



Migrations in contemporary society: correlation with migration and development

Migraciones en la sociedad contemporánea: Correlación entre migración y desarrollo

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Abstract

Migrations have intensified in contemporary society, due to the process of globalization which deepens the interdependence of economies and strengthens transnational networks, facilitating the labor insertion of qualified people. The popularization of ICT also reinforces the processes of cultural hybridization and shortens distances. However, the speeches of influential politicians and the mass media frame the presence of foreigners as a threat, while these speeches hide the positive effects of migrations, both to the host country and to the origin country. The purpose of this document is to review the relationship between international migration and human development from two points of view: co-development, which involves migrants as promoters of development, and dependency theory, which affirms that migrations reinforce poverty in their territories of origin. In some host countries, there are policies to select migrants with higher education and financial resources, while the entry of low-skilled migrants is not allowed; this entry is attracted by higher wages, as well as by people seeking asylum.

Resumen

En la sociedad contemporánea las migraciones se han intensificado debido al proceso de globalización por el cual las economías se vuelven interdependientes y se tejen redes de trabajo transnacionales, que facilitan la inserción laboral de personas cualificadas, aunado a la popularización de las TIC, las cuales se han vuelto omnipresentes, refuerzan procesos de hibridación cultural y permiten «acercar distancias». Sin embargo, la presencia del extranjero se sigue encuadrando como una amenaza en los discursos de políticos influyentes y en los medios masivos de comunicación, quienes desconocen los efectos positivos que las migraciones pueden aportar, desde el punto de vista económico, cultural, educativo y en la promoción del desarrollo humano. En el presente artículo se realiza una revisión crítica de la literatura sobre la correlación entre migraciones internacionales y desarrollo humano, la cual se puede enfocar desde dos puntos de vista: el codesarrollo, que involucra a los migrantes como promotores del desarrollo, o desde la teoría de la dependencia, que afirma que las migraciones refuerzan el círculo vicioso de la pobreza de sus territorios de origen. Se destaca que los países receptores tienen políticas para seleccionar migrantes con estudios superiores y con recursos financieros, mientras que son reacios a recibir migrantes laborales poco cualificados, atraídos por mejores salarios, así como también se obstruye la entrada a personas que solicitan refugio, ante la necesidad de protección de sus Derechos Humanos.

Keywords | palabras clave

Immigration, development, migration, co-development, international cooperation, social capital.
Inmigración, desarrollo, migración, codesarrollo, cooperación internacional, capital social.

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1. Introduction

Migrations are a historical phenomenon of great influence in the life of the societies of origin, of transit and of reception of the populations that decide to migrate or that they are forced to do it. Worldwide, it is estimated that there are 257.7 million of international migrants, equivalent to 3.4% of the world's population, according to the data from the International Organization for Migrations of 2017 (OIM, 2018). This article addresses this phenomenon from a multidimensional approach, beyond a focus on the problems of security and border control, which tend to dominate migrations in the political and media agendas.

Canelón Silva and Almansa Martínez (2018) emphasize the need to manage international migrations from “a holistic approach that favors the human treatment of migrants – regardless their migratory status”, considering the totality of its dimensions and essential aspects as people” (p. 118). This management of migratory movements is a conducive scenario for the international cooperation. The Migration Governance Framework of the International Organization of Migration (IOM) raises three specific objectives:

1. Good governance of migration and related policies should promote the socio-economic well-being of migrants and society.
2. Adequate governance of migration should be based on effective responses to mobility in crisis situations.
3. Migration should be carried out in a safe, orderly and dignified way (OIM, 2015, p. 6-7).

The framework proposed by OIM (2015) highlights the importance of intervening the migration factors of the populations from their countries of origin. “Poverty, instability, lack of access to education and other basic services are just some of the factors that make people emigrate” (p. 6). Therefore, in order to understand the interrelation between migrations and development promotion, a critical literature review is carried out from authors of reference and from recent studies on international migrations in Ibero-America with special emphasis on emerging literature from reference databases such as Scopus® and the Journal Citation Reports® (JCR).

