportunities in the longer-term may increase vulnerability, hence encouraging permanent migrations to areas with better economic opportunities and social services, in this case urban areas. A study in Albania indicated that similar factors that increase vulnerability may also be associated with international longer-term migrations from Albania. In this case a covariant shock had long-term consequences and affected a broad range of aspects of life in the Albanian nation, evident from declining real wages and rising unemployment through the 1990s (King 2003: 25). Evidence from Bangladesh further suggests that longer-term migration may be a result of recurrent shocks from natural disasters such as flooding.

Studies also suggest that migration may be a means used by marginalised groups to remove themselves from situations of disadvantage. For instance, Siddiqui (2003: 3) suggests that a study of short-term migration of women from Bangladesh revealed that the motivations for migration included 'the need to escape unhappy social situations, including bad marriages, harassment, violence and idle husbands [which] made these women a socially disadvantaged group who saw migration primarily as a quest for independence and a means of realizing their self-worth'. Similarly, in a study of migration in Mali, De Haan et al. (2002) found migration was an important means for younger males to gain independence and authority vis-à-vis older members within households. Mosse et al. (2002) found migration was tied to unequal social relations, social status and patterns of borrowing in source araes, in the Bhil tribal villages in India. These latter examples are more closely related to the idea of migration being motivated not only by exogenous factors, such as environmental disasters or wars, but also endogenous factors embedded within source areas.

Sources of vulnerability that lead to migration as a coping strategy therefore arise from different and often overlapping factors. What distinguishes migration as a coping strategy from migration as social protection, however, is clarified by considering the role of remittances in migration. As examined in the conceptual framework, based on the unit of the migrant household, migration on the one hand may be conceptualized as an informal preventive social protection strategy used by migrant households for insurance and risk diversification. On the other hand, migration may also be a preventative social protection strategy used by migrants themselves, for investment and inheritance.

A study on seasonal migrants from the Bhil tribal villages to urban areas in Western India[7] found that household motivation for migration partially depend on the poverty of households. The study found that wealthier household social protection strategies involved individual members of the households undertaking short-term migrations. The earnings from the migrations were used to 'supplement income from agriculture…cope with inter-year fluctuations and the management of large expenses and contributed to agricultural production or the investment in assets' (Mosse et al 2002: 70). This is associated with De la Briere et al.'s (1997) second model of motivations for migration (detailed on page 12, above), which perceives migration as an informal preventative social protection strategy used by households to insure against future risks. There is also overlap with the second model in that earnings from migration are also used for investment in agricultural assets as well as bride-price payments, which ensure the sustainability of the household in the longer term.

Mosse's et al's (2002) study also found that poorer households from the same villages were forced to migrate as 'a defensive coping strategy…[and migration] provided the principal means for servicing high interest subsistence-related debts'. Poorer households often lacked credible credit standing or collateral, consequently paying high interest rates and mortgaging assets in emergencies (ibid.: 69). Urgent cash needs furthermore were sometimes met by advances on migrant labour. This could be interpreted as migration being used as a preventative form of social protection. This form of migration may be more closely related to De la Briere et al.'s first model of motivations for migration. It appears as a form of risk diversification and consumption smoothing, but is complex in that it is one in a range of different preventive social protection strategies used to manage risk in source areas, including informal loans.

An anthropological study of women internal seasonal migrants in Mali similarly found that migration for these women was an investment and insurance strategy to secure assets for their future marriage (De Haan et al. 2002). [8] This migration could be interpreted as a type of insurance or an informal preventive strategy. The incomes earned did not go directly to household expenses, but rather 'by assisting the household in meeting its obligations in terms of marriage expenses…[migration earnings contributed] to

[7] The study is based on fieldwork undertaken between December 1996 and April 1997 and focuses on Bhil tribal villages in the contiguous Western Indian districts of Jhabua (W. Madhya Pradesh), Banswara (S. Rajasthan) and Panchmahal (E. Gujarat). The work involved data gathering from 2588 households in 42 villages which were part of the Western India Rainfed Farming Project. Migration is normally seasonal casual labour to urban centres. The two most common types of migration were young adult male migration and migration of whole families. Most migrants worked in casual, unskilled, low paid work in the building industry (construction) in nearby cities (Mosse et al. 2002: 61).

[8] The study was based on anthropological research in two villages in Mali: Zaradougou and Dalonguebougou. The paper focuses on the migration of unmarried women from the village of Dalonguebougou, of the Bambara ethnic group, who mostly provide waged agricultural labour in the local area (De Haan et al 2002).

the continued success of the reproduction of the household and thus the sustainability of livelihoods which it supported' (De Haan et al 2002: 50).

More nuanced findings from the same study indicated that it was mainly women from middle income groups that would use migration as an informal investment strategy, whereas poorer women migrants' earnings were more likely to contribute directly to household expenditure (De Haan et al 2002). Another study similarly found average remittances from migration were very low in some households, but essential for food security as a way to diversify risks and ensure support in times of harvest (1995, cited in De Haan 1999: 24). An example of a male migrant from Mali illustrated how his income from migration initially helped his household to pay a tax, further migration earnings helped to buy assets for reproduction and later allowed him to buy a wider range of assets to insure against future shocks (De Haan et al 2002: 52).

Research examining male-only labour migration from Lesotho, mostly working as miners in South Africa in the 1970s and 80s, revealed that male migrants were predominantly concerned with spending their earnings on long-term investments that could support their households on retirement. The women in migrant households meanwhile were expected to undertake other economic activity, which could finance day to day living costs (Murray 1981, Ferguson 1992, cited in Francis 2002:182). Ferguson illustrated that men invested in cattle that could later be sold for cash, as a means of controlling household spending. In this way cattle became a type of retirement fund or pension, and hence a future investment, for these migrant households.

Roberts (1997; cited in de Haan 1997) notes that both Mexican international and Chinese internal migrants invest little in agriculture as compared to family reproduction such as improving housing, weddings and dowries (similar studies include Stark and Lucas 1988; Gardner 1993; Glytsos 1993; Wuyts 1997, cited in de Haan 1997: 38). Adams (1991) also finds remittances in Egypt are used for investment. The studies however do not always examine motivations for investment, whether they are economically motivated for future inheritance, for instance, as suggested by De la Briere et al. (1997), altruistic or for other reasons.

Social Protection Mechanisms in Migration Source Areas

Evidence suggests that government and non-government formal initiatives exist seeking to reduce distress migration by generating local opportunities in migration source countries. Table 1 in Annex 1 provides details of such programmes which include the Kimidi Multisectoral Development Society

assisting women affected by out-migration. Similarly, the Philippine Development Plan for Women, the Society for Comprehensive Rural Health and Western India Rain-fed Farming Project are specifically aimed at reducing distress out-migration through local development and employment generation in source areas. Such initiatives may be deemed 'promotive' in that they seek to enhance development more broadly in order to reduce vulnerability associated with distress migration.

These formal initiatives may be situated within a more general approach towards migration from a development perspective, which has been criticized by De Haan. De Haan argues that the few development policies that consider migration aim either to reduce out-migration or reduce emigration (for instance, Ghosh 1992; Bohning and Schloeter-Paredes 1994; Kohli 1997 and Ghatak et al. 1996, cited in De Haan 1999). He argues that views on migration are often 'based on an assumption of sedentarism, that populations used to be immobile and have been uprooted by economic or environmental factors', whereas in reality populations of developing countries have historically been highly mobile (1999: 7). He argues that 'expectations that rural development will decrease migration may be unjustified…though it is likely to change the conditions of migration and the composition of migrants' (1999: 20).

Finally, the literature also indicates that a form of 'transformative' social protection strategies provided by major labour sending countries with regards to international migrants are sensitization campaigns, which seek to sensitize migrants and prospective migrants on hazards related to migration such as HIV/AIDS, trafficking and illegal migration. The extent of this is notable in the Philippines, where sensitization on issues related to migration have been integrated into public school education (Villalba 2002). These strategies target potentially vulnerable groups within the broader group of migrants.

Social Protection and the Migration Process

Social Protection for Migrants during the Migration Journey

There is relatively little literature examining vulnerability related to the migration journey; most literature focuses on issues related to migration in source and destination areas. One reason for this is because of the logistical and political difficulties for states in providing protection for transiting migrants, especially illegal ones. Social protection for migrants in transit may be particularly pertinent for populations travelling using 'illegal' means, such as trafficking. Gazdar argues, for instance, that migrants, especially women who are trafficked into Pakistan, are vulnerable to middlemen, corrupt law enforcement agencies and traffickers (Gazdar 2003: 13). There may also be vulnerabilities associated with travelling over long journeys and over rough terrain to reach countries of destination, associated

with 'spatial' vulnerability. These circumstances may be particularly relevant with regard to the migratory movements of refugees.

