



Migration, Remittances and Gender-Responsive Local Development

Case Studies:
Albania, the Dominican Republic, Lesotho, Morocco,
the Philippines and Senegal



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Executive Summaries

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**Albania, the Dominican Republic, Lesotho, Morocco,
the Philippines and Senegal**

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The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) promotes applied research on gender issues, facilitates knowledge management, and supports capacity-building through networking mechanisms and multi-stakeholder partnerships with UN agencies, governments, academia and civil society.

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Preface

The feminization of migration is a phenomenon that stresses not only the moderate increase in the numbers of women migrating, but also the ways in which women participate in migratory processes. In the past, most female migrants moved as dependants of husbands or families, whereas today a greater variety of women are leaving autonomously to work and live abroad as primary income earners. Growing interest in the study of the feminization of migration has created a knowledge base of experience and tools that lend themselves to the integration of gender equality into migration-related interventions.

Meanwhile, remittances – another significant feature of migration – are gaining international attention. The monies sent from migrants in destination countries to families and communities in countries of origin are an important motivator for working abroad. Although individual migrants generally send relatively small sums of money, the accrual of remittances amounts to considerable financial flows.

Recognizing remittances' impact on national economies and the global financial world, governments and international organizations have taken interest in their potential to affect development. However, this potential to support and enhance human and local development has yet to be fully understood. A gendered approach to studying this phenomenon highlights how gender affects migrants' experiences and how migrant women in particular can contribute to dialogues, policy planning and interventions for sustainable development.

The study of remittances is an important aspect of the United Nations Development Programme's work on human development and poverty reduction, as well as its work in assisting governments to seek novel ways to harness remittances' development potential in achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Remittances are the only means of survival for millions of poor households worldwide; remittances allow them to afford not only the basic necessities that are otherwise lacking or inaccessible, but also a degree of economic empowerment. Building on this topic, UNDP dedicated its 2009 Human Development Report, *Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development*, to applying a human development approach to the study of migration. While not a substitute for broader development efforts, migration can be a vital strategy for households and families seeking to diversify and improve their livelihoods.

Since 2004, the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) has sought to understand the gender dimensions of migration, remittances and their potential for development. The Institute utilizes a gender perspective to analyze how factors such as gender inequalities in access to work and divisions of labour determine the relationship between migration and development. Within this framework, remittances serve as a key component to comprehending and facilitating sustainable solutions.

This series of studies, 'Migration, Remittances and Gender-Responsive Local Development', focuses on the sending, transfer, receipt and utilization of remittances, and affirms that gender influences and shapes the movement and experiences of migrants and their communities in both origin and destination

countries. The mapping of key actors and the discussion of historical and current migratory patterns and remittance practices in each country provided a useful background that allowed for an analysis of collective and social remittances. Utilizing a gender perspective and an emphasis on human development, this project adds another layer of necessary investigation that builds on the migration-development nexus.

With this publication, UN-INSTRAW and UNDP are committed to producing applied research that promotes the facilitation of gender-responsive policies and practices related to migration and development. The recommendations generated from the research serve as key guides for national level policy dialogues attended by key stakeholders, including migrant organizations, government agencies, financial intermediaries and NGOs. These dialogues are important platforms where research results can be translated into action plans that highlight co-development. Over time, the inclusion of gender analysis into the formulation of effective and sustainable migration and development strategies will contribute to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.

UN-INSTRAW and UNDP present this global series on gender, remittances and development in order to facilitate the development of policies and practices that incorporate the needs and contributions of migrant women, their households and communities into development agendas, thus bringing about gender responsive local development and sustainable livelihoods and futures.

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Introduction¹

The complex links between globalization and development have made contemporary migration a key area of investigation. It is estimated that over 200 million women and men have left their countries of origin to live and work abroad. Occurring simultaneously are equally intensive internal movements, primarily from rural to urban areas. Demographically, many country-specific flows have changed, both in terms of numbers and composition by sex. Studies on the feminization of migration² have revealed women's significant role and impact as actors in the migration process. Despite the rapid increase in the volume and diversity of knowledge on the migration-development nexus, research and debate on the gender dimensions of this issue, including the role of women within migratory flows, continues to be scarce.

In 2007, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) began a joint project entitled "Gender and Remittances: Building Gender-Responsive Local Development." The project has sought to enhance gender-responsive local development by identifying and promoting options for utilizing remittances for sustainable livelihoods and for building social capital in poor rural and semi-urban communities. The research phase of the project has been implemented in six countries: Albania, the Dominican Republic, Lesotho, Morocco, the Philippines and Senegal.

The strategic aim of the project is to generate action-oriented research that will be used to:

1. Increase awareness and improve access of women-headed, remittance-recipient households to productive resources, while augmenting their assets and strengthening their capacities;
2. Provide relevant information to local and national governments to identify and formulate policies that will optimize remittance utilization for sustainable livelihoods and for building social capital; and
3. Contribute to enhancing key stakeholders' capacities to integrate gender into policies, programmes, projects, and other initiatives linking remittances with sustainable livelihoods and building social capital.

The six case studies aim to narrow the knowledge gap on the gender dimensions of migration and remittances through an interlinked analysis of migration and development. Particular attention is paid to the impact of remittances (financial, in-kind and social) on gendered development processes in countries of origin and amongst transnational households spanning the origin and destination countries.

1. To access the full reports, visit: www.un-instraw.org/en/publications/gender-remittances-and-development/3.html.

2. "In addition to the net increase in the proportion of women among migratory flows, primarily to highly-developed countries in the North — the term feminization denotes an important qualitative change in the composition of these flows, that is the sustained increase in the proportion of women migrating independently in search of employment, instead of as 'family dependents' that travel with their spouses or reunite with them abroad. In other words, over the last two decades, a significant amount of women — who now migrate independently, assuming the role of economic provider — have joined the migratory flows that were previously dominated by men" (Perez et al 2008:36).



Executive Summary

ALBANIA

This case study research examines the gender dimensions of migration and remittances in the context of Albania and the destination country of Greece. This report reflects two research components. First, a critical review of relevant literature on Albanian migration, remittances, development, gender and a discussion of the key policies and practices of national and international development actors form the background to this report. Second, empirical data collected through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods constitutes the heart of the analysis. The transnational aspect of migration has been incorporated by integrating data collection and analysis in an area of origin (a cluster of three villages in the region of Korçë, south-east Albania), and an area of destination (the city of Thessaloniki in neighbouring Greece). The findings are based on 350 quantitative questionnaires with remittance-receiving households in rural Albania, 45 in-depth interviews, two group discussions with remittance-receiving households in Albania and remittance-sending households in Greece, and 14 in-depth interviews and two focus group discussions with local, regional and national stakeholders both in Albania and in Greece.

Albania represents the most dramatic instance of post-communist migration: around 1 million Albanians — a quarter of the country's total population — now

live abroad. Most migrants live in neighbouring Greece and Italy, with the United Kingdom and the United States becoming increasingly popular destinations since the late 1990s. Many Albanians also moved internally during this time, principally from the northern and southern rural highlands to the urban coastal areas.

Remittances — particularly from abroad — have been one of the most important aspects of this migration, not only for individuals and households, but also for the country as a whole. Reports from the Central Bank of Albania on total annual sums indicate that between 1992 and 2003, remittances rose from US\$200 million to US\$800 million annually. World Bank figures indicate that remittances totalled \$1.48 billion in 2007. Representing between 10 and 22



Mountain pass to Greece from South-east Albania. Throughout the early and mid-1990s, small groups of young males walked for several days, sometimes the whole length of Albania, before crossing the border clandestinely via mountain paths in remote places like this one.



Albanian women who remain in the villages perform many productive and reproductive tasks. Here, a woman in pojan is shown weaving.

percent of the country's GDP, they have surpassed the amount of foreign direct investment, as well as the amount of aid received from international institutions. In 2004, remittances amounted to more than twice the revenue from exports. At the household level, remittances have been crucial to economic survival and poverty alleviation, and have ensured a necessary supply of capital for small businesses. However, very little attention has been paid so far to the intra-household and country-wide gender aspects of these significant monetary transfers.