2. Characteristics of contemporary migrations

From a global perspective, the causes of international migration highlight the widening gaps between countries of origin and destination in the level of income, quality of life, opportunities and services, and the guarantee of the enjoyment of rights. Although it is said that economic development contributes to reduce migration, and this is even more valid when talking about their desirable voluntary nature, it is observed that when the economic development level increases, attraction to migrate increases as well. This situation varies between and within countries, according to the membership of a given class, since, although the economic development of a country tends to be measured through per capita income, it is distributed unequally between the different classes and within families.

The poorest countries normally generate fewer emigrants than those higher up in the per capita income ladder: (...) Thus, the emigration rates of the really poor countries are very low, while they are much higher in the case of moderately poor countries (Hatton and Williamson, 2004, p. 11).

Migrations from the early XXI century are not available to everyone. Economic resources, information and social relations are required to emigrate. A significant part of the population that migrates belongs to the middle class in their countries of origin, usually from the southern hemisphere (Naïr, 2006), in which they favor the exit of these populations towards the improvement in the access to advanced training and of the expectations of life, which do not find adequate satisfaction in their origin countries because of the lack of opportunities and the increasing precariousness of the labor market, among other factors of expulsion and which threaten some sectors of the population to fall into situations of social exclusion, as well as suffering a decrease in their quality of life.

International migration is facilitated when the person has higher education. Naïr (ob. cit) says that this poses a threat to the countries of origin, but favors the host countries, because having people who have studied increases their competitiveness in the knowledge society. For 2015, 14.7 million of "highly qualified" immigrants lived in the United States, "they have higher degree courses associated with undergraduate or postgraduate studies" (Gaspar, 2017, p. 86).

74.6% of migrants are economically active. Due to their educational level, it is assumed that their integration into the host society is relatively easy, although they must face barriers related to their immigration status, labor law, recognition of titles and language proficiency. Having a foreign population with an investment capacity and better qualified not only represents productive advantages, but also show the capacities of these new inhabitants to be inserted in the host societies.

According to OIM, the migratory flows of people from the countries of the South to the countries of the North are a reflection of the inequality in international relations:

Most of the destination countries tend to occupy a hegemonic position at the world level or compared to the countries of origin from which the migrants come. This is the case for many South-South and South-North migrations. Countries of destination are also often wealthier and often occupy a dominant strategic and military position (OIM, 2018, p. 142).

In this sense, there are several countries that have policies that allow them to select the people who enter their territory, as a way of combating illegality. In the countries of the North, conditions of entry, regularization and family reunification are hardened, while promoting the immigration of people who can favor the productive development of the host country.

Modern States do not treat all migrants equally, but instead they select and differentiate according to their perceived national interests. Selectivity implies to privilege certain people as suitable for income and residence and to reject others, sometimes based on nationality, ethnicity or race. For example, until the 1960s, the United States, Australia, and Canada largely excluded non-Europeans (Castles, 2010, p. 54).

In Spain, between January and October of 2018, 5,876 people obtained a visa under the act of support for entrepreneurs (Law 14/2013 of 27 September), being the country of the European Union with more “gold visas” and a higher income of investments for this concept (Aranda, 2018). Receiving migrants with higher education or investment capacity is a measure that favors the host countries, since the social integration of these people tends to be easier, which according to Nair (2006) “are much more ductile, culturally more permeable and have a totally different relationship with the origin, with the nationality of the country of origin, with the identity belonging; they are more open to more internationalized world culture” (p. 202-203).

However, there are other structural factors that can be a persistent disadvantage: “In the American labor market, being a woman, being a child of immigrants, or not having citizenship, race, ethnic origin and immigration status has implications for Labor integration” (Gaspar, 2017, p. 119).

Currently, there is a strong tendency for clandestine or irregular migration. This condition responds to strong migratory pressure from the South over the North and to the restrictive legislation of the latter. It is difficult to establish the number of migrants in clandestine conditions, a situation in which the vulnerability of their fundamental rights, including life, is reinforced, as is regrettably confirmed in the attempt to cross the Mediterranean towards Europe or the Mexican border to the United States.