In a study examining seasonal circular migration in West Bengal, India, Rogaly et al. (2002) found that migrants risked theft during the migration journey. Given the inadequate formal social protection strategies available to these migrants, Rogaly et al. go on to highlight an interesting case where this initiated alternative informal social protection strategies, through civil society initiatives specifically targeting migrants. Specifically, 'the bus workers in Birbhum District arranged for bus stand security to protect migrants against attack. This was in the interests of the bus workers as a risk to safety meant fewer migrants took their bus route' (Rogaly et al. 2002: 105).

Further evidence from seasonal migrants in West Bengal suggests that travelling in groups, often composed of people from the same or nearby villages who know each other 'provides strength in numbers and some personal security on the journey' (Rogaly et al. 2002: 98). This is especially so for groups of women migrants, who included men in their group during the journey for security reasons. In return women often gave men a share of their *handi* (liquor) provided to the migrants at their destination (ibid. 2002: 98). The particular vulnerability faced by women may be interpreted as being determined by socio-cultural factors, as suggested in the conceptual framework.

Social Protection for Individual Migrants/Migrant Households in Destination Areas

The vulnerability of migrants associated with the destination point in the migration process is evident in the empirical literature. Migrants, especially poorer as well as unskilled or semi-skilled migrants, for instance, may be made more vulnerable in terms of health and security. International short-term and contract migrants from India and Bangladesh furthermore are vulnerable to being cheated by recruiting agencies, change of contracts (Siddiqui 2003: 7), delays or non-deployment of workers, overcharging of placement fees and not receiving their wages in time (Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003: 19). In West Bengal, seasonal migrants' health was found to be at risk due to 'intensity of work, overexposure to harsh working conditions and unhealthy workplaces' (Rogaly et al. 2002: 105). Hossain, Khan and Seeley (2003) found that problems in accommodation, sickness and disease, robbery and physical harassment loom large for seasonal rural to urban migrants in Bangladesh at destination (cited in Asfar 2003: 4).

Work by Lazaridis (1999) shows that illegal Albanian immigrants to Greece face social exclusion that affects them in multiple ways, including in terms of access to housing, health and education services,

as well as a lack of access to social security contributions through employment. In Dhaka, poor migrants living in urban informal settlements were found to be vulnerable to health problems, and to illegal government evictions, which could be violent and caused increased insecurity (Asfar 2003: 4). Female migrants are particularly vulnerable to abuse and harassment (Siddiqui 2003: 7).

Formal Social Protection of International Migrants

This section considers promotional and transformative social protection measures for international migrants in destination countries. The boundaries between promotional and transformative strategies for international migrants are blurred in so far as strategies may encapsulate the entire migrant population in a destination country, making them promotive, while at the same time seeking to empower migrants relative to the national population, making them transformative.

Empirical evidence suggests that international migrants are a special group within the broader category of migrants that face particular vulnerabilities, requiring specific social protection strategies. The determinants of this vulnerability are both 'spatial', in so far as international migrants enter a territory other than their own, as well as 'socio-political', given that within this foreign territory international migrants are not legally protected as nationals or citizens of that state. The following case of illegal Albanian economic immigrants in Greece is intended to illustrate the often conflicting political wills shaping immigration policy in recipient states, the resulting vulnerabilities faced by immigrants associated with illegality and the circumstances under which social protection may be provided by states for international immigrants.

Vulnerability ssociated with illegality: A case study: Perhaps the most significant source of vulnerability for international migrants in destination countries is illegality. This determinant of vulnerability may be termed as 'socio-political', although the consequences are wide-ranging. Socio-political vulnerability associated with illegality is reflected in the case of Albanian immigrants in Greece, although some of the issues cited may also be applicable to illegal immigrants in other parts of the world[9].

The 1991 Greek Immigration Law (1975/1991) was an extremely restrictive law aimed mainly at curbing immigration and consequently creating a large pool of predominantly Albanian immigrants in Greece between 1991 and 1998 following the fall of communism in Albania. It has been argued that Greek national identity has been a strong determining factor shaping the restrictive Greek immigration policy

[9] The following case of Albanian immigrants in Greece draws largely on evidence from Waite, M. (2003) 'Encounters with the Other: the Case of Greece', unpublished MPhil dissertation, Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex in Brighton.

with regard to Albanian immigrants. Greek national identity has also influenced discourses in the Greek press and through this public opinion, leading to wide-ranging exclusion of Albanian immigrants in Greek society. Predominantly political manipulation of Greek national identity has contributed to the construction of Albanian immigrants in Greece as the Greek national 'other' (Waite 2003). Specifically this has been tied with historical antagonisms between Albania and Greece. These are based mainly on the religious antagonism between Islam and Christian Orthodoxy, the political antagonism between communism and capitalism, and territorial factors connected with a disputed territory in Southern Albania where a Greek minority resides and has for years been the focus of the neighbouring Greek state's irredentism.

The illegality of Albanian immigrants in Greece has been a significant contributing factor to their vulnerability. Illegality makes Albanians comparatively more vulnerable than other immigrant groups to being arrested by the police and being deported. Illegality has also created a suitable environment for organized crime such as prostitution and drug trafficking (Karydis 1996: 4).

Illegality further places Albanians in a weak bargaining position relative to their employers making them vulnerable to exploitation (Lazaridis and Romaniszyn 1998). They are not covered by social security; are uninsured in the case of an accident and have no rights to unemployment benefits, sick leave or pensions. Article 31 of the 1991 law precludes illegal immigrants from any public services, except for emergency health care (Karydis 1996: 1). Employers also take advantage of Albanians' illegal status by paying them wages below the legal minimum and half the normal rate for Greeks doing the same job (ibid.), despite international and bilateral treaties such as the ILO Convention which have set minimum wages for migrant workers and prohibit wage differentials between them and local labour (Lazaridis and Wickens 1999: 639). Some employers even turn illegal immigrants to the police for deportation in order to avoid payment of wages (Karydis 1996: 2). Illegality makes Albanian women, who predominantly work as domestic helpers in Greece, particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation from male employers (Lazaridis and Wickens 1999: 112). Illegality, finally, has been associated with criminality in the Greek press, leading to a stigmatization and discrimination against Albanian immigrants in Greek society more broadly.

The failure of the Greek state to legalise immigrants on the other hand has been linked to the fact that the situation of illegality that prevailed allowed the Greek economy to benefit from the cheap labour provided by Albanian immigrants, without having to grant them legal rights (Iosifides 1997: 49). The debates leading up to the 1998 regularization or legalization of illegal economic immigrants in Greece,

reflects the conflicting perspectives within the Greek state on the issue of immigration policy. Fakiolas (2000) argues that the Greek Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Public Order's opposition to the regularization was based on maintaining the long-accepted model of national identity in Greece. The Ministry of Labour and the Confederation of Greek Workers, Greece's largest trade union, on the other hand, strongly supported the regularization as a means of protecting the economic rights of Greek workers who had been displaced in certain sectors of the economy. This resulted from the preference Greek employers demonstrated towards illegal immigrant workers, associated with the lower costs of their labour as outlined above.

Ultimately, however, two regularizations of illegal immigrants went forward in Greece; one in 1998 and the other in 2001 (King 2001: 20). Migrants who were legally registered under the 1998 regularization were guaranteed social security, pay and employment conditions (for instance working hours, health and safety regulations) as well as rights to appeal to authorities on on a footing equal to Greek citizens. The green card further guaranteed 'social security equality with Greek workers, and a parity of pay and employment conditions' for immigrants (Fakiolas 2000: 75).

The case of Albanian immigrants in Greece typifies the importance of deconstructing the source of vulnerability. Immigrants in Greece do not face vulnerability as a group per se. Immigrants from the European Union and Greeks of the diaspora for instance access rights in Greece comparatively freely. Rather, predominantly political actors controlling the space of the nation state, generate barriers both spatially, in terms of territorial borders, and socio-politically in terms of legal rights, which maintain a given status quo. The source of vulnerability for Albanian immigrants has been argued to be associated with antagonistic notions of Greek national identity, as well as the need for cheap immigrant labour to sustain the Greek economy. These factors have led to the delay as well as conflict within the Greek state over the legalization of Albanian immigrants.

The legalization of immigrants in Greece provides an example of one means of protecting international immigrants abroad, initiated mainly by the host state. A similar legalization process was undertaken in South Africa where temporary contract workers from Southern Africa as well as illegal immigrants were offered the opportunity to apply for permanent residence status in 1996 through a regularization process (Fultz and Pieris 1997). There are a number of other legal channels for the protection of international migrants which will be examined below. The evidence presented is in conjunction with Annexes 1-4, which provide a more comprehensive list of formal social protection measures for international as well as internal migrants.

