Migration and Social Development

Organizational and Political Dimensions

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Acronyms

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CSO	civil society organization
ERCOF	Economic Resource Center for Overseas Filipinos
EU	European Union
FNV	Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging *(Federation of the Dutch Labour Movement)*
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
HTA	hometown association
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICRMW	International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
ILO	International Labour Organization
IUF	International Union of Food, Agriculture, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations
MERCOSUR	Mercado Común del Sur *(Southern Common Market)*
NGO	non-governmental organization
SMU	social movement unionism
TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States

Summary/Résumé/Resumen

Summary

Collective pressure exerted by migrants on governments in both origin and destination countries to address a variety of migration- and work-related issues and concern has been mounting in recent years, as evidenced by both recent studies on this topic as well as concrete "action" taken by a variety of civil society organizations (CSOs). Because public policies tend to give low priority to targeting migrant populations, migrant associations, trade unions and other relevant CSOs have an important role to play in providing crucial services and political advocacy for migrants to put their issues on the map—a role that has been recognized by academics and policy makers alike.

The different types of organizations involved in migrant issues have their historical and institutional strengths and weaknesses. Recent years have seen the emergence of new strategies in the form of intra-organizational policy shifts or reform processes, and inter-organizational alliances within and across borders. The question is to what extent these processes manage to integrate the changing landscape of economic migration into political activism aimed at social justice—and whether they relate to broader social development concerns in the attempt to address the causes and consequences of international migration.

As migration today is becoming less and less a one-off phenomenon (in the sense of emigrating and settling elsewhere) but is instead characterized by high levels of fluidity and insecurity, transnational—if not global—connections need to be made to address migrants' concerns and grievances. The feminization of migration and women's position in mainly informal sector jobs is another area that traditional organizations, such as trade unions, have long neglected.

By providing a broad assessment of the state of research on the political dimensions of migration with specific relevance to intra-regional migratory flows between non-Western countries, this paper's main aims are to: (i) identify organizational and political linkages that could have a bearing on social development in a broad sense, and social policy and service provisioning in particular; (ii) suggest an analytical framework that combines a number of concepts and perspectives deemed relevant; and (iii) point to areas for future research.

This paper attempts to investigate the various formal and informal mechanisms through which migrants can and do attempt to influence political structures and decision-making processes in origin and destination countries at multiple levels, that is, local, national and regional. More specifically, the objective is to explore to what extent and how migrants attempt to influence social policy and service provisioning through organizations, in both host and origin countries, that defend the interests of migrants and their families and communities. The analysis shows that these processes, and the choice of or obstacles to certain organizational channels, are shaped by varying opportunity structures.

The paper is divided into three parts. The first outlines the theoretical framework of analysis, which draws mostly on political science and sociological literature on political activism and social movements. It also refers to labour relations scholarship in its broad assessment of labour as a social force, of which migrant labour is a specific subcategory. This part of the paper discusses the types of social justice organizations—that is, trade unions and non-governmental or community-based organizations—which participate in the struggle for allocation of resources and in decision-making processes by trying to enter policy-making circles through state institutions.

The second part relates this framework to the specific situation of foreign migrant workers and offers a summary of the existing literature on the various organizations involved in migrant issues, in an attempt to assess these organizations' capacity to influence policy-making

processes. The third and final section links this discussion to gaps in existing scholarship by suggesting directions for future research.

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Résumé

Ces dernières années, les migrants ont accentué leurs pressions collectives sur les gouvernements, des pays d'émigration et d'immigration, pour qu'ils traitent de diverses questions et préoccupations touchant à la migration et au travail. C'est ce qu'il ressort d'études récentes consacrées à ce sujet et de "l'action" concrète entreprise par diverses organisations de la société civile (OSC). Comme les politiques publiques tendent à attribuer un rang de priorité assez bas aux populations migrantes, les associations de migrants, les syndicats et d'autres OSC compétentes ont un rôle important à jouer pour fournir des services essentiels et plaider la cause politique des migrants, mettre leurs problèmes en lumière, rôle que leur reconnaissent tant les universitaires que les décideurs politiques.

Les différents types d'organisations qui s'engagent sur le terrain de la migration ont leurs forces et leurs faiblesses, qui sont liées à leur histoire et à la nature des institutions. On a vu apparaître ces dernières années de nouvelles stratégies, qui ont pris la forme de changements de politique au sein des organisations, de réformes et d'alliances entre organisations, tant au niveau national qu'au niveau international. La question est de savoir dans quelle mesure ces évolutions réussissent à intégrer le paysage mouvant de la migration économique dans un militantisme politique soucieux de justice sociale—et si elles se rattachent aux préoccupations générales du développement social en tentant de traiter des causes et des conséquences de la migration internationale.

Comme la migration est de moins en moins réductible aujourd'hui à une démarche unique (le départ de son pays pour s'installer ailleurs) mais se caractérise au contraire par une grande fluidité et insécurité, il faut établir des relations transnationales, sinon mondiales, pour répondre aux préoccupations et aux doléances des migrants. La féminisation de la migration et le cantonnement d'une grande majorité de femmes dans des emplois du secteur informel sont d'autres phénomènes que les organisations traditionnelles telles que les syndicats ont longtemps négligés.

En procédant à une évaluation générale de l'état de la recherche sur les dimensions politiques de la migration, en particulier sur les flux migratoires intrarégionaux entre pays non occidentaux, ce document poursuit essentiellement les objectifs suivants: a) mettre en évidence les liens organisationnels et politiques qui pourraient avoir une incidence sur le développement social entendu au sens général, et en particulier sur la politique sociale et les services offerts; b) suggérer une grille d'analyse qui rassemble un certain nombre de concepts et de perspectives jugés pertinents etc.) indiquer des sujets sur lesquels pourraient porter les recherches futures.

L'auteur de ce document enquête sur les divers mécanismes formels et informels par lesquels les migrants peuvent tenter et tentent effectivement d'influencer les structures politiques et la prise de décision aux niveaux local, national et régional dans les pays d'origine et de destination. Son objectif est plus précisément d'étudier dans quelle mesure et de quelle manière les migrants tentent d'influer sur la politique sociale et les services offerts, dans les pays d'émigration et d'immigration, par les organisations qui défendent les intérêts des migrants, de leurs familles et de leurs communautés. L'analyse montre que ces processus et le choix de certaines organisations ou les obstacles qui les rendent inaccessibles sont déterminés par diverses structures d'opportunités.

Le document se divise en trois parties. La première expose la grille d'analyse théorique, qui s'inspire surtout de la science politique et de la littérature sociologique sur le militantisme politique et les mouvements sociaux. Elle se réfère aussi aux travaux universitaires sur les relations professionnelles dans son évaluation générale de la main-d'œuvre comme force sociale, dont les travailleurs migrants sont une catégorie particulière. Cette partie du document traite des divers types d'organisations qui militent pour la justice sociale, c'est-à-dire les syndicats et les organisations non gouvernementales ou communautaires, et qui participent à la lutte pour l'affectation de ressources et à la prise de décision en essayant d'entrer dans les instances décisionnaires par le biais d'institutions publiques.

La deuxième partie rattache cette grille à la situation spécifique des travailleurs migrants étrangers et propose un résumé de la littérature existante sur les diverses organisations préoccupées des problèmes des migrants, afin d'essayer d'évaluer la capacité de ces organisations à influencer les processus décisionnaires. Dans la troisième et dernière section, l'auteur passe de ce résumé aux questions laissées en suspens par les travaux universitaires pour suggérer des orientations de recherche pour l'avenir.

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Resumen

La presión colectiva que ejercen los migrantes sobre los gobiernos tanto de los países de origen como de los países de destino para que se atiendan una serie de problemas e inquietudes relacionados con la migración y el trabajo ha venido aumentado en los últimos años, como lo prueban estudios recientes sobre este tema, así como las "acciones" concretas que han tomado diversas organizaciones de la sociedad civil (OSC). Dado que las políticas públicas tienden a otorgar una baja prioridad a la atención de las poblaciones migrantes, las asociaciones de migrantes, los sindicatos y otras OSC pertinentes desempeñan un importante papel en la provisión de servicios cruciales y en la defensa política para dar a conocer los problemas a los que se enfrentan los migrantes, función que académicos y responsables de la formulación de las políticas reconocen por igual.

Los distintos tipos de organizaciones que se ocupan del tema de los migrantes tienen sus ventajas y desventajas históricas e institucionales. En los últimos años, han surgido nuevas estrategias bajo la forma de cambios de política al interior de las instituciones mismas o de procesos de reforma, así como alianzas interinstitucionales tanto dentro como fuera de los países. La cuestión consiste en saber hasta qué punto estos procesos logran integrar el cambiante paisaje de la migración económica al activismo político en pro de la justicia social, y si dichos procesos tienen que ver con las inquietudes más generales de desarrollo social con miras a atender las causas y consecuencias de la migración internacional.

