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Телефон: +7 (727) 272-46-54

E-mail: Otanhistory@gmail.com

Электрондық мекен-жай: <http://infohistory.info>

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IMPACT OF LABOUR MIGRATION ON THE LIVES OF “LEFT BEHIND”

Kamaljanova Takhira Anvarzhanovna,
Candidate of Historical Sciences,
associated professor at L.N.Gumilyov ENU Nur-Sultan,
Kazakhstan E-mail: Takhira.Kamaljanova@mail.ru

Abstract: The study of the problems of migratio, migration processes and their impact on those “behind” (family members, children, relatives and others) is important in the development of migration policy questions both for world practice and for the history of individual countries in particular. Tens of thousands of people migrate from their “native places” to other countries in search of work and a “better life”. Currently, according to statistics, about a billion people live and work outside their historical homeland. The number of migrants worldwide is growing from year to year. Labor migration is one of the most common causes of emigration. Labor migration significantly affects the remaining “home” family members both positively and negatively, depending on different and individual circumstances. The aim of the study is to study the positive and negative effects of labor migration on the lives of those who are left behind, including children and spouses. This article was completed in 2017 during the training as part of the Bolashak Scholarship (Bath, United Kingdom).

Key words: migration, labour immigrants, reasons of migration, health status, parental migration, household dynamics, income, psycho-social well-being of children.

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ЕҢБЕК МИГРАЦИЯСЫНЫҢ «АРТЫНДА» ҚАЛҒАН ЖАҚЫНДАРЫНА ӘСЕРІ

Камалджанова Тахира Анваржановна
т.ғ.к., Л.Н.Гумилев атындағы ЕҰУ доценті, Нур-Султан қ., Қазақстан
E-mail: Takhira.Kamaljanova@mail.ru

Түйіндеме: Миграция және миграциондық процесстердің зерттелуі, сонымен қатар «артында» (отбасы мүшелері, балалары, тума-туыс және т.б.) қалған жақындарына әсері – әлемдік практикада да, жекелеген елдерде де миграциондық саясатты құрау мәселесінде маңызды орын алады. Он мындаған адам туған жерлерінен басқа елдерге жұмыс пен «жақсы өмір» іздеп жер аударып отырғаны белгілі. Қазіргі таңдағы статистикалық деректер бойынша: миллиардқа жуық адам өзінің тарихи отанынан тыс жерде тұрып, жұмыс жасайды. Мигранттар саны жыл сайын өсіп отыр. Еңбек миграциясы эмиграцияның ең басты себептерінің бірі болып табылады. Еңбек миграциясы әртүрлі оқиғаларға байланысты отанында қалған жақындарына позитивті де, негативті де әсер етеді. Зерттеу жұмысының мақсаты: еңбек миграциясының «артында» қалған жақындарына оң және теріс әсерін зерттеу болып табылады. Берілген мақала - «Болашақ» (Бат, Ұлыбритания)

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Кілт сөздер: миграция, еңбек иммигранттары, миграция себептері, денсаулық жағдайы, ата-аналардың миграциясы, үй шаруашылықтарының динамикасы, кіріс, балаларының психоәлеуметтік әл-ауқаты.

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ВЛИЯНИЕ ТРУДОВОЙ МИГРАЦИИ НА ЖИЗНЬ ОСТАВШИХСЯ «ПОЗАДИ»

Камалджанова Тахира Анваржановна

к.и.н., доцент ЕНУ имени Л.Н.Гумилева, г.Нур-Султан, Казахстан

E-mail: Takhira.Kamaljanova@mail.ru

Аннотация: Исследование проблем миграций и миграционных процессов и их влияние на тех оставшихся «позади» (членов семьи, детей, родственников и других) имеет важное значение в разработке вопросов о миграционной политике как для мировой практики так и для истории отдельных стран в частности. Десятки тысяч людей мигрируют с «родных мест» в другие страны в поисках работы и «лучшей жизни». В настоящее время, согласно статистическим данным около миллиарда людей живут и работают вне своей исторической родины. Число мигрирующих по всему миру растет из года в год. Трудовая миграция одна из самых распространенных причин эмиграции. Трудовая миграция существенно влияет на оставшихся «дома» членов семьи как позитивно так и негативно в зависимости от разных и индивидуальных обстоятельств. Целью исследования является изучение положительного и отрицательного воздействия трудовой миграции на жизнь тех, кто остался «позади», включая детей и супругов. Данная статья выполнена в 2017 году в процессе обучения в рамках стипендии «Болашак» (Бат, Великобритания).