According to Castles (2010), one of the characteristics of this phenomenon is the performance of mafia criminal networks that intervene in two cruel and dangerous businesses: smuggling and trafficking. Many people only have the option of hiring networks for the illegal crossing of borders (smuggling) and other people are deceived or forced to migrate in the slave labor and forced prostitution (trafficking).

Irregular migration is the subject of special interest on the part of politicians and the media (Aguaded and Romero-Rodríguez, 2015). “Estimates are often manipulated for political reasons, i.e., blaming irregular migrants to generate social problems has become a practice widely disseminated by populist politicians” (Castles, 2010, p. 52).

Migration in an irregular administrative situation is a global problem. In the United States, about 11 million of immigrants live in clandestine situation. It is estimated that between 10 and 15% of immigrants are in an irregular situation, i.e., they do not comply with the immigration laws of the host country, either because they have defeated the visas to which they entered or because they look for work without legal permission. Not everyone is integrated into the labor market, as some are dependent on their families and others are asylum seekers who have not been approved for such status (Castles, 2010).

Castles (ob. cit) stands out as “call factor” the demand for low-skilled and precarious jobs in the labor markets of Northern countries, as well as the so-called “submerged economy”, as employers require people willing to accepting low wages and operating conditions. Therefore, these people are also in precarious conditions in the host societies, where they can be among the most vulnerable because they lack of civil and labor rights (as a possibility to sue or to join a Union).

Likewise, Castles (ob. cit) explains that migrations for economic reasons are easily explained from globalization, constituted by transnational flows and networks of different nature, especially from the geopolitical gap that exists in the South and the North. Forced migrations also have among its causes economic factors conditioned by globalization. Therefore, the distinction between economic migration and forced migration is blurred, as many migrants and asylum seekers have multiple reasons to migrate and it is impossible to separate the economic motivations from the motivations related to the Human Rights violation. "Failed economies generally also mean weak States, totalitarian practices and Human Rights abuses" (Castles, 2003, p. 17).

Despite the difficulty of identifying the main motivation of many international migrants in an irregular situation and distinguishing whether these are economic or refugee causes, their needs are similar and, above all, what should be guaranteed is the recognition of their dignity and Human Rights so that they are less vulnerable to exploitation.

Migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees must be received as human beings, in full respect for their dignity and human rights, regardless their immigration status. While each State has the right to manage and control its borders, migrants and refugees must be received in accordance with the obligations applicable under international law (The Vatican, 2017, p. 127).

One of the most serious forms of irregular migration is the forced type (Castles, 2003). Forced migrations include problems such as shelter, political asylum, internal displacement, displacement induced by development plans or natural disasters, and displacement by people trafficking. Castles (2003) argues that the phenomenon of forced migration must be understood in the broad framework of migrations, from a transnational and interdisciplinary approach. However, the author criticizes that forced migrations are almost always associated with national security issues and border control of nation-States.

Therefore, migration is a sensitive issue in recipient countries where it is seen as one of the main problems and is exploited by some political groups. Polson & Kahle (2010) on the media coverage of migrations in the United States and Europe confirm the prevalence of certain negative representations in the construction of the image of immigrants in the receiving societies, in which the labels on exclusion and words like "Invaders of the Nation" stand out, as well as other negative metaphors related to the siege of the national territory of out-of-control forces such as those of natural disasters such as avalanches or waves. In these negative settings on migrations, the individuals are dehumanized: "Refugees are equated with water, packages, an out-of-control mass, pests or potential invaders, and natural disasters" (p. 253).

Naïr states that in the host countries "the public authorities have no interest in maintaining a clear and frank discourse on the meaning of immigration" (2006, p. 199). One of the reasons is the political costs that it would represent to recognize that immigration is necessary (and has some positive effects), also in connection with the possible "effects called" attributed to it; and because in this way, the person ensures the availability of a reserve army of cheap and vulnerable labor that is ready to respond to the demands of the labor market.