A medida que la migración se percibe cada vez menos como un fenómeno único y puntual (en el sentido de emigrar y establecerse en otro lugar) y comienza a caracterizarse por altos niveles de fluidez e inseguridad, es menester definir las conexiones transnacionales—si acaso no mundiales—para abordar las preocupaciones y motivos de queja de los migrantes. La feminización de la migración y la posición de la mujer en empleos principalmente del sector informal constituyen otra área que las organizaciones tradicionales, como los sindicatos, han descuidado por mucho tiempo.

Con una evaluación general del nivel actual de la investigación sobre las dimensiones políticas de la migración con pertinencia específica para los flujos migratorios intrarregionales entre países no occidentales, este documento tiene por objetivos principales: (i) determinar los vínculos institucionales y políticos que pudieran incidir en el desarrollo social en un sentido general y en la política social y la provisión de servicios sociales en particular; (ii) proponer un

marco analítico que combine una serie de conceptos y perspectivas considerados pertinentes; y (iii) señalar algunas áreas para futuras investigaciones.

Este trabajo se propone investigar los diversos mecanismos formales e informales por los cuales los migrantes pueden, y de hecho intentan, influir en las estructuras políticas y los procesos de toma de decisiones en los países de origen y de destino a múltiples niveles: local, nacional y regional. En términos más específicos, el objetivo es explorar hasta qué punto y cómo los migrantes buscan incidir en la política social y la prestación de servicios sociales a través de organizaciones, tanto en el país de origen como en el país de destino, que defienden los intereses de los migrantes y sus familias y comunidades. El análisis muestra que estos procesos, junto a la selección de ciertos canales institucionales y los obstáculos que enfrentan para llegar a ellos, obedecen a diversas estructuras de oportunidad.

El documento se divide en tres partes. En la primera se esboza el marco teórico del análisis, que se fundamenta en su mayor parte en la bibliografía de la ciencia política y la sociología sobre el activismo político y los movimientos sociales. También examina estudios sobre las relaciones laborales en su sentido amplio de fuerza laboral como fuerza social, de la cual la fuerza laboral migrante es una subcategoría específica. En esta parte del documento se analizan los tipos de organizaciones de justicia social—vale decir, los sindicatos y organizaciones no gubernamentales o de base comunitaria—que participan en la lucha por la asignación de recursos y en los procesos de toma de decisiones intentando ingresar a los círculos de formulación de las políticas por medio de las instituciones del Estado.

En la segunda parte se relaciona este marco con la situación específica de los trabajadores migrantes y se hace un resumen de la bibliografía técnica actual sobre las diversas organizaciones que laboran en el área de la migración, en un esfuerzo por evaluar su capacidad para incidir en los procesos de formulación de políticas. La tercera y última sección vincula este debate a las lagunas que existen en la bibliografía existente y sugiere algunas ideas para investigaciones futuras.

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Introduction

Collective pressure exerted by migrants[1] on governments in both origin and destination countries to address a variety of migration- and work-related issues and concerns has been mounting in recent years, as evidenced by recent studies on this topic, as well as concrete action taken by variety of civil society organizations (CSOs).[2] Because public policies tend to give low priority to targeting migrant populations by public policies (Grugel and Piper 2007), the important role for migrant associations, trade unions and other relevant CSOs in providing crucial services and political advocacy for migrants has been recognized by academics[3] and policy makers alike (ILO 2004; GCIM 2005). The different types of organizations involved in migrant issues have their historical and institutional strengths and weaknesses. In recent years, new strategies are being developed in the form of intra-organizational policy shifts or reform processes, and inter-organizational alliances within and across borders. The question is to what extent these processes manage to integrate the changing landscape of economic migration into political activism aimed at social justice pre- and post-migration—that is, whether these processes relate to broader social development concerns in the attempt to address the causes and consequences of international migration.

Given the marginal position, in political terms, of migrant workers globally (Grugel and Piper 2007), I have argued elsewhere that in order to have any influence on policy making at global, regional and national levels, political participation and collective organizing of and by migrants is vital, as is the formation of alliances between various organizations in order to build up a strong movement (Piper 2008b). This, however, only works on the basis of governments' recognition of one specific fundamental human right: freedom of association, that is, the right to organize or join trade unions or form other types of organizations. This right is firmly established in international human rights law.[4] Freedom of association and collective bargaining are among the fundamental principles and rights at work championed by the International Labour Organization (ILO) which are universal and applicable to all people in all states, regardless of the level of economic development. They, therefore, also apply to all migrant workers as part of the principle of non-discrimination. Representation and having a voice at work are described as "important means through which migrant workers can secure other labour rights and improve their working conditions" (ILO 2004:72–73). The international non-governmental organization (NGO) Oxfam has also highlighted the importance of associational rights in its 1999 campaign on a rights-based approach to development. This approach comprised five aims, among which was the "right to be heard" which refers to people's ability to "organize, speak out and take part in decisions which affect them".[5]

The issue of political participation and voicing of concerns points to the importance of collective organizations. In the context of work, the labour movement through trade unions constitutes an (if not *the* most) important vehicle for the representation of workers' interests. The main problem for foreign workers, however, is their status as non-citizens. Given trade unions' historical concern with the national workforce and their (generally) anti-immigration stance (Kahman 2002), migrants have often been excluded. In addition, as has been observed in the case of Asia, for example, with the revival or persistence of temporary contract schemes and a high incidence of undocumented migration, conventional trade union practices do not work for many economic migrants. As migration today is becoming less and less a one-off phenomenon (in the sense of emigrating and settling elsewhere), but is instead characterized by high levels of

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1 In this paper, I distinguish "migrant" from "immigrant" to indicate that not all migrants turn into settlers and/or eventually into citizens.

2 CSOs include the more formalized organizations, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and trade unions (see www.undg.org/archive_docs/1392-CCA___UNDAF_Guidelines_-_Glossary_-_English.doc, accessed in April 2009).

3 See, for example, Piper and Ford (2006) on Asia, and Basok (2006) on Latin America.

4 The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW). See discussion by Piper (2007b) on the differences in relation to type of organization and legal status of migrants to whom these rights are extended. Overall, preference is given in international human rights standards to the recognition of trade unions and "legal" migrants.

5 www.oxfam.org/eng/pdfs/annual_reports_1999.pdf, accessed in May 2006.

fluidity and insecurity, transnational—if not global—connections need to be made to address migrants' concerns and grievances. The feminization of migration and women's positions in mainly informal sector jobs is another area that trade unions have long neglected (Piper 2008b), but one of ever-growing importance.

In addition, there are broader social costs related to the widespread practice of temporary migration—for example, to do with family members left behind, which are not adequately addressed by the labour movement. It is alternative organizations, such as migrant worker associations or other NGOs working on migrant and family-related issues, that have taken on an important role, as documented and argued by a number of scholars.[6] However, it has been argued that the various types of organizations need to cooperate and collaborate in the form of intra- and inter-organizational alliances, within and across borders, to build up momentum, leverage and the ability to exert meaningful pressure on governments, and regional and international organizations (Piper and Ford 2006).

Against this backdrop, by providing a broad assessment of the state of research on the political dimensions of migration with specific relevance to intra-regional migratory flows between non-Western countries, this paper's main aims are: (i) to identify organizational and political linkages that could have a bearing on social development in a broad sense, and social policy and service provisioning in particular; (ii) to suggest an analytical framework that combines a number of concepts and perspectives deemed relevant; and (iii) to point to areas for future research.

The paper explores the various formal and informal mechanisms through which migrants can and do attempt to influence political structures and decision-making processes in origin and destination countries at multiple levels, that is, local, national and regional. More specifically, the objective is to explore to what extent and how migrants attempt to influence social policy and service provisioning through organizations in both host and origin countries that defend the interests of migrants and their families and communities. In other words, it is the meso level of analysis that is of interest here. These processes, and the choice of or obstacles to certain organizational channels, are shaped by various opportunity structures. Migrants face obstacles based on multiple factors that have a bearing on organizational representation or involvement on their part. These factors include their specific migration "story" (mode of entry, labour market positioning, skill level, ethnicity, gender), political space to join existing, or establish new, organizations as well as the differing strengths and weaknesses of the various types of organizations that engage with migrant issues.

This paper is divided into three parts. The first part outlines the theoretical framework of analysis, which draws mostly on political science and sociological literature on political activism and social movements. It also refers to labour relations scholarship in its broad assessment of labour as a social force, of which migrant labour is a specific subcategory. This part of the paper discusses the types of social justice organizations—that is, trade unions and non-governmental or community-based organizations—which participate in the struggle for allocation of resources and in decision-making processes by trying to enter policy making circles through state institutions.

The second part relates this framework to the specific situation of foreign migrant workers and offers a summary of the existing literature on the various organizations involved in migrant issues, in an attempt to assess these organizations' capacity to influence policy-making processes. The third and final section links this discussion to gaps in existing scholarship by suggesting directions for future research.

[6] Ford 2004; Piper 2003; Wee and Sim 2005.

