Received: 25 July 2022 | Accepted: 19 January 2023

DOI: 10.1002/psp.2648

RESEARCH ARTICLE

WILEY

Migration and development, without care? Locating transnational care practices in the migration-development debate

Matt Withers[1] | Elizabeth Hill[2]

[1]School of Sociology, Australian National University (Australia), Canberra, Australia

[2]Department of Political Economy, The University of Sydney (Australia), Sydney, Australia

Correspondence
Matt Withers, Australian National University (Australia), School of Sociology, Canberra 2601, Australia.
Email: matt.withers@anu.edu.au

Funding information
None

Abstract

Highly-restrictive temporary labour migration schemes are commonplace throughout the Indo-Pacific region and continue to expand amid sustained policy enthusiasm for 'migration-development'. Yet, the developmental benefits of guestworker schemes are routinely evaluated according to narrow economic criteria, with little consideration given to transnational family separation and the displacement of socially reproductive labour that sustains everyday life. 'Migration', 'development' and 'care' are deeply interlinked political economic processes, yet they have been theorised in partial isolation. We challenge this analytical disconnect, situating the developmental implications of guest-worker migration in relation to the total social organisation of labour, and argue for a more holistic 'migration-care-development' nexus that foregrounds unsustainable disruptions to care economies. We ground our framework in the context of Australia's Pacific Labour Scheme to illustrate the developmental consequences for Pasifika households and communities, highlighting the need for 'decent care' policies to address care deficits in support of sustainable and gender-equitable development.

KEYWORDS
decent care, development, temporary labour migration, transnational families, unpaid care

1 | INTRODUCTION

There is scarcely an economy in the Indo-Pacific region that is not enmeshed in temporary labour migration. The *Kafala System* undergirds the oil-economies of West Asia (Parreñas & Silvey, 2021); similarly restrictive foreign employment regimes abound in Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and Malaysia (Shivakoti et al., 2021; Yeoh, 2019); irregular cross-border passages circulate labour throughout South and Southeast Asia (Kaur, 2010) and labour mobility schemes with Pacific Island Countries (PICs) have become increasingly prominent in Australia and New Zealand (R. Bedford et al., 2017; Petrou & Connell, 2023). The depth and breadth of these migration corridors contribute to Asia having the largest intraregional migration flows anywhere in the world (International Organisation for Migration IOM, 2021), a fact that has situated the region at the centre of current academic and policy interest in 'migration-development' (Piper, 2022). While richer countries and regions leverage circular migration to reduce labour costs and increase 'flexibility' in employment practices to intensify capital accumulation (Rosewarne, 2012) and redress bourgeoning care crises (Ogawa, 2017), they correspondingly disrupt fragile

[Correction added on 3 March 2023, after first online publication: Eight references originally omitted from published version have been added in Reference List and cited in text.]

work and care regimes in poorer countries and regions where productive and reproductive capacities are already constrained by longstanding developmental challenges (Kofman & Raghuram, 2010). The long-term displacement of migrant labour fundamentally alters the social organisation of the care economy within countries of origin, with far-reaching implications for the giving and receiving of unpaid (and paid) care practices that sustain everyday life at multiple scales. Strain placed on socially reproductive labour—or *depletion* (Rai et al., 2014)—occurs during the absence of women and men, but is particularly acute where feminised labour migration intersects with reliance on deeply gendered and highly familial care practices (Baird et al., 2017). The physical impossibility of women being both migrant breadwinners and primary caregivers necessitates a reorganisation of work and care within the now-transnational family, typically involving reallocations of *care work* that may contest or reaffirm prevailing gender ideologies (Peng & Wong, 2016), in tandem with the frequent continuation of gendered *care responsibilities* across spatial and temporal divides (Yeoh, 2016).

Existing scholarship addressing these well-established regional mobility trends shows that *migration*, *development* and *care* are deeply interlinked political economic processes that have, for the most part, been theorised in partial isolation. Resurgent interest in 'migration and development' reflects the preoccupations of neoclassical developmental economics and generally neglects well-established academic and policy research on social reproduction and the care economy. Critical feminist literature on 'gender and development' has emphasised that an equitable social organisation of care is fundamental to sustainable and gender-inclusive development (Shiva, 1988), but only recently identified migration as a central constraint on the provision of care in labour sending households and communities (Razavi, 2007). Meanwhile, a growing literature on 'gender, migration and care' has mapped out, conceptually and in great empirical detail, how household care arrangements are transnationally disrupted and reconfigured during periods of migration (Lutz, 2018), but largely without linking these observations to development and social policy. All three issues collide in the Indo-Pacific, where the widespread implementation of temporary labour migration programmes between developed and emerging economies has entailed what we term a 'transnational disassembly and reassembly' of the social organisation of work and care on a grand scale. This wholesale reorganisation of the 'total social organisation of labour' (Glucksmann, 1995) is premised on regional inequalities that are reproduced through migration, making claims to 'development' difficult to sustain. Persistent friction between migration, development and care in the region underscores the need to connect these siloed literatures. We therefore conceptualise a 'migration-care-development' nexus, within which the total social organisation of *migrant* labour can be analysed to inform care-attuned policymaking.

To develop this analysis, we offer a typology of transnational care practices as proximate activities and aspatial roles that are disassembled and reassembled during migration. In section two, this conceptual framework guides our identification of critical gaps in the partially overlapping literatures on 'migration and development', 'gender and development' and 'migration and care'; these disjunctures inform our outline for a cohesive 'migration-care-development' nexus through which the developmental implications of transnational care practices can be reconciled. In section three, we apply our conceptual and analytical frameworks to Australia's first multiyear guestworker scheme—the Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS)—to map the disassembly and (incomplete) reassembly of care practices in that context. We conclude by considering the potential for 'decent care' policies to address care depletion and deficits in support of sustainable and gender-equitable development.

2 | TRANSNATIONAL CARE PRACTICES: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The transnational disassembly and reassembly of work and care during migration implicates multiple care practices: direct and indirect, proximate and distant, private and public, unpaid and paid, formal and informal, encultured and contested. Care most often occurs within the family, but can also be provided by the state, by civil society actors and non-profit organisations, or through markets (Razavi, 2007). This, in turn, requires an approach to care that is sufficiently broad to capture the diversity of care practices and meanings associated with migration and development without compromising the specificity needed to analyse patterns of continuity and change during the transnational reorganisation of care practices. While Joan Tronto (1993) reminds us that an exhaustive definition of care is not possible (or necessary), Chopra and Sweetman's definition of care as a developmentally necessary social good offers an instructive starting point:

> 'Care is central to all human life. It involves a wide range of activities that take place within the home or local community, and contribute to meeting the material and/or developmental, emotional and spiritual needs of one or more other people with whom the carer is in a direct personal relationship, often within the family… Care is a social good; it not only sustains and reproduces society, but underpins all developmental progress' (Chopra & Sweetman, 2014; 409).