3. Challenges posed by international migration to societies of origin and host

Despite the restrictions imposed for entering the countries of the North, migratory flows will continue to occur in the face of the validity and deepening of the complex dynamics that cause them (from local to global dimensions). In this sense, the increase in migratory pressure stands out from the countries of the South to those of the North in recent years, having as main poles of attraction the United States and the Western Europe, both for work motivations and also for humanitarian reasons (OIM, 2018).

Although there is a major focus on migration to the North, there are significant population movements between the same countries in the South. According to Bologna (2010), Argentina is the South American country that receives more migrants and about half come from border countries: Paraguay, Bolivia and Chile. In South America, according to data from the International Organization of Migration (IOM, 2018), 70% of migrations consider countries in the same region, "owing to the economic and labor disparities existing between countries, most migrants from the region are displaced for work purposes" (p. 90). South American migrants traveling outside their region have two predominant destinations: The United States and Spain.

The risks posed by the assimilation that makes diversity invisible and leaves it at risk of social exclusion, as well as the stigmatization of migrants by media speeches and extremist political parties and populists, there is a need for a more complex approach to a phenomenon that is as old as humanity and that demands an active role by the governments and the civil society.

The acceptance of migrants represents an opportunity for new interactions in terms of mutual enrichment, identifying and surpassing, through awareness campaigns, the sources of hostility and social tensions. Not surprisingly, the other 'invisibility' of migrants, which led to neglecting the consideration of their rights, their dignity and their needs, has now given way to sustained attention based on stereotypes, stigmas and general prejudices (Cannelloni Silva and Almansa Martínez, 2018, p. 119).

There are different models for the insertion of the migrant population in the host society from the analysis of international reference cases. Giddens (2002) raises the existence of at least three models: i) "assimilation", which demands to adapt the behaviors to the values and norms of the majorities, ii) "melting pot", in which the traditions of the immigrants mingle with the predominant to form new cultural patterns in continuous evolution and, iii) "cultural pluralism", which consists in "promoting the development of a genuinely plural society, in which the validity is recognized for the different subcultures" (p. 333).

Thus, an integration model is more typical of the models of fusion and dialogue of cultures, although it is still considered as a possible scenario, like utopia to build, in which the integration can be understood as:

The generation of social cohesion and Intercultural coexistence, through processes of mutual adaptation between two juridical and culturally differentiated subjects, where people of foreign origin are incorporated in equal rights, obligations and opportunities to the native population, without losing their own identity and culture; and the society and the receiving State gradually introduce the necessary normative, organizational, budgetary and mental changes (Giménez, 2003, p. 78-79).

Migrants must choose their own trajectory and be aware that they must also respond for minimal duties in the context of the host society, in a consistent way with the defense of Human Rights and democratic values, beyond the Cultural relativism (Nair, 2006).

4. Migration-Development Relations: Dependency-co development

Co-development aims to highlight the linkage of migration and migrants as actors in the social development of their societies of origin. By raising the relationship between migratory dynamics and promoting the development of a territory, two different perspectives predominate in relation to this relationship: dependence or co-development.

The perspective of dependence, linked to the tradition of Latin American studies, considers that it is a vicious circle of impoverishment and loss of human talent, crossed by dependency relations between host countries and those of origin. Castles and Delgado (2007) question the proposal by multilateral entities, such as OIM, affirming that international migrations promote development “by simply adopting appropriate forms of ‘migration Management’” (p. 15).

From the dependence point of view of the peripheral territories, the underdevelopment is the cause of migrations, which in turn reinforce the structural conditions of poverty and dependence in which the country of origin is located. However, this approach has the risk of skewing the gaze only to global conditions and losing sight of the role played by people and social groups in the country in this process, the internal dynamics of domination, the concentration of resources, opportunities and exclusion.

Governments that see emigration as a safety valve to export unemployment and political dissent, in fact, far from using migration as a development tool, employ it as an alternative to avoid carrying out the necessary strategic transformations (Castles and Delgado, 2007, p. 15).