Part I: Organizations and the Making of Policy—The Analytical Framework

The organizational structure

In the realm of work, the labour movement, through trade unions, has historically constituted an—if not the most—important vehicle for the representation of workers' interests. In an era of neoliberal economic globalization, however, trade unions have had to adapt to a world of labour market deregulation and a corresponding (momentary or more permanent) loss of their traditional constituencies. In this process, their power and relevance have weakened, and their appeal has declined as labour markets become more flexible and informal. Such factors make it important for trade unions to represent workers in a more "holistic" manner, that is, as citizens (ILO Socio-Economic Security Programme 2004). There is a great deal of academic writing on the subject of trade union reforms, and summarizing these goes beyond the scope of this paper.[7] Suffice it to say that although, since the 1990s, there are signs of labour unions' "return to action" (Moody 1997), part of their role has been taken on by NGOs. However, NGOs have always played a role in supporting marginalized groups in society, albeit not necessarily in these groups' specific role as workers.

Labour organizing

Theories of labour organizing abound, and a full discussion is beyond the scope of this paper. A continuing dispute is whether the motivation for worker activism is work-related or not, leading some labour relationists to distinguish between "economic unionism" and "political unionism" (Hutchinson and Brown 2001). In the existing literature, country-specific variations with regard to labour's significance in contributing to political mobilization and social reform are often associated with differences in "democratization processes". Historically, there is no doubt that the labour movement played a profound role in the democratization of political institutions in Europe and, as argued by Gallin (2000), the movement concerned itself with broader social and political issues rather than simply conditions of employment and the workplace.

However, because of different historical, political and economic circumstances, labour has not emerged as an equally significant social force elsewhere as it has in Europe. In the course of rapid industrialization in East and Southeast Asia, for instance, labour has been mostly a weak and marginalized political actor. Rapid industrialization has not resulted in effective trade unionism, nor has it strengthened worker participation in the political or economic arenas (Hutchinson and Brown 2001; Deyo 1997). Yet the anticolonial and nationalist (pro-independence and later anti-authoritarianist) struggles in the post–Second World War period in many regions has shaped new labour movements.[8] In addition to specific paths to economic development that partially explain the relative weakness of the labour movement in some countries, a further element is that of political repression experienced by many trade unions operating under authoritarian regimes.[9]

More recently, in much of the developing world, both the success of "national development" projects and the role of collective organizations in economic as well as political development have been queried. The global decline in unions seems to have coincided with the failure of state-led development and a decline in states' welfare policies in many developing countries, as

[7] For example, see contributions to the journal by Andrew Jackson, Pradeep Kumar and Charlotte Yates for *Studies in Political Economy*, Vol. 74, 2004. For an overview of the situation in Europe, see Ebbinghaus (2002); for the situation in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, see Cook (2002); and for a discussion of developments in several Asian countries, see Kurvilla and Erickson (2002). For an insider view, see Klooesterboer (2007).

[8] In the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Thailand and, more recently, Indonesia, workers and their movements have been a part of successful mass uprisings against authoritarian regimes. The labour movement in the Republic of Korea is without doubt the region's strongest, yet it remains politically excluded. In Indonesia, democratization has been instigated by elite and middle class efforts, leaving labour in a fairly marginalized position in this process (Hutchinson and Brown 2001).

[9] It has to be noted that even in so-called democracies there are plenty of informal practices aimed at weakening the labour movement (Human Rights Watch 2006).

well as a rise of liberalization (as in the case of India since the 1990s; see Selvakumar 2007) leading to greater inequalities within as well as between countries.

In posing the question of whether popular participation progressed or regressed in the 1990s in the pursuit of national development in non-Western countries, Beckman et al. (2000) investigate the extent to which organized interests (by which the authors refer to labour unions, and trader and peasant associations) were able to provide an alternative source of popular democratic impact on policy. By focusing specifically on labour and trade unions and based on data from eight countries,[10] they ask whether these institutions were able to contribute to a process of institution building in support of social programmes. In doing so, they take a bottom-up perspective similar to social movement scholarship and political scientific work on non-governmental political activism, which highlight the crucial role of (more or less formally) organized interests in engaging with the institutions of the state to promote reform. From this perspective, "the frontiers of popular participation and influence on state policy are intimately linked to the advance of civic and organizational rights" (Beckman et al. 2000:3).

In many non-Western countries, the strong input made by organized labour in the anticolonial and nationalist movements aimed at independence has made it an imperative for governments to find ways to accommodate or control trade unions. In the post-independence era, unions in many parts of the global South have been branded "selfish" and "unpatriotic" in pursuing their constituents' interests rather than following governmental "imperatives of national development" (Beckman et al. 2000:6; see also Hutchinson and Brown 2001).

By asking why issues of participation, concertation and social pacts are being raised in the public debate at a time when labour's bargaining power is expected to be on the decline, Beckman et al. suggest that the ability of trade unions to assert their influence on social development needs to be situated in the context of the changing role of formal wage labour in the world economy (Beckman et al. 2000:5).[11] The authors explore the possibility of economic and political crises, such as the financial crisis in Asia in 1997, which was in fact conducive to the reassertion of union influence in shaping macroeconomic as well as social policy. They argue that it is precisely because of the weakening of state institutions that there is scope for a shift in the balance of power and a greater role for civil society actors and their international allies. In other words, the authors argue that "scope exists within conjunctures of political and economic liberalization for political bargaining on the side of labour and other social groups which may enhance the popular democratic content of national policy" (Beckman et al. 2000:12). From among their eight case studies, examples where this has happened are the Republic of Korea and South Africa. But there are also cases where unions face formidable political constraints, such as in Malaysia, where the multi-ethnic composition of its society has posed obstacles to the capacity of trade unions to build up a mass movement (Jomo and Todd 1994).

There are great variations across as well as within regions. Despite the danger of oversimplification, it can be said that Latin America, for instance, has strong historical links to the European labour movement and political parties, largely due to waves of immigrant populations from Europe. In addition there is the region's specific politico-economic context, resulting in a long tradition of both reformist and revolutionary working-class politics (Munck 2004). However, moves toward political and economic liberalization in the 1980s and 1990s, preceded by periods of militarized repression and economic decline, divided and weakened the labour movement (Jomo and Todd 1994). In Africa, by contrast, unions are said to have encountered huge problems due to the absence of industrialization and a working class, or due to deindustrialization in a stagnant post-colonial order, whereby South Africa appears as one of the few exceptions given its unique anti-apartheid struggle and the important role of labour

[10] These are Ghana, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Republic of Korea, South Africa, Venezuela and Viet Nam.

[11] It should be noted that the influence of organizations like the ILO in the resurgence of debates on concertation and social pacts has not been explored. This would be necessary to see whether such debates are simply a reaction to "real world" phenomena, that is, a reaction to what is happening rather than a normative attempt to shape how things should happen.

therein (see below). The situation in Asia is mixed, with a more promising picture in East Asia as opposed to Southeast and South Asia, or in countries that have only recently begun to embark upon politico-economic reform processes in formerly socialist systems, such as Viet Nam and China.

Based on the eight country case studies from different regions, Beckman et al. (2000) conclude that on the whole, the evidence for a widening scope for organized labour's influence on policy outcomes is in fact contradictory and ambiguous. There are some common features as well as striking differences. The authors assert, however, that the element of crisis seems to offer openings for popular influence on reform processes, in many cases with unions tending to become more autonomous in relation to the state. This resonates with the so-called benefit of crisis argument referred to in the literature within the area of political economy of policy reform.[12] In this context, the rise of independent unions is seen as part of a wider challenge to the existing political order in which other NGOs have had complementary roles.

Non-union organizing

NGOs outside the labour movement have been the subject of an extensive number of studies since the late 1980s, contributing to the development of a distinct literature within the social sciences. The specific strand of this literature from a development perspective offers ample evidence of the emergence of NGOs as important actors in broader socioeconomic development processes in Asia, Africa and Latin America, leading some authors to proclaim a global "associational revolution" (Salamon 1994:109). NGOs have a long history and, in contrast to trade unions, are usually linked to middle-class ascendancy and the emergence of a stratified civil society (Ford and Piper 2007). There are numerous attempts to establish a typology of the vast array of civil society actors (Mejido Costoya 2007; Piper and Uhlin 2004). The specific role of NGOs in politics in many parts of the developing world has also been documented since the mid-1990s (Clarke 1998).

In the Asian context, NGO involvement in the specific area of labour organizing has been raised by a number of scholars (Hutchinson and Brown 2001; Ford 2004). The argument often advanced is that Asian NGOs have filled an "institutional gap" in weak democracies by addressing the otherwise neglected issues of equitable resource delivery, social empowerment and sustainable development. A number of scholars based in Australia working on labour relations in Asia have in fact gone so far as to argue that NGOs have had a much greater role in organizing than have trade unions (Ford 2004; Hutchinson and Brown 2001).