Here, care is not limited to meeting the immediate needs of family members but encompasses activities that reproduce the broader wellbeing of local communities and the natural, social and cultural environments that bind them. These forms of care are not only direct and tangible, but relate to emotional and spiritual needs sustained through human relationships. Importantly, Chopra and Sweetman centre care as critical to the making of human development and progress. This extends care beyond clinical ideas of individual psychosocial development to include broader notions of social reproduction, community well-being and economic development. However, like other definitions of care that emphasise 'face-to-face activities' (Esquivel, 2014; 427), there is an undue emphasis on care being proximate to the households and communities being cared for.

This is not adequate for a transnational approach to care. One of the major contributions of the literature on migration and care has been to demonstrate that care continues *at a distance* (Baldassar & Merla, 2014), sustained via forms of digital intermediation (Baldassar & Wilding, 2022) and through the continuation of gendered care roles that do not necessarily lapse during migration (Cabalquinto, 2022). We therefore distinguish between proximate *care work* and aspatial *care responsibilities* (Figure 1). We take care work to include direct, indirect and community care activities, while our understanding of care relationships involves what Doucet (2015) terms the 'emotional' and 'moral' responsibilities of caregivers. Emotional responsibilities refer to patterns of thought and behaviour that reflect a continuing awareness of, and attentiveness and responsiveness to, others' care needs. Moral responsibilities refer to the gendered ideologies and discourses that calibrate social expectations concerning the sexual division of labour involved in managing and organising care needs.

Seeing care work and relationships as vital to human development and wellbeing permits a more nuanced analysis of how the social organisation of work and care is disassembled and reassembled, across space and time, on account of labour migration. It also allows for a more robust analysis of how migration regimes interact with national work and care regimes to either support or constrain the transnational care practices and relationships that are necessary (though not sufficient) for 'migration-development'. Whereas the global care chains literature has been critiqued for envisioning a too linear and absolute transfer of care resources during familial separation (Kofman, 2012; Madianou & Miller, 2012), so too have alternative 'care circulation' models perhaps overstated the extent to which care practices are able to transcend spatial and temporal boundaries (Lutz, 2018)—particularly in migration contexts where access to enabling technologies are limited (Carling et al., 2012) and migration regimes impose limits on family preferences for care (Hamilton et al., 2022).

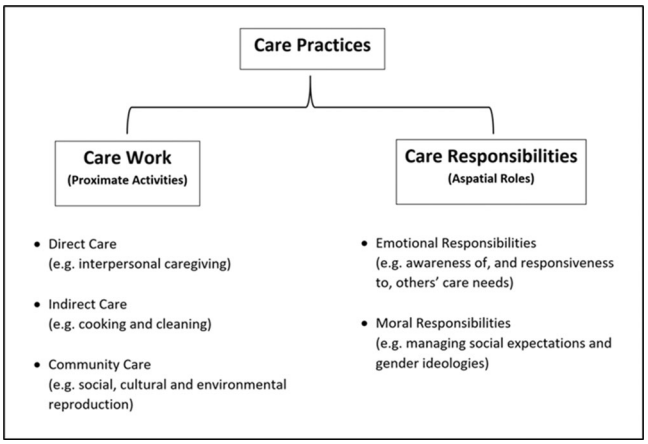

FIGURE 1 A conceptual typology of transnational care.

Our understanding of care as mutually-constituted by proximate care activities and care relationships stretched across space and time moves beyond these opposing positions. In Figure 2 we outline our framework, emphasising how transnational familial separation routinely creates care deficits (i.e., fewer resources for direct, indirect and community care activities) while permitting some forms of care circulation (i.e., ongoing emotional and moral responsibilities). Importantly, the partitioning of care practices into spatially distinct analytical categories also connects the transnational disassembly and reassembly of work and care practices to critical development policy junctures at both ends of the migration corridor. For migrant families and communities in countries of origin, where care practices have been disassembled, additional care resources are required to meet the threshold of care necessary for sustainable development. A complete and gender-equitable reassembly of these care practices will require a shift in care provision at multiple scales, that is, 'from women to men, from households to states, from poorer to richer regions' (Williams, 2018; 557). For transnationally separated migrant workers, whose ability to maintain ongoing care relationships hinges on access to technologies that permit 'virtual co-presence' (Baldassar, 2008) and work schedules that permit timely communication, these considerations need to be built into employment arrangements within countries of

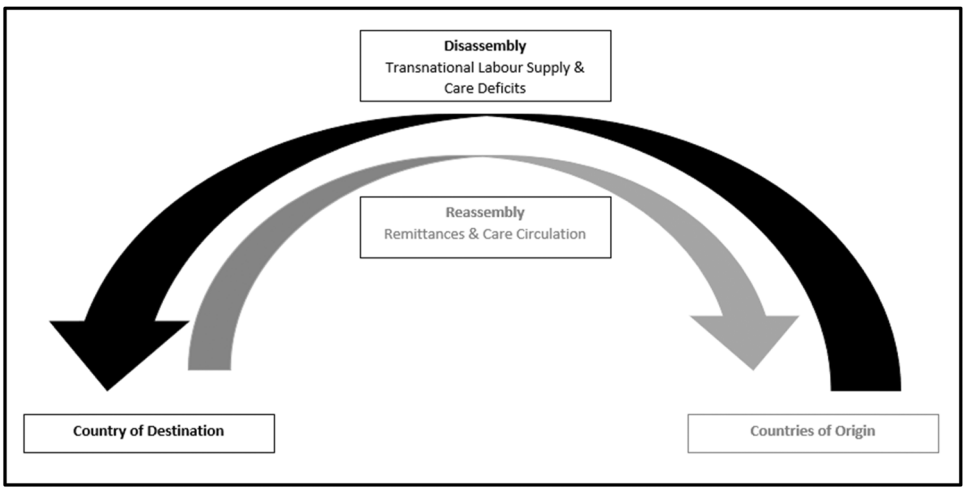

FIGURE 2 The transnational disassembly and reassembly of work and care.

destination. We explore policymaking options to support 'decent care' outcomes in section three; before doing so, we review the literatures surrounding *migration*, *care*, and *development* to establish the need for a more cohesive 'migration-care-development' nexus.