In the Albanian context, international migration generally represents a male-led typology, i.e., men migrated first and women followed as 'dependents'. The first post-communist migrants of the early 1990s were overwhelmingly men; women — especially from rural areas — generally stayed behind. Even when women migrated, their accounts and experiences of those early migration years have received little attention. However, by 2001, Albanian migrant women in Greece constituted around 40 percent of all Albanian migrants there. A maturing of this migration — after the family reunification process through which most Albanian migrant women arrived in Greece — has been reflected in the considerable presence of children.

Given that Albania has a strong patriarchal society, how have migration and its accompanying monetary and social transfers affected gender relations and roles in rural areas, as well as the processes of local development? The interconnections between migration, remittances and gender affect local development and are shaped by it in several ways. First, the gender norms of the origin society and the type of migration options available to Albanians in the 1990s favoured the migration of men to Greece over that

of women. Female migration to Greece increased rapidly through family reunification, particularly following male migrants' regularisation starting in 1998. This increase was also affected by the crisis in the Greek care sector, as more Greek women entered the labour force while the Greek welfare state did not provide alternative substitutes for their domestic and care work. This was taken over by Albanian migrant women, a situation reflected also by the study data, according to which the majority of women were employed in the domestic and care sectors. Men, on the other hand, worked overwhelmingly in construction, agriculture, and manufacturing. They had also secured higher shares of semi-skilled work.

Second, Albanian migrant men (particularly husbands and sons), continue to be the primary remitters from Greece (almost 99 percent of the sample). This reflects not only their numerical dominance in this migrant community, but also the patriarchal norms of the Albanian society. In Albania, migrants' wives were the primary remittance recipients/administrators in nuclear households; in families that included the parents of migrant sons the remittance recipient/administrator was more often the father (around 40 percent of the sample).

Given that gender relations in southeast Albania have been generally more egalitarian than in other parts of the country (such as the north or the northeast), and reflecting a certain degree of change due to migration, a rather nuanced picture results from this research. For example decision-making about the use of remittances generally involved women and men, but women were often *de facto* in control of the finances. Particularly *in de facto* female-headed households, women had gained a certain degree of empowerment through the day-to-day administration of finances. However, the husbands continued to exercise a strong influence in strategic intra-household decision-making processes.

Many women also earned money locally, usually through work on their own small farms. In spite of the opportunities migration and remittances had created, many rural women felt overburdened by the volume and diversity of tasks and responsibilities they had to face on their own, especially dealing with the emotional and developmental needs of their children. Furthermore, not much change had taken place with regards to reproductive tasks such as caring for children and the elderly, which are predominantly performed by women. Similarly, the research results suggest that though Albanian migrant women are empowered by their strengthened household economic roles from their own earnings, they continue to be disempowered by the Greek immigration policies that perpetuates patriarchal patterns of dependency and gender discrimination.

Though most remittances are generally used to finance the household's basic consumption, they also fund the health and education of family members and pay for improvements in living conditions through better accommodations. In addition, significant sums have been invested in agriculture, particularly in creating and expanding apple orchards, livestock farms and large-scale vegetable cultivation. These investments not only generate income for remittance-receiving households, but also provide local employment opportunities for other families in the origin country. In addition, skills and knowledge related to the investments contribute to a growth in the community's capacities. However, these processes

are strongly marked by gender: most skilled tasks are performed by men, who generally also own the land and the farming enterprises. Most local businesses are also registered as being owned by men, even though women may be performing the majority of administrative and operative tasks.

The research results also suggest that those who are becoming bridges of transnational entrepreneurial activities are also primarily men; women's positions are not prominent in these public arenas of power negotiations and opportunities. The situation is similar in migrant organisations, where decision-making is generally concentrated in the hands of men while women perform secondary supportive roles. Similarly, most associations in the rural areas of origin were comprised of men, a situation that was taken as a given considering their firm role as heads of households. Any future project that includes women in local development needs to consider these gendered power dynamics as they manifest themselves in private and public spaces. A gender-sensitive approach would first and foremost need to address the women's limited participation in public spaces of political power and decision-making. Second, it would avoid 'instrumentalizing' women by increasing their burden of tasks, and would instead seek to provide wider spaces for their political participation and for their voices to be heard. Third, it would also avoid the risk of reinforcing gender stereotypes.

There were no significant signs of locally implemented co-development policies or practices between Greece and Albania in the study area. As with most initiatives in the region, migration-related development initiatives strongly addressed the immigration agenda of Greece rather than the development agenda of Albania. Furthermore, Albanian migrant organisations were often excluded in such programmes, or were the token consultative partner with a significantly limited role. Truly co-development policies should aim at local development as an end in itself, not as a tool to stem further irregular emigration, which has generally been the case so far.

Sustainable development should address all aspects of human development, i.e. conditions where women and men can exercise freedom, equality and social empowerment, including – but not only–through pursuing the option of migration. Co-development policies and initiatives that consider migrant women and men as actors of development should be based on the recognition of their role as stakeholders in host societies. This is reflected in the access they have to citizenship rights through enabling their regularisation in the host country and their equitable incorporation therein as dignified citizens with rights and responsibilities.

Similar to previous research, the study findings emphasize the importance of policies — and their effective implementation — creating a viable and sustainable business environment and achieving a higher quality of human development. Responsibility for such provisions rests primarily with the Albanian national and local governments. Gender-responsive local development, through the inclusion of migrants' remittances are not a panacea for ailing rural societies. Migrant women and men are already bearing the heavy burden of substituting fragmented and inadequate social and labour policies and systems in origin areas like rural Albania through financing the survival, health and education of their families. It is the responsibility of governments to provide adequate structures wherein further investment can lead to growth and improvement of freedoms and capabilities.



Executive Summary

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

This case study research examines the gender dimensions of migration and remittances in the context of the Dominican Republic and the destination country of the United States. The qualitative research carried out in the Dominican Republic focused on the community of Las Placetas, in the municipality of San José de las Matas. Las Placetas receives the second largest percentage of remittances per capita in the Dominican Republic. This indicator, together with more than four decades of migration to the United States (mainly New York and New Jersey), were important in selecting this migration corridor for study.

Las Placetas combines the structural elements of rural Latin America and the Caribbean with transformations due to modernization processes. That is, the community's agricultural culture has a particular family-land relationship, in which the domestic unit combines strategies of production for their own consumption and for the local market, and in which relationships of dependency keep the domestic unit on the extreme periphery of the world system. At the same time, members of the community are implicated in globalization, at both the macro and micro levels, with opportunities to diversify production into non-agricultural areas (e.g., transportation, tourism, trade). Nevertheless, this change to new productive options has not improved the community's structural deficiencies, among them scarce public services, poor quality education, uneven distribution of land, and the absence of mechanisms to participate in decision-making. It is important to note that patriarchal traditions persist despite women's agency at the domestic and community levels.

This overview allows the identification of elements in Las Placetas that, from a human development

perspective, deprive community members of sustainable livelihoods and access to services such as education and health, and that reinforce patterns of social and gender inequity, inefficient resource management, and weak social empowerment in both individual and collective terms. These factors lead to international migration being one of the few options for social mobility, not only in Las Placetas but across the Dominican Republic.

Migration patterns between the community of Las Placetas and the United States are created by and through transnational networks of extended families. Migratory processes through family networks are often led by the male migrating first; but the women left behind also play an active role in promoting family reunification in their roles as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters or aunts.

This migration pattern has changed family structures to single parent households that are headed by the wives of migrants, but whose husbands continue to exercise power from a distance as the principal family provider. The transnational nature of migratory processes illustrates the importance of 'here and there' in migration logic; the transnational marital relationships that result from migration are maintained by strong internal social cohesion that is strengthened, despite the distance, by family networks in the migrant's community of origin.

These traditional social and family networks uphold unequal power relations between men and women in transnational nuclear and extended households through social control and by assigning reproductive roles to women. Wives who live in the Dominican Republic tend to be overburdened with tasks: they are required to manage their households by themselves, perform all domestic

chores, take in new family members who move to their household as a result of migration (e.g., in-laws, siblings-in-law, other relatives of the male migrant in vulnerable situations), attend to subsistence agriculture or other income-generating activities, and actively participate in social and community life. In addition to their household responsibilities, women who have migrated to the United States also have the burden of maintaining outside employment. This double day exacerbates their subordination to men.