During the 1980s, NGOs acquired a new dimension because development assistance was being rerouted through them. Since then, many have taken on a more direct role in promoting development, with their principal function being the implementation of development projects. However, this does not apply to all of them—there are several that do not see themselves as involved in development in the narrow sense, such as human rights organizations. According to a study by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), NGOs complement states in their attempt to provide social services but advocacy remains their greatest strength, and will continue to be so (cited by Clarke 1998:5).

Among the key factors that fuelled the proliferation of NGOs, was the fact that governments in many developing countries were forced by economic recession in the 1980s to give greater recognition to, and as a result involve, NGOs in socioeconomic programmes.[13] On the whole, a central premise of the NGO literature is that the expansion of the NGO sector serves to strengthen civil society through advocacy and support of reform processes, by organizing and

[12] For more detail, see Sturzenegger and Tommasi (1998); Drazen and Grilli (1993); Williamson (1994); and Haggard and Kaufman (1995).

[13] Although there is criticism from a participatory perspective, pointing out that programming does not mean being part of the agenda setting. This adds a different perspective to the notion of "partnership".

mobilizing marginalized social strata, and by supplementing the traditional institutions of democracy, such as political parties and trade unions.

A minority view, based on findings from Africa, however, suggests that, on the contrary, NGOs can also weaken civil society by pressing fundamentalist, ethnic, ideological or parochial claims or through personality-based politics (compare Chazan 1994 and Ndegwa 1996, cited in Clarke 1998). NGOs, especially those in the development arena, have also been subject to criticism based on the view that they are channels or vehicles of external donor interests.[14] Yet, overall, much of the existing scholarship has described NGOs as filling important institutional gaps in providing services or engaging in advocacy in areas not tackled by government agencies or trade unions; during periods of repressive regimes; or at times of regime change and moves toward democratization.[15]

As in the case of trade unions, NGOs' contributions to political change also depend on the state's provision of political space in the form of the right of association (Piper 2006c; Clarke 1998). Studies on transnational advocacy networks have shown that NGOs may seek transnational links to regional and/or global NGO networks precisely because of existing domestic barriers to the freedom of speech and association or NGOs' exclusion from policy-making processes (Piper and Uhlin 2004; Grugel and Piper 2007).

Perspectives on policy making: Actors and networks

Policy development and the involvement of various actors in shaping policy have been subject to academic debate from a variety of perspectives, depending on whether the starting point is rational choice theory, historical institutionalism or sociological institutionalism, or a cross-fertilization of these (Thelen 1999). On this spectrum, the emphasis varies between structurally deterministic factors resulting in institutional continuation, or actor-oriented factors leading to institutional innovation. Relevant to the argument advanced in this paper are perspectives that relate to institutions which are understood here to refer to public policies and political organizations in an inclusive sense, beyond the narrow confines of political parties (compare Béland 2007).

A framework that bridges the "separate analysis of institutional stability from that of institutional change" (Thelen 1999:371), or integrates action-theoretic and institutional or structuralist paradigms that were treated as mutually exclusive (Scharpf 1997) allows the focus to shift to the role of collective actors, or different kinds of organizations, and the interaction between them. In addition to drawing on historical institutionalism and political science literature on ideas, Béland (2007) introduces sociological literature on social movements into his work and by doing so brings a broader spectrum of civil society organizations into the picture.

By including a social movement perspective, this framework shows that policy making is not only about institutional and historical legacies, but also about deliberate strategies employed by political actors involved in shaping policy alternatives. This resonates with other studies that take a social movement perspective as their starting point (Grugel and Piper 2007). Social movements are among the high-profile actors seen as instrumental in the propagation of specific blueprints, paradigms and frames that can serve their strategic interests.

Another perspective on public policy, and policy making more generally, is the concept of governance which has its roots in sociological systems theory and empirical policy studies centring upon actors and actions (Mayntz 2004). Public policy is in fact the source of many of the standard metaphors of governance, including steering/rowing and disaggregated networks of rule incorporating society-based actors into domains that, in the past, were reserved for states. In other words, governance is about the search for order through the creation of norms

[14] There is a huge body of literature that critiques the work of NGOs from a social movements or Left of centre perspective, much of which focuses on development NGOs. See, for instance, Petras (2003) and Mosse (2005).

[15] Ford 2004; Piper 2003; Clarke 1998.

and the generation of at least a superficial ideational harmony through networks in which the state "does not occupy a privileged, sovereign position [but] can indirectly and imperfectly steer" (Rhodes 1996:660).

The literature on governance, thus, broadly highlights the fragmentation of state sovereignty and the number of agents and forms of power, resulting in wide agreement that the state can no longer be conceived as having a monopoly on governance. The shift to governance focuses on the transformation of the relationship between public and private bodies and, in the process, the changes to service delivery (ideally) by bringing in civil society actors and creating channels for influence on policy by non-state actors. This approach to governance, then, would suggest the need to investigate the role of non-state actors and of resource exchange in making and delivering policies (Grugel and Piper 2007).

Governance issues have been approached in existing studies from various levels—global governance involving the United Nations (UN) or networks among international organizations (whereby "good" governance is used in a specific sense by practitioners and scholars in the field of development); and multilevel governance, which has been deployed to analyse regional bodies such as the European Union (EU). Another strand of social science theorizing has been concerned with networks in national and transnational settings.[16] This paper argues that a normative agenda aimed at social justice for marginalized groups can only be successful if it takes an integrated approach to the various levels of governance. The concept of governance has also been used to establish an analytical link between migration and the politicization of migrants' concerns through non-governmental institutions. But migration scholarship's engagement with the institutional and policy-making structures from the perspective of governance (and more so, multi-sited governance) is still in its infancy (Gabriel and Pellerin 2008).

The principal category employed in social theory that best captures the different levels of governance (and which also serves as a bridge between the macro, meso and micro), as argued here, is networks. Elsewhere I have argued that the concept of networks serves as a link between migration studies and governance (Piper 2006c). Within migration studies, network theory has mostly been approached from sociocultural and/or spatial perspectives,[17] whereby the political sphere at the meso level has not yet received sufficient attention.[18] Social movement scholars and political scientists working on advocacy networks, on the other hand, have investigated the transnational aspects of the networks' activities, the issues advocated and their activism.[19] However, they have focused on NGOs, neglecting an important element of collective political action, trade unionism. Migrant worker organizing has, therefore, not been sufficiently looked at from a transnational or trans-institutional perspective, and apart from a few exceptions, studies that have, have mostly done so methodologically from one site (for example, transnational domestic workers organizing in Hong Kong) rather than from a multi-sited, or cross-border and networked, angle.

In migration studies, network theory has been applied mainly at the individual level to analyse migrants' decision making, flows of information and the geographic direction of migratory movements. There is very little academic work that maps out the politics of migration at the meso level as comprised of multiple organizations (NGOs, migrant associations and trade unions) and that analyses this from a national as well as transnational activist network perspective.

Critical voices of migrant rights activism often point to migration policy making being the last bastion of the sovereign state. Although states have clearly maintained their strong role in the

[16] For national networks, see Carnoy and Castells (2001); for transnational aspects on networks, see Piper and Uhlin (2004*).*

[17] In the sense of what Mejido Costoya calls "network of social relations" (2007:19).

[18] See Priest (2007); Piper (2006c); Faist (2004).

[19] For a full literature review, see Piper and Uhlin (2004).

area of migration policies, they are notorious for trying to avoid human rights issues (Piper and Iredale 2003). As amply shown in existing studies (Sikkink 1993), the willingness of states to implement human rights reforms depends on the efficacy of advocacy organizations. From a social justice and migrant rights perspective, therefore, certain NGOs and migrant associations which operate transnationally play an important role. There is evidence of a rising migrant rights movement, with the ability to assert more or less effective pressure (depending on the specific context) on governments—and with more potential to do so (Grugel and Piper 2007).

Participatory perspective

Without access to an organization that can represent their interests, most people are—and remain—likely to be vulnerable to economic and social insecurity (ILO Socio-Economic Security Programme 2004) if they are not already part of the organized and protected formal labour market. Having a meaningful organizational set-up through which influence on policy and the normative/legal framework can be channelled helps to safeguard and promote workers'—including migrant workers'—rights. An enabling environment can be created through institutions that empower workers through education, knowledge provision and so on. Awareness is only the first step, however. What is paramount is direct participation in "voice institutions"[20] (ILO Socio-Economic Security Programme 2004:339) or self-organizing. As part of the global reconfiguration of economies, however, trade unions' capacity to influence policies has allegedly been eroded in recent decades in regions where it was historically strong (such as Europe), and has been prevented from growing in many places where it was already weak (in much of Africa, Asia and Latin America). Widespread de-unionization in recent years and the erosion of freedom of association have pushed collective bodies such as unions to a more marginal role in social policy making.