3 | THE MIGRATION-CARE-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Migration, *development* and *care* are overlapping themes in the political economy of the Indo-Pacific region. Amid uneven economic development, temporary labour migration has emerged as one of few viable livelihoods for marginalised workers in poorer countries. Sustained demand for live-in care workers in the wealthier countries of West, East and Southeast Asia has overseen steady increases in the recruitment of migrant domestic workers (Constable, 2011; International Labour Organisation ILO, 2015). Transnational labour supply arrangements of this kind effectively subsidise economic growth and social reproduction in countries of destination, while the developmental implications of migrant workers' remitted incomes remain a source of ongoing debate (Chami et al., 2018; Withers, 2019a). Potential benefits arising from remittances and 'skill transfers' to migrant households are highly contingent, both upon the circumstances of foreign employment and the prevailing structures of development in countries of origin. The care deficit associated with absent family members are less equivocal, but seldom addressed by policymakers (Sørensen & Vammen, 2014). Moreover, the social and economic outcomes at either end of these migration corridors are not gender-neutral (Robert, 2015). Historical and ongoing processes of labour market segmentation devalue feminised work (and feminise devalued work), while parallel divisions of reproductive labour see women burdened by a disproportionate share of unpaid care work. This is reflected in the overrepresentation of women in the lowest paid migrant occupations, such as domestic work and garment manufacturing (Yeoh, 2014), but also by implicating a range of female family members in the reassembly of unpaid care resources during transnational separation (Kofman & Raghuram, 2010). Whether for countries of origin whose developmental constraints and opportunities are bound up in the 'export' of migrant care workers, or for countries of destination that depend on migrant labour to address their in-situ care and development needs, there is an abundance of real-world settings in which migration, development and care appear analytically inseparable.

Recognition of the deep intersections between these themes exposes a series of disconnects between three substantial academic literatures that have each, for the most part, been attentive to two nodes of a triadic problem: that is, migration and development *without* care; gender and development *without* migration; and migration and care *without* development. In this section, we identify limitations within, and missing conversations between, these literatures and conceptualise a 'migration-care-development' nexus that foregrounds the developmental implications of migration-induced changes to work and care practices.

3.1 | Migration and development

There is a significant and longstanding literature concerned with the relationship between migration and development, the great majority of which has privileged simple economic criteria when assessing outcomes. Ravenstein's (1885) pioneering study of migratory patterns established economic motivations as the central driver of internal and international population movements, while Lewis's (1954) dual-sector model developed this observation by locating rural-urban labour migration as the fulcrum of economic modernisation. These insights guided early neoclassical modelling of migration decision-making at the micro-level (Sjaastad, 1962) and economic outcomes at the macro-level (Ranis & Fei, 1961), culminating in a standard neoclassical theory of migration-development (Harris & Todaro, 1970). Here, migration is assumed to occur when individuals anticipate net income gains from pursuing urban (or foreign) employment over local alternatives, aggregating to represent a reallocation of labour from labour-abundant to labour-scarce regions. The salience of these assumptions is reflected by an enduring tendency to assess temporary labour migration through cost–benefit analyses that identify foregone local employment as the relevant counterfactual and, to a lesser extent, by the expectation that migration axiomatically spurs development for countries of origin via remittance capital. Migration scholars of the historical-structural tradition have made important critiques of this reasoning, rejecting the equilibrium hypothesis by highlighting how existing inequalities are reproduced through the exploitation of reserve armies of labour and 'brain drain' effects (Castles & Kosack, 1973; Portes & Walton, 1981). Nonetheless, these criticisms are equally limited, locating developmental outcomes in the realm of employment and income with no consideration of the extent to which migration affects unpaid care activities. More recent neoclassical approaches to migration-development, specifically the 'New Economics of Labour Migration' (NELM), shift emphasis from individual to household-level decision-making yet do so in a context of income diversification and hedging strategies while continuing to overlook implications for unpaid care (Abreu, 2012).

These shortcomings were carried over into policymaking in the early 2000s, as labour migration became a central focus of an emerging 'post-Washington' development paradigm that sought to redress the legacy of failed structural adjustment programmes by resituating the working poor as empowered 'agents of [their own] development' (Rankin, 2001). Not only did the neoclassical theory of labour migration (i.e., as the rational, utility-maximising pursuit of greater income) align with this narrative, but international migrant workers' remittances had also bourgeoned to the point of rivalling official development assistance and foreign direct investment as one of the largest sources of foreign exchange earnings for developing economies (de Haas 2012). Remittances were positioned as development capital for receiving economies and, at the same time, an income stream that would galvanise the spending and investment activities of migrant households. Policy researchers at the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) and World Bank identified these anticipated

benefits as a corollary of pre-existing temporary labour migration and argued that circular migration entailed a 'triple win' scenario for migrant workers and the countries they travel between (Agunias & Newland, 2007; World Bank & Washington, 2006). This informed a broad policy consensus that temporary labour migration should be promoted as a mutually-beneficial pathway to development, with the caveat that remittances—crucial to the anticipated 'wins' for migrants and their countries of origin—are best incentivised by the circular migration of individual workers *transnationally separated from their families and dependants*. As the mantra of 'triple win migration' has been steadily adopted by global, regional and national policymakers, the academic literature on migration and development has largely reoriented around the contentious theoretical and empirical claims associated with remittances and skill transfers. To date, insufficient attention has been given to the developmental implications of transnational family separation and the possibility that disruptions to care practices might outweigh the presumed benefits of remittances (Dannecker & Piper, 2021).

3.2 | Gender and development

The literature on gender and development has been slow to include migration in the analysis of women's development experiences—either as agents of national development (Bastia & Piper, 2019) or as 'left behind' family members (Pearson & Sweetman, 2019). This is not surprising, given it was not until the 1970 publication of Esther Boserup's seminal text, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, that gender even began to be seriously included in development analysis. Boserup's empirical work in Africa, Asia and Latin America showed how 'modernisation' and the extension of capitalist markets impacted men and women differently, often displacing women's traditional work while advancing men's economic and political power (Boserup, 1970). Boserup's work saw gender increasingly included as an analytical category in mainstream development planning, but primarily via a focus on increasing women's participation in paid employment that overlooked the unpaid labour of care and social reproduction. Failure to include women's care labour in development policy and planning bolstered feminist critiques of mainstream development (Benería, 2003; Tinker, 1990) and gave rise to concern about 'women's double burden', a critique most clearly articulated by radical feminist scholars in the Global South (G. Sen & Grown, 1988; Shiva, 1988). The patriarchal institutions of capitalism that were the subject of Marilyn Waring's pathbreaking text *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics* (1988), which showed how global accounting norms have produced sexist definitions and measurements of 'the economy', 'labour', 'value' and 'growth' in which women's care work is unrecognised and devalued. While these texts were revolutionary in their accounts of how care is rendered invisible by mainstream approaches to economic development, migration was not directly addressed as a specific dynamic shaping the gendered experience of development. Even the World Bank's 2012 *World Development* Report on Gender Equality and Development (World Bank, 2011) made scant mention of migration and its impact on care and gendered development outcomes. This is a notable oversight given the scale of rural–urban migration in many countries and growth in international labour migration as a mainstream development strategy.

