



Root causes of migration

A study on the relation between migration and development

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December 2018



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Consulted on: 28-08-2018

December 2018

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S1012775
Master thesis Human Geography
Europe: Borders, Identity and Governance
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Preface

In front of you lies my thesis 'Root causes of migration: a study on the relation between migration and development'. This thesis is written to meet the requirements of the master Human Geography at the Radboud University in Nijmegen with a specialization in 'Europe: Borders, Identity and Governance'. It was a pleasure to work on my thesis the past months. Once more, conducting research was an interesting learning process.

I would like to thank a number of people with whom I could cooperate during my research. In the first place, thanks to everyone I could interview. Thank you for your trust and the interesting conversations we had. Secondly, I want to express my thanks to Bob van Dillen, my supervisor during my internship at Cordaid, as well as the other members of the Security and Justice team. Thanks to you, my time at Cordaid was both informative and helpful. Finally, I would like to thank Henk van Houtum, the supervisor of my thesis, for his valuable support. Due to his comments and help, I was able to write my thesis. Without which, I would not have been able to carry out this research.

Gerieke Barreveld

Nieuwer ter Aa, December 2018

Summary

On May 18th of 2018, the new Dutch policy document for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation was presented by minister Kaag. The following phrase, in which a specific relation is assumed between migration and development, got my attention: *‘The focus of development cooperation is shifting to the unstable regions of the Sahel, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and North-Africa, with a view to tackling the root causes of poverty, migration, terrorism and climate change’*. However, this relationship is not explained or substantiated with valid arguments. The central question of this research therefore was as follows: *‘What is the relationship between migration and development and to what extent is this relationship reflected in the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018?’*

To formulate an answer on this central question, the following sub-questions were drawn up prior to the investigation:

1. To what extent and in what way are migration and development related to each other?
2. What kind of relationship between migration and development emerges from the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018?
3. What are the similarities and differences between the academic perspective and the policy perspective concerning the relationship between migration and development?

By using qualitative research, answers are found to the questions stated above. In this research, two different qualitative methods are used, namely the textual and the oral method. The textual type of research consisted of a literature review and a discourse analysis of the policy note, the oral type of research consisted of interviews with academic researchers and policy makers. This yielded in the following results.

From an academic perspective, the relationship between migration and development is referred to as the ‘migration and development nexus’. This nexus can be divided into two approaches, namely an optimistic and pessimistic view. According to the optimistic view, migration has a positive impact on the development of a country, whereas the pessimistic view considers migration mainly as having a negative influence on the development of a country. Since 2000 however, the academic perspective is predominantly optimistic concerning migration and development. Development tends to be associated with higher levels of mobility, as can be seen by the migration hump.

However, from a policy perspective, migration is seen as a problem, just like poverty and terrorism. As a consequence, the Dutch policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation is focused on the tackling of the root causes of migration. According to the Dutch policy perspective, development cooperation could be used as a means to limit the adverse effects of migration. Thus, within the policy note, it is assumed that development leads to less migration.

This study has shown that the policy perspective shows similarities with the pessimistic view, regarding the relation between migration and development. In addition, this study has shown that the relation between migration and development is judged differently by academics and policy officers. According to the academic perspective, the relation between migration and development is mainly positive, whereas policy officers mainly see the negative effects. The results of this study largely correspond with earlier studies on the relation between migration and development. Previously, research has shown that in policy documents development is presented as the solution for migration and that the relationship

between those two is perceived as negative. Consequently, the gap between the academic and the policy perspective, policies based on this negative relation between migration and development are bound to result in a failure.

This study on the relationship between migration and development has provided more insight into the differences between the academic perspective and the policy perspective on this theme. The quality of this research is guaranteed by using topic lists, member validation and multiple research methods in order to answer the central questions. The small-scale character of this research, has the advantages of being able to conduct in-depth interviews. But as a consequence, there is limited generalizability. Therefore, a more large-scale follow-up research will be needed to study the policy perspective of the relationship between migration and development. In addition, follow-up research is needed to incorporate the perspective of NGO's, which can possibly offer more insight in the concepts of migration and development and the relation between the two.

Table of contents

1. Introduction	11
1.1. Context	11
1.2. Research objective and questions.....	12
1.3. Societal relevance	12
1.4. Scientific relevance	12
1.5. Geographic relevance	13
1.6. Reading guide	13
2. Methods.....	15
2.1. Method of data collection	15
2.2. Research objects and participants.....	18
2.3. Data processing	19
3. Theoretical framework.....	21
3.1 Migration.....	21
3.2 Development.....	27
3.3 The relation between migration and development	30
3.4 Conceptual framework	33
4. Results	35
4.1. Migration and development in the policy note	35
4.2. Comparison between academic- and policy perspectives	40
5. Conclusion and discussion	43
5.1. Outcome sub-question 1	43
5.2. Outcome sub-question 2	43
5.3. Outcome sub-question 3	44
5.4. Strengths of the research	45
5.5. Limitations and recommendations for follow-up research	45
6. Literature list.....	47
7. Appendixes	51
7.1. Topic lists	51
7.2. List of participant interviews	59
7.3. Code trees	60
7.4. Transcripts interviews (CD).....	71

1. Introduction

In this chapter an introduction is given to the subject of this research. First, the context of this research subject is discussed. Then the research objective, the central question and the associated sub-questions are presented. Then, the relevance of this research will be discussed, respectively from a societal, scientific and geographic perspective. This chapter ends with a reading guide.

1.1. Context

'A greater focus on prevention is desperately needed, greater efforts now will mean less human suffering in the future, and it will save billions in emergency aid, reception in the region of origin and reconstruction. That's better for the world and better for the Netherlands.' (Government of the Netherlands, 2018). With these words, Minister Kaag presented her plans for the coming years in the domain of Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation. These plans are explained in the policy document 'Investing in Global Prospects' and shows how the Dutch government is responding to international challenges and opportunities, in the interests of the Netherlands. The policy promotes four closely connected objectives: preventing conflict and instability, reducing poverty and social inequality, promoting sustainable and inclusive growth and climate action worldwide and enhancing the Netherlands' international earning capacity (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 8). Throughout this policy, the Dutch government expects to contribute to sustainable development in the world.

While reading this policy document, the following phrase struck me in particular: *'The focus of development cooperation is shifting to the unstable regions of the Sahel, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and North-Africa, with a view to tackling the root causes of poverty, migration, terrorism and climate change'* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 6). Apparently, the Dutch government wants to tackle the root causes of migration through development cooperation in the areas as mentioned in the preceding phrase. For several years now, migration is dominating the news, and the public and political agenda. Images and stories of drowning children, fully loaded boats on the Mediterranean and crowded camps on an island have filled our thoughts and conversation about migration. In politics this had led to heated debates about the reception and the return of migrants as well as the resources used for this purposes. This is not only the case in the Netherlands, but it also applies to the European Union (EU). Within the EU there are lots of disagreements between member states about the best way to cope with migration (Propescu, 2016). During the European Summit in June 2018, leaders of the EU debated about a solution to the impasse that has arisen on the topic of migration. However, there was a lot of tension between the member states during the debate (European Parliament, 2018). Already in December, Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council, said that the *"divisions are accompanied by emotions which make it hard to find even a common language and rational arguments for this debate"* (The Guardian, 2017). During the European Summit in June, this statement turned out to be true and even threatened the unity of the EU as a whole. Although this European Summits on the topic of migration, a suitable solution for migration and the challenges it poses has not yet been found.

As a result, migration is still high on the agenda, both in the EU and in the Netherlands. Therefore, the term migration is often found in current policy documents. As is the case in the Dutch policy document for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, presented on May 18th by Minister Kaag. In the policy document 'Investing in Global Prospects' the word migration occurs some 46 times, showing the importance and influence of migration for our current society.

1.2. Research objective and questions

In the previous paragraph, it has been stated that in the policy document for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, presented by Minister Kaag on May 18th, a specific relation is assumed between migration and development. The quoted phrase shows that development cooperation is focused on specific unstable regions in the world in order to tackle the root causes of migration. This relationship between migration and development is, however, not explained or substantiated with valid arguments. The goal of this research, therefore, is to improve the understanding of the relation between migration and development and to gain more insight in the policy note on Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018. The central question of this research is as follows:

What is the relationship between migration and development and to what extent is this relationship reflected in the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018?

To answer this central question, the following sub-questions are formulated:

1. To what extent and in what way are migration and development related to each other?
2. What kind of relationship between migration and development emerges from the policy note on Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018?
3. What are the similarities and differences between the academic perspective and the policy perspective concerning the relationship between migration and development?

1.3. Societal relevance

As was mentioned earlier, there are a lot of different opinions present in both society and politics concerning migration. Both migration and the efficacy of development cooperation on migration issues are controversial subjects, nowadays. There are people who emphasize the possible contribution of migrants in society, for example on retirement plans, while others point out the adverse effects of migration, for example, on the prosperity of European countries (The Atlantic, 2016). By means of this research, I want to contribute to the debate about migration that is ongoing in our society. By providing information about migration and development and the relationship between the two, the debate can be influenced in a positive way. This information can be interesting for policy makers and others engaged in policy making and implementation. The results of this research allow governments and organizations to better align their policies with reality. In this way policies, with regard to migration and development cooperation, can be more effective and sustainable.

1.4. Scientific relevance

The rise of development studies as an academic subject dates from the 1960s. From different perspectives, development has been considered ever since, for example from an neo-classical economic perspective in which the importance of free world trade was emphasized. Today, development is still the subject of a lot of research. For instance, the research of Susan Roberts (2014), who recently investigated the contemporary U.S. development assistance contracting assemblage and its geographies. Also the relation between development and migration has been investigated frequently. In 2013 Geiger & Pecoud provided an overview of current debates questioning the relationship between migration and development which shows that the relationship between migration and development has become a popular and much discussed issue. One example of a researcher who has been involved in this subject for a long time is Hein de Haas. He is Professor of Sociology at the University of Amsterdam and a founding member and former director of the International Migration Institute (IMI) at the University of Oxford. Several publications appeared from his hand on the linkages between migration and broader processes of social

transformation and development, for instance 'Migration and Development: A Theoretical perspective' in 2010 and 'The Migration and Development Pendulum: A Critical View on Research and Policy' in 2013. However, comparative research between literature on this subject and policy making is not often done. This means research is needed on the relationship between migration and development in combination with policy analysis.

1.5. Geographic relevance

A human geographer observes the relationship between human activities and their spatial environment. The movement of groups and individuals from one place to another is such an activity in which geographers have an interest. Migration, therefore, is a relevant research theme within human geography. The same applies to development of which the core idea is the existence and seemingly inexorable deepening of global poverty and inequality. Migration and development turn out to be processes with an impact on human and the environment. By means of this research, concerning the relation between migration and development, hopefully insight is offered in the operation of social processes taking place around the world.

1.6. Reading guide

In the second chapter 'Methods', the method of data collection will be clarified. Next, the research objects are defined and explained, as well as the way the data is processed. In the theoretical framework, the central concepts within this research will be discussed. First of all, the concept of migration is explained. What are the main characteristics of migration and how do people become migrants? The second paragraph of this chapter deals with development. What is exactly implied by the word 'development' and what is the theory and practice of development cooperation? Then, from an academic perspective, light will be shed on the relationship between migration and development. In the fourth chapter, results of the policy study will be presented, including interviews with policy staff of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice and Security. In the final chapters, the conclusion and discussion, the central question will be answered with the help of the sub-questions and a reflection is given on the research. In addition, recommendations will be made for follow-up research.

2. Methods

This chapter will discuss the method of data collection. A short explanation is given of the two forms that are used to provide answers to the central question and the sub questions. The choices made regarding the research objects are presented, followed by an explanation of the analysis of the data.

2.1. Method of data collection

Within human geography, qualitative research is used in many areas, it is concerned with elucidating human environments and human experiences within a variety of frameworks. Qualitative research aims to describe, interpret and explain behaviors, experiences and products of those involved (Boeije, 2009, p. 253). In this research, academic literature and the Dutch policy note on Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation are investigated with the aim to gain a better understanding of the relation between migration and development. Qualitative research seemed to be the most suitable method to gain more insight into these documents.

Overall, there are three types of qualitative research employed in human geography: the oral, the textual and the observational. The most popular methods used are oral, and these are primarily interview-based. However, textual and observational methods are increasingly being used in human geography (Hay, 2010). For this research, both textual and oral methods are used. These qualitative methods are explained in more detail in sub-paragraphs 2.1.1 and 2.1.2. Sub-paragraph 2.1.3 deals with the quality of qualitative research.

2.1.1. Textual - discourse analysis

A convenient way to derive answers to the central question and sub-questions of this research, was to perform a discourse analysis. This is a commonly used method for studying policy change and public response, social and behavioral change, introduction of new programs and the public debate (Clifford et al, 2016, p. 659). It is a well-established interpretive approach within geography, used to identify sets of ideas, or discourses, making sense in the world within particular contexts. The term 'discourse' refers to a system of language which draws on a particular terminology and encodes specific forms of knowledge (Tonkiss, 2004, p. 248). Discourse analysis can thus be seen as a method of investigating the rules and structures that govern and maintain the production of particular written, oral, or visual texts (Hay, 2010). Li, Pearce and Low, for instance, conducted a critical discourse analysis on media representation of digital-free tourism. It appeared that, as a reaction to the pressures of abundant connectivity, the possibility for human flourishing, wellbeing and an enhanced lifestyle have emerged. Instead of being controlled by technologies, holiday making in a digital-free environment is linked to the way individuals can manage their relationships and experiences. This example shows that a discourse or language can be seen as a form of social practice that produces discursive and material effects (Clifford et al, 2016). In order to study the relationship between migration and development as described in academic literature and the Dutch policy note and their degree of conformity, discourse analysis seemed to be the appropriate method of investigation.

The above description of a discourse analysis is based upon Foucault's concept of a discourse, a concept that is difficult to define, also for Foucault. In his work, at least three explanations of a discourse can be identified:

1. all meaningful statements or texts that have effects on the world;
2. a group of statements that appear to have a common theme that provides them with an unified effect;

3. the rules and structures that underpin and govern the unified, coherent, and forceful statements that are produced (Hay, 2010, p. 218).

Looking at these explanations, it appears that discourse analysis is about the deconstruction of knowledge. It recognizes and analyses the way in which discourses shape what is sayable and what is not, and the degree of validity (Clifford et al, 2016; Hay, 2010). However, there are a lot of different types of discourse analysis. There is a range of different discourse analysis techniques that are applied differently in various disciplines, making it difficult to carry out a discourse analysis. In this maze of types and techniques, Hay identified seven strategies to discover discourses. These seven strategies for doing discourse analysis are the following:

1. Choice of source materials or texts;
2. Suspend pre-existing categories: become reflexive;
3. Familiarization: absorbing yourself in thinking critically about the social context of your texts;
4. Coding: once for organization and again for interpretation;
5. Power, knowledge and persuasion: investigate your texts for effects of 'truth';
6. Rupture and resilience: take notice of inconsistencies within your texts;
7. Silence: silence as discourse and discourse that silence (Hay, 2010, p. 220).