In the context of migration, organizing by migrants themselves (or by former migrants) in the form of migrant associations or migrant-run unions is crucial for advancing their needs and concerns which may be directly related to their status as migrants or their specific labour market position. Self-organizing, however, often proves difficult because of foreign workers' legal and visa status as well as the types of job they do, and the democratic space given to political organizing in both destination and origin countries (Piper 2005a). In addition, there are important gender differences in the extent to which this is possible and the form it takes, which reflects the gender-segregated nature of labour markets and migration policies (Piper 2008b). The political priorities of foreign workers—who are on temporary contracts or are undocumented and, thus, not permanent residents, let alone citizens—most likely differ from those of national workers, which in turn would affect the organizational format used. The crucial vehicles for political action are often pre-existing trade unions and NGOs, since self-organizing in destination countries is often difficult. This, in turn, raises the issue of "correct" representation.

Trade unions' ambivalent stance on migrant labour has been the subject of some analysis (Kahmann 2002; Briggs 2001). Theoretically, the most interesting and relevant contribution, as far as this paper is concerned, has been the work by Moody (1997) and Waterman (2003) on social movement unionism (SMU), and Johnston (2001) on labour as a citizenship movement. Johnston makes direct reference to immigrant labour, documented and undocumented. He highlights the increasingly transnational nature of the workforce and overlapping of societies which requires, according to him, a re-conceptualization of conventional perspectives on citizenship.[21] New approaches and strategies are needed to address critical problems faced by migrant workers in their role as foreigners as well as labourers in certain sectors that are associated with the "three Ds" (dangerous, difficult and dirty), epitomized by the construction sector, agriculture, and sweatshop and domestic work. There is growing realization that coalitions of organizations can exert far more influence than single organizations by themselves.

[20] Institutions that represent groups of people.

[21] The same was argued by Ball and Piper (2002) in a non-Western context.

The idea of alliances between various types of organization is captured by the notion of SMU which arises "when unions are conscious of the linkage between workplace, civil society, the state and global forces and develop a strategy to resist the damaging pressures of globalization through creating a movement linking these spheres" (Lambert 1998:73, quoted in Bezuidenhout 2000). Another proponent of SMU, Waterman (2003, 2005), argues that the crisis of trade unionism is rooted in the fact that the labour movement is still understood in organizational/institutional terms when it needs to be understood in networking/ communicational ones (as new social movements have done). The emergence of SMU has been observed in a number of non-Western countries, such as Brazil, the Republic of Korea and South Africa (Moody 1997). In Asia, as Hutchinson and Brown (2001) argue, explanations for this emergence tend to draw on dependency and world-systems theory (Wallerstein 1974), according to which workers' interests are inseparable from the larger struggle against national domination in the international economic order.

Recent studies on migrant worker NGOs in the Southeast Asian context have argued along a similar line: that regular collaboration with trade unions would enhance NGOs' advocacy efforts and vice versa (Piper and Ford 2006). The specific situation of many migrant workers highlights the importance of organizational representation and the formation of alliances as well as networks across space, institutions and issue-specificity (for example, human rights, women's rights and workers' rights) to address the complexity of migrants' rights. In the Philippines, the notion of SMU is well understood by some trade unionists, even if in practical terms it has not been realized because of a number of obstacles, such as sustainability and integration of a gender perspective in a female-dominated care economy (Alcid 2006).

Summing up

In this section, I have tried to build an analytical framework that merges Béland's (2007) ideas on historical institutionalism as linked to social movements with the notion of multi-sited governance by emphasizing the role of NGOs. The two crucial sets of organizations involved, trade unions and social justice NGOs, also constitute the major elements of SMU. This is operationalized in the form of networks and alliance building, within and across borders. A number of scholars have, in fact, emphasized the importance of NGO–trade union alliances in order to revive, or enhance, the effectiveness of collective organizing.[22] What emerges more or less explicitly as a common thread in these works is the significance of networks.

When linked to the notion of SMU, NGOs in general, and migrant worker associations in particular, find a place within an integrated web of organizational networks, with the potential to address issues that pertain to migrant workers and their families as part of broader social development concerns. The networking form, premised on the existence of relevant organizations or the capacity to establish new ones, is, thus, also a future-oriented concept—and in this sense is both normative and prescriptive.

Part II: The Political Organizing of Migrants and Policy Reform—A Review of the Literature

The social impact of migration and social policy

The profound changes in family structure and familial or spousal relationships brought about by split households (when one spouse/parent migrates or both, but to different countries) and the impact of migration on those left behind: overburdened extended families, and the socio-psychological impact on children, have increasingly become subject to scholarly concern.[23]

[22] See Gallin (2000) on necessary partnership; *Development in Practice*, special issue on trade union and NGO relations (Leather 2004); and Piper and Ford (2006) on partnership in progress.

[23] Piper 2008d; Hall 2005; for children, see de Haan and Yaqub 2007. Most of the early studies highlighting the social implications of migration focus on the impact of male out-migration from Kerala, India, mostly to the Middle East, on the women left behind—or

There is more and more evidence that so-called transnationally split families are becoming a common feature in many origin countries in Asia and Latin America.

In a recent study on Ecuador, Hall (2005) identified the following areas that require policy innovation and action: strengthening the legal and regulatory framework for migration; promoting local economic development; and providing social protection through counselling, education and controls on trafficking, while promoting longer-term social development. However, in the absence of systematic state policies to provide these services and support programmes to migrants and their families, the gap has been filled by various CSOs and the church. Yet despite the important role played by networks of church-based and NGO services, the lack of financial resources is a problem for many of these organizations. Moreover, since almost nothing has been done to cater for the needs of returning migrants (Hall 2005), the family is one of the most important mechanisms of informal social security. According to Hall's study on Ecuador, some 52 per cent of migrant families are now extended, compared with the national figure of 46 per cent. This reflects the greater role of grandparents and other relatives, such as aunts and older children, in caring for the younger and older members. But to enhance the benefits of migration by addressing the enormous social costs of the micro level, social welfare programmes and long-term social policy planning should be devised for these families, as well as for return migrants in their country of origin.

Issues in destination countries also involve a social policy, or social development, dimension. Labour or economic rights, for instance, are treated in this paper as a subset of social policy, and there are a number of studies on the specific problems that arise for temporary or undocumented migrants regarding abusive practices by employers (especially the widespread problem of non- or under-payment of wages) and recruitment agencies (charging of excessive fees, false information and so on), but this has not been approached by scholars in a social policy or social development framework.[24] Most civil society activism in fact deals with labour rights issues, at least in the context of temporary migration (Grugel and Piper 2007).

Collective organizing of migrants

Reflecting the "associational revolution" and a growing wave of civil society movements in countries that experienced the "third wave of democratization" (Huntington 1991; Rakner et al. 2007), it does not come as a surprise that migrants have also been the instigators of, or been subject to, civil society activism by various types of organizations in countries where migration is a significant phenomenon. This is also reflected in a rise in publications on the political mobilization of migrants.

This paper analyses the considerable body of literature, looking at an array of migrant organizations or associations from the multiple perspectives and disciplinary backgrounds of the authors. Most of this research derives from the context of South-North migration where long-term residence—if not citizenship—and family unification are an option. With the focus of most of this research on organizations located in the destination countries, the type of migrant organizations examined are, therefore, typically immigrant, or so-called ethnic, organizations. However, reflecting the increase in and diversification of international migration (Piper 2008a), some scholars have remarked upon the increasing breadth in ethnic or immigrant organizations—qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

The only global survey of civil society activity in the area of migration to date was conducted under the auspices of the UN Commission on Population and Development in 1997 (United Nations 1997). Although this survey does not make a distinction between migrant workers and refugees or forced migrants, it demonstrates the vast number and diversity of CSOs as well as

"Gulf wives" as they are known. Recent studies tend to discuss the social costs of female out-migration, which reflects the feminization of certain migration streams.

[24] Examples include the multicountry study on Asia by Verité (2005), on Ecuador by Bastia (2007), and on Southeast and East Asia by Piper (2005a, 2005b).

the range of activities these organizations have been involved in, including the promotion of international standards and improved national legislation and policy. By not making a distinction between the different types of migrants, however, the picture of CSO activity provided is skewed. Also, this UN survey does not indicate at all which of these organizations are run by migrants themselves.

In Europe, for instance, many NGOs had long neglected migrant workers and focused almost exclusively on refugee and asylum seekers, or their advocacy focus was on integration and antiracism work (especially in the case of subsequent generations of former guest workers who had arrived in the 1950s and 1960s). In much of Asia, it is exactly the other way round: there is very little NGO activity in the area of refugees, which is an even more politically sensitive issue than economic migration in Southeast Asia, and a negligible issue in numerical terms in much of East Asia. Yet, there is growing engagement with economic migration, and advocacy focuses on specific labour rights (Asis and Piper 2008).

Political mobilization of migrants

On the whole, political scientists have tended to take a rather narrow view of what constitutes "political organizations" and "political activism" by, or on behalf of, immigrants or migrants, relating this typically to political parties and voting behaviour (Piper 2006a). This stands in contrast to sociologists and other social scientists who take a broader view of this matter, especially those who employ a gender perspective (Jones-Correra 1998; Hardy-Fanta 1993).