“Brain drain” is also one of the aspects of the international migration of negative incidence for the countries of origin. For this reason, thousands of professionals with a high level of training leave their countries of origin, in which university education is not an opportunity available to all graduates of secondary education. Many of these people migrate to more developed countries where priority is given to visa applications for the best-trained people, as recognized by the United Kingdom’s Immigration Minister in December 2001:

The migrant program highly skilled people represents a breakthrough in the development of our immigration system, to maximize the benefits of the UK to compete in business in the global marketplace... It will Allow eminent scientists to establish their research in the United Kingdom, stimulate the movement of experts in business and finance to the City of London and give those at the top of their corresponding professions the opportunity to make the United Kingdom their home (Kapur & Mchale, 2005).

Countries such as Australia, Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States have policies to promote selective immigration, which rate characteristics such as the candidate’s curriculum, academic background, language proficiency, and being married to a highly qualified person. It is worth mentioning the case of

Canada, which also values the fact that the person has coursed a postgraduate degree in Canadian Universities (Kapur & Mchale, 2005).

El Salvador is as an example of the effects migrations can have on a country's efforts to have qualified human capital. This Central American country has about six million inhabitants. It is estimated that more than 20% of its population has emigrated mainly to The United States, whereas "El Salvador migrants with post-secondary education accounted for 39.5% [of total migrants]" (UNDP, 2005). While Post-graduate Mexicans living in the United States "amount 16% of all postgraduates residing in Mexico" (Gaspar & Chávez, 2016, p. 108).

The emigration of professionals has increased during the first decade of this century in almost all the Latin American countries; however, about half of these qualified migrants are integrated into the labor market of host countries under unfavorable conditions and "work in occupations in which they do not use their knowledge or skills, i.e., they are over-qualified for works they perform" (Ramírez and Lozano, 2017, p. 132), due to obstacles such as irregular administrative situation, recognition of titles and discrimination (Aparicio, Biderbost and Tornos, 2018).

Nevertheless, international migration represents significant monetary flows to countries of origin thanks to remittances. In the case of El Salvador, "more than 16% of GDP, 133% of total exports, [...] 655% of foreign direct investment, 140% of the tax burden, 91% of the nation's general budget" (PNUD, 2005, p. 13-14).

In Addition to the lack of opportunities commensurate with professional and income expectations, these migrants perceive as "unacceptable" the Human Rights conditions and the governability of their countries of origin (including corruption, at all levels, especially when accessing to opportunities). Proof of this is that when this situation improves, migrants return, despite the fact that the economic situation has not changed considerably, as was seen in Spain in 1975 or in Chile in 1991 with the departure of Pinochet (Olesen, 2002).

5. A Co-development perspective

Co-development highlights the positive aspects of the relationship between migration and economic development, its potential to promote the well-being of those who migrate and their families, their communities and their country of origin, through the transfer of remittances, productive investments, the voluntary return that allows the recovery of "brains", human capital acquired during the migratory experience, the creation and strengthening of transnational networks, among other aspects (Lacomba, 2004).

The co-development programs aim to incorporate in the promotion of economic and social development the organized participation of migrants and their associations. Co-development is a complex concept, from the multilateral, the State and the local, from the host country and the one of origin, from organized civil society, NGOS, immigrant associations, migrants and their families.

Malgesini (2001) proposes the existence of two co-development perspectives. The "traditional", which consists of an official speech deterrent to migration that promotes the return of immigrants to their countries of origin through individual inser-

tion projects. From this perspective, the official development aid is aimed at reducing the need to migrate and conceives co-development “as prevention, management and assisted return of migratory flows” (p. 128-129). The second perspective is “spontaneous co-development” as part of a community proposal from which it is stated that intercultural contact produces a mutual enrichment, both from the society of origin and from the receiving society. It is proposed to overcome the previous restrictive approach, recognizing the importance of immigrant participation and their capacity as transnational agents.

Co-development can also be addressed from different areas of development promotion, such as education for development, intercultural awareness, health, Human Rights development, articulation with productive projects and infrastructure, among others. It raises a different conception of international cooperation, with the participation of migrant populations, including a fairer organization of international trade. In this regard, the European Commission proposes that:

Development aid can hardly have a decisive impact on migrations seen the complexity of the phenomenon. However, it has a role to play if it is inserted within the framework of a set of political, economic, cultural and solidarity initiatives, concerted at international level. [...] The long-term objective of development aid is to sustain lasting development and, as a consequence, to limit individuals and groups to the need to emigrate (Lacomba, 2004, p. 36).