These seven strategies or steps have been used in this research, to investigate the relationship between migration and development which is assumed in the policy document 'Investing in Global Prospect'. The first step, the choice of source materials or texts, was informed by the purpose of this research. Already in this purpose, a specific genre of texts was already identified, namely policy documents and more specifically, the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018. In this case, one text was chosen as the source for discourse analysis. Therefore, background research on the place, text and authors in question, was very important. This background research was part of my internship at Cordaid in The Hague. For this purpose, I attended lobby meetings and committee meetings in the House of Representatives. Step two was the starting point of this discourse analysis and included looking at and reading the text with 'fresh' eyes and becoming self-critically. Thinking critically was also the goal of the third step of the discourse analysis. By asking questions about authorship, the text and the audience, I familiarized myself with the text. During step 4, the text was coded, once for the purpose of organization and again for interpretation. Coding for organization is also referred to as descriptive coding, which is defined by Hay as *"codes describing some aspects of the social data, typically aspects that are fairly obvious"* (Hay, 2010, p. 373). Coding for interpretation resulted in analytic codes, which are *"codes that are developed through analysis and is theoretically informed: codes based on themes that emerge from relevant literature and/or the data"* (Hay, 2010, p. 369). During the fifth step the policy note was investigated for the effects of 'truth'. Several questions, such as 'Are particular kinds of knowledge understood as valid or trustworthy? Are specific sets of ideas legitimized?', were used to analyze the prevailing discourse. This step resulted in finding some ambiguities and contradictions, which was the goal of step six. The last, perhaps the most challenging question, was to become alert of silences. What is not being said in the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018?

2.1.2. Oral – interviews

To gain a better understanding of the relationship between migration and development, both in academic literature and the Dutch policy document for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, oral methods were also used in this research. Oral methods are, according to Hay, *'verbal techniques, such as interviews of focus groups, as opposed to written methods for seeking information'* (Hay, 2010, p. 381). The most popular and widely used methods in human geography are oral, but there is a range of ways in which oral methods are utilized. It ranges from answering the research questions concerning individual

opinions and experiences at the biographical end of the spectrum, to answering the research questions about societal structures at the survey end (Hay, 2010, p. 9). Conducting interviews is often used and covers the middle ground of qualitative research. According to Boeije, a qualitative interview *'is a form of conversation in which one person, the interviewer, confines himself to asking questions about behaviors, opinions, attitudes and experiences with regard to certain social phenomena, at one or more others, the participants or interviewees, who mainly limit themselves in giving answers to those questions'* (Boeije, 2009, p. 266, translated by the author). Within the general method of qualitative interviewing, four specific methods can be distinguished, namely [1] unstructured, [2] semi-structured, [3] structured and [4] focus groups – open-ended (Hay, 2010, p. 9). In this study, semi-structured interview is used. In this form of interviewing, the four elements of an interview, namely [1] the content of the questions, [2] the way in which the questions are asked, [3] the order in which the questions are asked and [4] the possible answers that can be given, are not or partly fixed. So in this semi-structured interview, multiple questions could be asked on relevant issues that were discussed during the interviews.

In order to discuss all the issues, an interview guide or topic list was drawn up from the existing literature. According to Hay, an interview guide is *'a list of topics to be covered in an interview. It may contain some clearly worded questions or key concepts intended to guide the interviewer'* (Hay, 2010, p. 379). For the sake of clarity, the interview was subdivided in three different parts. The topic list (Appendix 7.1.) consisted therefore also of three different parts: [1] introduction, in which the researcher introduces herself to the participant and clarifies how the interview will be used and in which the subject of the interview is introduced; [2] migration and development, with questions about different forms of migration, root causes of migration, migration deals and the role of development cooperation; [3] round up, in which the participant is given the opportunity to make additional comments and is thanked for participating in the research by means of an interview. Each part of the topic list consisted of open questions, with a number of possible follow-up questions that could be asked of the participant, depending on the answer given. In this way, the topic list created a smooth transition between the different parts of the interview.

All interviews were conducted during my internship at Cordaid in The Hague, which lasted for five months. Cordaid is one of the largest development organizations in the Netherlands and strives for a sustainable society in which every person counts. Where poverty, conflict and exclusion tear societies apart, Cordaid connects people and communities. With eleven other European catholic development organizations from the Caritas network, Cordaid started in 2018 with a project called 'Migration, Interconnectedness and Development' (MIND). This three-year project is focused on raising public awareness of development issues and promotes development education in the EU. During my internship I supported the project leader with the implementation of the MIND project. The subject of this master thesis, the relationship between migration and development, is thus related to the themes I dealt with during my internship. My internship included research of the literature on migration and development and trying to form an opinion on this subject. In addition, it was my job to monitor current trends in policymaking, both nationally and internationally. This included making preparation for and attending lobby meetings of Cordaid as well as attending meetings of the House of Representatives in The Hague. We organized several activities, such as an expert meeting, to inform the public about the relationship between migration and development. From April to July, 7 interviews with researchers and policy makers were held, in collaboration with the project leader of Cordaid. The purpose of these interviews was for the research project, as well as for the MIND project.

2.1.3. The quality of qualitative research

In order to guarantee the quality of qualitative research, reliability is of great importance. It refers to the precision of the methods used to collect data. Observations should be influenced as little as possible by accidental or non-systematic errors (Boeije, 2009, p. 274). Accidental errors can be prevented by standardizing the method of data collection. To achieve a higher level of reliability, a topic list was used. A topic list does not allow the same questions to be asked several times.

As well as reliability, validity is of great importance in qualitative research. According to Boeije, validity is mainly achieved by the correctness of the interpretations of the researcher of the data and the evidence of these interpretations (Boeije, 2009, p. 276). Member validation, the feedback of interpretations from the researcher to the participant, can positively influence the validity. Therefore, at the end of each interview and after transcribing, both data and interpretation were checked by the participant. In this way it has been verified whether the participants perspective was correctly understood by the researcher.

Methodological accountability is important for both the reliability and validity of a research project. By giving an account of all the steps taken during this research, it will be verifiable for others. By showing clearly how this research was performed, it can also be replicable. Also the role of the researcher is discussed in this methodological account. Researchers may consciously or unconsciously influence their research, so a reflection on their role is essential.

2.2. Research objects and participants

The objects of this research were in the first place, academic articles and books about migration and development. Secondly, a policy document of the Netherlands for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation. As stated in paragraph 1.4. a fair amount of research has already been conducted on the subject, therefore a large amount of literature on migration and development is available. Due to restrictions in time and capacity, a selection has been made of articles and books of the most important and well known researchers in the field. The Dutch policy document for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation called 'Investing in Global Prospects' logically derived from the research objective and questions. This policy document was realized with input of the business community, civil society organizations and knowledge institutions in the Netherlands and abroad. It points out the focus of Ms. Kaag for her coming term in office. The objects of this research are thus this policy document and the mentioned articles and books about migration and development.

The research participants of this study were academic researchers and policy makers with expertise in the field of migration and development. All these researchers were identified during my internship at Cordaid in the Hague. In this way a list was created with possible participants for my research, as well as the MIND project. For the sake of the MIND project, three interviews with academic researchers in Nijmegen were planned during my internship. It has been decided to use these interviews also for this research on the relationship between migration and development. Another interview with an academic researcher from the University of Utrecht was planned to better understand the relation between migration and development. These four researchers have been working on these topics for a long time, which makes them very interesting for both the MIND project and this research. Due to prior contacts with Cordaid, it was relatively easy to approach these people for participation in this research.

Also with the help of Cordaid, it was possible to make contact with several policy makers in the Netherlands. Two policy makers from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been

approached for an interview, as well as one policy maker from the Ministry of Justice and Security. These three policy makers have been contacted to gain more insight into the Dutch policy on migration and development.

2.3. Data processing

In total, seven interviews were conducted during this research. Four interviews with academic researchers and three interviews with policy makers working at two different Dutch ministries (Appendix 7.2.). Prior to the interviews, the participants were asked if they would give permission for recording, to which all participants responded positively. In addition, notes have been made to better understand the answers of the respondent. The interviews with academic researchers took longer than the interviews with policy makers, the average duration of an interview with an academic researcher was 81 minutes in comparison to an average duration of 54 minutes for the interview with a policy maker. This difference is mainly due to the availability of time of the participants. As soon as possible after conducting the interviews, the recordings, were elaborated and transcribed, while making use of the notes (Appendix 7.4.). Subsequently, these transcriptions were imported into NVIVO, a software package for the qualitative analysis of mainly textual information. With this software package the transcriptions were coded. This process consisted primarily of open coding. The transcriptions were carefully read and codes and labels were assigned to fragments relevant for the research. This resulted in a list of labels and codes. Initially, this list, was not clear, since codes overlapped and gaps were visible between different codes and labels. Therefore, axial coding was performed. This is the ordering and grouping of codes and labels into main codes, codes and sub-codes. This process resulted in a code tree (Appendix 7.3.), a coding structure in which the codes are organized into meaningful clusters, hierarchies and categories.

The text, the Dutch policy document for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, was analyzed according the steps identified by Hay (2010). A description of this discourse analysis is given in sub-paragraph 2.1.1. During step 4, the text is coded, once for organization and then again for interpretation. These coding processes resulted in a code-tree (Appendix 7.3.). With the help of this code-tree, the text was dissected several times, resulting in an extensive code-tree. The code-tree was finalized after taking the last steps of the discourse analysis.

In the end, there were three different code-trees, two as a result of the interviews with academic researchers and policy makers and one as a result of the discourse analysis of the policy document. These three were compared with each other and the outcome of this comparison can be found in the fourth chapter.

3. Theoretical framework

This theoretical framework clarifies, from an academic perspective, the concepts that emerge from the central question and sub-questions, namely migration and development. An explanation of migration and development and their relationship to each other also forms an answer to the first sub-question, as it was formulated: *"To what extent and in what way are migration and development related to each other?"*

3.1. Migration

This paragraph deals with the concept of migration. In the first sub-paragraph a definition is given, followed by the history of migration, which goes back to the beginning of mankind. Finally, it is explained why and how people become migrants.

3.1.1. Definition of migration

Migration is a complex phenomenon that touches economic, social and cultural aspects of daily lives and involve people with different backgrounds from all over the world. It is intertwined with geopolitics, trade and cultural exchange and the term includes a wide variety of movements and situations. Because of this complexity, it is difficult to give one definition of migration. Migration should be seen as a collection term for all kinds of mobility. This is the way, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) sees migration. The IOM defines migration as *'the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a state. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification'* (IOM, 2011, pp. 62-63). So, according to the IOM, migration includes a variety of movements and situations, it can vary in length, composition and causes and it can be both national and international.

The United Nations (UN) too see migration as a collection term, which is apparent from their description of a migrant: *'While there is no formal legal definition of an international migrant, most experts agree that an international migrant is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status'* (UN, 2018a). This description corresponds with the definition used by the IOM to describe a migrant, namely as *'any person who is moving or has moved [1] across an international border or within a state away from his or her habitual place of residence, regardless of [2] the person's legal status; [3] whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; [4] what the causes for the movement are; or [5] what the length of the stay is'* (IOM, 2018a). This last description of migration or a migrant, given by the IOM is used in this study on the relationship between migration and development. The five different variables in the definition make it a clear and complete definition. The fact that this definition is often used in the academic world, shows its validity and usefulness.

The length of the stay or the period of time, a migrant stays outside his or her habitual place of residence, is specified by the UN. The UN counts migrants as those who reside for at least one year in a country other than that of birth or citizenship. This accounting does not include persons in short term, temporary or seasonal migration situations with residence of less than a year, nor mobile commercial and other workers and family members who may be present in and/or circulating among other countries for extended periods of time, but maintaining official residence in 'home' countries (UN, 2018). Potter et al also agrees that migration is often considered as a relatively permanent relocation, compared to temporary spatial mobility such as commuting and visiting (Potter et al, 2012).

In the above sections, it has become clear there are many different forms of migration. All these different forms can be structured based on the five variables used in the definition of a migrant, which is made visible in Table 1. The first variable [1] (Inter)national contains two different forms of migration. Internal migration occurs within national political boundaries, and has always been the largest kind of population movement since demographic statistics have been collected and compared on a global scale. International migration occurs when migrants cross national borders. The character of internal migration is often differentiated by the source and destination of the flow, for instance rural-to-urban migration (Potter et al, 2012). The person's status is the second variable and refers to regular- and irregular migration, also referred to as legal- and illegal migration. Regular migration or orderly migration occurs through recognized, authorized channels. Irregular migration is the movement that takes place outside the regulations of the sending, transit and receiving countries (IOM, 2011). The third variable [3] (In)voluntarily, three forms of migration are distinguished, namely forced-, assisted- or spontaneous. Forced migration as defined by the IOM is '*a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes*' (IOM, 2011, p. 39). Assisted migration is a movement of migrants accomplished with the assistance of a government of an international organization, this form of migration is opposed to spontaneous migration, which takes place without any outside assistance (IOM, 2011). [4] Causes for movement is the fourth variable containing five different reasons for migration. The distinguishing factor is the purpose for migration; the purpose of labor migration is employment, the purpose of economic migration is the improvement of quality of life, the purpose of family reunion is the reunion of family members separated through migration, the purpose of political migration is the escape of persecution because of political opinion and the purpose of environmental migration is to escape sudden or progressive changes in the environment that affect the live and living conditions of people (IOM, 2011). Lastly, [5] the length of stay contains four different forms of migration. The length of stay for long-term migration is at least a year whereas short-term migration lasts at least three months to a year. Seasonal migration is performed only during part of the year and circular migration has a fluid character (IOM, 2011).

Table 1. The different forms of migration classified by variable (IOM, 2011).

	Variable	Form of migration
1.	(Inter)national	Internal migration
		International migration
2.	Personal status	Regular migration
		Irregular migration
3.	(In)voluntarily	Forced migration
		Assisted migration
		Spontaneous migration
4.	Causes for movement	Labor migration
		Economic migration
		Family reunification
		Political migration
		Environmental migration
5.	Length of stay	Long-term migration
		Short-term migration
		Seasonal migration
		Circular migration

The total number of international migrants residing in the world is 257.7 million, which is 3.4% of the total population, as is visible in Table 2. Table 2 also shows that most migrants reside in Asia (30.9%) and Europe (30.2%). When looking at labor migration, it appears that most labor migration takes place in Europe (33.0%) and in the Americas (27.6%). Unfortunately, no data is available for Oceania.

Table 2. The amount of international migrants per region in 2017. (Source: UN DESA, 2017).

Form of migration	World	Africa	Americas	Asia	Europa	Oceania
International migration	257.7 million (3.4%)	24.7 million (9.6%)	67.2 million (26.1%)	79.6 million (30.9%)	77.9 million (30.2%)	8.4 million (3.3%)
Labor migration (2013)	150.3 million (2.0%)	8.7 million (5.8%)	41.5 million (27.6%)	38.6 million (25.7%)	49.6 million (33.0%)	-

According to the IOM, reliable statistics on stocks or flows of irregular migration are not available. Irregularity, namely, does not refer to individuals, but to their status at a certain point in time, which can change during their journey and stay in the country of transit or destination. Therefore, current knowledge of irregular migration is limited, particularly on a global scale (IOM, 2018b).

The total number of forced migrants in the world is 68.5 million, which is only 0.9% of the total population (UN DESA, 2017). More than half of these forced migrants in 2017 came from five countries in the world: the Syrian Arab Republic (6.3 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million), South Sudan (2.4 million), Myanmar (1.2 million) and Somalia (986,400) (UNHCR, 2017). Quantifying economic and environmental migration is difficult due to the diversity of causes. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 18.8 million people in 135 nations were displaced through sudden-onset disasters in 2017. South and East Asia, the Caribbean, and the Pacific were the most affected regions in 2017 (IDMC, 2018). While it is difficult to monitor, migration forced by environmental problems is clearly increasing (Potter et al, 2012).