Empirical evidence suggests that another channel through which international migrants may access legal rights in destination countries is through their absorption, usually after a length of time, into the host economy and by gaining permanent residence status or citizenship. In this way non-nationals may gain access to more comprehensive formal social protection means available to all citizens of the destination state, such as state pensions, health benefits and social assistance. This has been the case, for instance, with economic migrants from Southern Africa in South Africa, under the Aliens Control Act (Fultz and Pieris 1997: 7).

Social protection is available to migrants through international legislation, aimed specifically at protecting labour migrants working beyond the boundaries of the protection offered by their own governments. These may be in the form of regulations to ensure migrants are not abused by recruiters or employers or discriminated against relative to local workers. International legislation, such as the ILO 'Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention of 1975', for instance, provides an overarching legislative and regulatory framework for the protection of international economic migrants.

International legislation will normally form the basis for signatory countries receiving migrants providing social protection for this group. It should be noted that international legislation, notably the UN Convention on Refugees of 1951 and the 1976 New York Protocol, are further legislative tools for the protection of a special category of international migrants, namely refugees. The protection obligations towards this category differ substantially from those provided for international economic migrants. An interesting piece of legislation in India that performs a similar function is the Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act (1979) detailed in Annex 1.

Challenges with regard to international legislation arise insofar as not all states are signatories to the legislation, and hence are not bound to abide by its provisions. Siddiqui (2003) notes that only some of the destination countries for international migration from Bangladesh, namely Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, UAE, Malaysia, Singapore and Korea specifically, have ratified the ILO Migration for Employment Convention (Revised) 1949, No. 97. Furthermore, even where states have ratified international legislation, this does not guarantee its implementation in practice, as suggested in the case of Albanian immigrants in Greece above.

Social protection means may also be offered through bilateral or multi-lateral agreements between major labour sending and labour receiving states. Table 1, Annex 1, illustrates some examples of bi-

lateral agreements between migration destination and source states, the latter including the Philippines, South Africa, Poland and Tunisia. Obstacles to bilateral agreements include hesitation on the part of labour receiving governments to regulate and legislate wages for overseas workers as they consider migrant labour issues a private or business affair between employer and employee. In other cases recipient states have argued wage regulation should be left to market forces (Villalba 2002).

Bi-lateral agreements often provide the legal framework for source country governments to provide social protection for their citizens overseas. Ortiz (2001) suggests that countries that rely heavily on foreign remittances, such as the Philippines and Indonesia, have equipped themselves with social protection mechanisms for migrant labour to cope with large-scale emigration. Evidence suggests that social protection policies pertaining to international migrants of major labour-sending countries, including the Philippines, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan (Villalba 2002, Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003, Siddiqui 2003 and Gazdar 2003), provide a significant portion of formal social protection strategies for their nationals overseas in labour-receiving countries such as the oil-producing countries of the Middle East (ISSA 1994).

Source government policies for protecting international migrants are framed in national legislation such as the Republic Act 8042 or the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipino Act of 1995, as illustrated in Table 1, Annex 1. These include setting employment standards, ensuring compliance with employment contracts and wages as well as regulating private recruiting agents: measures which empower migrants vis-à-vis recruiting agents and employers respectively. These laws and policies can therefore be broadly understood as forming part of a regulatory framework protecting international migrants as a vulnerable group against discrimination and abuse in countries of destination. Regulating private recruiters, for instance, seeks to curb vulnerability associated with illegal recruitment, whereas ensuring compliance with legal wages prevents discrimination against migrants relative to local workers.

The legislative framework created by labour-sending countries also provides for formal social security or insurance access for migrants (as examined further in the section on preventative strategies below). The framework also provides for outreach agencies of source country governments to be established in source and destination countries to implement these policies, as well as providing more targeted assistance such as legal aid, shelter and counseling which have been categorized below as 'protective' measures. For instance, the Bureau for Manpower, Employment and Training in Bangladesh and the Bureau for Emigration in Pakistan are statutory institutions responsible amongst other things for the licensing of recruiting agents of international migrants (Siddiqui 2003 and Gazdar 2003). The Office of

the Legal Assistant for Migrant Workers in the Philippines offers legal aid to Filipino migrants overseas (Villalba 2002). Ortiz notes that destination countries normally favour migration-source government protection and regulations of this kind, as they facilitate the control of immigration, as well as provide a valuable interlocutor should problems emerge in relation to migrant workers (2001: 109).

Other policies of labour-sending governments are more narrowly targeted to prevent abuse of specific vulnerable groups within the broader group of international migrants. For instance, the Philippine Development Plan for Women seeks to phase out the overseas employment of domestic workers and entertainers by providing domestic economic opportunities, whereas the Philippine Anti-Trafficking Bill seeks to prevent the trafficking of women.

However, in cases where no state structures exist in migration source countries, or they are very weak, states may not be able to support migrants abroad (Fultz and Pieris 1997: 10). This may be particularly relevant to the case of refugees who have fled from conflict in their own countries of origin. Similarly, the existence of legislation in migration source countries and the associated implementing agencies for the protection of international migrants does not necessarily guarantee an optimal delivery of statutory functions. Siddiqui notes for instance that the Ministry of Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment is under-resourced and lacks institutional capacity (2003: 9).

In other cases legislation seeking to protect particularly vulnerable groups through prohibition may have adverse effects. Siddiqui suggests, for instance, that female international migrants from Bangladesh face discrimination in existing legislation (2003). International women migrants from Bangladesh, particularly temporary workers, are not provided with legislative protection, as since the 1980s successive governments in Bangladesh have placed bans on female migrants, except for professionals. Semi or unskilled women workers can therefore only legally migrate with male partners (Siddiqui 2003: 7). In Middle Eastern countries furthermore domestic workers, many of whom are female migrants from Bangladesh, are not protected under national labour laws (ibid 2003: 6). These restrictions have therefore 'contributed to irregular migration and… made potential women migrants vulnerable to poor working conditions and trafficking' (ibid. 2003: 9).

Formal Preventive Measures for International Migrants: There is limited evidence of preventive strategies for international migrants.[10] The evidence that does exist tends to be focused on migrants

[10] To the extent that the migrant naturalises within the host country then social security will be provided in accordance with citizenship rights. Here we will not discuss this scenario.

from major labour-sending countries. Empirical evidence from the Philippines, Bangladesh and Egypt, for instance, suggests that these states are major providers of formal preventive strategies for their citizens who have migrated overseas. The Bangladesh overseas migrant Welfare Fund, the OWWA Welfare Fund of the Philippines and Egypt's social insurance scheme are state insurance strategies providing predominately for health insurance, repatriation and information provision to overseas migrant workers.

Evidence from Poland, Tunisia, Bangladesh and the Philippines indicates that social security in the form of an insurance fund for overseas migrant workers established by the governments of these countries, exists mainly where formal bi-lateral or multi-lateral agreements between labour sending and receiving countries have been formed. However, international migrants travelling to countries where there are no such inter-governmental agreements, do not have access to state insurance during the migration process (ISSA 1994). Similarly, for countries that do not have their own social security system, they cannot offer protection for their citizens migrating overseas. This is the case with migrants from Lesotho working in South Africa for instance (Fultz and Pieris 1997).

Formal Protective Measures for International Migrants: Protective social protection strategies were defined in the theoretical framework as narrowly targeted measures that provide relief from deprivation. In terms of international migration this includes strategies targeting specific vulnerable groups within the broader category of migrants. The evidence suggests that targeting of vulnerable groups for protective measures in the context of international migration includes targeting women and children migrants, and more specifically victims of trafficking and women in hazardous professions such as entertainment and domestic work. A formal government scheme for vulnerable overseas migrants from the Philippines, for instance, targets these particular migrants based on their concentration in host countries and their occupation, such as female domestic workers and women in entertainment (Villalba 2002).

Evidence from the Philippines, Bangladesh and Pakistan suggests that providers of such targeted strategies appear to be mostly non-governmental. Furthermore, the providers may be NGOs from source countries operational in destination countries or NGOs in destination countries. Protective strategies typically include shelter, counseling and legal aid. Ain O'Shalish Kendro and Lawyers for Human Rights Association are examples of legal aid NGOs in Bangladesh and Pakistan respectively (Asfar 2003 and Gazdar 2003), whereas the Edhi Foundation in Pakistan provides shelter for trafficked women and children in Pakistan (Gazdar 2003). While not discussed here it is important to note that

there is a large literature on refugees, as a particular vulnerable group of migrants, towards whom humanitarian assistance, a large part of which is 'protective', has been targeted.