Ключевые слова: миграция, трудовые иммигранты, причины миграции, состояние здоровья, миграция родителей, динамика домохозяйств, доход, психосоциальное благополучие детей.

Introduction. There are increasingly people moving from their native countries to foreign countries. It has plenty reasons including educational, economical, religious and political issues. A reason of labour migration is the lack of work opportunities, and obtain sufficient income at home. As known, the number of people who migrate from their native countries become higher and increase. According to statistics, “the number of labour immigrants was increase to 145855 all over the world between April and June 2013” (Immigration Statistics, 2013:6). Currently, around a billion people live and work outside their original country (D’emurger, 2015). Job immigrants earn money in abroad in order to support their family who left behind by sending own salary to family. The impact of a family member’s migration on those who stay behind can be both positive and negative, depending on different and individual circumstances.

This paper seeks to evaluate the positive and negative impacts of labour migration on the lives of those who are left behind such a family including children and spouses. This study will start by considering how parental migration influence on education, health and psycho-social well-being of children left behind, both in positive and negative terms. It will then proceed to investigate impact of migration on households and conclude by recommending how to improve the situation of migrants and those who are left behind.

Materials/methods. The methodological basis of the article was the consistent application of methods of scientific knowledge. The work was carried out in the design of comparative open research using instrumental, analytical and statistical methods.

Discussion. The problem of migration and its effect on family members who do

not migrate “left behind” considered by many researchers. Dayton-Johnson et al. (2009) think that effect of international migration in general is positive since it can help reduce poverty and raise economic growth rates in the migrants countries of origin. According to Antman (2012:7) “parental migration inherently involves parental absence from the home that can have a negative impact on child outcomes which may outweigh the positive effect of remittances”. D’emurger (2015) believes that disintegrated family may also have multiple adverse effects on education, health and social status for family members who are left behind. The same view is shared by Steinmayr (2013). He argues that adult migration has a negative impact on school attendance predominately of boys between 0.19 and 0.14 whereas in relations to girls, this effect is insignificant. De la Garza (2010) notice that the absence of one or both parents can have a serious impact on the psychological, emotional and social development of children during their childhood and youth—with possible implications for their effective transition to early adulthood.

Results. The effect of migration in particular parental migration on the education of children left behind is ambiguous. Researchers such as Meng and Yamauchi (2015) believe that parental migration often brings higher income and hence potentially more economic resources for children’s education although lack of parental care can also have adverse effects on left-behind children (Meng and Yamauchi, 2015:2). The impact of parental migration can be both positive and negative. Certain studies have found the positive income effect. For instance, Yang (2008) finds that money which migrants send to their children help to increase educational expenditures and children’s schooling in the Philippines. The same positive impact on schooling is also found for El Salvador (Edwards and Ureta, 2003). For Mexico, girls from uneducated families are found to obtain more years of schooling if one of their household members migrated to the U.S., or if their fathers migrated when they were very young (Meng and Yamauchi, 2015). Other studies however have found the negative impact of parental migration. For example, as Catrinescu et. al (2011) states migration can negative influence on student’s attainment because of reducing parental support and assistance, hence children become de-motivated or behaving worse. In Mexico, paternal migration is found to decrease kid’s learning hours and increase work hours, especially among boys in the age of 12-15 years. Meng and Yamauchi (2015) also report that girls aged 16-18 in Mexico become more engaged in household work if a member in the household is a migrant. In case of Tajikistan, Catrinescu et al. (2011) notice that participation rate of girls in education is low, the main reason for that is poverty and so-called gender socialisation of girls to marry and raise children. However, in Tajikistan some children at the age 17 years abandoned from school because they want to find their parents and bring them home.

Another reason why children aged 16-17 years do not attend schools is they do not see any reason to learn since they want to continue professional activities their parents. This kind of skills they can learn from their other members of family and relatives. For example, the 17-year-old girl in a migrant household reported that: “I want to be a dress-maker and sew traditional dresses. For this I do not any skills from school since I can learn this skill from my brother’s wife” (Catrinescu et al., 2011:63). In China, some migrant’s children aged about 7-12 years do not have time to go to school because of household chores (Meng and Yamauchi, 2015). Thus, a parent’s migration influence on education of children who are left behind both positive and negative. Most researchers such as D’emurger (2015); Antman (2012); Murard (2014) highlight that impact of migration on children’s education depend on the gender, age as well as on the gender of the parent migrant and whether one or both parents are absent.