There is a considerable body of literature on immigrant organizations in the European and North American context (Rex et al. 1987) as well as studies on trade unions' engagement with and handling of immigrants.[25] Reflecting the predominantly long-term, if not permanent, feature of the post–Second World War wave of migration, and focusing on the situation in the destination countries, these studies take as their analytical starting point labour relations or political integration with specific interest in the issue of antidiscrimination or antiracism. Their objective in studying immigrant or ethnic organizations is to investigate to what extent such organizations hamper or speed up the process of integration into the host society, how and why immigrant organizations originate, how they manage to survive and change over time (JEMS 2005). Political incorporation has thereby often been approached in a narrow sense, in terms of the acquisition of citizenship (such as through naturalization) and voting behaviour (especially in the United States). Some scholars would go as far as arguing for post-national citizenship which, however, derives from the very specific context of mobility within the European Union and can therefore not be applied to other contexts (Soysal 1994).

In the literature on immigrant organizations in the European context, the concept of political opportunity structure[26] is commonly employed as a heuristic device to explain immigrants' organizational activities, predicting that the level or organization will strongly depend on the structure of political institutions and the configuration of political power in a given society (Hooghe 2005). The advantage of the opportunity approach is that it places group mobilization in a political context. For Odmalm (2004), this is the key issue. Hooghe and others, however, arrive at the conclusion that the ability of ethnic associations to develop into a politically effective social movement is doubtful, given that these groups are clearly divided along ethnic lines and that even within specific ethnic communities, there are often sharp divisions.

Trade unions have rarely been studied within the analytical framework of political opportunity structure. Danese (1998) investigates union activity in Italy and Spain on behalf of migrant workers who constitute a new phenomenon in these two countries, which have only fairly recently made the transition from being mainly "origin countries" to becoming significant "destination countries". But even this study takes an ethnic perspective (looking at the different

[25] Vranken 1990; Pennix and Roosblad 2004; Wrench 2004.

[26] Concepts of political opportunity structure were first developed within social movement research (for example, McAdam et al. 1996) and then applied to the mobilization of immigrants and migrants.

ethnic groups and their role as social and political actors) rather than approaching this topic from a sector-specific perspective.

An exception in this regard is a study by Anderson (2001) on foreign domestic workers in the United Kingdom and the activist efforts by an organization in London advocating for their right to an independent immigration status. In this study, the author clearly shows that the rationale for migrant mobilization is not necessarily based on common ethnicity or nationality but can be linked to the sector in which these migrants work or to a common identity as domestic helpers.

In Europe and North America, in the past, immigrant organizations were mostly made up of the generation that had migrated and at present, those immigrant organizations have turned into ethnic organizations. Some researchers argue that the degree of support for these organizations by the receiving society at large depends on the legal position of the newcomers. But the character of immigrant organizations is seen by others to be determined by factors such as residential propinquity, age, sex, religion, occupation, structure, education and political orientation, and there is competition between them (Schrover and Vermeulen 2005:830). Not surprisingly, there are unresolved issues with regard to the definition of what to classify as an immigrant organization.

There is greater consensus that organizations develop and change over time with regard to experience, portfolio and so on.[27] A rare historical study by Moya (2005) argues that there is a positive relationship between national levels of economic development and associational activity and that the pre-migratory background, timing and rhythm of flow, and mechanisms of migration affect newly arrived migrants' adaptation to the new environment, and with that their organizational behaviour. Moya (2005) concludes in his study on the United States that while non-political associations continue to predominate in terms of numbers, membership and participation, a disproportionately high share of the present scholarship on immigrant associations concentrates on politics, empowerment and social mobilization. He claims that "scholarly attention to politics surely reflects the increased presence of the state in the process and theoretical trends in academia. But the priorities of scholars do not seem to coincide with those of the majority of immigrants who continue to rank sociability and recreation above politics and mobilization" (Moya 2005:857). What he overlooks, however, are the recent trends within the labour movement and the upsurge of CSOs and migrant associations in non-Western country contexts as well as the specific situation of temporary labour migration. This literature has discussed migrant organizing as linked to human and labour rights activism rather than citizenship, including the argument that it is in fact migrant workers who can have a reinvigorating effect on an otherwise stagnant labour movement (Piper 2006c).[28]

In studies on organizations, the role of professional associations in heavily migrant-dominated sectors such as health (nurses and doctors) is underrepresented, if not absent, except for a few rare accounts of philanthropic societies (Opiniano 2005) and epistemic or knowledge diasporas. The latter have been of particular interest to scholars working on the migration and development nexus (see below).

Studies on CSOs in the case of migrants who are moving between non-Western destination countries are few and far between. There are some recent attempts by migration scholars working on destination countries in Asia to provide an overview and classification of the various CSOs involved in migrant issues.[29] Also, there are studies on organizational support structures in origin countries, such as Indonesia (Ford 2004, 2006) and the Philippines (Alcid 2004). The important role of the Catholic Church in providing social services, from which

[27] Moya 2005; Caponio 2005; see also Sim (2002) on Hong Kong.

[28] This is a point also touched upon by David (n.d.) in her piece published in the *Trade Union World* on "Migrants get unions back to basics".

[29] Examples include Sim (2002) on Hong Kong; Shipper (2002) on Japan; Lee (2003) on the Republic of Korea; and Piper (2006b) on Singapore and Malaysia.

Filipinos in particular benefit, has also been highlighted (Asis 2002). Piper and Uhlin (2002) used the concept of political opportunity structures to analyse emerging transnational NGO networks in the area of trafficking. Researchers have also looked at how the political space for civil society activism—by or for migrants—impacts on the form and expression of advocacy and the types of issues raised (Yamanaka and Piper 2006; Lyons 2005). Evolving expertise and a gradual shift from pure service provisioning to additional engagement in political advocacy has been observed by a few scholars (Sim 2002; Roberts 2000).

The situation of temporary contract workers who numerically constitute the largest part in migratory flows between non-Western countries—and are also a re-emerging issue in migration to countries in the North—poses a marked difference to what the existing literature on political mobilization of migrants has to say, including trade unions' responses. Few studies have explored the specific organizational support structures for this particular group of migrants, and those that do are on intra-Asian migration.[30] One element that distinguishes contemporary flows from earlier waves of post–Second World War migration to the North is the institutional and structural context of "unions struggling to survive in the face of the globalization of firms combined with unprecedented employer opposition to unions" (Juravich 2007:16) in which current temporary migration occurs.

With regard to these contemporary developments, unions have increasingly had to own up to the reality that temporary migrant workers play an important role, which has implications for the labour market beyond the mere filling of jobs. It has been argued that migrants also work to discipline domestic labour in a number of ways (Sharma 2006). In order to incorporate migrant workers into the overall political struggle to uphold workers' rights and to address migrant workers' specific grievances, recent studies have argued for a need to enhance collaboration between trade unions and migrant organizations to build upon, or complement, their respective strengths and weaknesses (Piper and Ford 2006).[31] Cross-organizational collaboration has also been identified as important in the context of "portable justice" (Caron 2005; Grugel and Piper 2007).[32] Migrant worker organizations can benefit from trade union structures, as unions tend to have the financial leverage and political clout to force "governments to govern" and to institute their own legislation to support migrants' rights. In turn, it has been suggested that organizing foreign workers can lead to a reinvigoration of the overall labour movement (Piper 2006c; Campbell 2006). In this sense, trade unions and NGOs are indispensable allies not only of migrant workers but of all workers.

Networks and alliances

Newer migration waves to Europe and North America from a wider range of source countries have also been analysed in the framework of organizational support structures.[33] These newer studies reflect the fairly recent shift within migration studies that puts network theory at the centre of analysis by highlighting the spatial, cultural and social dimensions of networks.

In explaining how these networks evolve and transform, the notion of social capital is commonly used to detail why some networks function well and others do not. Espinosa and Massey (1999) were among the first migration scholars to relate immigrant networks to social capital as put forth by Loury (1977) and expanded later by Bourdieu (1986).[34] The main argument is that as social networks are enhanced and sustained, people migrate because they

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[30] Ford 2004; Piper 2006b; Wee and Sim 2005.

[31] See www.equaljusticecenter.org/2003-01-10_Austin_A-S.htm, accessed on 25 May 2008, for reference to one such movement granting legal services for migrants for rights to a day's pay.

[32] The notion of portable justice captures the problem when undocumented migrants or temporary labour migrants were deported or sent back to their countries of origin upon completion of their contracts without their wages being paid, and the difficulties involved in claiming grievances in labour courts or labour standards offices when physically absent (Caron 2005). This problem, thus, has a transnational element (Piper 2006c).

[33] See, for example, Owusu (2000) on recent Ghanaian associations in Toronto.