Castles & Miller (2003) argue that the forms of migration are changing and we are entering an 'age of migration'. The changes Castles & Miller identified are:

1. Migration is becoming more 'global' with the increase in the number of countries of origin and destination;
2. Migration is increasing, with a growing number of individuals migrating to and from major regions in the world;
3. Migration is becoming more differentiated, countries experience several types of migration at the same time, instead of one type;
4. Migration is becoming more feminized, with women playing a bigger role in their own right (Castles & Miller, 2003).

Dr. I. van Liempt shares the view of the changing character of migration and its further increase in the future. In her research on migration deals made by different countries and governments, she noticed that nowadays more and more women and children are making the crossing to Europe in boats. A few years ago, that was not the case or in a much lesser extent, for a large part the boats were filled with men. During the interview she said more about the changing character of migration, which is visible in the following quote:

"What really scares me, is the suggestion made in the public debate, in which migration is presented as something one can control and stop. It creates a kind of false hope, as if migration can be completely regulated. That is not the case. In the

future, I expect, migration will only increase. The tricky thing about this situation is that there is little tolerance, yet at the same time more people are on the move”
(Dr. I. van Liempt, Assistant Professor Human Geography and Planning, University of Utrecht, translated by the author).

This changing character of migration and its increasing volume requires a different vision and policy on migration. But, for a better understanding of migration, it is necessary to look at the history of migration. This topic is central in sub-paragraph 3.1.2.

3.1.2. History of migration

Castles, Miller & Ammendola (2005) state that migration has been part of human history from the earliest times. McNeil says even the first human communities were already migratory. He demonstrates this by pointing out that most early agriculture was in itself migratory; bands were living by the hunting of wild animals and the gathering of food from the surrounding area. Through this high pressure on the environment, bands were nomadic even as farmers using slash and burn tactics (McNeil, 1984; Daniels et al, 2012). Migration, therefore, must be seen as a historical phenomenon. A major change was the discovery of sailing vessels. Offshore islands became accessible and available for human settlement and fishing and trading became of greater importance than ever before (McNeil, 1984). Further discoveries and developments have resulted in the world, as we know it today. It can be said, that throughout history, better transportation and communication technologies have driven population movements. Movements of commodities and capital stimulated these movements of people and global cultural interchanges (Castles, Miller & Ammendola, 2005, p. 537).

The second half of the nineteenth century is known as the heyday of free population movements. In Europe, the defeat of Napoleon led to a period of peace and prosperity. The Industrial Revolution caused an increased need for labor in North-America, Oceania and North- and South Asia. Through developments and improvements in shipping and other ways of transportation, one of the biggest international population movements took place. More than 50 million Europeans went to the United States, Canada, South-America, Australia and the colonies. In Asia similar human displacements took place (Lucassen & van Houtum, 2017). According to Daniels et al (2012), these flows reduced after the First World War. Economic growth in Europe and tightened migration criteria in recipient countries led to a reduction in population movements.

One of the biggest impacts on international migration in Europe, was the collapse of the Soviet Union and the entry of East-European countries into the European Union. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, people from Eastern Europe were free to leave their countries, a freedom they did not have for a long time. As a result, many West-European countries imposed strict visa regulations to stop migration from this region. The entry of these Eastern European countries into the European Union, however, changed this situation. All EU members, namely, have the right to move freely between countries to seek employment. This legislation is still the basis of the EU, but numerical restrictions on immigration still exist in some countries of the EU (Daniels et al, 2012).

This brief review of the history of migration clearly shows that migration is a historical phenomenon and that it always was and will be *‘an important component of population change at local, regional and national scales’* (Daniels et al, 2012, p. 106). So, one way or another, governments and organizations have to deal with population movements.

3.1.3. Why people migrate

In many cases, migration is a careful decision taken by individuals or families. According to Martin & Zürcher (2008), the reasons for international migration can be grouped into two

categories: economic and non-economic. In addition, the migrant can be encouraged by three different factors to actually move, namely, demand-pull, supply-push and networks. This is clearly shown in Table 3. This push-pull model is one of the most well-known theoretical concepts in migration research. The model consists of a number of push factors causing people to move away and a number of pull factors attracting people to a specific country. For instance, an economic migrant can be encouraged to migrate due to unemployment in his or her own country. Information flows about jobs and higher wages can exert additional influence on this decision to migrate. Through globalization, people from all places of the world are aware of conditions and opportunities abroad (Martin & Zürcher, 2008). A non-economic migrant can be encouraged to migrate by the presence of war or persecution in his or her own country, as is stated in Table 3.

Table 3. Factors encouraging migration by type of migrant (Source: Martin & Zürcher, 2008).

Type of migration	Factors		
	Demand-pull	Supply-push	Network / other
Economic	Labor recruitment (quest workers)	Unemployment or underemployment; low wages (farmers whose crops fail)	Jobs and wages information flows
Non-economic	Family unification (family members join spouse)	Fleeing war and persecution (displaced persons and refugees / asylum seekers)	Communications; transportation assistance organizations; desire for new experience / adventure

As is shown in Table 3, push factors include elements such as economic, social and political hardships, such as political instability, civil conflict and a lack of job opportunities (Martin & Zürcher, 2008; Daniels et al, 2012). Ramos adds the following push factors:

- Poor infrastructure resulting in services that fall short of being adequate;
- Famine often caused by bad crops or unfavorable weather conditions;
- Lack of adequate medical care;
- Extreme poverty and lack of socio-economic upward mobility;
- Few career and educational opportunities;
- Fear caused by high crime rates;
- Poor standards of living (Ramos, 2017).

Pull factors include the comparative advantages in other countries, such as political stability, higher pay rates and better opportunities (Martin & Zürcher, 2008; Daniels et al, 2012). Other pull factors, according to Ramos are:

- Better infrastructure resulting in adequate facilities and services;
- Better healthcare and medical facilities such as hospitals;
- Better job and educational opportunities
- Lower crime rates;
- Generally higher standard of living;
- More entertainment and better cultural options (Ramos, 2017).

According to Martin & Zürcher (2008), one of the most important pull factors for international migration is family unification. In such cases, the immigrant in a specific destination country is a demand-pull factor for family reunification, a specific form of migration.

The three factors, demand-pull, supply-push and network, however, rarely exert equal pressure on an individual or family in the decision making process. Their importance changes over time, generally the first two factors are more encouraging during the beginning of the movement, while network factors became more important during migration (Martin & Zürcher, 2008). This has to do with the changing identity of the migrant during the migratory movement. Following Castles, Miller & Ammendola, *'immigrants and their descendants do not have a static, closed, homogeneous ethnic identity but instead multiple identities, influenced by a variety of cultural, social and other factors'* (Castles, Miller & Ammendola, 2005). This changing identity of the migrant was a central topic in the interview with Dr. J. Castillo Guerra, Assistant Professor of Theology of Migration at the Radboud University. He says the following about this:

***'My starting point was always the journey of the migrant and the transformation of identity that goes with it. That second point is very important, because migrants always have a dual identity. [...] So migrants have a double orientation and they have to find a balance between those two worlds'* (Dr. J. Castillo Guerra, Assistant Professor Theology of Migration, Radboud University, translated by the author).**

Castillo Guerra distinguishes three different phases the migrant goes through on his or her way to the final destination:

1. Emigrant: when a migrant leaves his or her own country he or she gets a different identity, that of an emigrant;
2. Trans migrant: this phase may last a very long time and meanwhile the trans-migrant lives in uncertainty about the future;
3. Immigrant: upon entrance in the country of destination, the identity changes again, now into an immigrant. This is confrontational, all of a sudden, one has a new identity, for instance, that of a Muslim or low skilled. The immigrant is seen as differently, than he sees himself.

It appears that the identity of the migrant is changing during his or her movement, which may influence the factors which encouraged the migrant to leave his or her country. This shows that migration should be seen as a process, rather than a single action, as it is considered in the push-pull model. This model is too simplistic to cover the whole process of migration, while it groups the factors affecting migration, it doesn't show how the various factors together lead to migration (Hagen-Zanker, 2008; de Haas, 2011). Skeldon explains this as follows: *"The disadvantage with the push-pull model is that [...] it is never entirely clear how the various factors combine together to cause population movement. We are left with a list of factors, all of which can clearly contribute to migration, but which lack a framework to bring them together in an explanatory system. [...] The push-pull theory is but a platitude at best"* (Skeldon, 1990, p. 125). In order to overcome the shortcomings of the push-pull model, researchers of migration have tried to come up with a more nuanced understanding of migration, by asking questions about how aspirations and desires arise and how people make their choices. In this way, migration was conceptualized as a function of the capabilities and aspirations of people (Van Hear, Bakewell & Long, 2018). Since people and circumstances are perpetually changing, the thinking of migration will be an ongoing process.

When thinking about the causes of migration, often the term 'root causes' issued. The term 'root causes' in relation to migration is used since the 1980s, but gained popularity in the 2000s. According to Carling & Talleraas, the notion of 'root causes' originated in debates about conflict-driven displacement. To tackle the root causes of displacement, attempts focused on humanitarian action to prevent violence, end human rights abuses and facilitate peacebuilding. In the course of time, this preventive logic has been applied to economic migration. Presuming migration can be halted by alleviating poverty and creating jobs

(Carling & Talleraas, 2016). With the recognition of mixed nature of migration, the term 'root causes' crept into the thinking about migration.

Carling & Talleraas define root causes as *'the conditions of states, communities and individuals that underlie a desire for change, which, in turn, produces migration aspirations'* (Carling & Talleraas, 2016, p. 6). In this perspective, root causes can be seen as the underlying causes of specific features. To make clear what is meant with the term 'root causes', Acemoglu uses the words 'fundamental causes'. For instance, the root causes or fundamental causes of poverty are geography and institutions (Acemoglu, 2003). When talking about the root causes of migration, social and political conditions, which bring about departures are mentioned, especially poverty or underdevelopment, repression and violent conflict (Carling & Talleraas, 2016; Raghuram, 2009). Lindstrom notes that the tackling of root causes of migration has become an umbrella expression, consisting of actions directed at both attenuating causes of departure and reducing cross-border movements (Lindstrom, 2005). Apparently, the relationship between migration and development is also linked with root causes. This will be addressed further in the third paragraph of this chapter.

3.2. Development

In this paragraph the concept of development is explained. First by defining it and secondly by clarifying the theory and practice of development.

3.2.1. Definition of development

The world is characterized by major contrasts and differences. Although these differences are not experienced by everyone at all time and places, they actually do exist. Perhaps, the largest contrast in this world, is the gap between the rich and the poor. Oxfam International warns in a report for the growing and dangerous concentration of wealth. According to the report, the world's eight richest billionaires control the same wealth between them as the poorest half of the globe's population. Growth benefits the richest, but the rest of the society, especially the poor, suffer, resulting in a widening gap between rich and poor (Oxfam International, 2017). Development aid is seen as a means of reducing this gap and is has been applied since the end of the Second World War. According to Potter et al (2012) *'development is about improving the life conditions that are faced by the global majority, and specifically this means reducing existing levels of poverty and inequality at the world scale. [...] The essence of development is that there is a poor world and there is a rich world, and it is implicit that it is the responsibility of the latter to assist the former'* (Potter et al, 2012, p. 3). In this vision, development aid is seen as an ethical need to equalize the contrasting conditions in the world.

In the previous section, a broad sketch of the context and nature of development was given. Giving a definition of the concept of development is more difficult. Development often refers simply to 'good change' which implies a positive shift typically viewed in terms of increased living standards, better health and well-being and others forms of common good that are seen as a benefit for society (Daniels et al, 2012). From this can be derived, that development is more than economic growth and prosperity, it is also about health, education, social wellbeing and freedom (Potter et al, 2012). To clarify the concept, development can be split up in two different levels: the macro-level development context and the micro-level development context. With the macro-level development context the above regional (national and international) whole of political, social and economic structures is meant. The micro-level development context refers to the local development context of people, for instance their livelihood activities (de Haas, 2010).

Development happens over time and across space. Scholars and practitioners of development have sought to find methods to measure the degree of development of a specific place at a specific time. These ways of measuring development reflect the principal

conceptualization of development, an issue that is central in sub-paragraph 3.2.2. Development needs to be measured with the help of national indicators. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are based on this assumption. The SDGs were founded on the success of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and are meant to end all forms of poverty. By taking a closer look at one of the 17 SDGs, for instance at the fourth goal 'Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning', it appears there are a lot of different indicators to measure whether the targets of this goal have been met (United Nations, 2018b). The two proposed indicators for target 4.2, which is formulated as follows 'By 2030 ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so they are ready for primary education', are:

1. Percentage of children (36-59 months) receiving at least one year of a quality pre-primary education;
2. Early Child Development Index (ECDI) (SDSN, 2012).

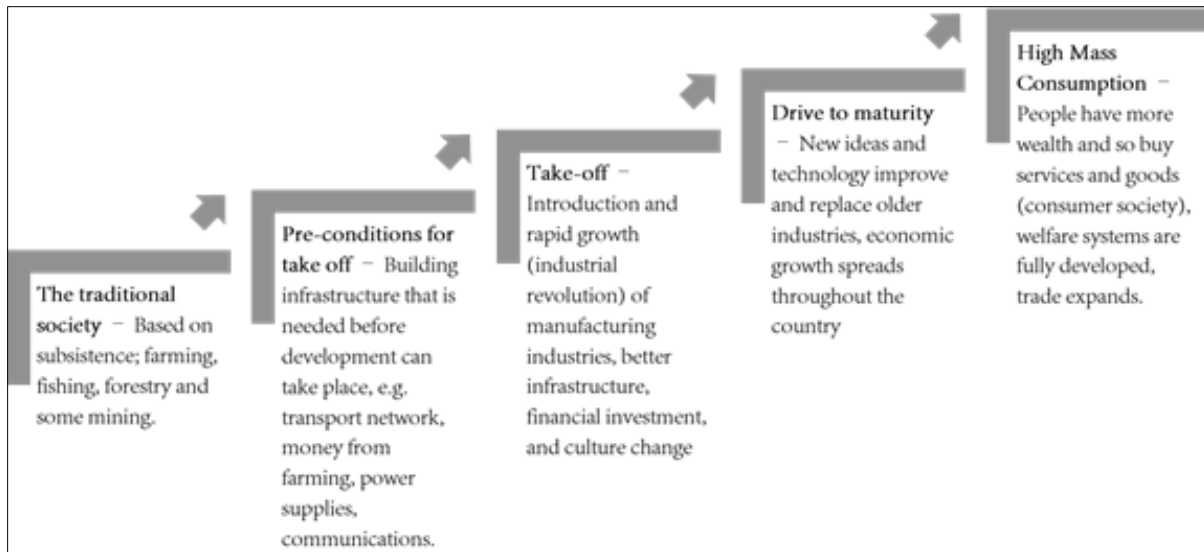
This example shows that there are different ways to measure the various notions of development. The theory and practice of development, which is discussed in the next sub-paragraph, is based on this context, definition and assumption of development.

3.2.2. Theory and practice of development

According to Potter et al (2012), the origins of the modern process of development lie in the late 1940s and are often linked to a speech of Harry Truman, the Former President of the United States. In his speech, Truman used the term 'underdeveloped areas' to describe countries with high poverty rates. He made clear it was the duty of the developed world to bring development to poor countries. Development thinking or the theory and practice of development is about the negotiation of what constitutes appropriate intervention in the affairs of poor or underdeveloped countries. There are many strands of development thinking and in this sub-paragraph only the most influential theories are discussed, namely the modernization theory and the dependency theory.