The possibilities for empowering migrant women residing in the United States are minimal, even when women enter the labour market and their remittances make significant contributions to their households of origin. Income does not change existing patriarchal cultural patterns, and the second generation, despite living in the United States since childhood, often sustains and replicates gender roles. Second generation descendants display mixed and ambivalent cultural patterns, showing cultural attachment and detachment with regards to their parents' homeland. This strong transnational relationship, coupled with the racialized social system of the United States, reinforces their identity as a minority group (*Dominicanayork*), who in the Dominican Republic are referred to as absent Dominicans (*dominicanos ausentes*).

Young Dominican descendants living in the United States experience, to a lesser extent, some of the same problems experienced by adolescents in the Dominican Republic — teen pregnancy, gender and domestic violence, dropping out of school, or having to repeat grades — as well as the reproduction of patterns of female subordination. Parent-child power relations are marked by social tension and cultural conflict linked to generational, educational and cultural gaps, and to difficulties integrating themselves into American culture. The relevance of these topics is evidenced by how the issues are prioritized by diaspora organizations that offer integration support to Dominican migrant populations.

The social integration of migrants has translated into important changes in their nutrition habits, personal relations, social interactions and everyday life. The most startling social transformation is that 'working' becomes more important than 'living', and there is a reduction of social interaction with neighbours, friends, and family. Migrants understand their migration as an income-generating activity; their salary, working shifts, promotion opportunities and social relationships at work become the centre of 'life'.

The migrant population from Las Placetas in the United States has three different socio-economic levels that correspond with the migrant's level of education. Higher levels of education (e.g., a university degree) tend to correlate with better socio-economic conditions. Nevertheless, despite education level, the owners of ethnic businesses such as supermarkets and *bodegas* (convenience stores) have ascended socially and economically, becoming important job generators for the ethnic group.

It is important to note that the work niches available to women follow traditional gender patterns. Typical jobs



Wives who remain in the Dominican Republic tend to be overburdened with tasks: managing the household, caring for family members, attending to subsistence agriculture, and participating in social and community life.

of Dominican women include seamstress, babysitter, cook, teacher, textile worker and domestic employee. In addition, many women become domestic helpers in relatives' homes, where the remuneration is a token gesture (often between US\$150 to US\$300 a month). Although men are also present in 'feminized' work niches (e.g., restaurants or cleaning), they quickly move to more 'masculine', better paying labour niches (e.g., transportation, construction, management or administration).

Taking into account that income is an essential element of migration dynamics, it logically follows that remittances are an important outcome of migration. Thus, an analysis of the patterns of sending and receiving remittances from a gender perspective calls for special attention to the characteristics of both the sender and the recipient households. The information collected through interviews, focus groups, and life stories reveals that remittances have contradictory impacts on the community of Las Placetas. On one hand, socio-economic conditions have improved in terms of food security, access to cash flows and the ability to meet everyday expenses. On the other hand, patriarchal power over women who receive remittances has increased. Family networks within the rural community act as a barrier to cultural change and ensure that the patriarchy remains. Mothers- and sisters-in-law play important roles in sustaining the power of migrant husbands over their families, making it impossible for the wife to assume an empowered position within the household. At the same time, the socialization process of children is deeply marked by traditional gender norms, irrespective of the fact that young women now often attain greater formal education than men.

The majority of wives who receive remittances do not participate in organizational processes within the community, as they are frightened of

their husbands' reaction to their breaking away from traditional domestic roles. The double workload of those women who maintain traditional feminine roles while also assuming masculine roles of authority within the family affects them emotionally and restricts their mobility.

In the community of Las Placetas, remittances have had little impact on generating sustainable livelihoods, promoting savings, creating businesses or increasing agricultural production. Family remittances have weak development potential, since the regular amounts received are barely sufficient to cover families' basic monthly needs. Remittances make up for existing weaknesses in local social security systems and poor or non-existent public policies for children and ageing populations, given that households are used to paying for these services out of pocket. There is a significant group of remittance-recipients in Las Placetas, mainly women and ageing men, who cover their basic domestic and health needs with their sons' and daughters' remittances.

The majority of remittances sent by independent migrant women support parents and siblings; the latter, who depend only in part on the remittances, generally receive less money. These represent the largest percentage of investments in activities that allow economic independence for women. In-kind remittances, such as clothing for sale or personal use, involve a considerable investment from the



Girl fetching water near Las Placetas. Poor public services continue to limit local economic development and to overburden girls and women.

sender and allow other women in the community of origin to have an income. The acceptance of the role of women as providers in the case of those sending remittances to their parents represents a change in gender roles within those households that receive remittances.

At the same time, migration has strengthened relationships between social networks and existing social capital in Las Placetas, and has generated networks of care, solidarity and support in both directions. One important aspect of social capital over which migration has had an impact is the care network for older persons and children. These groups benefit the most from the remittances sent by their relatives, as well as from the social networks that are created among women. However, migration has weakened the organizational social capital and community leadership, leading in some cases to the disappearance of important organizations (e.g., the association of coffee producers).

Economic and social development projects directed at women in Las Placetas should focus on strengthening existing social structures, such as the Mothers' Club (*Club de Madres*), and on challenging subordinating roles for women who are insecure and afraid to manage projects. At the moment, the Mothers' Club is the most important organization in the community and can be considered a 'seed of empowerment', as it includes an important portion of the female population and has significant experience implementing projects (e.g., micro-credit, revolving funds, training). This example illustrates the important bond that is created between migrant and non-migrant women through solidarity and support networks. In addition, interventions should focus on changing cultural patterns of land ownership that traditionally exclude women, due to the fact that in the Dominican Republic agricultural work is not considered an appropriate productive activity for women.

The impact of remittances on development should be promoted through collective remittances. The transnational community and organizations abroad can collaborate directly with local communities to establish a solid and trustworthy relationship to facilitate investments. Therefore, if remittances

are to be mobilized as a socio-economic factor to facilitate human development in Las Placetas, the transnational community should utilize collective remittances towards investing in social development projects that reflect the needs of migrants abroad and their families in the area of origin. At the same time, these types of initiatives strengthen organizational capacity, social movements and the creation of social capital while also increasing multi-level cooperation and negotiation.

Transnational Dominican organizations have expressed their interest in supporting local development projects in the Dominican Republic, as long as reliable and trustworthy institutions that are not related to the government or to political parties administer the projects. Within the Dominican diaspora, educated migrants have organized themselves in order to engage in such transnational initiatives through a civil society foundation that conducts charity work. However, the majority of community activities led by such organizations are based on solidarity ties to communities of origin. Their relationship is mostly assistentialist, and has led to neither social empowerment nor improved joint organizational processes with the community.

Social intervention for rural development from a human development perspective in Las Placetas should be implemented in such a way that it includes both agricultural and non-agricultural projects. Agreements should be established with the government to appeal for investment in local infrastructure and to create better conditions for commerce and production. Social capital created by local organizations with the ability to mobilize others should be supported. One example could be the Mothers' Club, which maintains certain leadership and credibility within Las Placetas, yet it must also be strengthened at the institutional and administrative levels. Women who belong to the Mothers' Club, along with other non-organized women, should be involved in capacity-building processes that put an end to patterns of subordination that instil insecurity in administering and managing projects. Finally, an important step to increasing women's access to productive resources is helping them to acquire land.

Executive Summary

LESOTHO

This case study research examines the gender dimensions of migration and remittances in the context of Lesotho and the destination country of South Africa. The research methodology for this report involved several components: a desk review, analysis of quantitative data, collection of qualitative data (focus groups and interviews), and a mapping of key stakeholders. The quantitative data was drawn from a nationally representative household survey of migrant-sending households that the South African Migration Project conducted in Lesotho in 2005. In-depth case-study research was conducted in villages of the Lesotho lowlands in the areas of Ha Mafefoane and 'Mahuu in December 2008 and January 2009. Five focus groups were conducted during this time, as well as interviews with a selection of stakeholders and key informants in South Africa and Lesotho.