Alongside the proliferation of economistic approaches to gender and development, a large critical and global literature on gender and development emerged, focussed primarily on women's experiences of poverty and empowerment (Chant, 2015; Kabeer, 2015). However, even here there is only a very intermittent focus on migration (see e.g., Benería et al., 2012; Editorial, 1998; Pearson & Sweetman, 2019). Instead, this critical literature concentrates on the structural causes of women's economic insecurity and poverty, specifically the conditions of women's informal employment (Bhatt, 2006; Chen & Carré, 2022; Jhabvala et al., 2003), the gender division of labour and time use (Antonopoulos & Indira, 2016; Floro, 1995), gender labour market segmentation (Elson, 1999), female-headed households (Buvinić & Gupta, 1997) and rural women's land rights (Agarwal, 2001). It wasn't until scholars turned their full attention to the care economy and the complex dynamics of social reproduction as they are impacted by development that the issue of migration began to be more systematically addressed (Razavi, 2007). It is in this emergent literature that international development scholars have begun to connect debates about national development to women's experiences as migrant workers and as family 'left behind' (Pearson & Sweetman, 2019; Withers, 2019b) and begun to recognise the fraught relationship between women's socially constructed responsibility for care, the prevalence of transnational migrant livelihoods, and the complex nature of associated development outcomes.

3.3 | Migration and care

A third and more recent literature relevant to our conceptualisation of a migration–care–development nexus is the growing body of work concerned with migration and care, specifically with reference to transnational family separation. The expansion of feminised migration pathways into low-wage manufacturing and domestic work in the 1970s and 1980s gave rise to scholarship addressing gendered experiences of migration, emphasising the systematic devaluation of women's labour: both in the domestic sphere and through integration into global production networks (Morokvasic, 1984). However, it was not until the late 1990s that scholarship on gender and migration began elaborating the implications of feminised migration with reference to the unpaid care needs of dependent children and, to a lesser extent, elderly relatives 'left behind' in countries of origin (Haagsman & Mazzucato, 2021). One of the first and most enduring contributions in this respect is Parreñas's (2000) framing of an 'international division of reproductive labour', which articulates the interrelationship between increasing female labour force participation across wealthy countries and the transfer of reproductive labour—commodified and devalued through domestic worker migration—from poorer countries of the Global South. Subsequently described as 'global care chains' (Hochschild, 2001)—a metaphor more evocative of the multiple and overlapping transfers of 'emotional

surplus value' from less to more affluent actors, at national and international scales that Parreñas describes (2000)[1]—this perspective implies unidirectional displacements of care implicitly conceived as a set of proximate activities (i.e., care work). Though this transferral is described as a spatial division of reproductive labour that mirrors the core-peripheral framework of dependency and world-systems theorists, neither author explicitly connects displaced care to development outcomes. Instead, they emphasise how the commodification of domestic work aggravates tensions between women's employment opportunities and the emotional needs of families, amplifying and reinforcing gender inequality as the 'care chain' extends.

Additional avenues of research have stemmed from the question of *how* the apparent vacuum of care left in the wake of departing migrants is filled, if at all, and *by whom*? Most often examined with reference to women migrant domestic workers, research in this area has interrogated gendered care norms within migrant households (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011; Locke, 2017), assessed the livelihood implications for paid and unpaid substitute care providers (Cooray, 2017; Peng & Wong, 2016), and challenged the very notion that care practices necessarily cease during transnational family separation (Ahlin & Sen, 2020; Baldassar & Merla, 2014). Indeed, scholarship on this latter theme of 'care circulation' has made important contributions to the way care practices are understood at a typological level, highlighting the ways in which care responsibilities continue beyond the household and across borders—whether directly providing care through the proliferation of information and communication technologies (ICTs) (Ahlin, 2018; Baldassar & Wilding, 2022), managing care needs by financing and organising substitute caregiving (Parreñas, 2000), or remitting 'in-kind' care in the form of material goods (Ramsøy, 2016; Ullah et al., 2022). Yet, even more so than the global care chains literature, the relationship between migration and care is here largely de-linked from discussion of development policy or outcomes. The most enthusiastic accounts of care circulation are derived from migration contexts where both caregivers and care recipients are not disadvantaged by poverty or restrictive guest-worker migration: they are relatively less constrained in their access to technology, material circumstances and working hours. Much less attention has been paid to the extent to which care circulation prevails among low-wage temporary migrant workers, the developmental implications of transnational caring under stress, or the potential for social and development policy to facilitate sustainable care practices at both ends of migration corridors.

3.4 | The migration–care–development nexus

Tracing the perimeters of the three partially-overlapping literatures summarised above reveals critical disjunctures in the way 'migration', 'development' and 'care' have been theorised and establishes the need to situate care practices as integral to the migration-development debate. We are not the first to identify or address this oversight. Hugo (2009, 189) observed that 'there has been little attention paid to the implications of the expanding global care chain for policy and academic discussion on the nexus between migration and development', but limited his discussion to the 'best practice' recruitment of migrant care workers in Australia. Speaking to the location of transnational families within the migration-development debate, Sørensen and Vammen (2014, 99) identify 'a tendency to locate social concerns in a moral economy of emotions rather than in a political economy of human mobility' and stress the need to reconcile the challenges of transnational family arrangements with the specific policymaking environments in which they are produced. Kilkey and Merla (2014), meanwhile, elaborate upon proximate and distanced caring within transnational families and identify how institutional contexts can shape access to resources that constrain or enable these practices. Bryceson (2019) takes this analysis further, comprehensively analysing how immigration policies shape transnational family life and create tensions where care practices and developmental aspirations collide, but stops short of accounting for the intrinsic developmental value of care itself. Dannecker and Piper (2021) share our observation of missing linkages between migration, care and development—realigning these literatures with relation to the commodification of care and implications for women's political agency. In the same volume, Shutes (2021) incisively analyses how migration reproduces inequalities within a transnational political economy of care and argues the need for reproductive labour to be foregrounded within migration studies.

What we envision, however, is a more holistic theorisation of a 'migration-care-development' nexus that consolidates and extends these contributions to locate the reorganisation of care practices at the heart of the migration–development debate. If the relationship between migration and development is examined from an economic perspective that includes the total social organisation of paid and unpaid labour, it is not only possible—but unavoidable—to consider the developmental implications of disruptions to care provision and social reproduction more generally. This reconceptualisation of the migration-development nexus entails three key pivots. First, as with the invisibility of unpaid care and social reproduction more generally, the transnational disassembly and reassembly of unpaid care practices needs to be recognised and ascribed social and economic value (i.e., beyond the moral economy). Second, the care implications of transnational family separation must be incorporated within the evaluation of migration-development outcomes, in a manner that reflects the developmental cost of displaced care resources for households and communities (i.e., beyond income–centric cost–benefit analyses). Third, an accompanying paradigm shift is required of migration–development policymaking, involving 'decent care' policies that support transnational care practices by actively reassembling care resources where they are needed to support sustainable development (i.e., beyond the assumptions of remittance-led development). Not only do these departures provide avenues through which to meaningfully advance the academic literatures we

[1]For example, if the household of a migrant domestic worker were to employ a local domestic worker as a substitute provider of (marketised) care in lieu of the unpaid care no longer performed by the overseas family member

have discussed, but they also offer scaffolding for a policymaking framework to identify, evaluate and redress social and economic inequalities that undermine the prospect of 'triple win' migration. In light of the global proliferation of temporary labour migration regimes alongside the Sustainable Development Goals' (SDGs) multiple and overlapping commitments to gender equality in work (8.5) and unpaid care (5.4), this is an urgent task.