The modernization school came up at the end of the Second World War, when theories about development became more complicated and controversial in the context of the Cold War between the USA and the USSR. Some saw development as a way to provide '*an ethos and system of values which can compete successfully with the attraction exercised by Communism*' (Watnick, 1952, p. 37). It was in this context, many observers called for the modernization of underdeveloped areas. Essential to the modernization school was its dualistic character, opposing 'traditional' to 'modern' lifestyles and 'indigenous' to 'westernized' countries. This resulted in a core-periphery model in which development would 'trickle down' from the core to the periphery at national, regional and global levels (Daniels et al, 2012). A well-known modernization theorist was Mr. Rostow. In his book named 'The stages of economic growth' he sets out his vision of the theory of development. Rostow emphasized the possibility of cooperation between different groups and elites within society. This would lead to economic growth and consequently to political development, also referred to as modernization. Or as Ish-Shalom describes it: '*At the heart of Rostow's modernization theory rests the liberal expectation of gain spillover from the economic elites to the whole society, because of the expansion of the market economy. The process of modernization just described would cause the erosion of traditional political institutions, though not to chaos [...] this process would lead to and culminate in the most modern and positive political institution of them all: democracy*' (Ish-Shalom, 2006, p. 295). This process of modernization is shown in Figure 1. Ranging from the first stage 'the traditional society' to the fifth stage 'high mass consumption' Rostow's theory takes the capitalist system for granted and assumes all countries can become modernized countries.

Figure 1. The Rostow Model. (Source: GetRevising, 2016).



Ranging from the first stage ‘the traditional society’ to the fifth stage ‘high mass consumption’ Rostow’s theory takes for granted the capitalist system; all countries will be in the position to modernize. The theory and model suggest development can be copied and replicated, implying an optimistic view on development. Underdeveloped countries only have to try to reproduce the development paths of richer and already developed nations (Daniels et al, 2012; Potter et al, 2012).

The dependency school, that emerged in the 1960s and 70s in Latin America, challenged the ‘trickle down’ effect of development, which lies at the heart of the modernization theory. Instead of a ‘trickle down’ effect, dependency theorists identified exploitation between the core and the periphery. The dependency theory *‘argues that global inequality is explained by the patterns of exploitation of the periphery by the capitalist core, established during the colonial period and perpetuated by neo-colonial economic relations in recent times’* (Daniels et al, 2012, p. 509). Within the dependency school, Mr. Gunder Frank was a renowned theorist. He viewed development and underdevelopment as opposite sides of the same coin; the development of one area necessitates the underdevelopment of another area. So dependency on the core implied the increasing underdevelopment of the periphery. The most distinctive difference between the dependency theory and the modernization theory is that dependency theorists seek to view development in a historical context. According to Smith, this means the *‘contemporary political and economic change in the South must be understood as aspects of imperialism today and yesterday. From this perspective alone, from the standpoint of local histories globally understood, can the logic of the development process be comprehended correctly’* (Smith, 1979, p. 248). Therefore, the dependency theorists recommended poor countries to de-link from the global economy. Only by de-linking, underdeveloped countries could become developed countries (Daniels et al, 2012: Smith, 1979).

The practice of development has changed over time, in accordance with the shifts in the theory of development. Not always practitioners examined the issues from a historical or geographical context. During the post-colonial era, development was associated with a belief in the concept of progress and the ‘makeability’ of society (Daniels et al, 2012). No account was taken of differences between countries and cultures and merely giving money to the poor was enough. The strategy to bring about economic, social, political and cultural changes in underdeveloped countries came to be characterized as development from above. Later however, development from below and people-centered approaches affected the practice of development. Following Potter et al, these forms of development *‘combines*

development ethics and sustainability in its advocacy to promote capacity building and community empowerment as progressive means for the poor to enjoy the full range of human rights' (Potter et al, 2012, p. 80). Within the people-centered approach, NGOs play a big role. Generally, NGOs have close contacts with the local population and use their knowledge and experiences to trigger sustainable development. Today, these kinds of people-centered approaches are leading the theory and practice of development (Daniels et al, 2012; Potter et al, 2012).

3.3. The relation between migration and development

In this paragraph, the concepts of migration and development, which are explained in the previous two paragraphs, are brought in relation to each other. The relationship between migration and development is also referred to as the 'migration and development nexus'. This concept of a 'migration and development nexus' implies that migration influences development and development influences migration (Carling & Talleraas, 2016). Academic research on the 'migration and development nexus' can roughly be divided into two opposing approaches, the optimistic and pessimistic view. Following de Haas (2012), these two different viewpoints have swung back and forth like a pendulum. The 1950s and 1960s, also called the heydays of developmentalism, were characterized by optimism. During the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s transnational migration was considered a sign of development failure and this period can therefore be characterized by pessimism. Since the turn of the millennium, optimism again dominates the debate about the relationship between migration and development (Carling & Talleraas, 2016; Faist, 2008; de Haas, 2012, & Raghuram 2009). The two opposing views on migration and development are visualized in Table 4.

Table 4. Opposing views on migration and development (Source: de Haas, 2010).

Migration optimists		Migration pessimist
Functionalist	↔	Structuralist
Neo-classical	↔	Neo-Marxist
Modernization	↔	Disintegration
Net North-South transfer	↔	Net South-North transfer
Brain gain	↔	Brain drain
More equality	↔	More inequality
Remittance investment	↔	Consumption
Development	↔	Dependency
Less migration	↔	More migration

The optimists believe migration has a positive impact on development processes in sending areas and are generally inspired by the modernization theory and the neo-classical theory (de Haas, 2012). The modernization theory assumes the existence of a linear path towards development. In the so called migration transition model, which is derived from this theory, all societies are expected to go through a period of increased migration (Carling & Talleraas, 2016). Within the neo-classical theory, migration is perceived as a form of optimal allocation of production factors benefitting both sending and receiving countries. This re-allocation of labor is the engine for economic growth, which is important for development (de Haas, 2010). The optimists also believe migrants will bring back money, new ideas, knowledge and entrepreneurial attitudes. In this way migrants play a positive role in the development and modernization of developing countries and can be seen as direct bearers of developmental objectives (Arbour, 2018; de Haas, 2010; Potter et al, 2012 & Raghuram 2009). The role of remittances should not be underestimated in this development. Remittances are person-to-person flows of money which meet the immediate needs of family recipients, but when sustained also contribute to savings and investments. In 2008, the amount of remittances reached US\$243 billion, hereby remittances have

overtaken the amount of official development assistance (ODA), which was US\$126 billion in 2008 (Potter et al, 2012; de Haas, 2012). Giuliano & Ruiz-Arranz found that remittances have promoted growth in less financially developed countries by providing an alternative way to finance investment. Remittances contributed to improve the allocation of capital and boosted economic growth (Giuliano & Ruiz-Arranz, 2009). According to Faist, besides financial remittances, social remittances are also of great importance to development. With the term social remittances, the flow of ideas and practices is meant that are 'good'. With this, he meant for example human rights, gender equality and democracy (Faist, 2008, p. 22). In this way, optimists believe migration will stimulate development in underdeveloped regions.

On the other hand, those with a pessimistic look on migration treat migration as a negative phenomenon. In their view, migration contributes to further underdevelopment of sending countries and undermines their socio-cultural cohesion. This approach is akin to 'structuralist' social theories, for instance the Neo-Marxist and dependency theory. The 'structuralist' approach sees migration as a 'flight from misery' caused by the global expansion of capitalism (de Haas, 2012). Migration therefore increases spatial disparities in the developmental level, instead of decreasing it. In addition, views on the contribution of development on migration and remittances turned around; remittances rather fueled consumption and inflation in origin countries and migrants rarely invested their money in productive enterprises (de Haas, 2010). According to the pessimist, brain drain is the cause of increased spatial disparities and inequalities. Beine, Docquier & Rapoport say, the term brain drain refers to *'the international transfer of resources in the form of human capital and mainly applies to the migration of relatively highly educated individuals from developing countries to developed countries'* (Beine, Docquier & Rapoport, 2008, p. 631). This brain drain is increasing the gap between developed and underdeveloped countries, thus leading to more inequality. With these arguments pessimists show that migration is counterproductive in underdeveloped regions.

One of the most controversial issues in the 'migration and development nexus', is the last opposition, shown in Table 4 'less migration versus more migration'. The idea that development leads to less migration is based on the assumption that the poorest and most desperate people have the highest tendency to migrate. From this perspective migration is seen as the outcome of underdevelopment. This view has spurred a range of policy initiatives, for instance, the linking of trade with migration and the use of aid to encourage return to the country of origin (Raghuram 2009). In reality, however, migration is not always the outcome of underdevelopment, it has been shown that it is not underdevelopment that leads to migration, but rather development (Carling & Talleraas, 2016; de Haas, 2007 & Raghuram, 2009). In this view, the poorest tend to migrate less than those who are richer. This is particularly the case for costly and dangerous international migration. Development appears to fuel both the formation of migration aspirations as well as people's ability to actually fulfil those aspirations into migration. As incomes of people grow, they have a greater capacity to plan forward and they are exposed to a greater range of choices. These resources and the access to information bring migration within reach. A certain degree of development is thus needed in order to migrate. Therefore, when the starting point is a low income society, development will increase migration (Carling & Talleraas, 2016, p. 47).

This is also evident from the following two quotations from the interviews with academic researchers:

'when peoples circumstances slightly improve, the chance to migrate increases. It has always been thought it were the poor people who choose to migrate, because of their misery. But when you see the quality of life improves as a result of

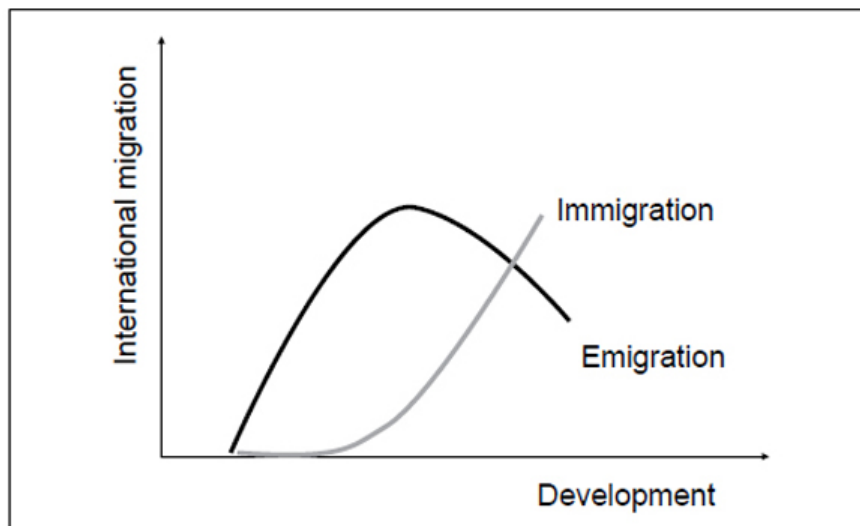
***development, people adopt a different worldview, their aspirations grow and migration actually increases'* (Dr. I. van Liempt, Assistant Professor Human Geography and Planning, University of Utrecht, translated by the author).**

***'when you improve the economic position elsewhere, it can lead to more migration instead of less migration. That is very important to mention. Economic growth means mobilization, that applies to all of us. Only the necessity to leave is less pressing'* (Dr. L. Smith, Assistant Professor Geography, Radboud University).**

Based on the above quotes it is apparent that the opposite is true. The process of development tends to be associated with higher levels of mobility and more migration, at least in the short to medium term. According to de Haas, this positive association between development and migration is valid for both the regional and the national scale (de Haas, 2007). Initially, development will influence the micro-level development context, which will subsequently influence the macro-level development context.

The relationship between migration and development is described further by Martin (1993) and Martin & Taylor (1996). Their conceptualization is also known as the 'migration hump', as shown in Figure 2. The 'migration hump' is based on the observation that the growing per capita income of developing countries is accompanied by higher rates of emigration. As per capita income increases, improving levels of education are observed. The people who benefit from this development, however, find limited employment opportunities in their own country. Demand-pull, supply-push and network factors encourage people to migrate. Following the German Development Institute, *'the emigration rate only subsequently declines when countries concerned enter the area of 'upper middle income countries''* (German Development Institute, 2017, p. 2). The illustration of this 'migration hump' therefore takes the form of an upside-down U (de Haas, 2007; German Development Institute, 2017; Martin & Taylor, 1996).

Figure 2. 'Migration hump' (Source: de Haas, 2009).



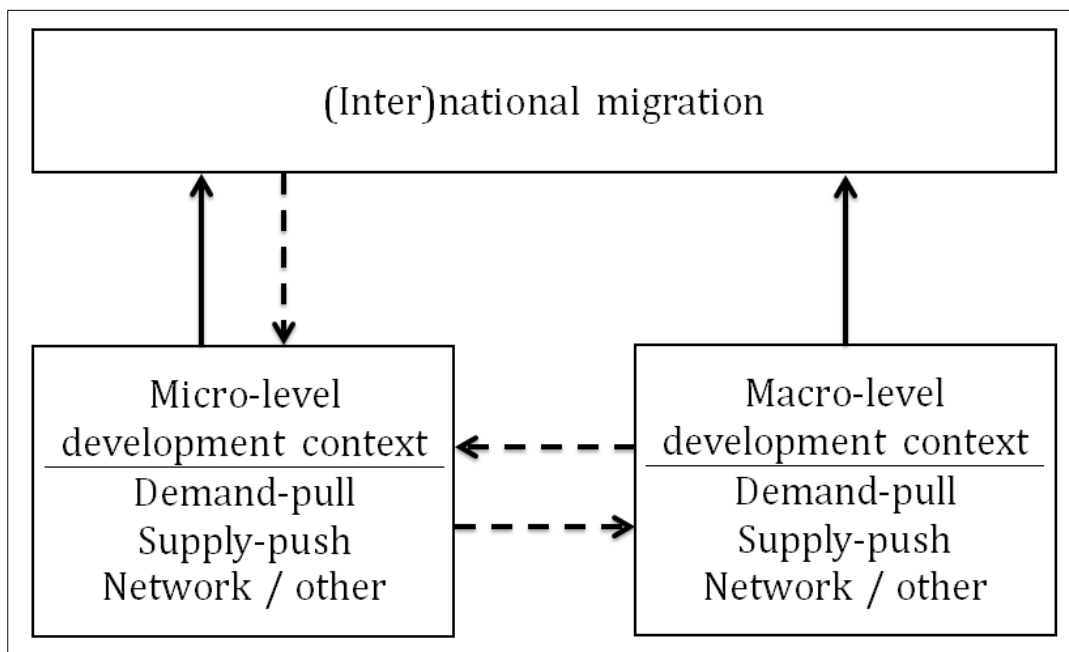
The migration hump thus refers to the short and medium term, which has implications for policy making. According to Carling & Talleraas (2016), a successful policy intervention will increase emigration before it will eventually decrease. An example of such a policy intervention is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Mexico, the US and Canada which came into force in 1994. As a consequence of the liberalization of the markets, the countries experienced a period of increased migration. Suddenly, the number of migrants began to decrease, resulting in a net migration flow from the US to Mexico.

Although it is difficult to determine the precise role of the policy intervention, it suggests that trade and migration are complementary in the short run and substitutes in the long run (Mahendra, 2014).