Lesotho is one of the most migration-dependent countries in the world. Out of a population of around two million people, over 240,000 are estimated to be outside the country. Migrants' remittances are the country's major source of foreign exchange, accounting for 25 percent of GDP in 2006. They have risen from an estimated R1,193 million (US\$156.5 million) in 1993 to R1,939 million (US\$254.5 million) in 2004.³ Lesotho is also one of the poorer countries in the world, with high domestic unemployment, declining agricultural production, falling life expectancy, rising child mortality and half the population living below the poverty line. Poverty continues to be the major driving force behind internal and cross-border migration in Lesotho. South Africa completely

surrounds Lesotho and is the primary destination for the Basotho people, who comprise the dominant ethnic group of Lesotho. Thus the development of South Africa and Lesotho are inextricably linked, and co-development of these two countries, albeit in highly unequal form, describes a long-standing reality. The South African economy has benefited from Lesotho's migrant labour, while the Lesotho economy is highly dependent on remittances from South Africa.

In Lesotho, interregional mobility has been both a cause and a consequence of the HIV/AIDS epidemic: currently, 24 percent of the population is infected. The spread of HIV/AIDS has not simply been fuelled by migration. Migration, by its very nature, facilitates high-risk behaviour and makes migrants more vulnerable to infection. As increased economic vulnerability shifts patterns of employment and migration, the epidemic has affected household structure, division of labour and livelihood strategies.

Lesotho is a highly patriarchal society, in which women have lower socio-economic status, experience significant gender-based discrimination and lack equal rights. There is a striking contradiction between women's growing significance as economic actors, including as labour migrants, and their continued second-class social, political and legal status.

Historically, young men of Basotho households have migrated across the border to work in the South African gold mines; women and children

3. Throughout the document, all calculations in dollar equivalents have been made at exchange rates from 2010. However, this exchange rate may vary from that of the time of data collection. Therefore, equivalents are approximate figures and may not represent the real value. As of 27 January 2010, the exchange rate was US\$1=R7.62.

were barred from accompanying migrant miners to the place of work. Some female migrants did still migrate to work, but they were few in number. These women generally came from households without a male migrant wage-earner and were typically younger women or widows escaping poverty at home. Migration for men is thus an entrenched and accepted social norm, while for women it remains controversial, considered by many in Lesotho to be a departure from what is regarded as proper behaviour.

Since 1990, migration patterns between Lesotho and South Africa have changed dramatically. First, cross-border movement between Lesotho and South Africa (legal and irregular) has increased substantially, with legal border crossings rising from 240,000 in 1991 to nearly 2 million in 2008. Second, mine labour, while still the dominant employment sector for male migrants from Lesotho, has been considerably reduced in scale, replaced by employment in other sectors such as construction for male migrants and domestic service by the increasing number of female migrants.

A third significant trend is the feminization of international migration from Lesotho. This involves an increase in the absolute number of female migrants, an increase in the proportion of migrants who are female, and a qualitative change in the character of female migration. Several factors explain the increase in female migration to South Africa. First, women's migration is partly a compensatory flow for the reduction in male migrant employment in South African mines. Second, the collapse of apartheid lessened the threat of harassment and deportation by the state, making it easier for women to migrate and to find work. However, most women are confined to low-paying, exploitative jobs by their irregular migrant status. Third, women's wages in South Africa are better than in Lesotho, though still lower than those of men. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, there has been a rise in the number of female-headed households — both by delaying or avoiding marriage and by rising levels of widowhood, divorce, and abandonment — from which women migrate as the primary or only income-earner.

Male migrants, who constitute 80 percent of migratory flows, are mainly older married men whereas female migrants are, for the most part, without husbands. Women who migrate to work in South Africa fall into three broad categories: the daughters or nieces, some of them widowed, divorced, or single mothers, from households where a parent, uncle or aunt is the household head (51 percent); the wives of unemployed men, many whose husbands are former mineworkers or who no longer work due to disease (especially tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS) or disability (18 percent); and women who are themselves the head of households without an adult male member, many of them widows or divorcees but including women who are simply unmarried (24 percent). The gender dynamics and power relations within individual households reflect this variety and complexity of migrant household forms.

In 2005, the average annual cash remittance receipt reported by households was M7,800 (US\$1023). The average amount of money remitted by female migrants overall (M4,825 or US\$633) is significantly lower than that of male migrants (M11,162 or US\$1,465). Women's employment and livelihood strategies (e.g., as informal sector traders or domestic workers) compared to waged mine labour mean lower earnings overall and less regular or reliable remuneration than their male counterparts. Women, however, generally remit a larger portion of their earnings.

The primary formal channel of remittance flows is the compulsory deferred pay system of the South African mining industry. Outside this system, the most popular ways of remitting are informal in nature. Migrants bring the money themselves (54 percent) or send it via a trusted friend or co-worker (33 percent). Without access to the formal banking mechanisms of the mines, the majority of migrant women use informal means to remit. On their frequent return visits to Lesotho, migrant women generally bring money and goods home themselves.

Migrant-sending households in Lesotho spend the greatest portion of total income on basic necessities. Food and groceries are by far the most important expenditure, followed by fuel, clothes, transportation and medical expenses. Less than 10

percent of households saved any funds, invested in farming, or spent on education.

Analysed from a gender perspective, what is most striking is the enormous significance of migrant remittances to household subsistence and basic material needs, irrespective of migrant gender. Nevertheless, significant gender differences did emerge in the reported monetary expenditure in various categories. Expenditure was found to be higher in almost every category for male compared to female migrant-sending households, including essentials such as medical costs and luxuries such as alcohol. Households with male migrants were also more likely to be able to save. Male migrants' higher remittances translate into more money to spend, so that even when such expenditure is on basic goods such as food and clothing, the quantity and quality of purchases is greater for households with male migrant members. These gender differences suggest that households with female migrant members (many of which are also female-headed) are indeed poorer and forced to 'go without' more often than households where the migrant members are men.

Irrespective of the sex of the remittance sender, it was generally the remittance recipient who decided how the money would be spent. For male remitters, in most cases this was the female spouse. For female remitters, it was either a parent, spouse, child or other relative. At times when both sender and recipient are at home, decisions are usually taken jointly. Control of remittance expenditure by the remittance recipient is unsurprising given the basic needs nature of remittance usage. However, some disagreements were reported, particularly in cases where a spouse felt that her husband was wasting remittance money on non-essentials and/or being less than honest.

Being the *de facto* heads of household in the absence of their husbands gives women greater power in the domestic sphere than they would wield if their husbands lived at home; but this power and the economic advantages of remittances come with additional burdens of responsibility and labour. Caution must also be exercised in assuming that migration is inherently empowering for female migrant workers. Their positions as head of household

or principal wage-earner are often not by choice but by necessity or emergency, and their migration is itself a strategy to avoid their own and their children's destitution. It also comes with associated stigma and disapproval from family and community members. Women's empowerment through migration and related earning is thus an ambiguous gain.

The proportion of migrant-sending households investing remittances in income-generating activities in Lesotho (e.g., farming or in formal and informal businesses), is extremely low. However, the research identified a few respondents who use remittances for entrepreneurial activities. Several female entrepreneurs had opened small shops or other enterprises, while some men had established a local taxi business. Migrants' remittances also go to employ agricultural labour or to hire shop assistants and are thus an important, if small, source of local employment.

Pooling, lending and borrowing money are other important aspects of remittance use and the local circulation of capital. In Lesotho villages, burial societies and grocery associations effectively pool a portion of remittance receipts (though not primarily for entrepreneurial reasons) to meet additional expenses such as funeral costs. These associations comprise an important forum in which women exercise control over resources, and could serve as a mechanism to spread the benefits of remittances beyond the immediate household. However, more research is needed as to their operations, benefits, and potential for improving the development benefits of migration through collective organization and action.

As for remittance usage in general, gender combines with age, generation, household size and household type to influence the relationship between migrant remittances and income generation. The most successful households are those with a male migrant mineworker and a female spouse running a small business at home in Lesotho, and where the size of the household does not mean that the entire remittance package is spent on basic needs.