In the next section, we combine our conceptual framework (typology of transnational care practices) and our analytical framework (the migration–care–development nexus) to evaluate the design of Australia's Pacific Labour Scheme—a multiyear temporary labour migration scheme explicitly designed as Australia's flagship development programme for the Pacific region. We demonstrate how the policy design of the PLS catalyses the transnational disassembly and *incomplete* reassembly of care practices. Though migrant workers and their families engage in adaptive strategies for managing transnational family life, limited capacity for care circulation to PICs is likely to result in care deficits that undermine the developmental ambitions of the scheme. We then consider the potential for social and development policies informed by the principles of 'decent care' to better support transnational family life and actively reconstitute care resources in countries of destination.

4 | 'DECENT CARE' AND THE PACIFIC LABOUR SCHEME

The PLS began in July 2018, following a 2-year Northern Australia Worker Pilot Programme (NAWPP) involving workers from three Pacific microstates—Kiribati, Nauru and Tuvalu. Like the NAWPP, the PLS initially issued a limited number of 3-year, employer-sponsored temporary work visas to individual i-Kiribati, Nauruvian and Tuvalese nationals seeking employment in aged and disability care, hospitality or nonseasonal agriculture across rural and regional Australia (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2017). Against a backdrop of increasing geopolitical tension stemming from China's growing political and economic presence in the South Pacific, the PLS was soon fast-tracked as an integral component of Australia's 'Pacific Step-Up' foreign policy turn and promoted as a flagship development programme for the region. The PLS was expanded in 2019 to include (chronologically) Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Tonga, Timor-Leste, Papua New Guinea, and Fiji. In a bid to increase participation, the scheme was uncapped and expanded to include any labour market tested employment in rural and regional Australia classified as low-skilled or semi-skilled; in 2021 the maximum duration of employment was increased to 4 years. Though slow to start, the PLS expanded rapidly until the outbreak of COVID-19, and was the only international migration programme to resume as an exception to Australia's otherwise unilateral border closures to foreign nationals (C. Bedford, 2020). Ongoing geopolitical tensions in the Pacific have driven further expansion of the PLS. As of July 2022, there were approximately 24,000 PLS workers employed across over 100 worksites in rural and regional Australia (Shillito, 2022).

The PLS is remarkable on two accounts. On the one hand, it represents a fundamental departure in regional labour migration policy. It is Australia's first multiyear guestworker migration scheme and bears conspicuous resemblance to the *kafala* system of employment common throughout West Asia: that is, workers are tied to a single employer and currently[2] have no rights to familial accompaniment. Participation in the PLS therefore entails protracted transnational family separation during which the care activities (direct, indirect and communal) and relationships (spousal, parental, familial and societal) that sustain migrant households are reconfigured in the absence of that family member. Migrant households with absent primary or other carers will have to renegotiate patterns of work and care to meet their physical and emotional needs (Hill et al., 2018). Meanwhile, the deterioration of personal relationships—including extramarital affairs, divorce and children born in Australia—have already been flagged by PIC governments as key social concerns related to the scheme (Withers, 2022). On the other hand, despite restrictive visa conditions and their implications for transnational family life, the PLS is the first guestworker scheme to be framed as a development programme rather than a labour supply arrangement. The explicit focus on care sector jobs (e.g., aged care) is also deployed as part of the Australian Government's commitment to gender equality in its development programme. The promise of developmental benefits is framed using the rhetoric of a mutually-beneficial 'triple win' outcome: Australian employers should benefit from recruiting PIC workers, but PIC economies and migrant households are also expected to benefit from skills acquired by migrant workers and the income they remit home (World Bank, 2017). Setting aside the contested nature of the benefits accruing from remittances and skills (Delgado Wise, 2018; Piper, 2022), the framing of the scheme offers no consideration for the social and economic implications of transnational family separation that participation in the PLS necessitates and, in turn, how these outcomes might undermine the prospect of sustainable development for Pasifika workers and their families.

Applying the typology of transnational care practices that informs our conceptual framework presented in section one, it is apparent that—in addition to the displacement of labour power for paid work—the PLS disassembles certain care practices hitherto performed by migrant workers within their homes and communities. This includes the proximate activities that make up care work: the direct physical and emotional care provided to children, partners, parents, and relatives; the indirect care work necessary to ensure the daily maintenance and reproduction of the family and household; and the care work involved in the physical and cultural management of local communities, the significance of which cannot be overstated for participating PICs where the preservation of land and custom is often of paramount importance (Craven, 2015). The transnational disassembly of care also includes any reduction in migrant workers' ability to perform the aspatial roles that constitute care responsibilities, that is, the limitations of 'care circulation'. These are not trivial

[2]Limited support for family accompaniment was announced May 2021 and will be implemented from January 2022; discussed further below.

considerations. Migrant workers' ability to maintain and fulfil their emotional and moral care responsibilities at a distance are dependent on regular, reliable and responsive communication patterns with family members that may or may not be attainable within the scope of the PLS. The employer-tied nature of the PLS, combined with a surfeit of labour supply relative to employer demand and the increasing involvement of intermediary labour hire companies, means that participating workers have little or no say about their circumstances in Australia. Some workers are employed on the outskirts of Brisbane, where time differences with the Pacific are minimal and ICT infrastructure well-developed, others are located in remote Western Australia where internet access can be less reliable and time differences more acute. These asymmetries map onto workers' ability to return home or arrange for their families to visit them in Australia, as the cost of and access to international flights can range from a few hundred dollars to several thousand dollars depending on location.

The PLS therefore represents a migration scenario in which care practices are—by design—transnationally disassembled, with limited scope for meaningful 'care circulation' to partially reassemble these practices through the continuation of aspatial care roles. This, in turn, has important implications for the scheme's claim to promote development for Pasifika households, communities and economies.