3.4. Conceptual framework

From this theoretical framework a conceptual framework is deduced, which shows the reciprocal nature of migration and developments interactions. This conceptual framework is derived from the general conceptual framework for analyzing migration and development interactions designed by de Haas (2010). The general conceptual framework of de Haas has been adapted to better reflect this study on the relationship between migration and development and is made visible in Figure 3. Within this framework a distinction is made between national and international migration, the micro-level development context (local, regional) and the macro-level development context (national, international). These three variables are mutually linked through direct and indirect relations. The macro-level development context partly determines the micro-development context, for instance the national political structure influences local policies and legislation. The macro- and micro-development context, which consist of demand-pull, supply-push and network factors, determines the opportunities to migrate, for instance through immigration policies and income levels. (Inter)national migration in turn influences the micro-level development context, for instance by remittances. This micro-level development context subsequently influences the macro-level development context, the development of a specific community or region, namely, effects the development of a nation.

Figure 3. Conceptual framework.



4. Results

In this chapter the other two sub-questions that have been introduced will be discussed. In the first paragraph the results of the discourse analysis of the policy note for foreign trade and development cooperation will be discussed. This analysis also includes the outcome of the interviews with policymakers. In the second paragraph a comparison is made between academic perspectives and policy perspectives on the relation between migration and development.

4.1. Migration and development in the policy note

The second sub-question of this study was as follows: *‘What kind of relationship between migration and development emerges from the policy note for foreign trade and development cooperation of 2018?’* It appears there are several relationships mentioned between migration and development in the policy note and these different relationships are explained in the following four sub-paragraphs.

4.1.1 Migration and poverty are closely related problems

In the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018 ‘Investing in Global Prospects’, migration as a theme is dealt with in the section ‘Conflict prevention and poverty reduction’. In this section, the proposed plans for stability and poverty reduction are explained. The fifth proposal contains migration and is formulated as follows: ‘We will make a substantial contribution to the reception of refugees in the region of origin and cooperation in the field of migration’. By identifying migration within this section, it is implied migration has to be prevented or reduced. The issue of migration could also have been addressed in the section ‘Sustainable, inclusive growth and climate action’, placing it in a completely different light. This is, however, not the case.

From the discourse analysis, it appears migration is seen as a problem. This is shown, firstly, by the fact that migration is listed in the same category as poverty, terrorism and climate change. This becomes clear in the following phrase:

‘The focus of development cooperation is shifting to the unstable regions of the Sahel, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, with a view to tackling the root causes of poverty, migration, terrorism, and climate change’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 6).

There is general consensus concerning poverty, terrorism and climate change, as negative or worrisome matters which must be combated (Bhargava, 2006). By placing migration in this list, it also becomes a problem which needs to be prevented. That migration is seen as a problem is, in the second place, apparent from the following phrase:

“BHOS policy will focus more on preventing conflicts and combating instability and insecurity. Problems like poverty, conflict, terrorism, climate change, population growth and irregular migration are closely intertwined. A growing number of countries in Europe’s vicinity are wrestling with these problems, particularly in the Sahel, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and North Africa. Moreover, extreme poverty in the world is becoming more and more concentrated in fragile regions.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 10).

Here again, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs labels poverty, terrorism and climate change as problematic along with conflict, population growth and irregular migration. It is remarkable a specific form of migration is mentioned, namely irregular migration. This

specific form of migration, identified as the movement that takes place outside the regulatory of the sending, transit and receiving countries (IOM, 2011), is seen as a problem. This does not mean that migration in general is something bad, it only applies to a specific form of migration, namely irregular migration. This form of migration must be seen as problematic, because it is dangerous and not according to the rules. Other forms of migration are therefore not necessarily problematic. However, the policy note not always indicates this specific form of migration, as is shown above. This inconsistency may lead to ambiguity about the concept of migration; people can easily assume that migration in general is problematic. During the interviews it is confirmed that this is often the case.

From the phrase on page 10 of the policy note, it also becomes clear that poverty and (irregular) migration are closely intertwined. Many countries in Africa and the Middle East are experiencing these problems and are trying to solve them by means of development cooperation. By promoting stability, poverty reduction and inclusive growth, the Dutch government, in cooperation with the countries concerned, tries to prevent (irregular) migration. A connection is thus made between poverty, (irregular) migration and development. Because migration goes through a whole chain of origin, transit and destination countries, migration policies are needed at different scale levels. In all those policies, migration is a central theme. But also within development policies, which are mainly focused on the countries of origin and transition, migration is a central theme. Mainly because of the connection with root causes, like poverty, but also because of management and shelter in the region. So, within this relation between migration and development, poverty plays an important role. It appears that irregular migration and poverty are closely related problems, for which development cooperation is seen as one of the solutions.

4.1.2. Development cooperation target the root causes of migration

In the previous sub-paragraph the term root causes was mentioned several times in connection to migration and development. This sub-paragraph elaborates on this relationship between migration and development. In total, the term 'root causes' appears 14 times in the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation and is mostly used in combination with problems, such as poverty, migration, terrorism, population growth, conflict or climate change. As is illustrated by the following quote from the executive summary of the policy note:

"This policy document shows how the government is responding to these international challenges and opportunities in the interest of the Netherlands. In doing so, it fleshes out various policies announced in the coalition agreement, making clear in particular that Dutch development cooperation – as an integral component of foreign policy – will target the root causes of poverty, migration, terrorism and climate change" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 8).

The fact that the term root causes often is used in combination with a problem, indicates that it concerns negative matters, that must be combated. Therefore, Dutch development cooperation is focused on the root causes of these kind of problems. In addition, the term root causes contains the word 'root', which implies that these problems are persistent and need to be addressed at the root or starting point in order to no longer suffer from it. By using this term in combination with a problem, for instance migration, it is placed in a negative light, fairly or unfairly.

However, sometimes, the term root causes is used as a separate concept in the policy document, it has meaning in itself, as in the following quote:

“Dutch development policy will focus more strongly on countries and regions in Europe’s vicinity where the Netherlands can make a difference by tackling root causes and by stimulating development” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 97).

Apparently, the definition of the term root causes is clear in this context neither. However, the discourse analysis and the interviews with policy makers, have shed light on the meaning of the term. Since the relationship between migration and development is at the center of this study, the analysis will focus primarily on the root causes of migration. A description of the root causes of migration is found in the first chapter of the policy note. Here trends and developments both worldwide and in the Netherlands are described and policy implications and goals for the coming years are formulated. In this description of trends and developments, the following phrase was found:

“Migration has sparked public debate in many European countries, including the Netherlands. While the greatest migration flows take place within the region of origin, irregular migration to Europe (and also to Asia) is on the increase, especially from Africa. This is induced by a combination of instability, great differences in prosperity and the absence of national or regional prospects for the future. The coalition agreement and the integrated migration agenda based on it emphasize the importance of working with these countries to tackle the root causes of migration” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 19).

The root causes of migration, thus, are formed by a combination of instability, great differences in prosperity and the absence of national and regional prospects for the future. During the interviews with policy makers similar root causes of migration were mentioned. Such as conflict and inequality, which are closely linked to instability and differences in prosperity. These root causes of migration can be grouped in three categories, namely push-, pull- and opportunity factors. A hopeless economic situation, conflict or instability and climate change can be characterized as push factors. Pull factors could be prosperity and wealth. Opportunity factors facilitate the migration process, for instance ICT and the degree of accessibility.

Now it is explicit, what is meant by the term root causes in the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, the connection between migration and development becomes clear. Development cooperation is used as a means to tackle the root causes of migration, which is in everyone’s interest, according the policy note. The policy document explains how to deal with the root causes of migration, by means of development cooperation. The following components are mentioned:

- investing in education;
- employment and income;
- freedom of choice and improved access to contraceptives;
- better nutrition and climate-smart agriculture;
- water management, drinking water and sanitation;
- just and peaceful societies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018).

These components are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. Relevant education, for instance, increases enhances of employment, income opportunities and freedom of choice for young women and girls. In addition, it contains integrated programs with combined efforts in the field of nutrition, agriculture, water and climate management. Finally, the Netherlands would like to contribute to the prevention of conflicts and offering durable solutions through various measures, such as strengthening the rule of law and supporting the peace processes. According to Mr. R. van Schijndel, this last component is the most important one in tackling the root causes of migration. Conflicts completely destroy

communities and their functioning, which means that reconstruction has to start all over again. Therefore, in order to achieve sustainable solutions for the root causes of migration, conflict management is the most important.

It in the policy note it becomes clear that the tackling of root causes of migration is not aimed, in the first instance, at the prevention of migration. The tackling of root causes, however, is focused on providing perspective to people who live in hopeless situations and therefore have no choice, but to migrate. In the following phrase this becomes clear:

“These efforts to promote stability, poverty reduction and inclusive growth, carried out in cooperation with the countries concerned, aim to offer people better prospects for a decent and safe existence in their own countries. As such, they also amount to a long term investment in preventing irregular migration” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 29).

The same argument was mentioned during the interviews with one of the policy makers. Ms. M. Maij made clear the element of perspective is very important, when it comes to the tackling of root causes of irregular migration. According to Ms. M. Maij, this element is very broad, it is also about fighting corruption and providing security as well as economic and social perspective. Thus, tackling the root causes is not primarily focused on the prevention of migration. However, the underlying goal may still be prevention of migration to Europe. Offering people perspective in their own country, should eliminate the reasons for migration.

This description shows, the underlying assumption in the Dutch policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation is that development leads to less migration. This is also evident from the interviews with policy makers, in which it is stated that, during the policy making process, the migration hump is not taken into account. It is was not perceived as relevant for the form of migration the policy note is about, namely irregular migration. Instead, it is the situation before the migration hump, which matters in low income countries. Due to the poor socio-economic perspective, people want to migrate. Through development cooperation migration will decrease, because people gain more perspective. As a consequence they have no longer the need to migrate irregularly. This theory is the foundation for the policy note on Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018.

4.1.3. Development cooperation constitutes a structural and long-term investment in limiting the pressures of migration

Within this sub-paragraph, the relation between migration and development gets a new dimension. In the previous sub-paragraphs of this chapter, the relation between migration and development is approached in combination with the root causes of migration, such as poverty and instability. Where in the previous sub-paragraph development cooperation was seen as a means to fight the causes of migration, now we will see how it is used as a means to deal with the effects of migration. The relation between migration and development gets another dimension which is apparent from the following phrase:

“Joint efforts in support of stability, poverty reduction and inclusive growth also constitute a structural and long-term investment in limiting the pressures associated with refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 10).

In the above phrase, it is stated that refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants are leading to pressures, which can be limited on the long term by development cooperation. According to the policy note, these pressures are caused by refugees and displaced persons around the world, whose numbers continue to grow. They are seeking protection close to

home, in cities and villages instead of refugee camps, especially because of better employment opportunities there. Internationally, it is agreed that refugees should have the opportunity to build lives for themselves in host countries until able to return home. This, however, puts pressures on local host communities, governments services and the local economies. Therefore, development cooperation is used as a means to limit the pressures of migration in regions that accommodate many migrants and refugees. In the policy note, this method is called 'reception and protection in the region'. From the policy note is apparent the Netherlands will deploy a large share of the additional funding in this area, namely €128 million per year. Investments will be made in education for child refugees, access to services, employment and income opportunities for refugees and vulnerable host communities and in the protection of vulnerable groups, such as elderly and women. Remarkably, in reception and protection in the region the providing of perspective is very important, as Ms. M. Maij says:

"Something that is very clear in the policy note, is that reception and protection in the region is not only about safety and shelter, but also about providing prospects for the future, which is much broader. This also includes housing, food, healthcare, primary, secondary and tertiary education and employment" (Ms. M. Maij, Special Envoy Migration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, translated by the author).

Reception and protection in the region must therefore be understood in the broadest sense. In addition, it is noticeable that in the policy note basic principles are mentioned underlying the investments in reception and protection in the region. These are respect for human rights, the use of local frameworks, innovative funding mechanisms and cooperation with the private sector, where possible. Apparently, these principles are of such importance, they must be mentioned separately in the policy note.

In order to limit the pressures associated with refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants, the Netherlands will devote more resources to cooperation on migration. This cooperation on migration is focused particularly on the main countries of origin and transit in North-Africa, the Middle East and Western Asia. According to the policy note, it is these regions which exert the greatest migration pressure on the Netherlands. The main aim of this cooperation is the protection of human rights, the prevention of irregular migration, the counteracting of human smugglers and traffickers, the improvement of border controls and the promotion of return and reintegration. Part of this cooperation on migration also are information programs in countries of origin, about the dangers of irregular migration and its alternatives. This should reduce the pressures of migration in the Netherlands and Europe. Within this cooperation on migration, a clear link is made with development cooperation, which is apparent from the following phrase:

"We promote the voluntary return of irregular migrants who are no longer legally resident in the Netherlands. The Netherlands aims at wide-ranging cooperation with countries of origin at both bilateral and EU level, including clear agreements on return. Where international cooperation with safe third countries is concerned, the guiding principle – as in the case of forced return – is 'more for more and less for less'. Both positive and negative incentives will be used to encourage countries of origin to readmit their nationals. Possible measures include providing or withholding development aid, as well as granting or denying the visa applications of the country's residents, including governments officials and high-level figures, or granting or denying landing rights for airline flights from the country" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, p. 46).

It is evident from this phrase, the 'more for more and less for less' principle is used as a pressure medium to encourage countries of origin to readmit their nationals. This, again, shows that development cooperation will be used as a means to limit the pressures associated with migration.

4.2. Comparison between academic- and policy perspectives

The third sub-question of this study was: *'What are the similarities and differences between the academic perspective and the policy perspective concerning the relationship between migration and development?'* With the help of the theoretical framework and the previous analysis of the policy note a comparison can be made between the two perspectives. This paragraph gives an overview of this comparison.

When comparing the academic- and policy perspective on the relationship between migration and development, the importance of push- and pull factors in both perspectives stands out. Within the theoretical perspective three different factors were mentioned, which may encourage a migrant to actually migrate. These were demand-pull, supply-push and network factors. In the policy note, also three categories of factors are mentioned when talking about the root causes of migration. The factors mentioned are push-, pull- and opportunity factors. The first two factors, appear to correspond with each other, the third factor, though, is different. Network factors, include information flows about jobs and wages and transportation assistance organizations. Opportunity factors facilitate the migration process, for instance access to ICT. When compared more closely, both network and opportunity factors have an external influence on the migrant. On this basis, it can be concluded that these factors are similar, but carry a different denominator.

This overlap between the academic- and policy perspective is not surprising, since it was already mentioned in the theoretical framework that this push-pull model is one of the most commonly known theoretical concepts in migration research. Any serious study on migration should include this model. The occurrence of this model in the policy note for foreign trade and development therefore could be expected.

Secondly, there is a remarkable difference in the way migration is judged. In the academic perspective, migration is primarily seen as something positive. It is placed in a historical perspective, and therefore seen as a historical phenomenon. In addition, in this perspective, it is considered that migration always was an important component of population change at local, regional and national level and this migration has had a positive impact on development processes. From a policy perspective, however, migration is mainly seen as something negative. Although, in some cases, a distinction is made between migration in general and irregular migration as a specific form of migration, this has to be concluded because it is not clear whether a specific form of migration is meant or not. Migration is listed along with poverty, terrorism and climate change, problems that are known all over the world. Placing migration in this perspective and using the term in combination with words as preventing and tackling, it gets a negative notion, where the academic perspective sees migration as a positive phenomenon.