Female migrants' remittances can support local business and farming activities, but mainly in cases where a male spouse (or parent) is at home to provide

the skills and labour required. Migrant women's lower earnings, and thus lesser remittances, limit their potential for income generation or investment. Least likely of all to generate business or agricultural investment in Lesotho are remittances from female heads of household without a male partner or adult family member to operate a business activity at home. Such women may, however, be entrepreneurs in their own right, for example as informal cross-border traders. It is probably fair to characterize male migrants' remittances as more 'developmental', in the economic sense of promoting growth and investment, than female migrants' remittances, which are more survivalist in their character and impact. This should not be understood as a simple gender dichotomy, but rather as an illustration of the feminization of poverty and women's adoption of migration as a rational response to the threat of destitution.

Seven obstacles to entrepreneurship were identified in this research:

1. The small size of the remittance package and the fact that most of it is consumed on basic needs;
2. The lack of capital and loan financing for those who wish to develop a business;
3. The considerable reduction in net worth of remittances through transaction costs, double taxation, and corruption;
4. The absence of the type of diaspora associations that are emerging in other international contexts and that are used to support community-scale projects rather than simply household-scale activities;
5. An inhospitable regulatory framework governing movement between Lesotho and South Africa;
6. The structural development constraints inherent to Lesotho; and
7. Gender discrimination and gendered patterns of poverty and deprivation, which present further structural constraints impeding the development potential of remittances.

Migration needs to be reconceptualised in public policy discourse, not as a threat to the interests of South Africans but as something that is (and could be even more) mutually beneficial to both countries. Evidence from this research indicates that the facilitation of legal residence and labour documentation to Lesotho citizens in South Africa

would in all likelihood encourage not permanent relocation but reduction in the length of time that people would have to spend working in South Africa before being able to return home to Lesotho. This has important implications for their ability to return and contribute to development initiatives in Lesotho.

Mobilizing remittances in order to achieve gender-inclusive, sustainable development requires both strategic and practical interventions. At the strategic level, there needs to be reform of policies, laws and employment practices in both Lesotho and South Africa in order to eliminate gender discrimination in migration and employment. Protection of women's and workers' rights, especially migrant workers' rights, is an essential first step. National-level policy interventions to reduce gender discrimination include: facilitating cross-border movement for men and women; regularizing Basotho women's employment in South Africa; protecting the rights of all migrant workers; and allowing male and female citizens of Lesotho to open bank accounts, own property and freely invest in businesses in South Africa.

Changes are also required in Lesotho if women's migration and remittance contributions are to be optimized in terms of their development potential. The 2006 act that aimed to remove gender discrimination must be enforced and areas where it conflicts with customary law must be clarified, so that women are no longer regarded as minors and can exercise greater control over their lives and secure more equitable access to property and resources. Counselling, support and skills training for retrenched mineworkers and their families would reduce retrenchment's negative development implications. Providing health care and support services for individuals and families affected by HIV/AIDS also has to be part of this wider strategy and should specifically target migrant women and men and their sexual partners. Broader socio-economic development in Lesotho, including expansion of employment and livelihood opportunities, would lessen the burden on migrants, both male and female, whose remittances are thinly stretched among many family members. This would include support for agriculture, access to micro-credit, and skills training and assistance with small business start-ups, each incorporating sensitivity to gendered needs and capacities.

Executive Summary

MOROCCO

This case study research examines the gender dimensions of migration and remittances in the context of Morocco and the destination country of Spain. Morocco has been the source of different migratory movements to Europe, both through recruitment and labour migration, and through reunification and autonomous migration. Moroccan migration to Spain began at the end of the 1980s, and was one of the first groups of migrants in that time period to lead Spain's transformation from being a sending to a receiving country.

Traditionally, the Moroccan migration model consisted of low-skilled male workers from rural areas who migrated first and were later followed by their wives and children. This pattern began to change in recent years with the gradual growth of autonomous female migration. Taking into account these changing models, this study addresses the impact of migration and the receipt of remittances from distinct but complementary viewpoints. One perspective explores the context, logic and repercussions of migration on El Bahraouiyyine and Beni Gorfett, rural Moroccan communities with a significant level of emigration to Spain. El Bahraouiyyine is located near Tangiers in the province of Fahs-Anjra. Beni Gorfett is in the province of Larache. Another aspect explored is the phenomenon of autonomous migration of women, who, once settled in Spain, send remittances to their households in the urban areas of Tangiers and Larache. The variation of the population studied shows that it is necessary to adapt the analytical categories employed in the methodology to the realities of migration between

Morocco and Spain from a gender perspective. Therefore, analysis of migration from a rural point of origin is related to migratory projects undertaken as a family project, while migration from urban areas is perceived to be based on individual motives.

The bulk of female migration from Morocco takes place as part of household migration projects. According to Spanish sources, such as analysis of the national survey of immigrants conducted by the Ioé Collective,⁴ 70 percent of Moroccan women in Spain arrived under formal or informal family reunification processes, while only 20 percent of men arrived in Spain through these means. In contrast, 70 percent of males and only 20 percent of females reported that they migrated with the intention to work.

The same survey confirmed the data gathered through fieldwork and interviews, which demonstrate that Moroccan males tend to be concentrated in low-wage sectors such as construction (39 percent), agriculture/fishing (18 percent), and industrial work (14 percent), sectors hardest hit by the global economic crisis. For women, the rate of work in origin communities is considerably lower (27 percent), since the social model of the family is based on the male household head providing for the family while the female serves as the mother and housewife. Nevertheless, the process of migration and the economic reality of the destination country contribute to the considerable rise (49 percent; a 22 percent increase) in the percentage of employed women.

4. Colectivo Ioé, (2008) La situación de la inmigración en España a partir de la explotación de la Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes de 2007. Ministerios de Trabajo e Inmigración (at press).



Bahraouiine, a rural Moroccan community, was one of the case study sites.

international migration as a survival strategy. The absence of these young men has affected the number of available men of marriageable age, which has caused a gradual delay in the age of marriage, making it impossible for some to marry at all. These women (singles over 25 years of age or divorcees) are more inclined to look for alternatives such as internal migration and find work in textile workshops (mostly

Like other women, Moroccans, upon becoming immigrants in Spain, tend to work in the service industry, mostly in domestic service (17 percent), hotels (19 percent), retail (19 percent), with the remaining 45 percent employed in other sectors. De-skilling is common, as Moroccan women often find themselves in employment sectors different from the ones available to them in their country. Unlike in Spain, the dominant industry for Moroccan women is factory work. Yet unlike other groups, Moroccan women are not as concentrated in areas of domestic work. In fact, the Moroccan socio-cultural model contributes to the low insertion of women in domestic work, since it often requires that they reside within employer households, which neither the women themselves nor their partners accept.

Marriage continues to be a fundamental goal for Moroccan women in most social groups, particularly for rural women and those of lower social status. In Morocco, there is a general belief that families must marry off their daughters early in order to avoid their becoming a burden to their parents. The growing difficulty for young men to find work in the communities studied has promoted

clandestine), or in factories in the free trade zone in the port of Tangiers. It is evident that men's emigration is a driving force of women's emigration from rural areas and that their internal migration potentially triggers international migration.

Beginning several years ago, Spanish agricultural companies started to carry out temporary migration programmes for farm work. The company owners and the Spanish government have attempted to ensure return; that many workers are women is salient, given that 95 percent of them do return. The requirement that female employees be mothers who must leave their children behind further reinforces return. According to the head of Fundación Hassan II,⁵ this type of recruitment causes domestic problems because it brings about an important change in household roles; this is then negatively perceived within communities, as the absence of women is not considered acceptable within the Moroccan social structure. In addition, government leaders consider temporary labour migration of little use for the productive investment of remittances, since the short work periods do not generate savings sufficient for investment.

There are marked differences between the

5. Interview in Rabat, April 2008, identified in the study as MICV10.

remittance sending patterns of men and women and also between the patterns of Moroccans and other immigrant groups. Close to 40 percent of Moroccan immigrants send remittances to Morocco, of whom 80 percent are men and 20 percent are women. The monthly remittances sent by men average between 100 and 150 Euros (US\$135-\$203)⁶, while women send between 50 to 100 Euros (US\$68-\$135) each month (or every two to three months). In these cases, the unstable labour market, their irregular legal status and the impact of the crisis all have a strong impact on the funds transferred.