Formal Social Protection for Internal Migrants

Empirical evidence on the formal social protection specifically targeting internal migrants is more limited than for international migrants. The reasons for this may be that in so far as internal migrants remain within the jurisdiction of their own nation-states, they may be eligible for legislation and state policies pertaining to social protection nationally, but be inconspicuous as a separate category based on their migrant status. The annexes provide some examples of national legislation protecting workers more generally in India and Bangladesh, amongst whom migrant workers may also be included.

The available evidence suggests that the existence of national legislation, although providing a protective framework, does not necessarily imply that all the provisions are abided by, as also suggested in the case of international legislation above. For instance, Afsar (2003) found that research on workers in the ready-made garment (RMG) industry in Bangladesh, where 90 per cent of the workers are migrants, revealed that cuts were made in salary for taking sick leave that had been legally provided for workers. Similiarly, although maternity leave is provided for in the Maternity Benefit Act of 1950, one third of women in the RMG industries did not enjoy this benefit and 80 per cent were assumed to be unaware of this law (ibid. 2003: 4).

Srivastava and Sasikumar similarly observe that 'many labour laws [in India] aiming to protect migrant workers have remained largely on paper' (2003: 10). They state that despite the provisions of the Inter State Migrant Workmen Act (1979) few contractors have licenses and few enterprises have registered under the Act (2003).

Evidence from India and Bangladesh suggests that the vulnerability of internal migrants may be less related to their migrant status than to other factors, two of which will be explored below. One is related to internal migrants being concentrated in 'urban informal settlements' and the other is the participation of certain migrant workers in informal sector[11] employment, where social protection coverage is limited. In these cases, as suggested in the case of international immigrants in Greece above, it is not so much

[11] The term 'informal economy' may refer to usually small-scale organizations that escape government regulations and benefits that exist in the formal sector, but are not illegal in the strict sense. The 'informal sector' can also refer to the nature of informal labour relations, including home-workers in the informal economy but also casual workers in both the formal and informal economy, which mean that workers are often not eligible for certain social security and insurance programs (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer 2002).

that the determinant of vulnerability stems from people's 'migrant' status, as the first conceptualization of vulnerability presented in the conceptual framework suggests. Rather we argue that in the case of migrants living in the urban informal settlements, the source of vulnerability stems from spatial factors[12], whereas predominantly socio-political factors underlie the creation and maintenance of the informal sector. In both cases vulnerabilities are intensified for migrants based on the fact that they are over represented in these sectors as a proportion of the population. These types of vulnerabilities can be referred to as *migrant-intensified vulnerabilities* as opposed to *migrant-specific vulnerabilities*. In the space of the urban settlements, therefore, migrants, which may include international as well as national migrants, join other vulnerable groups, sharing a common source of vulnerability related to living in the urban informal settlements. It is to this aspect of vulnerability that the next section now turns.

Vulnerability associated with living conditions: In the city of Dhaka in Bangladesh, 53 per cent of poor migrants live in urban informal settlements and a further 44 per cent squat on private land (Asfar 2003: 4). Health problems are associated with poor access to safe water and sanitation services in urban informal settlement areas, and migrants may also be vulnerable to illegal government evictions, which can be violent and can cause increased insecurity (ibid.).

A study comparing people living in urban informal settlements (predominantly rural migrants) with people living in formal settlements in Dhaka in 1998, found that the former earned a fifth of the incomes of the latter (Hossain et al. 1999, cited in Afsar 2003: 8). The income differential further suggests that people living in the urban informal settlements would be less able to afford to pay for formal social protection services, particularly given that 'institutions providing childcare, healthcare and boarding facilities at affordable prices are rare [in Dhaka]' (ibid. 2003: 4). Afsar suggests that nearly 90 per cent of urban informal settlements in Dhaka do not have adequate sanitary facilities, compared with 90 per cent of residents not in the informal settlements who have modern sanitary facilities in the same town (Afsar 2003: 4). This led Asfar to conclude that 'the urban poor in general and migrants in particular find it difficult to sustain economic gains in the longer run, due to intra-urban inequality in income and delivery of social services' (ibid. 2003).

Afsar also reveals that few municipalities in Bangladesh are actively involved in urban informal settlements planning and improvement (2003: 9). However, a number of NGOs, as illustrated in the

Employment in the informal sector is characterized by temporary work with little income and employment security, as well as irregular and poorly paid jobs. Informal sector workers include self-employed, casual and seasonal workers as well as domestic and home workers (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer 2002: 6).

annexes, are involved in the provision of social services for migrants, with particular emphasis on urban informal settlements. Two examples include the Orangi Pilot Project and the Urban Resource Centre in Pakistan.

A number of recent studies have also explored the informal settlements in peri-urban areas in Albania These areas have rapidly grown with the mass influx of migrants mainly from the mountainous rural areas, since the 1991 privatization of land after the fall of communism (Aliko and Sherko 2002; Felstehausen 2002; Jazoj and Kelm 2001). Aliko and Sherko highlight the limited investments in public services in the informal settlements (2002: 8). The source of vulnerability in terms of inadequate access to social services is not a characteristic of the migrants themselves, however, but is related rather to a lack of legal recognition to their rights on the land they live on. The complex multiple tiers of legal and informal ownership of the peri-urban lands, related to successive laws after the 1991 privatization of land, have meant that ownership and transactions in land have been predominately informal and many of the owners are not legally recognized. The factors impacting on the vulnerability of owners in the informal settlements therefore are not only spatial, in so far as they are related to land, but also socio-political, related to rights to land.

Lack of legal recognition has meant that there is no organised system for pooling together resources in the settlements, based on payments from each household related to the size of occupied land parcel for instance, to provide public services for the settlements. On the other hand Jazoj and Kelm's findings from a study in Kamza revealed that the hesitation of people to legalize transactions in land was due to the fact that 'they did not want to pay the fees and the transfer tax on the sales prices' (2001: 10). This in turn could be interpreted as being related to an uncertainty that legalization would lead to an improvement of the services available in the informal settlements. Hence provision of public services it is implied required not only the 'regularization' of the informal settlements, but in order for this to be acceptable by the communities living in these, that regularization would also have to benefit them in terms of public service provision (Felstehausen 2002: 10).

Vulnerability associated with working in the informal sector: The emergence and evolution of the informal sector has been examined in greater detail elsewhere (for instance, Standing 1999). Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer (2002) argue that informalisation of the economy is linked to the end of the 'golden age' of post-war state-provided social protection and the increasing globalisation of the world's

[12] A further study which is not detailed here, examining spatial segregation and vulnerability of international migrants, is Iosifides and King (1999).

economies. In recent decades the global economy has moved towards market de-regulation and growing labour market flexibility, where new technologies have transformed forms of work organisation and patterns of labour force participation world-wide (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer 2002). Standing (1999) argues that the concept of regular, full-time wage labour as the main type of employment has been giving way to a more diverse pattern, characterized by 'informalisation' of employment.

The growing informalisation of the economy has further meant that workers in the informal economy have had limited access to social security. The limited social security available in the informal sector can be understood both from the demand and the supply side (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer 2002). On the demand side, the instability of informal workers' income patterns means many workers are unable or unwilling to contribute part of their incomes to the financing of social security benefits that do not necessarily meet their priority needs on a regular basis. On the other hand, many workers may not be familiar with or may lack awareness of how a formal statutory social security scheme is managed. Furthermore, bureaucratic obligations such as registration under formal social security schemes can be a disincentive for employers and workers. On the supply side, as the contributory capacity of informal sector workers is low and irregular compared to formal sector workers, employers are less likely to offer social insurance protection as it requires a shared contribution from the employer. Secondly, it is impossible for the state to determine the incomes of informal sector workers. Finally, there are administrative problems that limit the coverage of social security systems in developing countries (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer 2002: 21).

Specific legislation in India was found to have excluded temporary migrant workers in so far as their temporary status places them in the category of informal sector workers as in the Employees State Insurance Act 1952; the Employees Provident Fund Act 1952; and the Maternity Benefit Act 1961 (Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003: 10). Srivastava and Sasikumar further argue that the wage payment systems which grow predominantly based around informal sector labour, including migrant labour are 'eminently suited to side-stepping minimum wage legislation', such as the Minimum Wages Act 1948 (2003: 9). Rani and Shylendra highlight similar circumstances in their study of construction in Gujarat where legislation failed as a result of the over-stretching of regulatory authorities and because of the employment of migrant labourers in the unregulated unorganized sector (2001, cited in Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003: 11).