4.1 | Developmental implications

The Australian Government has explicitly positioned the PLS as a development programme, drawing on the 'triple win' paradigm to support arguments that remittances, skill transfers and migrant entrepreneurship will collectively (and axiomatically) spur economic development for PICs. This viewpoint was encapsulated by Australia's former Foreign Minister, Julie Bishop, at the scheme's introduction:

> 'Labour mobility is a win-win for Australia and for Pacific Island countries. It will promote economic development and forge friendships between our countries to help build a brighter future for our region. It is an important plank of Australia's stepped-up engagement with the Pacific, a symbol of our enduring commitment to the region, and it is helping Pacific Islanders build better lives' (Bishop, 2018).

However, the assumption that temporary labour migration produces mutually-beneficial economic outcomes is contentious (Delgado Wise, 2018) and an income-centric understanding of 'development' has long been criticised. Alternative Capability (A. Sen, 1985) and Human Development (Haq, 1995) approaches, informed by Global South epistemologies, are now mainstream and embedded in the globally agreed SDGs. The SDGs identify multiple and overlapping challenges to the realisation of socially, culturally, environmentally and economically sustainable development and ascribe 17 Goals, with associated Targets and Indicators, to address these challenges in unison (Sachs et al., 2021). In the context of the PLS, the transnational disassembly of care practices is not only misaligned with this international consensus on development, but directly inhibits progress towards specific Goals and Targets. According no value to—or compensation for—the displacement of unpaid care and the gendered reorganisation of household care practices during migration, the PLS clashes with *SDG 5: Gender Equality* and *Target 5.4:* 'Recognise and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate' (Sachs et al., 2021). Across the PICs, where unpaid care plays a critical role in environmental conservation and land management, these oversights cascade into *SDG 13: Climate Action*, which emphasises the capacity constraints faced by small island countries at the forefront of the climate crisis. Furthermore, by enforcing transnational family separation, the PLS conflicts with migration-related Targets of *SDG 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth* and *SDG 10: Reduced Inequalities* concerning the rights of migrant workers (8.8), equal opportunity (10.3) and responsible migration (10.7).

The developmental importance of care practices, as well as the familial responsibilities that bind and organise them, is further enshrined by key tenets of international human rights law (Jayasuriya, 2021). The 1989 *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CRC), of which Australia is a signatory, creates legal obligations for states to consider the best interests of children who are directly or indirectly affected by government policies and actions. As (Jayasuriya, 2021; 5) observes, 'Temporary labour migration policies that cause the separation of children and parents for prolonged periods necessarily interfere with parental capacity to fulfil significant aspects of the primary caregiving role'. There are several CRC rights pertaining to the child-parent relationship that are directly impacted by the PLS, including children's rights to: be cared for by their own parents as far as possible (Art 7); to maintain direct and regular contact and personal relations with their parents if separated transnationally (Art 10(2)); to receive direction and guidance from their parents (Art 5); to have their family life protected from arbitrary interference (Art 16); and to have their parents assisted by the State in the performance of their child-rearing responsibilities as primary caregivers (Art 18), including in securing conditions necessary for their children's overall development (Art 27). Together, these rights inform a normative expectation that the preservation of child-parent relationships best serve the interests and wellbeing of children. Where temporary labour migration does not allow for family accompaniment, the CRC requires specific provisions be made to secure children's right to care. The policy design of the PLS offers no such provisions. Instead, adherence to a remittance-driven understanding of migration-development has crowded out consideration for the nonincome-related welfare of children and families, despite these issues being identified as a pressing concern of participating PIC governments.

By isolating the potential income and employment benefits of guestworker migration without consideration for the broader

implications of altering the total social organisation of labour within Pasifika communities, the PLS is largely antithetical to the multi-dimensional understandings of development and wellbeing implicit in the SDGs and the CRC. Instead, viewing temporary migrant workers as individual 'units' of labour—analytically detached from the care practices that sustain their families and communities—the scheme prioritises criteria that are highly-valued in the Australian labour market (e.g., income and skills), while ignoring those of value in the sending community. Failure to measure and address the systematic accrual of care deficits within Pasifika communities, and their developmental implications creates new development challenges not addressed by remittances. Additional policy supports are required to address the care implications of transnational family separation. These must include policies that accommodate the transnational performance of care and enable care circulation as well as those that address the direct displacement of proximate care activities. Such policies entail a paradigm shift in migration-development policy-making that includes investment in the reassembly of care in Pasifika communities. We suggest this can best be achieved through parallel 'decent care' policies that redirect Australian aid expenditure toward investments in PIC care resources and public care infrastructure.

4.2 | Decent care policies for the PLS

At a general level, we understand 'decent care' as a gender-attentive extension of the ILO's decent work agenda (Withers, 2019b). While principles of decent work offer a broad policy platform for advancing and protecting the rights and welfare of workers employed under a variety of circumstances, it is explicitly concerned with the conditions of paid work (Fudge, 2018). A recent ILO (2018) has addressed some of the limitations of this approach, recognising that 'decent work for all' means little without addressing deep-seated gender imbalances in the performance of care and other forms of unpaid labour. A 'decent care agenda', then, draws on a feminist political economy to promote policies that value and equitably redistribute paid and unpaid care practices at household, community, national and international scales —the end goal being the prevention of depletion through social reproduction and the reversal of associated care deficits. In the context of temporary labour migration, decent care policies respond to the third pivot implied by the migration-care-development nexus: that is, the need to compensate for immediate and ongoing care constraints faced by migrant households and their communities. As transnational family life within the PLS cuts across multiple policy domains in countries of origin and destination, a decent care intervention will require a combination of workplace, social and development policies attuned to reassembling care activities and responsibilities at key junctures throughout the migration process.

Like all guestworker schemes, the PLS creates immediate care deficits through the interruption of proximate care activities that—combined with additional challenges in the performance of care responsibilities across borders—over time constitute a process of systemic care depletion. Unlike other temporary labour migration schemes, though, the framing of the PLS as a development initiative with commitments to gender equity creates both an obligation to address these care outcomes and an opportunity to establish best practice through the implementation of decent care policies that reassemble essential care resources. Minimally, such policies could entail programmatic changes that facilitate care circulation within the PLS, that is, by supporting the practice of care relationships across borders. More ambitiously, there is potential to prevent or compensate for the displacement of proximate care activities, through social policies that support family accompaniment within Australia and development policies that invest in public care infrastructure for migrant-sending communities in PICs.