[34] Espinosa, Massey and Loury developed social capital theory in reference to intangible resources, whereas Bourdieu expanded this theory to include influences from resources attained through networks. See also Ortiz (n.d.).

want to and not necessarily because of the dire economic conditions they are facing (Ortiz, n.d.). In other words, the foundation of social capital theory lies in the social forces that lead people to migrate and the different levels of "success" their migration has, based on different social capital migrants have accrued. Owusu's study (2000) on the various Ghanaian organizations in Toronto finds that their networks are based on townships, ethnic and national associations.

Gender perspectives on, or critiques of, social network theory have shown that women tend to have less access to social networks, partly because many migration flows were originally led by men (Wright and Ellis 2000; Bastia 2007). Moreover, social networks are gendered in the sense that women tend to have less access to information and financial resources to facilitate their migration because of their location within the labour market or different cultural norms (Dannecker 2005). "Spatial organization of the sexual division of labour provides men with more opportunities for establishing stronger relations and bonding with co-workers" (Bastia 2007:663). This has also serious implications for the political organizing of male and female migrants (Piper 2008b).

According to Ortiz (n.d.), social network theory is a descriptive notion of a form of social capital: once a few migrants are established in certain areas in another country, they begin to create new social structures for the migrant community that strengthen links between sending and receiving communities. They allow for the circulation of persons and information, and return flows of cash and commodities. Social networks and social capital, which make a connection between origin and destination countries, are also elements found in studies which take transnationalism as their starting point (see below).

Another form of networking that has been analysed is cross-organizational networking as captured by the notion of SMU. This has been the subject of several studies by scholars based in the United States and Canada, again in the context of immigrants. These studies come under the heading of "community unionism" (for example, Cranford and Ladd 2003), or revolve around the launching of specific campaigns such as "Janitors for Justice" or fair wage campaigns where coalitions between trade unions, grassroots or community organizations and university staff/students were formed (Aguiar 2006; Savage 2006). Trade unions themselves have also published documents acknowledging the need for an SMU approach and comprehensive campaigning that should focus not only on workers' direct material interests but include broader issues, such as human rights and social justice, by forming coalitions with community organizations. The Dutch Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (Federation of Dutch Labour Movement/FNV) has identified organizing the low-wage service economy with its high share of ethnic minority or migrant workers by as an important element of its political activities (Kloosterboer 2007:22).

In the non-Western and strictly temporary migration context, Gray (2007) has done interesting work on trade unions set up by migrants in the Republic of Korea in which he describes the obstacles to the foreign migrant worker union's actions as well as the dependency on—largely parochial in his assessment—NGOs run by Korean citizens. Partly because of the latter, migrants have so far been unable to politicize the very temporary character of their migration. Gray and Alcid (2006), in reference to the Philippines, have also argued that there are signs indicating a shift toward SMU.

Transnational perspective

Recent transnational perspectives that introduce an understanding of migration as involving social processes that bridge countries of origin and destination[35] also include the realm of politics (Sørensen et al. 2001). Five major groupings have been suggested: (i) immigrant politics (political activities by migrants to improve their situation in the country of destination);

[35] There are a few authors who have expressed critical perspectives on "migrant transnationalism" (Morokvasic 2003; Kivisto 2001). This critique has not been applied to the meso level and political activism. On the contrary, a case has been made for further transnationalization of migrant rights from an activist perspective (Piper 2006c, 2008e).

(ii) homeland politics (political activities directed toward the domestic or foreign policy of the country of origin); (iii) hometown politics (initiatives from abroad aimed at participation in the development of local communities of origin); (iv) diaspora politics (political practices confined to a group barred from direct participation in the homeland's political system); and (v) transnational politics (political activities directed at both country of origin and destination). This implies that migrants can and do act as political agents and lobbyists in an array of issues implicating the countries at both ends of the migration chain. At the same time, this classification shows the variety of contexts to which the concept of "transnational politics" has been applied.

What is missing in the above classification by Sørensen et al. (2001) is the labour movement and the role of traditional worker organizations—trade unions—in responding transnationally to the situation of increasing numbers of highly vulnerable foreign workers. This "missing link" to trade unions has partly to do with the low level of engagement that they have shown so far in general, and specifically on the transnational level. This is for three main reasons: (i) trade unions in origin countries regard migrant workers as better off and, thus, in no need of political attention, or they take a "division of labour" approach and leave migrant worker–related issues to NGOs; (ii) migrants tend to work in sectors that are regarded as "impossible" to organize or in jobs that are not recognized as "proper" work and so are explicitly excluded from national labour laws of domestic workers (destination country perspective); and (iii) the short-term nature of many of today's migratory flows and the implications for traditional approaches to membership in trade unions in the destination countries. This last point is linked to the need to operate transnationally in order to direct political activism not only toward destination governments' policies, but also origin governments' policies (but to date, trade unions tend to be more nationally oriented, given that their biggest concern is the national workforce). The political void left by trade unions has to some extent been filled by NGOs. But more recently, unions have also begun to embark on reform processes not only by incorporating migrant workers into their efforts but also by showing greater awareness for the need to operate transnationally (Kloosterboer 2007; Piper and Ford 2006).

In Europe, one such example is the setting up of a migrant worker section by the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) branch in Southampton, United Kingdom, which caters for newly arrived Polish workers and attempts to link up with unions in Poland. Another example is the European Migrant Workers Union that was founded by the IG Bau (Germany's Trade Union for Building, Forestry, Agriculture and the Environment) in 2004 as the first such organization to be formed within the European trade union movement. This new union addresses posted and seasonal workers in all industries, and in its initial phase focuses specifically on migrant workers in agriculture and construction. The aim is to provide those workers with legal assistance and advice, support them in the event of sickness or accident, help them to receive correct payment for work done and promote the provision of better accommodation. This new organization also concentrates its activities on migrant workers from Poland, and the aim is to set up offices in all the countries of origin of migrant workers, with the first being in Poland. Such initiatives thus involve a clear transnational dimension.

The International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF), based on a historical "reciprocity agreement" that has existed since the early twentieth century among its affiliates, is promoting its International Union Card as a means to protect migrant workers. This card allows a member of an IUF–affiliated union in one country who then migrates to another country to automatically become a member of an IUF affiliate in that country without having to pay an entrance fee. This entitles the migrant workers to the same support as the host union's indigenous members (IUF 2008). This is a sign of the broader concepts of "portable membership" and "unions without borders". Global unions and national union centres in the Western world seem to be at the forefront of these initiatives, despite or because of the decrease in membership of traditional constituencies. To a large extent, this has to do with the fact that they still have larger pools of resources than many unions in the

non-Western world. Also, in Europe, the regional trade union structure clearly is also a reflection, or response to, the regional set-up of the European Union.

Although not quite as advanced, there are also initiatives in Southeast Asia, such as in Singapore and Malaysia, to set up migrant worker desks or committees within trade unions, and to build up transnational linkages between unions in destination and origin countries (Raghwan 2006).

Studies taking transnationalism as their starting point have examined coalition-building activities across various nationalities to campaign on behalf of foreign domestic workers, particularly in Hong Kong (Law 2003; Wee and Sim 2005). Much rarer are studies that employ a transnational methodology in spatial terms (in the sense of multi-sited fieldwork) by analysing transnational networks of organizations in origin as well as destination countries or across an entire region (Ball and Piper 2002, 2005; Piper 2005a, 2006c). A different angle taken in these studies is that they also discuss transethnic alliances with a focus on sectors dominated by migrant workers (such as domestic work) rather than nationality-specific organizations.[36] An exception in the European context here is the above-mentioned study by Anderson (2001) on a domestic worker organization in London, in which she also argues that the motivating factor for organizing was the specific legal situation of foreign workers in a particular sector, rather than their nationality.

Migrant organizations for development

The most crucial type of organization in this context are the so-called Hometown Associations (HTAs). There is a plethora of studies on these, mostly on those set up by Latin Americans—and to a lesser extent on Africans—in North America, with extensive publications on the United States, especially on Mexican HTAs (Orozco 2005, 2006). These associations are based on the social networks established by migrants from the same town or village in Mexico (that is, the destination country). Among their objectives are promoting the well-being of their hometown communities of both origin and residence by raising money to fund public works and social projects, as well as maintaining any type of beneficial relationships.

HTAs in the United States are heirs to the mutual aid societies and welfare organizations created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These societies performed a social protection function by providing sickness care and death benefits at a time when such services were unavailable for many immigrant groups. Although Mexican HTAs have the longest history and are best known, an increasing number of Dominican, Guatemalan and Salvadoran HTAs have been formed in the last decade and are actively participating in the improvement of their communities both of origin and of residence (Portes et al. 2007). Only more recently has a study on Turkish HTAs in Europe emerged (Caglar 2006).

The investments made by these associations tend to be mostly entrepreneurial or economically driven, but projects like the building of hospitals and schools also contribute to social welfare. Their activities are more on sociocultural grounds but have on occasions also been described as "political", albeit with little detail (Bada 2005). Hence, to what extent these associations are involved in influencing policy making remains unclear and is an area that deserves more investigation. Conceivably, they should exert a certain degree of influence on policy-making bodies, especially at the municipal level.