Migrants working in the informal economy therefore face migrant-intensified vulnerabilities stemming from socio-political factors which do not allow for the adequate provision of social protection. For

instance, migrants from the Bhil tribal villages in Western India who worked predominantly in construction in the informal sector in urban areas, were found to be separated from legal protection offered to employees in the formal sector (Mosse et al 2002). These migrants often work in hazardous environments where employers offer no protection against risks of injury, with unpaid overtime and sick leave, few rest breaks and low wages (ibid.: 76). Piece rate payment (in cash or kind) of workers furthermore absolved employers from responsibilities of providing migrants with meals or other support (ibid.: 75). From the employers' or contractors' point of view, migrant labour is preferred to local labour as they are willing to accept lower wages than locals, while also being more willing to work longer hours and take fewer holidays (ibid.: 68). The study found that employers of migrants rarely contributed to their medical expenses and offered limited compensation in cases of injury or death. As registers of labourers kept by employers furthermore were rarely complete and chances of government inspections were few, employers have little formal responsibility towards labourers. Without proof of employment, workers in turn were not in a position to take legal action even if they could afford to do so.

Given these circumstances, the study found that 'quite apart from work-related risks, [migrants] living on insufficient allowances, eating an extremely limited and poor diet, living in the open, exposed to contaminated water and lacking sanitation' inevitably suffered from ill-health in destination areas (ibid.: 76). Female migrants were also found to suffer migration-induced health problems, while also being vulnerable to abuse and sexual exploitation through work, and children often accompanied their parents to insecure work sites.

In light of this, the provisions made under the draft law called the 'Unorganized Sector Workers Bill 2003' (Table 2) is particularly interesting as Srivastava and Sasikumar observe that this law is the first covering the welfare of the informal sector in India, including migrants (Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003: 11). In addition, a number of formal social protection strategies targeting migrants specifically are presented in Annex 3. Two interesting examples are the Mobile Crèche Organization and Lok Jumbish in India programme, targeting the children of migrant workers.

Informal Social Protection for International and Internal Migrants

An anthropological study of women internal seasonal migrants in Mali (see footnote 8 above), suggests that these migrations are strongly influenced by extended family kinship networks (De Haan et al. 2002). Extended family networks were significant for providing young migrant women with food, housing as well as finding paid work in other households in destination areas (ibid. 2002: 48).

Similarly, Zohry maintains that in the case of rural to urban migration in Egypt the most common features of the adjustment of migrants has been 'seeking help from blood-kin or folk-kin in the new community' (2002: 43). This help is in the form of 'finding residence, employment, and smoothing acquaintance with the new community' (ibid.). Furthermore, migrants were found often to reside closely to older migrants from the same community, who would also provide assistance in finding employment nearby.

Evidence from Italy shows that informal contacts in the areas of destination are significant between international migrants and host populations. King (2003: 16) attributes the successful integration of Albanian immigrants in the Italian community for instance to the similar 'geographical, somatic, linguistic and cultural' characteristics of the Albanian and Italian populations. This integration means that Albanian immigrants in Italy have a high degree of informal social contact with Italians and results from one study showed that Albanians are more likely than any other migrant group to ask Italian friends to help them solve a problem (Carchadei and Gesano 2001, cited in King 2003: 17). Albanians in Italy furthermore are less likely to rely on charitable help, and more likely to work within the informal Italian system to make progress and address their needs (ibid.).

The study of Bhil seasonal migrants to urban areas in Western India cited above outlined the vulnerabilities these migrants faced in destination areas. The study further illustrated that informal social protection available to internal migrants in destination areas was important and depended on the social position of migrants and their relations to their employers and contractors (see footnote 8 above). The study found that migrants working in construction from Panchmahals village, for instance, through close kinship networks with contractors were able to secure shelter in an unfinished building with clean water and fuel wood (Mosse et al 2002: 76). Where migrants did not have their own food in destination areas, they sometimes depended on cash advances on their wages or subsistence payments from contractors or recruiters (ibid.: 77).

Rogaly et al's (2002) research on internal seasonal migrants in West Bengal, India, illustrates how in so far as migrant workers sought health care through private sector outlets in destination areas, they were often dependent on loans from their employers for this (2002: 103). Salem Reza (2002) further highlights how employers in the countries of destination for short-term international migrants from Bangladesh also provided food, lodging and medical facilities to workers (cited in Siddiqui 2003).

In contrast, Mosse et al.'s study illustrates how long distance daily wage migrants in Western India without connections to contractors faced the most precarious situation. While in urban areas for work they stayed with acquaintances, took temporary shelter in railway stations or lived on the roadsides (ibid. 2002: 77). In addition the study found that these migrants faced greater vulnerability in terms of employment relative to migrants who were tied to recruiters or contractors. The former were more likely to face fluctuations in the availability of work from day to day while also facing greater risk of replacement by cheaper workers (ibid.: 73).

Ties with family and friends in migration source areas are an important means for the social protection of migrants whilst in destination areas. De Haan argues that recent migration studies aligned with 'structuration theory' focusing on the migration of individuals in the household examine migrants links with their areas of origin, suggesting migration is a series of exchanges between places (for instance Mandel 1990; Gardner 1993 and Werbner 1990, cited in De Haan 1999: 12). Mosse et al.'s study of Bhil internal migrants in Western India found that where migrants did not have their own food in destination areas, they were sent this from home (ibid. 2002: 77). Rogaly et al.'s research in West Bengal, India found that 'loans from relatives or neighbors [occasionally helped to] reduce the degree of illfare for migrants who become sick' (2002). Panel data from 62 villages in Bangladesh found that 20 per cent of households had migrant workers who lived permanently away from their natal families but took assistance in times of need as well as provided financial assistance to the family (Rahman et al. 1996, cited in Afsar 2003: 2). Afsar argues that 'in the context of limited provision of insurance and social security services, urban-rural cooperation and mutual support are important for both migrants and their families' (ibid.).

Migrant groups travelling together may also offer mutual social protection in destination areas. The study of Bhil internal migrants in Western India, for instance, found that migrants would occasionally bring an older child with them when migrating to take care of younger children in return for some money (Mosse et al. 2002: 78). Similarly, internal migrants in West Bengal were found to travel in groups based on social ties, especially kinship, which would provide support 'against the worst effects of ill-health in an unknown place' (Rogaly et al. 2002: 98).

However, evidence from Pakistan suggests that migrants with 'low prior social endowments' may as a result be involved in marginal economic activities such as begging and petty crime in destination areas (Gazdar 2003: 15). In cases of trafficking in Pakistan migrants are particularly at risk 'due to their isolation from social networks of their own as well as in host communities' (ibid.: 18). This is true in the

case of women who have migrated due to marriage and may involve individual vulnerability due to isolation from social networks (ibid.).

Finally, there is also evidence of informal support for migrants in destination areas in a more organized form, illustrated in Annex 4. Welfare programmes for internal migrants in Bangladesh for instance are often community based, like the Faridpur Zila Samity, or district based associations in the cities (Afsar 2003: 9). Amongst other things these associations help migrants to settle as well as 'aid and support poor migrants in organizing marriages, burying their dead and occasionally provide scholarships or provide charitable dispensaries' (ibid. 2003: 9). Evidence of similar civil society initiatives also exist in Pakistan (Gazdar 2003: 16). In Greece, the Greek Forum of Migrants is an NGO network which offers information, organizes campaigns and provides opportunities for networking as well as social support amongst international migrant communities in Greece.

Social Protection of Migrant Households in Source

There is little evidence of formal social protection strategies for households where one or more of the members have migrated. However, De Haan cites a range of literature that has examined vulnerability and informal social protection of single migrants' departures on migrant households. This ties in with section one, where migration itself may be considered as a form of social protection, and specifically the role of remittances for supporting households in source areas becomes pertinent. The literature tends to focus on three groups who are vulnerable as a result of, typically, male migration. These include women, children and elderly members of the household. De Haan argues that studies have illustrated the significance of extended family networks in supporting women left behind by male migrants (David 1995; Gardner 1995; Roodenburg 1993; Brettell 1986, cited in De Haan 199: 36), while elsewhere where conjugal units were smaller, women became heads of households and were more vulnerable as a consequence (Francis 2002).

Evidence from the settlement of Dixie in Gazankulu in the Eastern Tranvaal, South Africa, illustrates that when women were faced with male migrants' financial neglect, they responded to the insecurity by seeking work themselves, often leaving their children in the care of relatives or older children (Kotze 1992, cited in Francis 2002: 186). The occasional neglect of carers sometimes left children vulnerable. At times children created social protection strategies for themselves, forging informal social networks to replace those previously provided by their families. This included working for other families in exchange for cash, food and accommodation as well as building social bonds with other children (ibid. 2002: 186).