There are cases in which cooperation projects are implemented in impoverished countries with the participation of international NGOs supported by public resources, which act with social organizations of the target country as counterparts in the project and which, in addition, incorporate associations of original immigrants in that country, in the identification and in the management of the project, which allows to have their own experiences of the migratory phenomenon and of the problematic situations of their region of origin, bringing more sensitivity and relevance to these projects. From this perspective, it addresses the overcoming of poverty and exclusion, emphasizing what individuals and groups have, and their capacities, and not so much in what they lack, in their needs (Gutiérrez, 2005).

If co-development approach proposes a type of relationship and hybridization between migrations and development, it is also necessary to consider the conducive conditions to forced migration. Also in Sen's approach to capacities (2000), the adverse effects of social inequality, which are one of the many causes of migration, are highlighted. Lacomba (2004) affirms that cooperation should not aim to reduce migration, but to overcome the social marginalization of large sectors of the population of these countries.

In this sense, migrations can continue to deepen the situations of social inequality in the countries of origin, because the person who migrates is the person who can do it, not the one who wants to. For example, it is argued that remittances by migrants to their families and friends may represent a more inequality in impoverished communities. It is often easier to migrate for those with important capital, not only in economic but also social terms (Bourdieu, 2000).

In impoverished countries, there are some opportunities for students with merits who need family support in the terms mentioned above. Many times families

with scarce resources strive as a group, adding the work of several members so that one can study and improve his/her employability, because, as Bauman assures (2004): The current situation that these people have to face is even more complex and unstable, in the context of liquid modernity.

Although one of the potentialities of emigration most notable for its contribution to the countries of origin is the sending of remittances, the conception of co-development also considers cultural and social contributions as important contributions that can be made by migrants to their countries of origin, also through their temporary or permanent exchanges and returns. In this sense, "it also refers about the concept of social remittances, which would be those experiences, knowledge, technologies, etc., transmitted in a similar way to the economic remittances" (Malgesini, 2001, p. 144).

The immigrant can be "a fundamental element in the social articulation of the country, which can transfer democratic and social values and channel direct relations from civil society to civil society" (Lacomba, 2004, p. 65). However, certain favorable conditions are required in the country of origin so that the return can be beneficial, as well as a coherence between the studies carried out abroad and the applicability of the capacities acquired in the country of origin.

People who go to another country to course postgraduate studies are an important case of potential returnees. Looking at doctoral students in the United States between 1990 and 1999, some studies point out that about 60% have clear plans to stay (Kapur & Mchale, 2005).

If the studies carried out can be applied more easily in their countries of origin, according to the characteristics of the national production system and the labor market, their possibilities of return would increase. Even if all students do not return, those highly qualified returnees can make a contribution to building public institutions, both administrative and educational, which can represent substantial benefits for the country of origin (Kapur & Mchale, 2005, p. 171).

5.1. The importance of remittances

Remittances help reduce the income poverty of those who receive them and enable them to improve their quality of life. They are an important source of income in many countries and are highlighted as one of the consequences of the migrations with the greatest potential for the promotion of the development of the countries of origin. "In gross terms, they surpass development aid, foreign investment or tourist revenues received by many of the developing countries, such as Morocco" (Moré, 2005).

These monetary flows are controversial because it is said that when they are not aimed at the productive system they have no greater positive effects on the economy of the country that receives them. The use given to remittances depends on a number of factors. In addition to the economy conditions of the countries of origin, it is necessary to consider variables such as the previous situation of the migrants and their family, the purchasing power attained by the migrants, the progress in their migratory project and their social capital, mainly in terms of migratory networks of solidarity relations (Basok, 2003).