Extended families with multiple members in Spain utilize different strategies, such as alternating sending between family members or combining remittances to be sent. Regarding remittance channels, banks are the most common transfer mechanism, followed by money orders and cash. However, interview data indicates that migrants also carry large amounts of money with them when they come home for holidays and special events.

Regarding remittance sending patterns, the findings of the study are similar to the results of the National Survey of Immigrants; 77 percent of migrants send remittances to their parents, 26 percent to their siblings, 15 percent to their spouse, 10 percent to other family members, and 9 percent to their children. With the exception of wives, the majority of recipients are males. This distribution demonstrates the extent of family reunification and the re-constitution of families in the destination country, since the transfers between nuclear family members are relatively low in comparison to other immigrant groups.

Within the gender structure, the husband is considered to be the best person to maintain the household. This also

implies that as soon as the emigrant husband makes a reasonable salary — and sometimes even if he does not — the woman will leave her job outside of the household and will no longer earn her own salary. Within the social groups who fuel emigration to Spain, a sense of shame exists when women must work outside of the home to help sustain the household. This situation limits the remitting potential of Moroccan women vis-à-vis other immigrant groups, and confirms that their social and work-related behaviour as immigrants tends to resemble that of Morocco before they left. However, this is changing slowly throughout the migration process for many women as they begin to value their own salary for the intra-household bargaining power it affords them.

The information collected confirms the results of other reports from the last three decades: remittances are utilized to cover household needs and construction or renovation of a home. They contribute to the satisfaction of basic needs and to improving the quality of life. In particular, remittances are mostly used to cover the costs of food, housing (e.g., electricity, rent), health and education, and specifically to attend to the needs of dependent family members (e.g., elder parents, those without pensions or health insurance, disabled siblings, and children). They are also



Beni Gorfet, a rural Moroccan community, was one of the case study sites.

6. As of 4 March 2010, the exchange rate was US\$1 = 8.23520 dirhams



Bahraouyine: remittances are utilized to cover household needs for construction or renovations of a home.

used to maintain other adult family members who require assistance (e.g., due to unemployment, excessive number of children, or illness).

Regarding investment in property or in productive activities, one survey conducted by INSEA in 2000⁷ showed that Moroccan immigrants' investments in their country of origin were increasing, particularly in real estate (84 percent), agriculture (8 percent), and in other sectors such as tourism and small business. Recently, educated migrants have expressed interest in investing in new technologies as well.

The influx of remittances also has brought negative effects such as inflation (which also affects real estate and land), dependency on remittances, an increase in inequality among recipient and non-recipient households, promotion of more out-migration, and growth of internal migration which accelerates urbanization and the abandonment of rural areas. These trends compound what are already difficult conditions due to gradual environmental degradation, including more constant drought and aridity.

Given that it is not customary for couples to be

separated or for children to live far away from their parents, families tend to regroup in the destination country. Thus, the characteristics of the Moroccan family structure do not change significantly throughout the migratory process. This, together with the constant interaction with traditional community organizations both in origin and destination countries, contributes to the maintenance of traditional gender roles in the destination country. In addition, Moroccan immigrants are quite reluctant to set up transnational organizations. This reduces the effectiveness of both

Spanish and European development cooperation proposals, whose promoters find it difficult to adapt their methodologies to the working environment—given that migrants' associations are critical to most co-development programs and efforts to integrate and strengthen the social fabric in the destination country.

Two co-development initiatives in Morocco were evaluated as part of this research; it was found that gender, while present, had not been taken into account, much less made central to the programmes. That is, gender has not been mainstreamed, despite the discourse surrounding it. The Moroccan diaspora, including Spain as a destination country, so far has not generated any female networks that could potentially consolidate into transnational associations that initiate interventions in their community of origin. Traditional attitudes that still maintain the roles of women in private spaces and men in public ones limit the physical and organizational capacity of potential female Moroccan leaders in Spain.

7. INSEA (2000), *Les Marocains résident à l'étranger. Une enquête socio-économique*, El Maarif EL Jadida.

Executive Summary

PHILIPPINES

This case study research examines the gender dimensions of migration and remittances in the context of the Philippines and the destination country of Italy. The Philippines' long history of migration has contributed to its status as one of the largest labour exporting countries in the world. Government policies, the lack of local available jobs, and a culture of migration have prompted about 10 million Filipinos to work abroad. The feminization of migration is evident in the growth of the number of Filipino workers that have left and continue to work abroad.

In 2006, Filipino emigration to Italy ranked second to the United Kingdom with the biggest number of overseas Filipino workers in Europe. Figures from the Commission on Filipinos Overseas estimated that of 128,080 Filipinos in Italy, 23,108 are permanent residents, 84,972 are temporary/ documented workers and 20,000 are 'irregulars' or migrants without valid residence or work permits. Filipino emigration to Italy was facilitated through connections with the Catholic Church rather than through sponsorship of recruiting agencies or by the endorsement of Philippine governmental agencies. In 2006, Caritas di Rome estimated that of the 26,000 Filipino migrants living in Rome, 61 percent, or 16,000 were women.

The large percentage of migrant women results from the great demand for domestic helpers and caregivers due to Italian women's increasing integration into the local labour market. Filipina migrants also tend to be concentrated in the domestic service sector in Italy due in part to the

difficulties involved in achieving official recognition of their studies and professional credentials, as well as the well-established roots of the Filipino transnational community in the domestic service and care-giving sectors. While work opportunities in these sectors facilitate their migration process, they simultaneously limit their participation in other types of activities. Therefore, Filipina women essentially have taken over the domestic responsibilities among middle-class Italian households as domestic helpers, cooks, nannies and gardeners. It is important to acknowledge that Filipino men are also involved in similar work (i.e., as gardeners, delivery men and caretakers).

In subsequent years, Filipina domestic workers facilitated the entry of their children, spouses and other family members. In the 1980s and 1990s, with the implementation of Italian immigration policies supportive of family reunification, the Filipino migrant communities grew significantly.

Qualitative and quantitative methods were used to conduct 402 household surveys in 23 barangays⁸ in Lemery, Batangas. All households surveyed received remittances from Italy, mostly from Rome and Milan. The case study area of Lemery is an ideal location because generations of the town's people have emigrated to Italy. Lemery is considered one of the fastest growing municipalities in Batangas with 46 barangays, and a population of 72,790 in 15,417 households. One barangay, Ayao-lyao, is estimated to have the greatest number of overseas Filipino workers in Italy, with about 40 percent of its total household population (200 out of

8. A barangay is the smallest administrative division or political unit in the Philippines; basically it is a village.

500 households). A large number of overseas Filipino workers have also been joined by their families. The local government revealed in focus group discussions that Barangay Ayao-Iyao has a decreasing population, since a high number of its residents have already migrated to Italy. These migrants have even formed a small community in Vicenza, known as Barangay Lemery.

Decision-making regarding migration happens through a household discussion that centers not only on economic needs, but also on social and cultural factors. The Filipino migratory flow to Italy is primarily comprised of women who are married with children. They usually migrate first because it is easier for them to find employment. Consequently, they are the main providers of their households and later also become the anchor of a couples' migration as they utilize reunification policies to send for their spouses. Although proportionally smaller in number, young single women tend to migrate as daughters of their households. They maintain a strong commitment to their households in the Philippines by contributing to daily financial needs as well as to the tuition fees of their siblings. Their contributions are viewed as a sign of gratitude to their parents, a cultural expectation of children in the Philippines. As a household strategy, the eldest child, regardless of whether male or female, is given priority to decide which member to send abroad. If parents do not initiate discussions on migration first, the children are still supposed to obtain parental consent for reasons of respect but also because unmarried migrants often need the financial support of their parents to process their paperwork. Lastly, there is a small number of single mothers who migrate to secure a better future for their children. Their decision to migrate is usually unilateral.

When a migrant leaves, households often reorganize and redistribute of roles and responsibilities among the family members who remain. The gendered ways in which household roles and responsibilities are assigned produce important challenges during the reorganization. Married migrants and single parents require large adjustments, and measures must be taken in order to reassign the duties of household head and/or primary caregiver. The majority of migrant workers in Italy are women, and their new role as the primary income earner

produces positive and negative effects that challenge traditional gender roles. Their major contribution to their household's survival through remittances affords them greater decision-making power and respect. However, conflicts can arise as a result of their absence as migrants, particularly women, are further scrutinized by cultural perceptions of family structures.