The fairly extensive literature on HTAs, which is also often approached from the perspective of transnational communities or diasporas, usually focuses on one ethnic group and how this group organizes itself (for example, Ghanaians in Canada). What remains typically under-explored is their engagement with issues that are specific to social policy and rights. The literature on HTAs derives from concern with the impact of these associations' activities on

[36] See Law (2002) on Hong Kong.

development in the origin country and is to a lesser extent concerned about these associations' activities to improve migrants' position in the destination society. The very nature and composition of HTAs clearly contrasts with the idea of "mass organizing" in the case of trade unions, as HTAs bring together people on a "tribal" basis or migrants from specific local areas.

It has been argued that there is an ongoing trend among HTAs toward institutional diversification, specialization and completeness. This trend in HTA formation is, however, difficult to detect. Some argue that the membership of HTAs seems to have decreased. This observation is confirmed by Orozco's work on Mexicans in the United States: their HTAs have fewer members, although there was an upsurge in the mid-1990s which, according to Orozco, had to do with support from Mexican federal and state governments. This seems, therefore, driven by the origin state. The crucial role played by governments' proactive stance has also been highlighted in a study on overseas Argentines (Margheritis 2007). According to Owusu (2000), increased activism of the state and of ethnic politics as a mechanism for the allocation of public funds in host societies has also led to an increase in ethnic advocacy groups in Canada.

Another development among migrant associations in the Philippines (which seems unique as far as Asia is concerned) is the establishment of return migration programmes by NGOs. According to the Economic Resource Center for Overseas Filipinos (ERCOF), migrant NGOs have traditionally focused on programmes for the protection of migrant rights. But more recently, migrant associations' search for solutions to migrant problems has grown to mobilizing migrant communities with the objective of economic empowerment, particularly by providing a viable economic alternative to returnees. This helps to reverse the migration cycle through the development of a vibrant local economy. Groundbreaking work in this area is being done in Asia, as for example, in the case of the Asian Migrant Center in Hong Kong, which, fairly recently, has implemented a savings programme for migrants.[37] What needs to be tested by future research, however, is what this new role as "agents of development" means for the individual migrants involved and the impact it has on them (Piper 2009).

Policy influence

Overall, there is very little data on migrant organizations' influence on policy making and concrete networking initiatives with government agencies at regional, national and municipal levels. A few studies discuss existing public policies (Flores 1984) but not the policy-making process and the extent to which migrants are able to voice their concerns to policy makers at all stages (agenda setting, actual negotiations and implementation).

Caponio (2005) discusses policy networks and immigrants' associations at the level of local government in Italy. Her analysis finds that immigrant associations are poorly organized and play a marginal role in the local decision-making process. Local governments seem to prefer to collaborate with Italian pro-immigrant associations, especially as far as access to funding and bidding for public contracts is concerned. This is based on those organizations' higher level of experience and expertise which translates into greater levels of trust.

A study by Iredale, Piper and Ancoq (2005) on the impact of the ratification of the 1990 UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families in Sri Lanka and the Philippines (the only State parties in Asia) has shown that especially in the Philippines, there is some evidence of government–civil society consultations. There are various mechanisms for monitoring the effects of the so-called Republican Act 8042, which is part of the efforts to implement of the UN Convention. The House of Representatives, for instance, has created the Special Committee on Overseas Workers Affairs, and NGOs that are active in advocacy are invited to hearings on labour bills at which they are given the opportunity to articulate their positions. The Centre for Migrant Advocacy, however, is not completely satisfied with the current situation because of the limited representation of NGOs on

[37] See Gibson et al. (2001). For a critique, see Weekley (2006).

the Board of Trustees of the Office of the Welfare for Overseas Workers (which consists of seven representatives from government, five from private sector and only one from migrant associations). NGOs participate in policy making to some extent, express their views in position papers and have access to a few high-ranking politicians (senators). This not the case in Sri Lanka, the other country covered in Iredale et al.'s (2005) study.

What is better known is the role of these organizations in the delivery of social services relevant to migrants. In the specific context of female migrants who work in the entertainment industry, in domestic service or end up married to local citizens (international marriage), there are a few studies on women shelters in Japan (Roberts 2000; Mackie 1999). Hall's study (2005) on Ecuador finds that institutions of civil society have been instrumental in supporting the rights of Ecuadorians overseas and back home. Civil society organizations have apparently also driven the policy dialogue with the government in terms of creating legislation which addresses human rights issues. But there is no detailed information on how this happened or the level of success.

A survey by the ILO (2004) on policy making in the field of migration arrives at sobering results: "there are…only a few examples where the formulation of labour migration policies, laws and regulations takes place through formally established tripartite structures", which the ILO views as crucial in both the origin and destination countries (2004:112). This should not come as a surprise given the ILO's narrow understanding of "influencing policy" based on tripartism, which seems a distant goal only made possible under very specific political opportunity structures. The politics of migration policy seems to lend itself to more pluralistic forms, as it is difficult to imagine migrant "peak associations".

On the whole, NGOs' capacity to influence policy and policy-making processes in the area of migration and social policy at various levels has not yet been sufficiently explored, especially in the context of migration between non-Western countries. A study coming from a multi-sited governance perspective has made the first step to explore the complex processes involved in advocating for policy change at the regional, UN and national level (Grugel and Piper 2007).

Part III: Bridging Concepts, Filling Gaps

The organizational and political linkages that may have a bearing on social development and social policy in the context of migration flows between non-Western countries have been subject to some research in recent years. A clear message has emerged from this: self-organizing by migrants and cross-organizational alliances are vital to push for better policies and services to cater for the needs of migrants and their families. There is evidence that intra-regional networks are being formed (especially in Asia). A recently initiated IDRC–funded study on *Advancing the Rights of Female Migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean* promises to yield some revealing findings in the near future.[38] However, there are no studies in this regard on migrant-supporting organizational networks in Africa. Thus, as it stands now, the intricate dynamics of the organizational web, as well as the obstacles and opportunities to assert influence on local, national and regional governing structures, are not well known.

Sociological and political-scientific concepts of collective or political mobilization have proved most useful, and studies on immigrant and migrant mobilization from a social movements perspective have in fact built upon three factors highlighted by social movements scholarship as those that "make or break" the emergence and development of such movements: shifting political opportunities, social networks and the formation of a collective identity (Taylor 2000). In the context of social development and social policy, development scholarship needs to be brought into the picture, but so far development scholars have not engaged much with the social movements literature (Piper and Uhlin 2004). This is partly explained by the fact that

[38] See www.advancingmigrantrights.org.

development-oriented or service-providing NGOs might not be politically active in the same way as NGOs focusing on human rights, women's rights and the environment. Last but not least, there are no studies on support NGOs that cater for those left behind in origin countries. The specific body of literature on HTAs, as well as other development-oriented NGOs run by or on behalf of migrants, that exists to date gives very little information and evidence on the extent to which these associations can be seen as having concrete influence on politics and policy making processes in the origin as well as destination countries.

More broadly speaking, the global connections between global policy approaches/studies and governing networks from the perspective of promoting global social justice and the role of international migration therein, are conceptually underexplored. The conceptual and empirical gaps in the existing literature, therefore, revolve around the feasibility and practicality of transnational policy making and the role of organizations in advocacy and service provisioning aimed at migrants and their families at all stages of the migration process (pre-migration, migration/left-behind stage and return). Also, the meaning of transnational needs further exploration, ideally from a multi-sited set of data. As it stands, country-specific case studies still predominate, and the employment of a truly transnational methodology is rare.

Furthermore, especially in view of temporary contract schemes, the following questions are still virtually ignored by existing scholarship: how is the transnational nature of migration reflected in transnational operating of trade unions? Are trans-institutional alliances with other CSOs formed? What is the significance of other civil society groups (for example lawyers' associations, faith-based organizations) as actors in promoting migrants' rights, and what is their positioning within existing nodes and networks? In this context, the nature of SMU needs specifying (as is also argued by Vandenberg 2006), testing and further developing. A study which takes a specific sector as a starting point and then works its way through the multi-sited policy-making structure and organizational web of actors involved could be a first step toward investigating some of these questions.

On the issue of the migration-development nexus, it is laudable that on one level migrants are now treated as "agents of development" and not merely as poor victims of underdevelopment, but it is not sufficient to limit their role to the economic sphere. Migrants want to be recognized beyond their role as economic agents by being given more say in policy-making processes, thereby also becoming players in the political process. Furthermore, their positive contribution to host countries needs stronger emphasis—and not only via the contribution by highly skilled and professional migrants. Diaspora and other migrant associations need to be considered as partners in development, not as clients. The notion of "co-development", therefore, has to be applied to the political sphere as well. More dialogue is needed among scholars working on social policy, social movements and transnational politics, development and migration studies.

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