An example of public policies that favors a productive investment of remittances is the Mexican program "Three by One", by which it encourages the investment

of collective remittances in community works that improve the quality of life of the origin country, with impact for the families of the millions of Mexicans living in the United States. The program is based on the collaboration of migrant associations with Governments at the local, regional and national levels. For every dollar donated by migrants, the three above-mentioned levels provide three dollars. Garcia (2007) says that thanks to this program, the community in general benefits and not only the families receiving remittances.

6. Final considerations

Co-development is a polysemic concept about the positive effects of migrations in the development of the countries involved, highlighting the mutual benefit, according to Lacomba-Vázquez and Cloquell-Lozano (2017). From the perspective of co-development, it can be said that the return can have positive effects for the improvement of the conditions of the country of origin, but this is not assumed from a restrictive policy but as a free and voluntary option of the people who have emigrated. There are a number of voices that call attention to the need to support those who want to return, so that their new adventure, their “migratory project”, is successful. One of the routes indicated as the most appropriate is the entrepreneurship, the creation of the employment of the migrants in their country, through the establishment of a company that can generate other jobs eventually. For this, training programs are promoted, including the identification of the business idea, the elaboration of the plan, feasibility studies, and financing alternatives through micro-credits.

The migratory experience empowers competencies that can serve an entrepreneur project, and if the migration project is successful it is possible to accumulate not only the necessary financial capital but the cultural capital (knowledge, skills and competencies) and social by having new networks of relations through associations and NGOS of the host country, which allow to add important options and supports, for example, to recover social representation to institutions of the country of origin.

This fluidity dynamic of migratory movements is not consistent with restrictive policies that leave many the only option of illegality. As mentioned above, temporary migrations are options that can be considered as an alternative. It would be about “promoting circulation, making the return to the country of origin more attractive” (Nair, 2006, p. 245).

In relation to job opportunities that meet the expectations of those who have invested their efforts in studying, the need for interventions by various actors from the country of origin and from the host, is recognized, as well as the possibilities offered by “the host country multinationals, mobilization in public and private cooperation projects, university education in the North and in the South, or the creation of companies in the country of origin” (Nair, 2006, p. 246).

A strategy from diverse actors, including international NGOS, is to take advantage of international cooperation programs and projects to promote ‘brain return’. It is estimated that 35% of development aid is invested in the payment of staff in the target countries of the programs. If instead of hiring a European expert to develop a cooperative work in an impoverished country, a national is hired in the diaspora

with an equivalent qualification level, the return will obviously be favored. In this line, there are some development agencies that have begun to include expatriates in projects in their countries of origin (Olesen, 2002).

Kapur & Mchale (2005) point out that the limited existing literature suggests that returns are negatively selective. According to estimates for Denmark, Norway and Sweden, less successful migrants measured by the level of income and insertion into the labor market, tend to return, suggesting that if a country loses many of its most qualified people (for example India, most of them migrating to the United States) the less qualified of this group is the most willing to return. This implies that the most talented people are more willing to make their contributions to their country of origin as members of the diaspora.

According to Pérez (2017), migrants in an irregular situation can also be considered as actors of development, because beyond their administrative situation, they obtain economic resources thanks to their work, part of which can be sent as remittances to their country of origin and also strengthens their skills or abilities, which can be at the service of their community when they decide to return.

Co-development can be a complement to restrictive immigration policies as a tool to curb migratory movements. But other co-development proposals may arise, as a more horizontal type of relationship between international actors, without disregarding Human Rights, including the right to develop and affirming that migrations can have greater positive effects if they are not forced, if the decision to emigrate is a free choice and not the only way to unjust socioeconomic and political situations. However, not all people who emigrate can take a more active role, since their status as foreigners implies situations of vulnerability, which change throughout the migratory process and according to their situation by the legislation of residence.

In view of this situation, the initiatives of the migrants' associations are a space for the empowerment of these minorities in favor of their social integration process and also in their role as cooperatives that promote the well-being of their community of origin. It is necessary to emphasize the need to understand the complexity of the phenomenon of migratory movements from a transnational perspective, recognizing its dynamic character, in which the lives of migrants, their families and the host and origin countries combine in the economic and socio-cultural aspects (Pardo, 2015).

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