The transformations and challenges of power dynamics in households are highly visible in married couples. The study reveals how men deal the dependence remittances sent by their wives. A non-governmental organization worker in Italy described how husbands of migrants engage in extra-marital affairs in the Philippines due to feelings of inadequacy because they do not possess the same economic power as their wives. Other men respond well to new responsibilities by increasing their participation in the reproductive tasks of the household, such as taking care of children and performing domestic work both in countries of origin and destination. The relationship between married partners can be constrained or positively transformed by the migration of women and the inevitable rearrangement of decision making, financial and social power.

In cases where the redistribution of work cannot be done within the household, a local nanny or domestic worker is often hired to assist with or take over care tasks when a female adult migrates. This tends to reinforce pre-existing gender norms and intra-household power relations based on age and sex. This also implies the transfer of gender inequalities between women. A portion of the remittances are sent to cover the costs involved in hiring a woman from outside of the family to take care of children and other dependent household members. Given the difficulties surrounding the generation of employment for women living in rural areas, this phenomenon can be seen as an increase in the number of employment opportunities for non-migrants. However, it is both poorly paid and informal in nature.

In the survey undertaken in Batangas, 77 percent of remittance senders were women, 90 percent of whom were domestic helpers and/or household-

related service workers. Most migrants receive regular income, but due to the often-informal nature of their jobs and their immigration status, some do not have a steady income, particularly men who often have a harder time securing jobs because Italian households typically prefer to hire women for domestic service.

The preference for women as remittance managers is further validated in this study; 65 percent of remittance managers are female. As previous studies have indicated, women's traditional role as domestic administrators gives them the advantage of knowing the family's and household's basic needs better. There is also a perception that women are more judicious in handling finances, frequently acting as the treasurer in many households. Some key informants revealed that there have been cases where the husband squandered the remittances on his friends and his vices, forcing his wife to request her mother to manage and budget the use of the remittances in his stead. Of the surveyed remittance managers, 27 percent are mothers of overseas Filipino workers and 18.5 percent are the male spouse.

Remittances are used mostly for household expenses, e.g., food, clothing, rent, water, electricity, telephone, and children's and other family members' education. Most (9 out of 10) are not able to save or invest in any kind of business; only 5 percent of the respondents indicated a plan to invest. Based on the survey conducted in Lemery, seven out of ten households have no income apart from the remittances they receive; the majority of the households of migrant workers are remittance dependent. This was also confirmed when eight out of ten households said that remittances comprise more than 76 percent of the total household income. The remaining 24 percent of income is usually derived from small commercial activities, such as running stores or informal lending.

This dependence on remittances indicates an extreme reliance on one or more migrants to provide for households. It is quite common to see multiple generations or siblings who have migrated. In one case, a female migrant was the first to leave for Italy from her family. She supported her three siblings through university, yet local unemployment and

low wages prompted each sibling to follow her to Italy as domestic workers. The large difference between wages abroad and in the country of origin is enough to encourage migration in order to sufficiently maintain a household, especially in cases where those at home do not or are unable to work.

Savings and investment patterns are not prominent during the first few years of work abroad because remittances are usually used to stabilize the family's condition for debt repayment. Remittances during the first few years are mostly spent on basic household necessities which include food, clothing, payment of rent and utilities, expenditures related to education of children and to some extent medication of sick household members. Investments and savings only follow after several years of work abroad because by then migrant workers have set aside savings for future investments, which are seen as preparation for their permanent return.

Local community development is not a priority of the study respondents, which speaks to questions and critiques of remittances' role. While the potential to increment their contribution to development exists, the actual expenses, conditions of the local economy and the lifestyle preferences of migrant families present several serious obstacles. The use of remittances by migrants and their families confirms that they are for personal use. This is reflected in the investment choices made by migrants and their families, which include home improvements and purchase of property. Migration to Italy is generally conceived as a short-term endeavour, where migrants have established goals to work abroad in order to secure better futures for themselves and their households. While an interest in establishing businesses is expressed, it was not the main objective of the people in the study. Nonetheless, Filipino migrants have extended their stay in Italy for multiple reasons, which include the repayment of debt in the Philippines, the total dependence of their households on remittances, or decisions to permanently settle in Italy with their families.

In terms of investment, the potential use of remittances in Lemery for generating business enterprises that will benefit the community has yet to be realized. Almost all respondents said that

no members of their respective households plan to use remittances to establish a business.

A small number of households surveyed participated in the informal economy sector. Many own small businesses that include small retail stores (*sari sari* stores), farming, fishing, selling cell phone load credits, or informal lending; others work as vendors offering agricultural produce or other inexpensive products or provide services to the community.

There are several ways of interpreting this data. However, it is important to consider that people are not often willing to disclose information regarding remittances and their savings out of fear of being taxed by the government or falling victims to crime. In addition, people understand the term 'business' to refer to large-scale entrepreneurial activity, not just any commercial activity. Thus, even when people are engaged in small-scale businesses they do not consider them to be businesses. Even the tilling or developing of their own agricultural/farm lands is not considered a commercial investment. These activities are part of their day-to-day living, and the produce of the lands is not necessarily intended for commercial activity but for their own consumption. Although a few families of migrant workers had ventured into small-scale businesses, most of them were unable to sustain the business

or maximize its benefits. One reason for this is their limited knowledge and skills in effective business management.

A successful relationship between migration and local development is dependent on the restructuring and re-evaluation of existing limitations for the productive use, savings and investment of remittances. A gender analysis of migration, remittance and development in the case of the Philippines and Italy points to existing inequalities of the migratory project in terms of gender, class, migration status, years abroad and other factors. The potential of migrant investment in sustainable development in Lemery exists. However, significant obstacles exist lack of social services from the government, lack of a favourable environment for investment, lack of knowledge and business management skills, and household debt and consumerism. Co-development policies or practices do not exist between the Philippines and Italy (or between the Philippines and any other country).

As a major labour export country, the Philippines lacks sufficient bilateral agreements that address pensions and the rights and protection of migrant workers. Consequently, there is a need to develop return migration policies that address reintegration, financial investment, savings opportunities and education. Mechanisms and initiatives regarding migrant-specific policies, which particularly acknowledge the intersectional inequalities (based on factors such as gender, education, age and occupation) of migrants must be produced and implemented. A holistic approach migrants' needs on individual, household and community levels is a necessary prerequisite to addressing the joint contribution of migrant remittances and government involvement in sustainable development practices.



Some remittance recipient families run *sari sari* stores (neighborhood convenience stores), which are attached to or inside the shopkeeper's home.

Executive Summary

SENEGAL

This case study research examines the gender dimensions of migration and remittances in the context of Senegal and the destination country of France. This study is based on a literature review, a mapping of actors involved in the migration process, and field surveys conducted in Senegal and France from both a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. The selected survey area in Senegal straddles two administrative districts that once formed the single territorial unit of Saint-Louis and Matam. The areas studied in France belong to Ile-de-France and include Mantes-la-Jolie, Étampes and Montreuil. Data collection in both France and Senegal took place from May to August 2008. Quantitative data was collected through a questionnaire that was administered in ten villages of the River Valley to 401 members of households that have at least one migrant in France and that receive remittances. The sample included 256 women and 145 men. The qualitative data collection — which consisted of interviews, life stories and focus groups — was conducted in Senegal from 20 to 25 July 2008 and in France from 8 to 18 August 2008.

Migration from the River Valley first began with the onset of the World Wars: the Senegalese migrated in support of France's war effort. Migration first occurred on a large scale in the 1970s as a result of drought and poverty in rural areas. This trend continued in the 1980s due to structural adjustment policies that left many unemployed; unemployment due to economic liberalization still affects the country today. Migration was and is predominantly male. Until recently, Senegalese society, notably the Haalpular culture, was an impediment to the movement of unaccompanied women, particularly to distant destinations. International migrants from the

valley generally have little or no education: 85 percent of female migrants and 77 percent of male migrants interviewed had no schooling. Migration is primarily labour-oriented; the first migrant workers were salaried employees, mainly in the automotive industry. Although migrants from the River Valley are increasingly creating their own businesses, they are still primarily employed as salaried workers. Some women work in catering, hairdressing or selling jewellery.