Rogaly and Rafique (2003) found that women left behind by male migrants in West Bengal rely, amongst other things, on their male agnates and sisters in law to provide loans and meals for children, which were important for their security. They also note that women 'may seek credit from grocery shops and from doctors for any consultations and medication expenses' (ibid. 2003: 669). In Albania and India it was found that migration by male members of households placed greater strains of responsibility on the young and reduced the informal family support networks for the old (De Soto et al. 2002, cited in King 2003; Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003).

Social Protection of Returnee Migrants

The literature on the vulnerabilities and social protection of returnee migrants is limited. In one study, Francis examines male-only labour migration amongst the Luo people in Western Kenya, from the 1920s until the 1980s[13]. The dominance of labour migration in the regional economy undermined agricultural production in the long term, and access to off-farm income in the form of remittances from migrants was a crucial source of livelihoods for many households (Francis 2002: 171). Male migrants dominated access to remittances as they migrated to work more often than women, and their work was normally paid better than that of female labour migrants. At the same time few men were willing to allow their wives to undertake independent trading or cash cropping to contribute to household earnings, making women almost entirely reliant on male remittances. As household livelihoods became more dependant on migrant male workers' earnings, this further enhanced men's authority in the household.

With the decline in the remittance economy and the growing need for cash incomes in the second half of the twentieth century in Western Kenya, male migrants gradually sent fewer remittances home or returned, offering little financial support to their families (Francis 2002). This led to negotiations over household informal social protection strategies, which included women working with husbands on farms to produce cash crops, or men working on their farms while women engaged in paid agricultural labour or trading to obtain a cash income (ibid.: 181). This illustrates how migration may be considered as one option in a portfolio of social protection strategies available to households, the reduction in which led households to seek alternative strategies.

A study on seasonal migrants from the Bhil tribal villages to urban areas in Western India found that household motivation for migration partially depended on the poverty of households. The study revealed that income generated from migration amongst the wealthier households strengthened

[13] Francis examines male-only migration amongst the Luo people from Koguta sub-location, Kisumu District, Nyanze Province in Western Kenya, between the 1920s until the 1980s, based on fieldwork undertaken in the late 1980s (2002). The migration was predominantly to urban areas from agricultural source areas.

wealthier migrant households' social position in the source village, especially when migrant labourers advanced to becoming migrant labour recruiters and labour gang leaders (Mosse et al. 2002). This, in turn, allowed these households to enhance their social protection strategies more broadly. For instance it increased their creditworthiness in the eyes of local moneylenders, and made these households better placed to participate in indigenous financial institutions (such as *chandla*) through which large sums of money were raised for one-off occasions such as marriages (ibid.: 79). Thus, migration for these households was not only a social protection strategy at the household level in terms of migrant remittances, but it also indirectly improved future access to other social protection means, reducing vulnerability.

However, the study also found that poorer households from the same villages were forced to migrate as 'a defensive coping strategy…[and migration] provided the principal means for servicing high interest subsistence-related debts' (Mosse et al 2002). Mosse et al. point out therefore that migration of this kind neither led to long-term increases in assets nor to a general reduction in poverty for these migrants. Rather, migration perpetuated debt, dependency and hence vulnerability. Furthermore long absence during migration, dependence on distant patrons and failure to participate in local festivals, often led to loss of reputation and social status in source areas (Mosse et al. 2002: 80). This in turn led to a loss of creditworthiness, hence reducing access to informal social protection means for these poorer households in the long run.

A study of circulatory rural-to-rural migrants in Bankura district, West Bengal found that in the absence of state health services these were supplemented by health camps for returning migrants from the district, arriving at the bus stand at the end of the migration season. This scheme was initiated in a collaboration between the state government, local bus workers union and two NGOs (Rogaly et al. 2002: 105).

Formal reintegration programs for returnee international migrants in source countries also exist such as the Philippine Plan for Gender Responsive Development detailed in Annex 1, and may be viewed as 'transformative', as they seek to enhance the social and economic position of returnee migrants relative to the local population. However in cases where no state structures exist in migration source countries or they are very weak, states may not be able to assist returning migrants to re-integrate back into the local community, as is the case for returning workers from South Africa to Mozambique (Fultz and Pieris 1997: 10).

In addition to this in the Philippines, evidence suggests that preventative social protection strategies are also provided for returning migrants. The Kanlungan Centre Foundation in the Philippines, for example, is an example of a protective strategy for vulnerable returnee migrant women, offering counseling and support (Villalba 2002).

CONCLUSIONS

This paper takes as its starting point the large and relatively recent literature on social protection. We analyse this literature and make a case for expanding social protection to include politically-determined understandings of vulnerability. This allows us to incorporate a 'transformative' function into social protection policy. The advantage of analysing vulnerability by focusing on determinants of vulnerability in addition to factors that enable the management of risk (the dominant perspective) is that policy solutions can include structural, long-term perspectives rather than just remedial perspectives.

Moving on to locate migration within the social protection agenda, this paper has highlighted four categories of vulnerabilities that migrants are especially prone to: temporal, spatial, socio-cultural and socio-political. Furthermore a distinction was made between migration as a social protection strategy and migration as leading to vulnerabilities that require specific social protection instruments. The second part of this paper uses the framework developed in part one to review relevant literature and empirical evidence. While literature is very limited in this area, we draw as widely as possible on a variety of sources and empirical studies from around the world. Importantly, this paper has provided a framework for thinking about the relationships between vulnerability, migration and social protection, something that until now has not been provided in the literature. Our hope is that the work here will provide an anchor for future studies linking migration and social protection.

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ANNEX 1
Formal Transformative Social Protection Instruments for Economic and Forced Migrants

Country	Provider	Key activities related to protection of migrants
International	1990 UN International Convention on Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and the Members of their Families[14]	Protection of human rights of documented and undocumented migrant workers, seeks to establish minimum standards for overseas employment and to allow individuals to file claims alleging violation of rights to supervising committees.
	ILO Convention No. 19 on equality of treatment (accident compensation) of 1925; ILO convention No. 102 on social security (minimum standards) of 1952; ILO convention No. 118 on equality of treatment (social security) of 1962; ILO convention No. 157 on maintenance of social security rights 1982[15].	International legislation pertaining predominantly to social security of international migrants
	ILO Migration for Employment Convention (Revised) 1949, No. 97; ILO Recommendation No. 86; Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention 1975 (no. 43) and; Recommendation No. 151	International legislation pertaining predominantly to employment-related issues with regards to international migrants
Philippines[16]	Bilateral agreements between the Philippines and migrant labour destination countries	Include the adoption of standard employment contracts and wages; procedures for resolving labour cases; coverage of labour laws and/or social security for Filipino overseas workers; and the imposition of visa requirements for countries with a history of exploitative conditions. Deals with social security issues, and legal issues.
	The Philippine Constitution	Article II: Protection of the rights and promotion of the welfare of labour within the Philippines Article XIII, Section III: Protection of overseas labour from the Philippines for the promotion of full employment and equality of employment opportunities.

[14] Source: UN 1990 Convention from Siddiqui 2003: 7
[15] Source: International Social Security Association 1994.
[16] Source: All references to Philippines are from Forman (1994) and Villalba (2002)

	Philippine Plan for Gender Responsive Development (1998-2025)	Provides for the development of programs to assist to reintegration of returning Filipina migrant women through assistance in entrepreneurial livelihood projects and encouraging networking amongst returnees.
	Anti-trafficking Bill	This proposed law defines and sets penalties for various aspects of trafficking, especially of women and children. The law also provides for government counselling of victims of trafficking, provision of shelter, legal assistance and financial support.
	Philippine Development Plan for Women	The plan calls for a policy on the phasing out of the overseas employment of domestic workers and entertainers from the Philippines, amongst other things through the creation of domestic economic opportunities for women to curb the migration of female workers
	The Philippine Labour Code	Article 12: To protect citizens desiring to work overseas by securing the best terms and conditions of employment; Article 17: Philippine Overseas Employment Agency's role is "to secure the best possible terms and conditions of employment of Filipino contract workers on a government to government basis".
	The Philippine Labour Code (continued)	Article 19: provides for the establishment of the Office of Emigrant Affairs to "maintain close ties with Filipino migrant communities and promote their welfare". Article 21: establishes the duties of labour attaches in the foreign embassies including the assistance to Filipino workers in matters if employment; to insure Filipinos are not exploited or discriminated against and to ensure employment contracts are in line with regulations. Section entitled 'Recruitment and Placement of Workers' provides for the regularisation of private recruiters of Philippine overseas labour so as to protect workers from abuse.
	Republic Act 8042 or the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipino Act of 1995	This national policy lays down basic policies and standards for the protection and promotion of the welfare of migrants workers, their families and overseas Filipinos in distress. The Act: i) stipulates labour receiving countries must be signatories to international conventions on labour rights and have a good standard and must have adequate national laws to protect migrant workers; ii) protects migrants against illegal recruitment; iii) outlines services available from the state to migrant workers abroad, including information on contracts and migrants' rights; iv) provides for the establishment of Resource Centres