Decent care policies that seek to enhance care circulation within the existing visa parameters of the PLS principally involve supporting families through predeparture preparation and the introduction of workplace policies (in Australia) aligned with the demands of transnational family life. To date, predeparture briefings for PLS workers have entailed short information sessions focussed on the everyday practicalities of working in Australia; topics relating to the maintenance of relationships and care practices are not covered and, with few exceptions, family members have not been invited to attend (Withers, 2022). In Vanuatu, World Vision and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) have jointly funded a small-scale family preparation programme—*Famili i Redi*—that provides a 5-day workshop on skills and strategies to manage expectations and relationships during separation (Vanuatu Daily Post, 2021). Although longitudinal and comparative data is lacking, initial evaluations indicate clear improvements in participating couples' awareness of potential relationship issues and strategies to deal with long-distance communication, transnational parenting and emotional distress (World Vision, 2021). With funding from the Australian Government, family workshops could be scaled up and extended to other PICs, so that all migrant-sending families are better prepared for the challenges of transnational family life. On the Australian side of the PLS, care-specific workplace policies are required so that all workers have free and timely access to ICTs and the time to engage in care circulation. This could include access to appropriate devices, employer-provided Wi-Fi and a right to time off work to communicate with family. Additionally, while PLS workers are entitled to the same annual leave as Australian workers, the costs associated with returning home vary substantially and can be prohibitive—an annual travel subsidy would enable workers to meaningfully reconnect with their families and communities.

However, even the best care circulation policies are not sufficient to transnationally 'reassemble' care practices in their totality: preparedness, communication and reconnection may improve the performance of care responsibilities, but they do nothing to compensate for the loss of proximate care activities. In this respect, family accompaniment is the gold standard for supporting transnational care practices. Having engaged with Pacific governments and stakeholders, the recently-elected Albanese government has made firm commitments to allow families to join workers—provisional upon employer approval—from January 2023 (Shillito, 2022). At the time of writing, however, there have been no announcements concerning the apportioning of associated costs. Like other temporary migrant workers in Australia,

PLS workers—and by extension their families—do not have access to public education or healthcare and, as mentioned, travel costs between Australia and PICs can be prohibitive. As low-waged workers with monthly pretax earnings typically below AU$3000 (Doan et al., 2022), most will be unable or unwilling to afford the expense of caring for dependent children. There is therefore a need for these costs to be borne by the Australian Government, via the taxation system that PLS workers already contribute to, so that workers have a realistic opportunity to reassemble familial care practices in situ.

It should also be recognised that care practices and preferences are diverse and that many households will not pursue accompaniment for a variety of personal and practical reasons; it is therefore essential that parallel decent care investments are made in the public care infrastructure of PICs as part of Australia's developmental commitment to the region. This final articulation of decent care policymaking offers a more comprehensive prospect for reassembling the care practices disrupted by migration. Channelling existing aid and development budgets towards investment in public care infrastructure in PICs, the Australian Government could enact a care-ethical paradigm shift in the governance of temporary labour migration schemes—by recognising the developmental value of care practices, by acknowledging their disassembly through the PLS, and by compensating for emergent care deficits by expanding public care resources where they are most needed. Beyond the compelling economic (De Henau et al., 2017) and normative (Williams, 2018) cases for investing in care, the establishment and expansion of public childcare and aged care facilities in migrant-sending communities could underpin a broad range of positive outcomes within the scope of the PLS. It could relieve some of the care work performed by remaining migrant family members and the broader community—mostly women; it could offer valuable training for prospective PLS aged care workers through on-the-job experience; and it could provide returning migrants with decent work in local care industries and an opportunity to share knowledge gained in Australia.

5 | CONCLUSION

Even as temporary labour migration reconfigures the allocation of productive and reproductive labour between countries, the value of unpaid care work has been strikingly absent from the migration-development debate. We eschew the tendency to 'decouple labour from care' (Shutes, 2021; 117) by conceptualising the total social organisation of *migrant* labour: our typology of transnational care practices illustrates how work and care regimes are disassembled and (partially) reassembled through guestworker schemes like the PLS. Having established the intrinsic developmental value of these care practices from a feminist political economy perspective, we then demonstrate a pervasive lack of articulation between adjacent literatures on 'migration and development', 'gender and development' and 'migration and care'. In reconciling these disjunctures, we identify the need for a 'migration-care-development' nexus that departs from the existing migration-development debate by ascribing economic value to unpaid care, evaluating care depletion and deficits as outcomes of migration, and by foregrounding the need for 'decent care' policies to actively reassemble care resources where they are most needed. By operationalising our conceptual and analytical frameworks in the context of the PLS we demonstrate the pressing need to locate transnational care practices in relation to sustainable development and explore a range of decent care policies that could support the circulation and reassembly of care resources for Pasifika households and communities. Though by no means a sufficient 'solution' to the problems made explicit by the migration–care–development nexus we have outlined, decent care investments would represent an important step toward seeing the PLS as more than a labour supply arrangement at Australia's convenience.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to acknowledge the Markets, Migration and Care and Gender, Migration and the Work of Care project teams that have guided and supported this research. Open access publishing facilitated by Australian National University, as part of the Wiley - Australian National University agreement via the Council of Australian University Librarians.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Data sharing not applicable to this article as no datasets were generated or analysed during the current study.

ORCID

Matt Withers https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9132-9714
Elizabeth Hill https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3412-8278

REFERENCES

Abreu, A. (2012). 'The new economics of labor migration: beware of neoclassicals bearing gifts'. *Forum for Social Economics*, *41*(1), 46–67.

Agarwal, B. (2001). 'Participatory exclusions, community forestry, and gender: an analysis for south Asia and a conceptual framework'. *World Development*, *29*(10), 1623–1648.

Agunias, D. R., & Newland, K. (2007). *'Circular Migration and Development'*. Migration Policy Institute.

Ahlin, T. (2018). 'Only near is dear? doing elderly care with everyday ICTs in Indian transnational families: elderly care with ICTs in Indian families'. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, *32*(1), 85–102.

Ahlin, T., & Sen, K. (2020). 'Shifting duties: becoming "good daughters" through elder care practices in transnational families from kerala, India'. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *27*(10), 1395–1414.

Antonopoulos, R., & Indira, H. (2016). *Unpaid Work and the Economy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Baird, M., Ford, M. & Hill, E., eds. (2017). *Women, Work and Care in the Asia-Pacific*. New York: Routledge.

Baldassar, L. (2008). 'Missing kin and longing to be together: emotions and the construction of Co-Presence in transnational relationships'. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *29*(3), 247–266.

Baldassar, L., & Merla, L. (2014). *Transnational Families, Migration, and Care Work*. Taylor and Francis.

Baldassar, L., & Wilding, R. (2022). 'Transnationalism and Care Circulation: Mobility, Caregiving, and the Technologies That Shape Them'. In B. rendaS. A. Yeoh, & F. rancisL. Collins (Eds.), *Handbook on Transnationalism* (pp. 388–403). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Bastia, T., & Piper, N. (2019). 'Women migrants in the global economy: A global overview (and Regional Perspectives)'. *Gender & Development*, *27*(1), 15–30.

Bedford, C. 2020. 'The NT Seasonal Worker Pilot: Managing Worker Safety in the COVID-19 Era'. *Devpolicy Blog from the Development Policy Centre* (blog). 21 August 2020.