Evidence for Mexico also reveals gender-based differences. Parental migration significantly increases educational attainment for girls, lowers the probability of boys completing junior high school and of boys and girls completing high school, and when the migrant was a caregiver, raises the probability that boys and girls will have academic difficulties. For girls, especially in developing countries, the income effect

appears to dominate: remittances, by easing family budget constraints, open up greater education opportunities for girls, who are more likely to be deprived of educational investments when family nances are constrained. For older boys, however, alternatives to education, particularly their own migration, tend to overcome the income effect and drive boys away from school (D'émurger, 2015:5).

According to Catrinescu et al. (2011) attendance of migrant's children who left behind also can be related to economic circumstances which play a significant role in whether they have opportunities to attend school or not since the most children are forced to work in order to earn money to support themselves. That is why, children from dysfunctional families or living in poverty poor attend school, respectively, indicators of progress of these children remains very low.

The next important impact of a parent's migration on the children left behind is on their psycho-social well-being. According to De la Garza (2010) family disintegration is the most negative consequence of parental migration. Mostly children who left behind suffer from lack of parental care. Children left behind also are more prone to psychological and emotional stress, feelings of abandonment, all of which may negative influence on the child's overall development and patterns of socialization (De la Garza, 2010). Even the short time of absence of one or both parents also can have a negative impact on early childhood development. As Catrinescu et al. (2011) state children left behind had a tendency to become withdrawn, sad and depressed. Basically, it was typical for girls rather than boys and particularly pronounced for children abandoned in household. Moreover, depression affects not only children but also parents left the ones that are forced to raise their children. Unsurprisingly, depression and isolation more spread among children left behind who do not have contact with their father. For example, one of the migrant's children reported that: "Without my father it is very difficult, especially for mum. I am sometimes very sad, and I cry. This is because I really miss him, I feel lonely. My mum tries, so we do not feel so alone, but still I sometimes feel really bad, as nobody can replace him" (Catrinescu et al., 2011:92). Interestingly, similar feelings (depression) have children who stayed in contact with their fathers. It can be explained by difficulties of children to say goodbye in every time for their fathers while if a parent does not back home for a long time, the child gradually gets used to it (Catrinescu et al., 2011:92-93).

In addition, the study also showed that a prolonged absence of parents leads to depression, which affects the whole life of children. As you know, separation from parents, in particular with mothers, significantly affects the lives of children. As you know, separation from parents, in particular with mothers, significantly affects the lives of children. During the field study in Cox's Bazaar, children (whose fathers stay abroad) were asked to describe what they did on Eid (major Muslim Festival) or occasions/festivals. A teenage boy with a migrant father stated that his family use to purchase dressed and other items for Eid. He also said: "When I see my friends are going for their father and then embracing each other, that is when I miss my father the most" (The UN Migration Agency, 2017).

While many children of the migrant parents stated that they felt depressed especially on occasions, children living with their parents highlighted that they enjoy festivals as it brings together the whole family. However, the absence of one parent, or both, becomes more profound during festivities and triggers depression. The caregivers also observed that the lack of affection due to the absence of parents contribute to the changed behavioural patterns of the children.

When discussing the conveniences of having their migrant parent with them, children mostly talked about: "less household chores, psychological well-being/satisfaction, sense of security and safety, availability of experienced advice, better advice relating to education, and so on". Parental separation seems to affect the psychological development of the child's personality and contributes to a sense of insecurity amongst children. Some of the child-respondents mentioned that they were afraid of being left along (The UN

Migration Agency, 2017:23).

Indeed, the absence of parents near children has the most negative effect on the psychological state of children and can largely determine their further development.

In this regard, The UN Migration Agency (2017) offers some mechanisms which the negative aspects of children left behind can be minimised. For example, recently, a new type of relations, i.e., “Transnational Families” between migrants and their families has evolved, which is replacing the face-to-face contact. This kind of relationship also expands the geographical and cultural universe of the children left behind through the use of modern communication tools such as e-mail, Skype (the Internet), and so forth. Another study on the Philippines demonstrated that frequent communication with the migrant parents helps to reduce the negative impacts of migration on the children left behind (The UN Migration Agency, 2017:10).