		overseas for migrant workers to provide the counselling, legal services, welfare assistance, temporary shelter and reintegration programs; v) outlines the role of the Office of the Legal Assistant for Migrant Workers Affairs related to migrant workers, located in every host country to provide legal assistance to migrant workers. This office also administers the legal assistance fund for migrant workers; vi) provides for the reintegration of returnee migrants through the training on livelihood development and entrepreneurship The policy also provides for the formulation of gender-sensitive labour policies, and for the representation of women on the POEA and OWWA. It also ensures the non-exclusion of poor migrant workers in court litigation
	'New Rules and Regulations Governing Overseas Employment' of the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency's Agency	Book II: provides a regulatory framework protecting overseas migrants from exploitation on the part of private recruiters in the country of origin, by providing for the licensing of private recruiters and ensuring they comply with social and labor legislation and regularising the fee paid by workers to recruiting agencies; Book V: lays out a standard format and establishes minimum requirements for the contracts of Philippine overseas workers, such as the guarantee of wages for regular working hours as well as compensation benefits and war hazard protection. Book VII: makes provision for overseas workers' assistance and welfare services. Assistance to workers includes ensuring employers of Filipino workers overseas meet contractual obligations. Filipino can launch complaints on employers.
	Philippine Overseas Employment Agency	Its mandate is to promote, supervise and monitor the conditions of Filipino workers overseas and the it programs include regulating and monitoring recruitment activities and ensuring the well-being of migrants during work and on their return. The POEA also established the Pre-employment Services Office for regulating the entire migration cycle (from recruitment to return) to ensure regulations and minimum standards are met. The POEA further provides Pre-departure Orientation Seminars to prospective migrant workers to sensitise them on issues related to overseas employment (such as HIV/AIDS awareness). This includes special courses for women in vulnerable jobs such as entertainment and domestic work. The Licensing and Regulation Office regulates migrant recruiting agencies to curb illegal practises.
	Philippine Overseas Labour Office	Addresses all employment related matters, including wages, contracts and welfare services, such as medical

		services, counselling and reintegration.
	Assistance to National Unit in the Overseas Consular Office	Addresses non-labour and employment issues, including police cases. It provides legal assistance to undocumented migrants, and facilitates repatriation of migrants.
	Filipino Workers Trade Union in Japan	Trade union set up by overseas migrants from Philippines in Japan to improve labour standards and improve the conditions of Filipinas working in Japan.
	Information campaigns in schools	The government has launched information campaigns to integrate migration issues into public school education. This includes employment options, hazards, costs of migration and gender-sensitivity.
	The Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People	Has incorporated migration studies as part of the elementary and secondary curriculum in private schools owned by the Catholic Church.
India[17]	Emigration Act 1983	Deals with the emigration of Indian workers for overseas employment on a contractual basis and seeks to safeguard their interests and welfare. It provides for: ensuring workers obtain "valid employment under acceptable conditions", by setting minimum employment standards and verifying employer contracts; licensing recruitment agents and ensuring they obtain financial security partly for meeting the costs of the repatriation of "stranded" workers; issuing emigration clearances; handling public grievances related to violation of employment contracts
	Indian diplomatic missions	A labour attaché is responsible for monitoring the conditions of Indian nationals working overseas and liaising with host government on matters such as employment conditions and welfare.
	Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act (1979) India[18]	Deals with malpractice associated with the recruitment and employment of workers who migrate across state boundaries. The Act outlines requirements for contractors to be licensed, to record payments to workers, to pay workers a displacement allowance, for the timely payment of wages according to minimum wage regulations as

[17] Source: All references from India are from Srivastava and Sasikumar (2003) , unless otherwise indicated
[18] Source: Rogaly et al 2002

		well as provision of suitable residential accommodation, medical facilities and clothing. The Act covers only inter-state migrants recruited through contractors and middlemen and those establishments that employ five or more such workers on a given day. Furthermore, migrants have to be registered to access the to statutory rights under the Act.
	The Minimum Wages Act 1948; the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act 1970; the Equal Remuneration Act 1976; and the Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act 1996; the Workmen's Compensation Act 1923; the Payment of Wages Act 1936; the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986; the Bonded Labour Act 1976; the Employees State Insurance Act 1952; the Employees Provident Fund Act 1952; and the Maternity Benefit Act 1961	This includes the most important legislation in India protecting internal migrant workers
	The Unorganized Sector Workers Bill 2003 (in draft at the time of writing)	To provide workers in the unorganized sector with basic social security, including casual, temporary, self-employed and migrant workers. The Law builds upon tri-partite welfare funds already existing for a few industries in some states. Amongst other things the Law would provide for governments to notify welfare schemes for employment under the Act and establish a Welfare Fund for this. The Welfare Fund will receive contributions from the government, employers and workers. Workers will make regular contributions to the Fund until the age of 60.
	Nirman Mazdoor Panchayat, The National Campaign Committee for Construction Labourers and the National Federation of Construction Laborers	Active in working to improve the wages and working conditions of construction labourers, most of whom are migrants. Nirman has also created a mobile crèche for children of construction workers.
	Kimidi Multisectoral Development Society (KMDS)	Women activists assist women who have been affected by the out-migration of male family members with new roles in settled agriculture and insufficient incomes, by

		holding meetings and providing financial assistance for self-sufficiency programmes.
	The Society for Comprehensive Rural Health NGO, Jamkhed, Ahmednagar district, Maharashtra, India	Formation of women's and farmers groups to address health care at village level. Contributed to socio-economic development and creation of sustainable local employment for women, reducing survival labour migration.
	Western India Rainfed Farming Project, seven-year development project implemented through Gramin Vikas Trust (GVT) and Indian Farm Forestry Development Co-operative (IFFDC). Covers village clusters in seven districts of three states in India: MP, Rajasthan and Gujurat	IFFDC places greater emphasis on local asset creation and employment generation, which has reduced the outflow of males. Interventions in source areas include setting up shelters for children and the elderly. Institutional initiatives include strengthening self-help groups to address concerns of migrants, awareness raising and forging partnerships with organizations supporting migrants in urban areas.
Bangladesh[19]	1982 Emigration Ordinance	This is the main regulatory instrument for international migration from Bangladesh. It allow for the licensing and punishment of misconduct of recruiters and setting up of courts in destination countries.
	Ministry of Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment	Bangladesh government Ministry set up in 2001 for implementing practice under the 1982 Emigration Ordinance Law. Amongst other things the Ministry has the function of "organizing inter-ministerial meetings to co-ordinate welfare programmes for migrant workers".
	The Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET)	Implementing agency of Emigration Ordinance Law of 1982, by government of Bangladesh. Involved in regulation of recruiting agents and resolving legal disputes.
	Bangladesh missions Abroad	There are 13 attaches in various labour-receiving countries, providing counseling, advisory and legal services to migrant workers who face problems. Amongst other things the missions provide for the welfare of Bangladeshis in destination countries, however this is not currently a priority amongst its functions.
	Labour law	Legislation outlining entitlements of workers in Bangladesh, including rights to having a break during

[19] All references to Bangladesh are from Asfar 2003 and Siddiqui 2003

		work, casual leave, annual leave, sick leave, and rights of employees to have their wages paid within a specified time. This is also relevant to internal migrants
	Maternity Benefit Act of 1950	Includes provision for maternity leave in terms of 12 weeks leave before and after delivery for women including internal migrant women.
	Bastuhara Federation or federation for the landless	Political organization advocating for the rehabilitation of urban informal settlements in Bangladesh's major cities.
	The Bangladesh Garment Workers Protection Alliance (BGWPA)	A network of NGOs, trade unions and workers federations and human rights organizations, formed by NUK to give voice, mobilize, build pubic awareness and undertake media campaigning to protect and promote the rights of garment workers, through lobbying and advocacy. It also provides skills training and credit support to garment workers to set-up small businesses
	UNICEF	Provides some basic services to urban street children, as well as being involved in sensitization campaigns to promote girl's education, water sanitation and public health issues and is primarily working to rehabilitate poor migrants and refugees Areas of priority concern include trafficking of children, disadvantaged populations in urban and rural areas, flood-prone and tribal areas.
	Christian Commission for Development in Bangladesh (CCDB)	Involved in a project on HIV/AIDS and mobility, and has funded an NGO called SHISUK to establish an association of migrant workers. SHISUK provides orientation for Bangladeshi migrant workers going to Malaysia
	UNDP	Funded a few NGOs under its HIV/AIDS programme to raise awareness amongst migrants of HIV/AIDS
	Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU) Research Unit, Dhaka University	Has conducted two advocacy campaigns for the legal protection of migrants, including on lifting the bar imposed on unskilled female migration and on the ratification of the 1990 UN Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers.