So, the concept of migration is perceived totally different within the two perspectives. In the academic perspective, migration is seen as something that should be promoted and encouraged, because it makes a positive contribution to the society. From a policy perspective, particular attention is paid to the negative side of migration, making it a problem, which should be reduced and prevented as soon as possible. Thus, migration is not only perceived differently, but also treated in a different way. The one, wants to promote migration, while the other wants to prevent people to migrate, for instance, through information campaigns warning people for the risks of migration.

Obviously, there is also a different view on the relationship between migration and development. In the theoretical framework, the academic perspective on the relation between migration and development is made clear, which was also referred to as the 'migration and development nexus'. Literature has shown that this 'migration and development nexus' could be divided into two opposing approaches, both an optimistic and a pessimistic one. The optimists believe migration will stimulate development, while the pessimists believe migration contributes to further underdevelopment. On this point, the pessimistic view overlaps with the policy perspective. Both perceive migration as a negative phenomenon and do not recognize or do not pay attention to the positive contribution of migration on development.

Development, in turn, is related to migration. As was shown in the theoretical framework it is often incorrectly assumed that development leads to less migration. On the contrary, development tends to be associated with higher levels of mobility and more migration. According to the academic perspective, the relation between migration and development is positive; more development will lead to more migration. In the policy note, it is assumed, however, that development will lead to less migration. The Dutch policy for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation is based on this assumption, including the addressing of root causes and cooperation on migration. According to the policy perspective, the relation between migration and development is negative; more development will lead to less migration.

The comparison shows there are both similarities and differences between the academic- and policy perspectives regarding the relation between migration and development. There are, however, more differences than agreements mentioned in this analysis, which implies the presence of a gap between the academic world and policy making.

5. Conclusion and discussion

In the previous chapters an answer is given on the three sub-questions of this study. With the help of these findings, an answer will be formulated to the central question, in this conclusion. The central question was: *‘What is the relation between migration and development and to what extent is this relationship reflected in the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018?’* In addition, the results of this study will be discussed in more detail in this chapter. It will be discussed to what extent the results of this study match with the expectations and academic research regarding this subject. Subsequently, a number of strengths and limitations of this study will be mentioned, resulting in a few recommendations for follow-up research.

5.1. Outcome sub-question 1

It is often assumed that migration and development are negatively related to each other; development would lead to less migration and migration would have a negative effect on the development of a community or region. This study, however, shows that there is a positive relationship between development and migration. Thus, when development increases, migration will also increase and vice versa, this is proven by academic research. The process of development is associated with higher levels of mobility and more migration, at least on the short to medium term (Carling & Talleraas, 2016; de Haas, 2007 & Raghuram, 2009). People need financial, social and human resources in order to migrate, so, when the economic position of people improves, the chance to migrate increases. This positive association between development and migration can be displayed in the ‘migration hump’. This ‘migration hump’ shows that development will lead to more migration as long as the country concerned can be characterized as a low or middle income country. When a country enters the area of an upper middle income country, the emigration rate will decline (German Development Institute, 2017).

Migration, in turn, has a positive influence on the development of a region or nation. In the theoretical framework this is referred to as the micro-level development context, in which the role of remittances should not be underestimated. Since 2008, remittances have surpassed the amount of official development assistance, and have proven to be of great importance in the development of regions and nations (Potter et al, 2012; de Haas, 2012). Migrants also bring back new ideas, knowledge and entrepreneurial skills, referred to as social remittances, which also play a positive role in development (Arbour, 2018; Faist, 2008; de Haas, 2010; Potter et al, 2012). Thus the micro-level development context subsequently influences the macro-level development context (de Haas, 2010).

5.2. Outcome sub-question 2

Several links between migration and development have been described in the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018. First of all, it is clear that poverty and migration are intertwined problems. Countries try to deal with these problems by means of development cooperation. In this relation between migration and development, thus, poverty plays an important role.

Secondly, development cooperation is used as a means to tackle the root causes of migration. The root causes of migration are, according to the policy note, formed by a combination of instability, great differences in prosperity and the absence of national and regional prospects for the future. These root causes of migration must be addressed in order to provide perspective to people in hopeless situations, who otherwise have no choice but to migrate. Root causes also must be dealt with, in order to prevent migration to Europe. Subsequently, it can be concluded that, in the policy note it is assumed that development leads to less migration. So, within the policy note for foreign trade and

development cooperation of 2018, a negative association is assumed between migration and development.

Thirdly, development cooperation is used as a means to deal with the effects of migration. In the policy note, it is mentioned that the presence of refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants will lead to pressure on local host communities, governments services and local economies. Development cooperation is used as a means to limit this pressure, also referred to as reception and protection in the region. The Netherlands will dedicate more resources to cooperation on migration in order to limit the pressures associated with refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants. Within this cooperation on migration, the principle “more for more and less for less” is guiding, which uses among others development cooperation as a pressure medium to encourage countries of origin to readmit their nationals.

This vision is shared by several organizations working in international development, united in Partos. In a reaction on the new policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, Partos says that it remains critical of the government’s focus on fighting migration and using the budget for development cooperation for this cause (Partos, 2018). Michael Clemens, Co-director of migration, displacement and humanitarian policy and senior fellow at the Center for Global Development, has shown in his research that in policy notes on migration, development is presented as the solution for migration to Europe (Clemens, 2014). The outcome of this study, therefore, is in line with previous academic research on the relation between migration and development in policies.

5.3. Outcome sub-question 3

The comparison between the academic and policy perspective concerning the relationship between migration and development shows the importance of push- and pull factors. In both views the push- and pull model is used to describe the process of migration and the influence of development. Although, different terms are used to describe the push- and pull model, there is little or no difference between the two perspectives regarding this point.

However, both views, arrive at a difference conclusion concerning migration. While, in the academic world, migration is predominantly seen as a positive phenomenon, in the policy perspective it is predominantly regarded as unwanted and something negative. Consequently, the issue of migration is dealt with in opposing ways; within the academic perspective it is stated that migration should be promoted and different means are suggested for this, while in the policy perspective, it is stated that migration should be prevented, for which various means are also mentioned.

As a result of these different views on the concept of migration, the relationship between migration and development is perceived different in both perspectives. According to the academic perspective, the relation between migration and development is positive, while in the policy perspective it is assumed that this relationship is negative; instead of more migration, development, in this perspective, would lead to less migration. Michael Clements (2014) concluded that development policies are dominated by the idea that the relationship between development and migration is negative. Few of such statements have an empirical basis, says Clements. Therefore, de Haas argues that ‘development instead of migration’ policies are bound to fail. Because of the inaccurate assumption concerning the relation between migration and development, these policies will fail (de Haas, 2006). This study ensures that a skeptical attitude is in place, regarding the assumptions and measures to be taken in the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018.

5.4. Strengths of the research

In order to guarantee the quality of this research, a topic list was used. This list of possible questions minimized the risk of random errors. In addition, member validation was used, also referred to as member checks. This is a test of the reliability of the observations of the researcher, in which the correctness of the interpretation is checked with the respondents. These two tools were applied to guarantee the quality of this research.

Another strength of this research is the use of multiple methods. This process of drawing on different sources or perspectives is known as triangulation, in this regard method triangulation. In this study, different methods were used to observe the same subject, namely the relation between migration and development. The use of multiple methods in this study, both oral and textual, maximized the understanding of the research question and the answers given.

Lastly, combining this research with an internship can be seen as a strength of this research. During this research process, I had the opportunity to do an internship at Cordaid in The Hague, where I learned a lot about migration, development and the relation between the two. In addition, it offered me the opportunity to get in touch with both academic researchers and policy makers, who could tell me more about these subjects. The small-scale character of this research has also contributed to this. It offered the time and space to conduct in-depth interviews with academic researchers and policy makers, who could be questioned on different issues.

5.5. Limitations and recommendations for follow-up research

The small-scale character of this research had its advantages on the one hand, as mentioned in sub-paragraph 5.4. On the other hand, it means that the outcomes of this study are not or limited applicable to other, unexamined situations. The textual analysis is based only on one policy document, namely the policy note for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of 2018. Although, the outcomes of this analysis have been strengthened with insights from the interviews with policy makers, this can be seen as a disadvantage of the small-scale character of this research.

Another limitation of this research is the absence of the perspective of NGO's. In this study two perspectives are investigated and compared to each other, namely the academic perspective and the policy perspective. This limitation is as result of the small-scale character of this research; due to the available time, choices had to be made regarding the number of perspectives and the methods of research. Therefore an assessment was made prior to the research, knowing that this entails advantages and disadvantages.

On the basis of these limitations it can be stated that follow-up research is needed. First of all, follow-up research is needed on the policy perspective of the relation between migration and development. In order to get a better idea of this relationship and to generalize the findings of the study, follow-up research is needed on this topic. Secondly, follow-up research is needed to include the perspective of NGO's. Since they are active for years in the practice of development and migration, their perspective could offer more insight in the concepts of migration and development and the relation between the two.

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7. Appendixes

7.1. Topic lists

This section contains the seven different topic lists that are used as guidelines during the interviews. These topic lists are in Dutch because the interviews were also conducted in this language.

7.1.1. Topiclist Mr. C. de Jong

Introductie:

- Mijn naam is Gerieke Barreveld en onlangs ben ik afgestudeerd aan de Universiteit van Utrecht als MSc in Urban Geography. In september ben ik gestart met een nieuwe master, Human Geography, aan de Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen, met een specialisatie in 'Europe: borders, identity and governance'. Op dit moment ben ik bezig met het schrijven van mijn afstudeerscriptie, waarvoor ik onderzoek doe naar het Nederlandse beleid aangaande migranten en vluchtelingen.
- Mijn afstudeeronderzoek combineer ik met een uitdagende stage bij Cordaid. Cordaid is één van de Caritasorganisaties die gestart is met het MIND project. De bedoeling van dit drie jaar durende project is het informeren van beleidsmakers en het grote publiek over de link tussen migratie en ontwikkeling. Om dat doel te bereiken worden activiteiten georganiseerd, beleidsaanbevelingen gedaan en interviews gehouden met verschillende experts op het gebied van migratie en/of ontwikkeling.
- Omdat u al jarenlang werkzaam bent op het ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken en veel ervaring hebt op het gebied van migratie en ontwikkeling, ben ik heel erg blij dat u bereid bent tot dit interview.
- Heeft u nog vragen vooraf?
- Zou ik het gesprek mogen opnemen?

Migratie en ontwikkeling:

- In de nota van minister Kaag 'Investeren in perspectief' is migratie een centraal thema.
 - Kunt u uitleggen waarom migratie zo belangrijk is in een nota over ontwikkelingssamenwerking en buitenlandse handel?
 - Hoe verhouden migratie en ontwikkeling zicht tot elkaar en hoe komt dat terug in de nota?
- In de nota van minister Kaag wordt onder andere ingezet op de aanpak van grondoorzaken van (irreguliere) migratie.
 - Wat houdt irreguliere migratie precies in en waarom moet het voorkomen worden?
 - Wat zijn volgens u de grondoorzaken van migratie?
 - Hoe moeten deze grondoorzaken van migratie volgens u aangepakt worden?
- In de nota van minister Kaag wordt gesproken over verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen (irreguliere migranten, kwetsbare migranten, vluchtelingen, ontheemden).
 - Waarom wordt er onderscheid gemaakt tussen deze verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen?
 - Wat zijn de verschillen en overeenkomsten tussen deze verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen?
- In de integrale migratieagenda en de nota van minister Kaag wordt ingezet op duurzame oplossingen voor migratie.

- Wat houdt dit volgens u in?
- Opvang in de regio wordt in beide beleidsdocumenten gezien als dé oplossing voor migratie. Wat houdt opvang in de regio precies in en waarom is wordt dit gezien als dé oplossing?
- U bent al jarenlang werkzaam op het ministerie van Buitenlandse zaken op het thema migratie en ontwikkeling.
 - Als u het huidige migratiebeleid vergelijkt met dat van 5 of 10 jaar geleden ziet u dan verschillen en/of overeenkomsten?
 - Zo ja, welke verschillen en/of overeenkomsten?
 - Indien er verschillen zijn: Wat zijn de oorzaken van deze verschuiving?
- Op dit moment vormen de integrale migratieagenda en de nota van minister Kaag het Nederlandse beleid aangaande migranten en vluchtelingen.
 - Hoe welkom is dit beleid voor migranten en vluchtelingen op een schaal van 1 tot 10 (1= helemaal niet welkom/10= heel erg welkom)?
 - Net spraken we met elkaar over de verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen. Zijn bepaalde 'soorten' meer welkom dan anderen?
- Zowel in de integrale migratieagenda en de nota van minister Kaag komt naar voren dat samenwerking op Europees en Internationaal gebied belangrijk is voor dit beleidsterrein.
 - Hoe verhoudt het Nederlandse beleid voor migranten en vluchtelingen zich tot het Europese en/of internationale beleid?
 - Wat zijn overeenkomsten en verschillen?

Afsluiting:

- Had u zelf nog iets anders willen vertellen dat nog niet aan bod is gekomen?
- Ik wil u heel hartelijk bedanken dat u mee wilde doen aan dit interview.
- Wilt u het verslag van dit interview ontvangen voordat ik het in mijn thesis ga verwerken?

7.1.2. Topiclist Ms. M. Maij

Introductie:

- Mijn naam is Gerieke Barreveld en onlangs ben ik afgestudeerd aan de Universiteit van Utrecht als MSc in Urban Geography. In september ben ik gestart met een nieuwe master, Human Geography, aan de Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen, met een specialisatie in 'Europe: borders, identity and governance'. Op dit moment ben ik bezig met het schrijven van mijn afstudeerscriptie, waarvoor ik onderzoek doe naar het Nederlandse beleid aangaande migranten en vluchtelingen.
- Mijn afstudeeronderzoek combineer ik met een uitdagende stage bij Cordaid. Cordaid is één van de Caritasorganisaties die gestart is met het MIND project. De bedoeling van dit drie jaar durende project is het informeren van beleidsmakers en het grote publiek over de link tussen migratie en ontwikkeling. Om dat doel te bereiken worden activiteiten georganiseerd, beleidsaanbevelingen gedaan en interviews gehouden met verschillende experts op het gebied van migratie en/of ontwikkeling.
- Omdat u zich al jarenlang bezighoudt met het asiel- en migratiebeleid en op dit moment migratiegezant bent bij het ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, ben ik ervan overtuigd dat u de juiste persoon bent voor een interview.
- Heeft u nog vragen vooraf?
- Zou ik het gesprek mogen opnemen?