On the other hand, the parental migration through remittances can considerably enhance the welfare of children left behind and reduce the effects of poverty or abuse. The most advantages of migration are normally connected with education as is the case in Philippines, Indonesia, Mexico and Thailand, remittances from migrants are used to send children to better schools (Catrinescu et al., 2011). However, there are many parents who can not support financially their children left behind that in turn leads to negative consequences. Due to lack of financial and psychological support, children who is left behind face economic, psychological and emotional problems (Phadera, 2016). Typically, this category of children in need of psychological help.

Another effect of the parental migration on children left behind is health status. Catrinescu et al. (2011) argues that migrant households’ access to increased income through remittances positive influence on children’s perceived health and nutritional status. Similar views have some researchers such as Antman (2012) and D’emurger (2015). According to them the migration behaviour may affect the health and nutrition status of family members left behind. In the long-term, the income effect of remittances can be big if they foster to better sanitation, enhanced food habits, and more health-seeking behaviours. In the short-term, “migrants may also make up for missing formal health insurance mechanisms by sending larger financial transfers back home when they are needed” (D’emurger, 2015:6). Macours and Vakis (2010) find a positive effect of migration on early cognitive development of children in Nicaragua, such a positive change is related to changes in income and maternal empowerment stemming from migration. Antman (2012) sees a positive effect of remittances on short-term and middle-term nutritional status of children in Ecuador. He also concludes that the remittances from migrants can also have a positive impact on infant survival in Mexico in the longer term.

Indeed, migration seems to improve the nutritional status of very young children, measured by birth weight, infant mortality rate, or weight-for-age. However, a study that exploits New Zealand’s migration lottery program to capture the causal effect of migration from Tonga finds worse diets and lower height-for-age in the short term among children under the age of 18 who are left behind when a parent migrates compared with children whose parents applied but did not win the migration lottery [Demurger, 2015].

Migration may also effect on households and household dynamics. According to Catrinescu et al. (2011) in spite of all difficulties which migration brings, women often perceive their spouses’ migration positively. However, labour migration often has a negative impact on family relationships and increases social and economic vulnerability of women. For example, in Tajikistan wives of migrant workers in the absence of their husbands take a leading role in the family is perceived by society rather inadequate. Nevertheless, another study found that women’s reputation can change for the better when their husbands return home especially if they come with a lot of money (Catrinescu et al., 2011). “Women left behind by their husband work at home as well as in non-home settings, take care of children and the elderly and generally work more hours than women in non-migrant families” (Catrinescu et al., 2011, p.).

Despite the fact that women in Tajikistan are increasingly occupy a dominant role in the family and have a paid job, it is difficult to overcome the stereotype that men work more valuable than women. Similar situation in some other countries. For example, Antman (2012) shows that male migration negatively affects the labour market participation of women left behind in Nepal. He also finds that “remittances are accompanied by a drop in women’s labour supply in informal and nonpaid work in rural areas of Mexico” (Antman, 2012:13). In accordance with the overriding effect of income arising from remittances, the majority of researchers are proof of the negative impact of migration on the labour supply of non-migrants (Antman, 2012). Kim (2007) demonstrates that remittance income decreases labour market participation for non-migrants in Jamaica. Cabegin (2006) find that migrants reduce the labour participation and hours of work of non-migrants in the Philippines. Antman (2012) finds that remittances have a negative effect on labour force participation in Nicaragua. According to D’emurger (2015) international migration constantly provides proof reduce the participation of women left behind in the labour force be they Albanian, Egyptian, Mexican, or Nepalese. The only rising labour occurs in the rural areas of China due to the increase of family labour and underpaid subsistence level work (D’emurger, 2016).

As in the case of education and health care, migration affects decisions on the distribution of labour among family members left behind through two main channels. First of all, the availability of remittances can change the response of labour supply in potentially competing ways. On the one hand, remittances from migrants can allow family members who remain to participate in higher-risk activities with higher returns, easing household financial constraints. If this effect dominates, migration will lead to diversification of economic activity among the remaining family members and, possibly, to an increase in income from local activities in the long term. On the other hand, an increase in disposable income brought by remittances can weaken incentives for non-migrant family members to work, in particular, if financial transfers increase the reserve wages of family members and reduce alternative vacation costs (Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2006). In this case, an increase in income from remittances can reduce the participation of family members in the workforce, and in the long run this can lead to dependence on income from remittances.