Migration has led to significant changes both in the country of origin and destination, improving living conditions and social relations. The study reveals that as a result of migration, households are relatively well-equipped with basic services: 90 percent have telephones, 96 percent have access to drinking water, and 86 percent have access to electricity. However, communities often lack the infrastructure to reduce women's workload in terms of domestic responsibilities (e.g., taking care of children and the sick).

At the social level, relations between men and women have also been changed as a result of migration, primarily in France. Social laws in the destination country, including those relating to polygamy, have had different impacts on men and women. Migration has not fundamentally changed the concept of marriage for men and the prohibition of polygamy in France does not prevent them from taking a second or third wife in Senegal. However, the study found that migration has helped Senegalese women in France renegotiate gender relations, if only within households. Because the destination country offers a different option with respect to rights, some women have claimed independence and have been able to challenge existing social

hierarchies between men and women and re-negotiate the social order. In the country of origin, migration has improved their living conditions, either through remittances or through being married to a (relatively) wealthy man, a new and sometimes enviable effect of migration. However, migration has resulted in little change in terms of gender relations in Senegal.

Finally, relationships among children and between parents and children have changed. The right to family reunification disrupted the lifestyle of migrants who were living alone in worker compounds. When reunited with their children, it was challenging for parents to figure out how to enrol them in a new educational system. Children of migrants, particularly boys, have difficulty finding their way between two cultures. Girls have less trouble finding employment and usually work in relatively low-skilled labour, primarily in the healthcare and service sectors. It should also be noted that some migrants have been able to guide and educate their children in such a way that they were able to complete university studies and enter the workforce. Senegalese children with French nationality generally do not plan to return permanently to Senegal, a country with which they have little attachment. However, periodic returns to Senegal drive young people to develop emotional relationships with their country of origin. Some choose to invest in Senegal, if only in a symbolic way. This second generation drives migration through marriage, as young Senegalese men and women living in France prefer to marry young people from Senegal.

In Senegal, remittances that pass through official channels were estimated at more than 500 billion CFA francs (around US\$1 billion)⁹ in 2007. This represents between 15 percent and 65 percent of the income earned by the migrant, and from 30 percent to 80 percent of the income of Senegalese recipient households. It is difficult to get an accurate picture of cash flows associated with migration, but the proliferation of wire transfer operators (e.g., Western Union, Money Gram or Money Express) serves as an indicator of the increased flow of money. Several

studies confirm that the estimates based on official remittance transfers significantly underestimate the magnitude of these capital flows, since a large part of remittances are sent through informal, varied and sometimes inventive channels.

In the villages studied, remittances from migrants in France are estimated to average around €240 (US\$344)¹⁰ per month for households headed by women, and about €210 (US\$284) per month for households headed by men. Much of the cash flow is used to cover basic needs such as food, ceremonies, health, and housing.

Eighty-two percent of migrants interviewed said they receive remittances on a monthly basis. They are usually received a few days after the migrants receive their monthly salary. The research shows that the 'private fax' is the primary means of money transfer, and is used by 31 percent of migrants, followed by formal systems of remitting such as Western Union or Money Gram, which are used by 25 percent of migrants. Seventeen percent of those sending remittances use the postal system, followed by 11 percent who send via family members that are travelling to the village.

Migrants, either individually or collectively, have invested in social projects such as mosques, morgues, the repatriation of the dead, health facilities, payment of medical personnel, and the construction of post offices or schools. To a lesser extent, remittances have also promoted the development of economic activities in agriculture. Some of these achievements have been financed by migrants' associations and supported by development partners. Because remittances generally do not cover an entire family's needs, households are also forced to find other sources of income. 69 percent of men and 35 percent of women who manage remittances supplement household income. Thus, women in remittance recipient households are more dependent on remittances than men. The role that remittances play in the local economy, apart from consumer spending, is negligible. Only 13 percent of those surveyed reported that their households received remittances to finance

9. As of 4 March 2010, the exchange rate was US\$1=481.750 CFA francs .

10. As of 4 March 2010, the exchange rate was US\$1=0.734691 euros.



In Fouta, women seeking income-generating activities sell fuelwood or vegetables they have grown.

productive investment projects.

The River Valley has enormous economic potential, particularly in agriculture, livestock, real estate, and the service sector. However, local people usually cannot afford to invest in these areas. Most migrants choose to invest in projects outside of town, and often invest in real estate in Dakar. The wives of migrants work in many areas, though their projects are less ambitious than men's. Women entrepreneurs tend to succeed in business management, though they often face difficulties accessing credit or land.

Senegalese migration policy aims to address many different issues, but few programmes initiated in relation to migration affect the region (Fouta). Also, due to the economic crisis, migration flows are not renewing, which will likely mean fewer remittances in the future. This will have important social consequences for the region, which relies heavily on remittances to sustain basic infrastructure, and points to the need to develop alternative mechanisms for the region's economic development.

Research shows the importance of agriculture and livestock to creating income-generating activities such as milk production, cereal processing, meat productions, and vegetable cultivation. Audiovisual and information technology-related service provision is a sector with high potential to develop in the region, as is vocational training in construction, particularly in trades such as masonry, electrical work and welding.

Remittances, despite their great volume, assure only the survival of the family. It is therefore necessary to find new ways to finance private initiatives for local development. Although family budgets are very low, additional resources (e.g., a system of credit with reasonable interest rates) could serve as a starting point for productive investment.

Retired migrants can be potential investors. Because of their monthly pensions of up to €1,000 (US\$1354) and/or the return on their property investments, they can be key actors in entrepreneurship programs developed in the valley. Women have assets that

may add value to the establishment of productive activities: they have excellent organizational capacity, and through the courses offered by the various development projects in the valley, they have acquired expertise in different areas. Migrant associations have also been successful investors, particularly in building village infrastructure. However, the transition from investments that are social and collective in nature to those that are private requires, among many other things, technical and organizational support and a great ability to persuade.

The implementation of a new approach to development based on expressed needs and proven local capabilities can be made possible through the organization of a political dialogue between all actors involved — including local populations, migrants, local authorities, members of the private sector, and development partners.

CONCLUSION

Studying the phenomena of migration and remittances from a gender perspective in these countries has yielded an understanding of the differences between women's and men's migratory experiences, the ways in which gender relations are influenced or reinforced, and which factors promote greater gender equity. The case studies show that in order for women's participation in the migratory process to contribute to development, both in origin and destination countries, it is necessary to go beyond isolated micro-projects in order to enact public policies that eliminate obstacles to their autonomy. The rise in women's independent migration can increase their decision-making power, but certain factors must be taken into account in order to guarantee equitable development, including: the division of reproductive labour, access to education and equal pay, access to land and credit, and the guarantee of their rights of association and labour, among others.

In the cases of the Philippines and the Dominican Republic, where women have pioneered migratory flows, the ease of their labour market insertion in destination countries has been the primary driver of their migration. In these two studies, it was found that they send an equal or greater portion of their income than male migrants. Their remittances are more frequent and sustained over a longer period of time, and they send to a greater number of recipients in their country of origin, including to women.

The cases of Albania and Senegal reflect the migration model of family reunification and reveal factors that limit or favour women's empowerment, such as integration policies in destination countries. The case of Lesotho illustrates the impact of the crisis of men's employment in the South African

mines and the HIV/AIDS epidemic on women's migration, as well as the few development options available in the country of origin.

Finally, the Morocco case study shows that the local employment crisis drives men's emigration, which is closely followed by women's internal or international migration. The feminine migration model in Morocco varies according to whether the women come from the rural or urban areas, the latter being more likely to migrate autonomously.

All six cases highlight the need to overcome obstacles to gender equity in order to link migration and development. The different cases show that remittances can lead to the empowerment of female senders and recipients, since they give senders more weight in the family economy and recipients an opportunity to undertake their own investments.

The existence and vitality of transnational social networks depend on the economic, social, historic and cultural context of the community of origin and migrants' integration in the destination country. The participation of women in these networks varies according to the country, but is indispensable if gender equity is to be incorporated into co-development initiatives.