Migratie en ontwikkeling:

- In de nota van minister Kaag 'Investeren in perspectief' is migratie een centraal thema.
 - Kunt u uitleggen waarom migratie zo belangrijk is in een nota over ontwikkelingssamenwerking en buitenlandse handel?
 - Hoe verhouden migratie en ontwikkeling zicht tot elkaar en hoe komt dat terug in het beleid?
- In de nota van minister Kaag en in de integrale migratieagenda wordt ingezet op de aanpak van grondoorzaken van (irreguliere) migratie.
 - Wat houdt irreguliere migratie precies in en waarom moet het voorkomen worden?
 - Wat zijn volgens u de grondoorzaken van migratie?
 - Hoe moeten deze grondoorzaken van migratie volgens u aangepakt worden?
- In de nota van minister Kaag wordt gesproken over verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen (irreguliere migranten, kwetsbare migranten, vluchtelingen, ontheemden).
 - Waarom wordt er onderscheid gemaakt tussen deze verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen?
 - Wat zijn de verschillen en overeenkomsten tussen deze verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen?
- In de integrale migratieagenda en de nota van minister Kaag wordt ingezet op duurzame oplossingen voor migratie.
 - Wat houdt dit volgens u in?
 - Opvang in de regio wordt in beide beleidsdocumenten gezien als dé oplossing voor migratie. Wat houdt opvang in de regio precies in en waarom is wordt dit gezien als dé oplossing?
- U houdt zich al jarenlang bezig met het asiel- en migratiebeleid.
 - Als u het huidige migratiebeleid vergelijkt met dat van 5 of 10 jaar geleden ziet u dan verschillen en/of overeenkomsten?
 - Zo ja, welke verschillen en /of overeenkomsten?
 - Indien er verschillen zijn: wat zijn de oorzaken van deze verschuiving?
- Op dit moment vormen de integrale migratieagenda en de nota van minister Kaag het Nederlandse beleid aangaande migranten en vluchtelingen.
 - Hoe welkom is het Nederlandse beleid voor migranten en vluchtelingen op een schaal van 1 tot 10 (1= helemaal niet welkom/10= heel erg welkom)?
 - Net spraken we met elkaar over de verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen. Zijn bepaalde 'soorten' meer welkom dan anderen?
- Zowel in de integrale migratieagenda en de nota van minister Kaag komt naar voren dat samenwerking op Europees en Internationaal gebied belangrijk is voor dit beleidsterrein.
 - Hoe verhoudt het Nederlandse beleid voor migranten en vluchtelingen zich tot het Europese en/of internationale beleid?
 - Wat zijn overeenkomsten en verschillen?

Afsluiting:

- Had u zelf nog iets anders willen vertellen dat nog niet aan bod is gekomen?
- Ik wil u heel hartelijk bedanken dat u mee wilde doen aan dit interview.
- Wilt u het verslag van dit interview ontvangen voordat ik het in mijn thesis ga verwerken?

7.1.3. Topiclist Mr. R. van Schijndel

Introductie:

- Mijn naam is Gerieke Barreveld en onlangs ben ik afgestudeerd aan de Universiteit van Utrecht als MSc in Urban Geography. In september ben ik gestart met een nieuwe master, Human Geography, aan de Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen, met een specialisatie in 'Europe: borders, identity and governance'. Op dit moment ben ik bezig met het schrijven van mijn afstudeerscriptie, waarvoor ik onderzoek doe naar het Nederlandse beleid aangaande migranten en vluchtelingen.
- Mijn afstudeeronderzoek combineer ik met een uitdagende stage bij Cordaid. Cordaid is één van de Caritasorganisaties die gestart is met het MIND project. De bedoeling van dit drie jaar durende project is het informeren van beleidsmakers en het grote publiek over de link tussen migratie en ontwikkeling. Om dat doel te bereiken worden activiteiten georganiseerd, beleidsaanbevelingen gedaan en interviews gehouden met verschillende experts op het gebied van migratie en/of ontwikkeling.
- Omdat u al jarenlang werkzaam bent op het ministerie van Justitie & Veiligheid op het gebied van migratie en nauw betrokken bent bij het Global Forum on Migration & Development, ben ik erg blij dat u bereid bent tot een interview.
- Heeft u nog vragen vooraf?
- Zou ik het gesprek mogen opnemen?

Migratie en ontwikkeling:

- U houdt zich binnen het ministerie van Justitie & Veiligheid bezig met het onderwerp migratie.
 - Kunt u vertellen waarom migratie thuishoort bij het ministerie van Justitie & Veiligheid?
 - In het kader van het MIND project hebben wij gesproken met verschillende experts op het gebied van migratie en ontwikkeling. Zij gaven aan dat deze constructie leidt tot een verkeerd discours; migratie wordt op deze manier altijd verbonden met veiligheid. Wat vindt u daarvan?
- In de integrale migratiebrief wordt gesproken over verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen (irreguliere migranten, kwetsbare migranten, vluchtelingen, ontheemden, kennismigranten, arbeidsmigranten).
 - Waarom wordt er onderscheid gemaakt tussen deze verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen?
 - Wat zijn de verschillen en overeenkomsten tussen deze verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen?
- De eerste pijler van de integrale migratieagenda is gericht op het voorkomen van irreguliere migratie.
 - Wat houdt irreguliere migratie precies in en waarom moet het voorkomen worden?
 - Irreguliere migratie wordt voorkomen door het aanpakken van grondoorzaken. Wat zijn volgens u de grondoorzaken van migratie en hoe moeten deze aangepakt worden?
 - In de migratiebrief wordt gesteld dat irreguliere migratie o.a. tegengegaan wordt door het bevorderen van legale migratieroutes. Kunt u dit uitleggen?
- De tweede pijler van de integrale migratieagenda is gericht op het versterken van opvang en bescherming voor vluchtelingen en ontheemden in de regio.
 - Wat houdt opvang in de regio precies in en waarom is wordt dit gezien als dé oplossing?

- Hoe wordt de bescherming van vluchtelingen en ontheemden in de regio gegarandeerd?
- Op dit moment vormen de integrale migratieagenda en de nota van minister Kaag het Nederlandse beleid aangaande migranten en vluchtelingen.
 - Hoe welkom is het Nederlandse beleid voor migranten en vluchtelingen op een schaal van 1 tot 10 (1= helemaal niet welkom/10= heel erg welkom)?
 - Net spraken we met elkaar over de verschillende 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen. Zijn bepaalde 'soorten' meer welkom dan anderen?
- U bent al jarenlang werkzaam op het ministerie van Justitie & Veiligheid op het gebied van migratie.
 - Als u het huidige migratiebeleid vergelijkt met dat van 5 of 10 jaar geleden ziet u dan verschillen en/of overeenkomsten?
 - Zo ja, welke verschillen en /of overeenkomsten?
 - Indien er verschillen zijn: wat zijn de oorzaken van deze verschuiving?

Afsluiting:

- Had u zelf nog iets anders willen vertellen dat nog niet aan bod is gekomen?
- Ik wil u heel hartelijk bedanken dat u mee wilde doen aan dit interview.
- Wilt u het verslag van dit interview ontvangen voordat ik het in mijn thesis ga verwerken?

7.1.4. Topiclist Dr. I. van Liempt

Introductie:

- Mijn naam is Gerieke Barreveld en onlangs ben ik afgestudeerd aan de Universiteit van Utrecht als MSc in Urban Geography. In september ben ik gestart met een nieuwe master, Human Geography, aan de Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen, met een specialisatie in 'Europe: borders, identity and governance'. Op dit moment ben ik bezig met het schrijven van mijn afstudeerscriptie, waarvoor ik onderzoek doe naar het Nederlandse beleid aangaande migranten en vluchtelingen.
- Mijn afstudeeronderzoek combineer ik met een uitdagende stage bij Cordaid. Cordaid is één van de Caritasorganisaties die gestart is met het MIND project. De bedoeling van dit drie jaar durende project is het informeren van beleidsmakers en het grote publiek over de link tussen migratie en ontwikkeling. Om dat doel te bereiken worden activiteiten georganiseerd, beleidsaanbevelingen gedaan en interviews gehouden met verschillende experts op het gebied van migratie en/of ontwikkeling.
- Omdat u al jaren onderzoek doet naar migratie en migratiestromen en op dit moment bezig bent met een onderzoek naar migratiedeals, ben ik ervan overtuigd dat u de juiste persoon bent voor een interview.
- Heeft u nog vragen vooraf?
- Zou ik het gesprek mogen opnemen?

Migratie en ontwikkeling:

- Het afgelopen jaar hebt u onderzoek gedaan naar migratiedeals, in het bijzonder hebt u gekeken naar de deal tussen de EU en Turkije en de effecten ervan op migratiestromen.
 - Wat was de aanleiding tot dit onderzoek?
 - Wat was het doel van dit onderzoek?
 - Wat is het effect van de EU-Turkije deal op de migratiestromen?
 - In hoeverre worden de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek meegenomen in de besluitvorming over nieuwe migratiedeals, bijvoorbeeld met landen in de ring rond Europa?

- Uit de nota van minister Kaag blijkt dat Nederland meer middelen inzet op migratiesamenwerking met derde landen, als onderdeel van de integrale aanpak van irreguliere migratie.
 - Hoe kijkt u daar tegenaan (in het licht van voorgaand onderzoek)?
 - In de nota van Kaag wordt migratiesamenwerking gezien als een duurzame oplossing voor migratie. Komt dit overeen met uw visie op migratie en waarom wel/niet?
 - Wat zijn volgens u (andere) duurzame oplossingen voor irreguliere migratie?
- In een artikel dat u samen met Annelies Zoomers hebt geschreven las ik over jullie voorstel voor een ander beleid dat bestaat uit een banenplan, investeringen in werkgelegenheid en infrastructuur voor 'gastvrije' lokale overheden en inspraak voor vluchtelingen en lokale bewoners.
 - Kunt u uitleggen wat dat voorstel precies inhoudt en waarin het verschilt met het huidige beleid?
 - In dat artikel gaat het ook over het 'recht om te blijven'. Wat houdt dat recht precies in?
- Op dit moment bent u bezig met een onderzoek naar asielzoekerscentra en de relatie met de lokale gemeenschap.
 - Wat was de aanleiding en het doel van dit onderzoek?
 - Hoe staat de lokale gemeenschap tegenover vluchtelingen/asielzoekers?
 - Draagt het Nederlandse beleid bij aan inclusion of exclusion van asielzoekers en waarom?
 - Zijn er bepaalde voorwaarden voor de inclusion van asielzoekers en zo ja, hoe zou dit terug moeten komen in het Nederlandse beleid?
- Op dit moment vormen de integrale migratieagenda en de nota van minister Kaag het Nederlandse beleid aangaande migranten en vluchtelingen.
 - Hoe welkom is het Nederlandse beleid voor migranten en vluchtelingen op een schaal van 1 tot 10 (1= helemaal niet welkom/10= heel erg welkom)?
 - Zijn bepaalde 'soorten' migranten en vluchtelingen meer welkom dan anderen?

Afsluiting:

- Had u zelf nog iets anders willen vertellen dat nog niet aan bod is gekomen?
- Ik wil u heel hartelijk bedanken dat u mee wilde doen aan dit interview.
- Wilt u het verslag van dit interview ontvangen voordat ik het in mijn thesis ga verwerken?

7.1.5. Topiclist Dr. H. van Houtum

Introductie:

- Introduceren en bespreken voortgang MIND project
- Heeft u nog vragen vooraf?
- Zou ik het gesprek mogen opnemen?

Migratie en ontwikkeling:

- Je hebt, samen met Leo Lucassen, een boek geschreven genaamd 'Voorbij Fort Europa' over migratie, uitlopend op een tienpuntenplan.
 - Als je die drie pijlers van het MIND project bekijkt en dat legt naast het huidige Nederlandse beleid en de analyse uit jullie boek, waar moeten wij, als maatschappelijke organisatie, werk van maken?
 - Wat is volgens jouw topprioriteit om het huidige beleid positief te veranderen?

- Hoe kijk je aan tegen het bestaande narratief over migratie?
 - Er is veel discussie over aantallen van migranten en vluchtelingen in de samenleving. Vind jij dat we voldoende met elkaar in overleg zijn, bijvoorbeeld met demografen?
 - Wat vindt je van de terminologie die gebruikt wordt in deze discussie?
- Het regeerakkoord spreekt over de grondoorzaken van (irreguliere) migratie.
 - Wat is jouw mening daarover?
 - Wat zijn volgens jouw de grondoorzaken van migratie?
- In het boek en in verschillende artikel uit je kritiek op het huidige visumbeleid. Jullie schrijven bijvoorbeeld dat er 135 landen in de wereld zijn waar de kans op een visum naar Nederland of Europa heel klein is.
 - Kun je dat punt wat beter uitleggen?
 - Hoe zou het Nederlandse visumbeleid er volgens jouw uit moeten zien?

Afsluiting:

- Had u zelf nog iets anders willen vertellen dat nog niet aan bod is gekomen?
- Ik wil u heel hartelijk bedanken dat u mee wilde doen aan dit interview.
- Wilt u het verslag van dit interview ontvangen voordat het voor MIND gepubliceerd wordt en ik het in mijn thesis ga verwerken?

7.1.6. Topiclist Dr. J. Castillo Guerra

Introductie:

- Introduceren en bespreken voortgang MIND project
- Heeft u nog vragen vooraf?
- Zou ik het gesprek mogen opnemen?

Migratie en ontwikkeling:

- Als ik het goed begrijp doet u al enig tijd onderzoek naar de theologie van migratie hier aan de Universiteit van Nijmegen.
 - Hoe bent u ertoe gekomen daar onderzoek naar te doen?
 - Speelt uw eigen migratieachtergrond daarin een rol?
 - Wat houdt de theologie van migratie precies in?
 - Blijkt uit die theologie dat mensen het recht hebben om hun land te verlaten?
 - Blijkt uit die theologie ook dat mensen het recht hebben om te blijven?
- In het onderzoek naar de theologie van de migratie heeft u het ook over de 'duty to social justice'.
 - Wat houdt dat precies in?
 - Wat heeft de sociale leer van de kerk daarmee te maken?
- Migratie is een actueel onderwerp, waar de Nederlandse en Europese overheid de handen aan vol hebben. Migratie heeft echter ook gevolgen voor het leven van mensen.
 - Heb je in je onderzoek ook aandacht gehad voor de impact ervan op de migrant zelf?
 - Wat voor invloed heeft migratie op het geloof van migranten?
 - Wat voor invloed heeft migratie op het land van herkomst en de familie die achterblijft?

Afsluiting:

- Had u zelf nog iets anders willen vertellen dat nog niet aan bod is gekomen?
- Ik wil u heel hartelijk bedanken dat u mee wilde doen aan dit interview.

- Wilt u het verslag van dit interview ontvangen voordat het voor MIND gepubliceerd wordt en ik het in mijn thesis ga verwerken?

7.1.7. Topiclist Dr. L. Smith

Introductie:

- Introduceren en bespreken voortgang MIND project
- Heeft u nog vragen vooraf?
- Zou ik het gesprek mogen opnemen?

Migratie en ontwikkeling:

- Hoe kijk je aan tegen het bestaande narratief over migratie?
 - Er is veel discussie over aantallen van migranten en vluchtelingen in de samenleving. Vind jij dat we voldoende met elkaar in overleg zijn, bijvoorbeeld met demografen?
 - Wat vindt je van de terminologie die gebruikt wordt in deze discussie?
- Er is al veel nagedacht en geschreven over de relatie tussen migratie en ontwikkeling.
 - Hoe zie jij de relatie tussen ontwikkelingshulp en migratie?
 - Wat is de rol van remittances in ontwikkeling?
 - Hoe kan de diaspora bijdragen aan ontwikkeling in het thuisland? Zijn er bepaalde voorwaarden?
- Als migranten in Nederland of een ander land asiel hebben gekregen, wordt van hen verwacht dat zij integreren in de samenleving.
 - Hoe zie jij het proces van integratie?

Afsluiting:

- Had u zelf nog iets anders willen vertellen dat nog niet aan bod is gekomen?
- Ik wil u heel hartelijk bedanken dat u mee wilde doen aan dit interview.
- Wilt u het verslag van dit interview ontvangen voordat het voor MIND gepubliceerd wordt en ik het in mijn thesis ga verwerken?

7.2. List of participant interviews

Within this section an overview is given of the academic researchers and policy makers interviewed for this study.