Secondly, migration leads to the loss of a migrant’s local workforce, which can severely limit the short-term response of the labour supply of non-migrant members. In particular, when labour markets are imperfect, as is usually the case in developing countries, the remaining family members may not be able to hire labour to compensate for lost migrant contributions. In rural areas, this lost work may force other family members to increase the time spent on (subsistence) farming (D’emurger, 2016).

In addition to these two main channels, migration can also affect spouse participation in the labour market, affecting home productivity. If the contribution of spouses to the function of home production is a complement, then migration will reduce the productivity of the spouse who is left behind; if the input is a substitute, the opposite will be the case. As with education and health care, the net effect of migration on labour supply depends on the relative magnitude of the effect of remittances and the effect of labour loss. In addition, the net effect may vary depending on different subgroups of people, depending on the age and gender of household members, their sector of employment, the seasonal or permanent nature of migration, household assets, and also what restrictions on liquidity are mandatory household.

Studies of family responses to international migration in terms of labour supply consistently find evidence of a decrease in the participation of women who are left behind, whether they are Albanians, Egyptians, Mexicans or Nepalese. The only increase in labour supply is associated with an increase in unpaid family work and a living wage, especially in rural areas. In rural China, internal migration increases farm employment for all family members who are left behind (women, elderly people, and children), and

return migration does not seem to cancel these changes in the distribution of labour (Demurger, 2016).

At the same time, when studying this problem, it was found that migration is associated with increased stress and depression for families left behind. Of course, remittances help financially the families left behind, but it is a mistake to assume that money can reduce stress and depression. Studies show that while remittances “buy happiness,” they do not relieve the pain of separation (Nikolova, Graham and Ivlevs, 2018).

Also, it should be noted that the out-migration of family members appears less traumatic in countries where migration is more common, which also tend to be poorer, indicating that people in such contexts are used to coping with separation. Migrant-sending households in low-income countries often gather in informal groups to help each other to share information or when preparing for migration. But receiving remittances in high-income countries is linked with depression experiences, possibly because getting money from relatives abroad in prosperous countries with relatively generous welfare systems is a marker of destitution or disadvantage and, as such, also leads to depression. Thus, in countries where emigration is less common, such as in richer countries, there is room for policies to mitigate the negative experiences of stress and depression for vulnerable groups of household members staying behind through encouraging formal or informal support groups and stress and depression prevention programs (Nikolova, Graham and Ivlevs, 2018).

In conclusion, as we have seen above the impact of migration on those who left both positive and negative. The most studies show that migration has a positive effect on children’s education left behind. Remittances from parents-migrants allowed to children attend better schools. Also, as Murard (2014) and De la Garza (2010) state parental migration has had a positive impact on health and well-being of children left behind. However, there is some evidence to suggest that parental migration has a serious impact on psychological and emotional well-being on children left behind (de la Garza, 2010). Thus, the effect of migration on those left behind has been both negative and positive. In case of improvement of migration and the condition of family who left behind, there some recommendation and suggestions. The first recommendation is adopted a Declaration of the High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development. This declaration contains the important questions which can help to solve problems are related to migration such as respect migrant labour rights; development of circular migration, reduction of the costs of migration and so on (report, 2013). According to Katseli et al. (2006) there is a need managing migration in order to understand that migration if well managed, may generate important gains for both host and sending countries. Managing migration should be a priority for OECD and EU policy making since these organization can help to eliminate problem not just migration but also the consequences of migration which negative impact on family who are left behind (Katseli et al., 2006). In this case the role of international development organizations become significant. Katseli et al. (2006) believe that connection between migration and development dynamics, migration and development policies need to be jointly addressed at the global, the European and the national levels. In order to solve some issues in migration, there is necessary meaningful international cooperation. According to International migration and development (IMD) (2013:3) “New norms are being established: the Domestic Workers Convention will help protect some of the most vulnerable migrants. Many countries, meanwhile, are beginning to integrate migration into their development strategies”. IMD (2013) concludes that policymakers through the all branches of government should work collaboratively to address migration challenges. This kind of cooperative work then can give positive outcomes in solving of any problems. However, as we can see, all these recommendation and suggestions are connected to just solve in problems of migration. Unfortunately, there is not concrete recommendation or suggestion in solving challenges of those who are left behind although general recommendation in case of migration giving above can be also

useful and applicable.

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