Pakistan[20]	Bureau of Emigration, Protectorate of Emigrants	Regulates and protects international labour migrants, by checking documentation of migrants and licensing recruitment agents
	Overseas Pakistanis' Foundation	Operates through Pakistani embassies and consular offices. Handles government schemes and concessions for overseas Pakistanis including the allotment of state land for residential development and establishment of schools
	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan	Monitors and advocates against human rights violations including issues of trafficking, bonded labour and slavery
South Africa[21]	Social Charter (draft)	The South Africa Trade Union Co-ordinating Council (SATUCC) drafted in 1996 a Social Charter for the provision of minimum standards of social protection for all workers in South Africa, including Southern Africa regional migrants, regardless of their status.
Poland[22]	Bi-lateral agreements	Poland has various bi-lateral employment agreements with labour-receiving countries, which in the early 1990s included Germany, France, Belgium, the Czech and Slovak Republics. These enabled contract workers to receive full insurance coverage through contributions paid to the National Insurance Institution ZUS and the Labour Fund.
Tunisia	Bi-lateral agreements	In the mid-1990s this included agreements with European countries and Magreb countries for Tunisian international migrant workers. This enabled migrants amongst other things to access the Tunisian National Social Security Fund for insurance during the migration process.
Greece	General Confederation of Workers, Information Centre of Workers & Unemployed	Greece's largest trade union has opened an Information Office for Economic Immigrants in Greece, which is funded by the state employment agency. The aim of the office is to provide information to unemployed immigrants about work vacancies, training or education opportunities, information about social security and legal issues related to immigrants. In addition it assists economic immigrants in Greece to participate in Greek trade unions.

[20] All references to Pakistan are from Gazdar 2003
[21] All references to South Africa are from Fultz and Pieris 1997
[22] Source: References from Poland and Tunisia are from ISSA 1994

ANNEX 2
Formal Preventative Social Protection Instruments for Economic and Forced Migrants

Country	Provider	Key activities related to protection of migrants
Philippines	Overseas Workers' Welfare Administration (OWWA) (www.owwa.gov.ph)	The OWWA is an agency of the Department of Labor & Employment (DOLE) and provides a welfare fund for overseas Filipino workers. The Fund is created by mandatory contributions by overseas migrants and/or the foreign employers of overseas employers of Filipino workers. OWWA members have access to: i) Insurance and Health Care Benefits - Members are covered with life insurance for the duration of their employment contract, with death, disability and burial coverage. ii) Loan Guarantee Fund - OWWA provides a Pre-Departure Loan (PDL) and Family Assistance Loan (FAL) in coordination with government financing institutions. iii) Education and Training Benefits - Members or their beneficiaries have access to a number of different scholarship programs. iv) Social Services and Family Welfare Assistance Repatriation Program - members are provided with services necessary to facilitate repatriation. v) Reintegration Program - includes community organizing, capability-building and other social preparation activities. vii) Workers Assistance and On-site Services - including providing information, counseling, conciliation services, medical and legal assistance and outreach missions.
	Commercial Banks and remittance centres	Various insurance schemes exist for migrants, such as Scholarship and Education Funds, Insurance Undertaking, Housing Plans, Health Plans and Retirement Plans to assist the insurance of overseas migrants.
	The Social Benefits Package	Government social security including mandatory life and personal accident insurance protection as well as disability and sickness benefits for returnee overseas migrants
	Unlad Kabayan Migrant Workers Services Inc.	Supports small enterprises for returnee migrant workers and their families through migrant savings, managed by returned migrants and their families. This also provides training on entrepreneurship.

Bangladesh	Welfare Fund	Contributory Fund for ensuring the welfare of international migrants from Bangladesh. It was set up in 1990, on the basis of the Emigration Ordinance Law of 1982, by the government of Bangladesh. It includes subscriptions from migrants, interest earning from deposits by recruitment agencies and 10 per cent surcharge fees collected by Bangladesh missions abroad, as well as personal and institutional contributions. The fund provides for: "a welfare desk at the airport, language skill training, repatriation of the bodies of migrants who have died overseas and one-time contributions to the families of the deceased workers.
South Africa	The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA)	The worker's compensation is a form of social protection available to temporary contract migrants from Southern Africa working in South Africa, on the basis of an administrative agreement between the South Africa and the worker's home government. This is also available through the miners' major recruitment agency, The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA). Temporary contract workers from Southern Africa working in South Africa may also receive private benefits from their employers. These are most extensive in the mining industry where workers recruited through The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) are provided with housing, medical care, life insurance and matching contributions for a provident fund as contractual benefits.
Egypt[23]	Social insurance scheme	Egypt's government provides a social insurance scheme targeting Egyptian migrants abroad. Two separate contributory pension insurance schemes have been built up for these groups. Enrolment is optional for migrant workers. These schemes have a slightly better pension/contribution ratio than the general scheme, but neither provide health, maternity or unemployment benefits.

[23] Source: Loewe 2000

ANNEX 3
Formal Protective Social Protection Instruments for Economic and Forced Migrants

Country	Provider	Key activities related to protection of migrants
Philippines	Filipino Workers Resource Centre	Government agency operational in high-risk destinations with high concentration of overseas Filino workers. Services provided to migrants include training, crisis intervention, counselling, conciliation, temporary shelter and repatriation of distressed workers.
	Catholic Church of the Philippines	Provides shelters for homeless women in Hong Kong
	Kanlungan Centre Foundation	Private initiative supporting women returnee migrants who have been victimised and their families, providing counselling services, support groups and seminars.
India	Mobile Crèche Organization and Mobile Creche programme operating in Delhi with the support of the Aga Khan Foundation (www.schoolsandhealth.org)	Gives children of migrant construction workers basic literacy and numeracy skills, and health education. The 'Child-to-child' programme in Bombay Mobile Crèches introduced personal and environmental health messages
	DISHA (www.disha.india.org)	Formed a labour union and has been addressing the living and working conditions and providing shelter for migrants mainly from Gujurat in the construction industry, with government support
	Lok Jumbish programme Government programme Rajasthan	Targets the education of migrant's children specifically
Bangladesh	Ain O'Shalish Kendro (ASK)	One of a number of NGOs working on human rights and legal aid to migrants
	Ain O Shalish Kendra (ASK), Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust (BLAST) and Bangladesh Society for Enforcement of Human Rights (BSEHR)	Provide legal aid to migrant workers cheated by recruiting agents
Pakistan	Edhi Foundation	NGO providing shelters for women and children,

		including those that have been trafficked. They also provide services to the refugees of different countries forced to take shelter in Pakistan.
	Lawyers for Human Rights Association	Legal aid NGO pursuing cases of internally and internationally trafficked women
	Orangi Pilot Project and the Urban Resource Centre	NGOs working on problems related to urban informal settlements, where many migrants are residents.

ANNEX 4
Organised Informal Social Protection for Economic Migrants

Country	Provider	Key activities related to protection of migrants
Philippines	Organisation of Overseas Migrant Worker Families	Private initiative by overseas migrants. Services include community-based child care and pre-school learning centres, scholarships and skills training for children of overseas migrants. It also operates livelihood projects and micro-credit schemes as well as radio and television programmes providing information on migration policies
	Pugo Overseas Workers and Community Association	Association of returnee overseas migrants, providing welfare services and assistance to its members as well as livelihood projects and a community-based mental health program for women returnee migrants with psychological problems. Furthermore it organizes seminars on agricultural development, savings and finance management.
India	Banaskantha Women's Rural Development Project set up by Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA)	Improving the economic position of women through dairy and handicraft activity projects, which has lead to a decline in seasonal migration and the elimination of moneylenders and middlemen. Piped drinking water has been introduced and the formation of co-operatives and trade unions has been linked with income generation.
Bangladesh	Welfare Association of the Bangladeshi Returnee Employees (WARBE)	Pressure group set up by returned migrants, promoting and protecting the rights of migrant workers
	The Bangladesh Migrant Centre (BMC)	Organization of returned migrants, focusing on returnees from Korea
	Bangladesh Women Migrants Association (BWMA)	Organization of returned migrants campaigning to lift ban on female economic emigration
Greece	Greek Forum for Migrants (www.migrant.gr)	NGO network for immigrant communities in Greece from Albania, Gambia, Guinea, Morocco, Philippines, Senegal and Sudan. This provides information, campaigns, networking and social service for immigrant associations. The aim of the organization is to provide immigrant associations in Greece the opportunity to network amongst themselves, but also with Greek and European NGOs.