Name	Position
Jong, C. de*	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Maij, M.	Special Envoy Migration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Schijndel, R. van	Policy Advisor, Ministry of Justice and Security
Liempt, I. van	Assistant Professor Human Geography and Planning, University of Utrecht
Houtum, H. van	Head of Nijmegen Centre for Border Research, Radboud University & Professor Border Studies, University Eastern Finland
Castillo Guerra, J.	Assistant Professor Theology of Migration, Radboud University
Smith, L.	Assistant Professor Geography, Radboud University

*This is a pseudonym, the actual name is known by the author.

7.3. Code trees

This section contains the three different code trees that are derived from the analysis of the interviews. These code trees are in Dutch because the interviews were also conducted in this language.

7.3.1. Code tree interviews policy makers

Code	Sub-code	Label
Migratie in BHOS nota	Veel aandacht in politiek	
	Verkiezingsthema	
	Regeerakkoord	
	Relatie tussen migratie en ontwikkeling	
Publieke opinie	Migratie is een probleem	
	Zorgen over migratie	
	Lastig te beïnvloeden	
NL migratiebeleid	Managementkant	
	Preventiekant	
	Theorie	Niet-academisch OS beleid
	Integraal	
	Ministerie J&V	Juridische aspect
	Link met verschillende ministeries	
	Mate van welkom	
	Mooi	
	Neutraal	
	Bescherming	Tijdelijkheid
	(H)erkenning van diploma's	
	Toegenomen aandacht	
	Aanpassingen	Meer aan reguliere kant
	Geschiedenis	Diaspora
		Meer geïntegreerd
		Onderdeel verschillende ministeries
		Wijze waarop erover gesproken wordt is verandert
		Weinig veranderingen
		NL buitenlands beleid
		NL OS beleid
Opvang in Nederland	Onvoldoende capaciteit	
	Winst Nederland	
	Perspectief bieden	Ingewikkeld
Migratie is niet slecht		
Reguliere migratie	Mismatch vraag en aanbod	
Irreguliere migratie	Illegaal	
	Oplossing	Reguliere migratie
	Irreguliere arbeid	
Verschil tussen irregulier		

en illegaal		
Verschillende termen	Ontheemden	
	Vluchtelingen	
	Migranten	
	Kwetsbare migrant	
	Kwetsbare vluchteling	
	Door verschil in beleid	Gemakkelijker
	Vanuit maatschappij	
	Vanwege juridische kant	
Grondoorzaken	Pull factoren	Voorwaarden arbeidsmarkt Vraag op de arbeidsmarkt
	Push factoren	
	Opportunity	
	Aanpakken	Prominent onderdeel NL migratiebeleid
		OS
		Gevaarlijke reis voorkomen
		Perspectief bieden
		Vredesmissies
		Conflict bemiddeling
		Je weet wat de driver is
		Logisch
		Moeilijk
		Duurzaam
	Economische migratie	
	Gedwongen migratie	
	Bijdrage NL	
Opvang in de regio	Duurzaamheid	
	Perspectief bieden	Onderwijs
		Werk
		Woning
		Bescherming
		Status
		Voedsel
	Hervestiging	Druk weghalen in de regio
	Voorkomen gevaarlijke reis naar Europa	
	Het grootste deel wordt al opgevangen in de regio	
Vershil grondoorzaken aanpakken en opvang in de regio		
Relatie migratie en ontwikkeling	Grondoorzaken	
	Opvang in de regio	
	Economische migratie	
	Migratieketen	Verschillende schaalniveaus
	Legale migratie	

	Uitkering	
	Remittances	
	Diaspora	
	Geldt niet voor irreguliere migratie	
	Migratie hump	
	Causaal verband niet bewezen	Waarom kiezen sommige mensen ervoor om niet te migreren?
Migratie en veiligheid	Vanuit maatschappij	
	Vanuit politiek	
Global compacts		
Werkwijze UNHCR en NGO's	Veranderende wijze noodhulp	
Aanvraag asiel buiten Europa		

7.3.2. Code tree interviews academic researchers

Code	Sub-code	Label
Migratiebeleid	Migratie is sociaal en economisch vraagstuk	
	Migratie is probleem	Infrastructurele vraagstukken
		Geen één oplossing voor één probleem
	Resettlement	Goed
	Terugkeer	
	Circulaire migratie	Onmogelijk door eis loyaliteit
	Pardonregeling	
	Hotspotapproach	
	Bepalend voor verblijf	
	Belang internationale samenwerking	Waterbedeffect
	Voorkeur voor bepaalde landen	Verantwoordelijkheid
	Recht om te blijven	Tijdelijk
	Grenzen	Boemerangeffect
		Geen zicht meer op positieve aspecten migratie
		Polarisatie
		Noodzakelijk
		Tegenstelling
		Humane criteria
	Waardering	Eerder duidelijkheid
	Impact op migratiestromen	
	Verplicht tot onderlinge solidariteit	
	Invloed gastarbeider programma	

	Kritiek	Moeilijk
		Contraproductief
		Dode letter
		Tunnelvisie
		Aantasting vluchtelingenverdrag
		Gevangenis
		Gericht op korte termijn
		Eigengereid
		Werkt niet
		Eigenbelang
		Aantasting rechtstaat
		Illusie
		Rigide
		Discriminerend
		Systeem van slachtoffers
		Kapitaalsysteem
		Reizen onmogelijk
	Verschuiving bescherming naar vulnerability	Bizarre gevolgen
		Vreemde ontwikkeling
	Tegenhouden	Schending mensenrechten
	Het moet anders	Meer legale migratie
		Belang van lobby
		Private sponsorship
		Controlemechanisme EU
		Werkvisum
		Flexibele visa
		Vanuit demografisch vraagstuk
		Vanuit marktdenken
Mixed migration	Dilemma voor beleidsmakers	
Migratiedeals	Geschiedenis	Informeel
	Meer in publieke debat	EU-Turkije deal
	Veranderende schaalniveaus	
	Tunesië	
	Politiek spel	
	Handel	In mensen
		In slaven
	Ruilmiddel	Moeite
	Schimmig	
	Moreel dubieus	
	Heilloze weg	
	Aantasting waardigheid EU en NL	
	Alternatief	Lastig
EU-Turkije deal	Onderzoek	Aanleiding
		Vervolgonderzoek

		Policy briefs
		Workshop
		Aandacht
		Impact besluitvorming nieuwe deals
		Moeilijk
		Omslachtig
	Voorbeeld	Het heeft gewerkt
	Impact	Mensensmokkel
		Buiten Europa
		Vastgezet
		Dichte grenzen
		Vrijwillige terugkeer
		Verschuiving in routes
	Mislukking	
	Gebrek aan solidariteit	
	Morele en juridische schande	
	Succes	Media
		Opinie
	Asielprocedure	Slecht
	Onderscheid op basis van nationaliteit	
	Geldstromen	Investerings in grenscontroles
		Investerings in detentie
		Investerings in opvang
Rapportage EU		
Irreguliere migratie	Blijft altijd bestaan	
Legale migratie	Meer controle	
	Kansspel	
	Externalization van machten	
	Meten met verschillende maten	
	Selectief	
Verschil tussen irregulier en illegaal		
Migratiediscourse	Migratie is probleem	Gedwongen migratie
		Smokkel
		Human trafficking
	Normale migratie is geen probleem	Amerikanen
		Kennismigranten
		Studenten
	Migratie moet verrijking zijn	Agency ontnomen
	Liefdadigheid	
	Naastenliefde	
	Populisten	
Nationalisten		

	Weinig analyse	Altijd dezelfde beelden
	Gevoed door aantallen	Conflict tussen bevolkingsgroepen
	Beïnvloed beleid	
	Publieke debat	Migratie is beheersbaar
		Focus op vluchtelingen
		Migratie is niet ons probleem
		Vluchtelingen zijn zielig
		Verschil met politiek
		Belang van educatie
	Normaliseren	Terminologie
		Waar praten we over?
		Uit de paniek halen
		Uit de sfeer van J&V
		Migratie is geen probleem
	Legalisering	
	Egalisering	In Europa
		Mondiaal
		Agenda van de toekomst
		Alle soorten migranten moeten aan het woord komen
	Indifferentie	
	Verantwoordelijkheid	
Theologie van migratie	Perspectief migranten	
	Perspectief kerk	Faciliteren infrastructuur
		Dominante benadering
		Migrant is passief
		Paternalisme
		Ethisch perspectief
		De weg vooruit
	Conviventia	
	Scheppingstheologie	
	Verschil protestanten en katholieken	
	De God van het leven	
Sociale leer van de kerk	Migratie is belangrijk onderdeel	Bekendheid
		Interpretatie
	Leo 13 ^e	Aandacht voor welzijn migranten
		Migratie is niet voor de lol
	Scheppingstheologie	
	Recht op mobiliteit	Recht om te blijven
	Verplicht tot onderlinge solidariteit	
	Missionair	
	Progressief	

	Mooi	
	Dubbel	
Gedwongen migratie	Europa is niet eerste keus	
	Grondoorzaken	
	Agency	
	Veel draagvlak	
Aantallen migranten	Toename	
	Afname	Vanwege sluiten grenzen
		Relatie met EU-Turkije deal onzeker
	Natuurlijk verloop	
	Klein aandeel on- gedocumenteerde migratie	
	Geen massa migratie	
Grondoorzaken	Institutionele barrières	
	Mondiale regelgeving	
	Mondiale belasting	
	Handelsrelaties	
	Visumbeleid	Discriminatie
	Bestendigen (economische) ongelijkheid	
	Cocktail van redenen	
	Bestaande situatie verbeteren	Tijdelijkheid
	Economisch vraagstuk	
	Aanpakken	Goed begin
		Vreselijk taalgebruik
		Tunnelvisie
		Migratie voorkomen
		Koloniaal
		Kritische zelfreflectie van overheden
		Serieus
		Relatie met OS
		Consumptiepatroon
		Rechtvaardigere verdeling van grondstoffen en hulpmiddelen
Relatie grondoorzaken en opvang in de regio		
Opvang in de regio	Perspectief bieden	
	Mensen eerder aan het werk helpen	
	Hervestiging	Druk weghalen in de regio
	Het grootste deel wordt al opgevangen in de regio	
Ontwikkelingsvraagstuk	Iedereen een minimale mate van bestaan	Schitterend
	Oplossingen	Eigen verantwoordelijkheid

Rol van diaspora in ontwikkeling	Karakter diaspora	
	Zij weten wat er speelt in de regio	
	Veranderende identiteit	Voorbeeld Zuid-Afrika
		Voorbeeld Sri Lanka
	Negatief	
	Katalysator	Via persoonlijke netwerken
		Mogelijk bij afwezige overheid
		Belang van dialoog
	Mismatch tussen overheid en diasporaorganisaties	Moeite met representativiteit
		Eigenbelang
	Voorwaarden	
	Entrepreneurial manier	Betrokkenheid bij verschillende fases
Relatie migratie en ontwikkeling	Remittances	Belang mobiele telefonie
		Overmaken van kleine bedragen
Asielprocedure	Positief verband	Toename mobiliteit door economische groei
	Migratie als oplossing van het ontwikkelingsvraagstuk	
	Ontwikkelingshulp als ruilmiddel	
Asielprocedure	Kijken naar wat mensen kunnen bieden	
	Veel verhuizingen	Contraproductief
Verskillende vormen van opvang		Niet-menselijk
	Open centra	Integratie stimuleren
		Plan Einstein
	Gesloten centra	
	Kleinschalig	
	Grootschalig	
	Verskillende reacties	
Integratie	Paradoxaal	Amerikanen worden buiten beschouwing gelaten
		Geen permanent verblijf
	Rol van taal	Per functie verschillend
	Thickness of integration	
	Wisselwerking	
Transformatie identiteit	Dubbele identiteit migranten	
	Emigrant	
	Transmigrant	Kan jaren duren
		Niemand voelt zich verantwoordelijk
		Afhankelijkheid kerkelijke organisaties

		Bestemmingsland
	Immigrant	Etiketten
	Transnationalisme	Focus land van herkomst
		Beperkte integratie
		Volledige integratie
	Rol van religie	Migrantenkerken
	Hoge verwachting achterblijvers	Migrant als succesfactor
		Verandering per generatie

7.3.3. Code tree discourse analysis

Code	Sub-code	Label
Migratie	Uitdaging	
	Probleem	
	Beweegt gemoederen	
	Grotendeels binnen eigen regio	
	Urbanisatie	Uitdagingen
		Kansen
	Duurzame oplossingen	
Effectiviteit van ontwikkelingshulp	Kansen	
	Verschil per regio	
Uitdagingen	Conflict	Versterken rechtstaat
		Vredesprocessen
	Instabiliteit	Toename vluchtelingen en ontheemden
		Extremisme
		Terrorisme
	Vluchtelingen- en migratiestromen	Noodhulp
		Humanitaire hulp
		Psychosociale zorg
	Extreme armoede	
	Economische achterstand	
	Bevolkingsgroei	Anticonceptie
		Keuzevrijheid
	Honger/ondervoeding	Landrechten
		Landbeheer
		Landbouwontwikkeling
	Jobless growth	Migratie
	Waterschaarste	Voorzieningen
		Duurzaam waterbeheer
	(Gender)ongelijkheid	
	Aantasting mensenrechten	Verschil per regio
	Brexit	
	Klimaatverandering	
	Duurzaamheid	

	Inclusiviteit	
	Invloed van globalisering	
	Invloed van technische ontwikkelingen	Digitalisering
		Kans
		Afnemend belang geografische locatie
	Verandering internationaal economisch speelveld	
Sustainable Development Goals	Internationaal leidraad	
	Ultieme preventieagenda	
	Toekomstperspectief van alle landen	
	Mensenrechten	
	Innovatie	
	Samenwerking	
	Mobilisatie private sector	
Verandering landenfocus	Instabiele regio's	
Nederland	Eigenbelang	Markttoegang
		Dienstverlening voor het mkb en startups
		Economische diplomatie
		Netwerken
	Sterke internationale economische positie	Een van de meest concurrerende economieën ter wereld
		Een van de meest concurrerende economieën ter wereld
Relatie migratie en ontwikkeling	Armoede en migratie zijn gerelateerde problemen	
	Ontwikkelingssamenwerking gericht op de bestrijding van grondoorzaken van migratie	
	Ontwikkeling is lange termijn investering in het beperken van de druk van migratie	Opvang in de regio
	Less for less and more for more	Gedwongen terugkeer
Grondoorzaken	Armoede	
	Migratie	
	Terreur	
	Klimaatverandering	
	Aanpak van grondoorzaken	Onderwijs
		Werk en inkomen
		Rol maatschappelijk middenveld
		Focuslanden
		Meer geld

Opvang in de regio	Extra geld	
	Investeren	
	Bescherming	
	Onderwijs	
	Voorzieningen	
	Werk en inkomen	
	Belang van samenwerking	
	Focuslanden	
Migratie samenwerking	Bescherming mensenrechten	
	Voorkomen irreguliere migratie	Informatiecampagne
	Tegengaan mensensmokkel- en handel	
	Beter grensbeheer	
	Bevorderen van terugkeer en herintegratie	
	Integrale samenwerking	Global compacts
		Europa
	Post Cotunou	
	Effectief in 2015	
Uitvoering	Belang van samenwerking	Klimaatakkoord
		Europese Unie
		Multilateraal
		Maatschappelijk middenveld
	Innovatief	
	Beleidscoherentie	

7.4. Transcripts interviews (CD)