Bedford, R., Bedford, C., Wall, J., & Young, M. (2017). 'Managed temporary labour migration of pacific islanders to Australia and New Zealand in the early twenty-first century'. *Australian Geographer*, *48*(1), 37–57.

Benería, L. (2003). *Gender, Development, and Globalization: Economics as If All People Mattered*. Routledge.

Benería, L., Diana Deere, C., & Kabeer, N. (2012). 'Gender and international migration: globalization, development, and governance'. *Feminist Economics*, *18*(2), 1–33.

Bhatt, E. R. (2006). *We Are Poor but so Many: The Story of Self-Employed Women in India*. Oxford University Press.

Bishop, J. (2018). *'Labour Mobility: A Win-Win for Australia and the Pacific'. Devpolicy Blog from the Development Policy Centre (blog)*. http://www.devpolicy.org/labour-mobility-win-australia-and-the-pacific-20180703/.

Boserup, E. (1970). *Woman's Role in Economic Development*. Earthscan.

Bryceson, D. F. (2019). 'Transnational families negotiating migration and care life cycles across Nation-State borders'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *45*(16), 3042–3064.

Buvinić, M., & Gupta, G. R. (1997). 'Female-Headed households and Female-Maintained families: are they worth targeting to reduce poverty in developing countries?'. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *45*(2), 259–280.

Cabalquinto, E. C. B. (2022). *Im)Mobile Homes: Family Life at a Distance in the Age of Mobile Media*. Oxford University Press.

Carling, J., Menjívar, C., & Schmalzbauer, L. (2012). 'Central themes in the study of transnational parenthood'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(2), 191–217.

Castles, S., & Kosack, G. (1973). *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe*. Oxford University Press.

Chami, R., Ernst, E., Fullenkamp, C., & Oeking, A. 2018. 'Is There a Remittance Trap?' Finance and Development. International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Chant, S. (2015). 'Gender and Poverty in the Global South'. In A. nne Coles, L. eslie Gray, & J. anet Momsen (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and Development* (pp. 191–203). Routledge.

Chen, M., & Carré, F. (2022). *Informal Economy Revisited: Examining the Past, Envisioning the Future*. Routledge.

Chopra, D., & Sweetman, C. (2014). 'Introduction to gender, development and care'. *Gender & Development*, *22*(3), 409–421.

Constable, N. icole, ed. (2011). *Migrant Domestic Workers in Asia: Distant Divides, Intimate Connections*. Routledge.

Cooray, D. (2017). 'The care drain and its effects on the families left behind: A case study of Sri Lanka'. *Comparative Sociology*, *16*(3), 369–392.

Craven, L. K. (2015). 'Migration-affected change and vulnerability in rural Vanuatu: Migration-affected change in rural Vanuatu'. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *56*(2), 223–236.

Dannecker, P., & Piper, N. (2021). 'Revisiting the Migration–Development Nexus Debate Through the Prism of Gender, Politics and Agency'. In C. Mora, & N. Piper (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Migration* (pp. 303–319). Springer.

Delgado Wise, R. (2018). 'On the theory and practice of migration and development: A Southern perspective'. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *39*(2), 163–181.

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017). *'Pacific Labour Scheme'*. Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Doan, D., Dornan, M., Edwards, R., & Nguyen, T. 2022. *'The Place Premium: Evidence from Three Pacific Labour Mobility Schemes'. Pacific Update Conference. Suva, Fiji*.

Doucet, A. (2015). 'Parental responsibilities: dilemmas of measurement and gender equality'. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *77*(1), 224–242.

Editorial. (1998). 'Editorial'. *Gender & Development*, *6*(1), 2–6.

Elson, D. (1999). Labor markets as gendered institutions: equality, efficiency and empowerment issues. *World development*, *27*(3), 611–27.

Esquivel, V. (2014). 'What is a transformative approach to care, and why do we need it?'. *Gender & Development*, *22*(3), 423–439.

Floro, M. S. (1995). 'Women's well-being, poverty, and work intensity'. *Feminist Economics*, *1*(3), 1–25.

Fudge, J. (2018). 'Regulating for decent work in a global economy'. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations*, *43*(2), 10–23.

Glucksmann, M. A. (1995). 'Why "work"? gender and the "total social organization of labour"'. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *2*(2), 63–75.

Haagsman, K., & Mazzucato, V. (2021). 'Gendered Transnational Parenting'. In C. Mora, & N. Piper (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Migration* (pp. 121–136). Springer.

de Haas, H. (2012). 'The migration and development pendulum: A critical view on research and policy: the migration and development pendulum'. *International Migration*, *50*(3), 8–25.

Hamilton, M., Hill, E., & Kintominas., A. (2022). 'Moral Geographies of Care across Borders: The Experience of Migrant Grandparents in Australia'. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *29*(2), 379–404.

Harris, J., & Todaro, M. (1970). Migration, unemployment and development: A two-sector analysis. *The American Economic Review*, *60*(1), 126–42.

Haq, M. (1995). *Reflections on Human Development: How the Focus of Development Economics Shifted from National Income Accounting to People-Centred Policies, Told by One of the Chief Architects of the New Paradigm*. Oxford University Press.

De Henau, J., Himmelweit, S., & Perrons, D (2017). *'Investing in the Care Economy: Simulating Employment Effects by Gender in Emerging Economies'. International Trade Union Confederation*.

Hill, E., Withers, M., & Jayasuriya, R. (2018). 'The Pacific Labour Scheme and Transnational Family Life: Policy Brief', Policy Brief. Sydney: Markets, Migration and the Work of Care Project.

Hoang, L. A., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2011). 'Breadwinning wives and "Left-Behind" husbands: men and masculinities in the Vietnamese transnational family'. *Gender & Society*, *25*(6), 717–739.

Hochschild, A. (2001). 'Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value'. In W. Hutton, & A. Giddens (Eds.), *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism* (pp. 130–146). Vintage.

International Labour Organisation (ILO). (2015). *ILO Global Estimates of Migrant Workers: Results and Methodology*. ILO.

International Labour Organisation (ILO). (2018). *Care Work and Care Jobs for the Future of Decent Work*. International Labour Office.

International Organisation for Migration (IOM). 2021. World Migration Report 2022.

Jayasuriya, R. R. (2021). *Children, Human Rights and Temporary Labour Migration: Protecting the Child-Parent Relationship*. Routledge.

Jhabvala, R., Sudarshan, R., & Unni, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Informal Economy Centrestage: New Structures of Employment*. Sage Publications.

Kabeer, N. (2015). 'Gender, poverty, and inequality: A brief history of feminist contributions in the field of international development'. *Gender & Development*, *23*(2), 189–205.

Kaur, A. (2010). 'Labour migration trends and policy challenges in Southeast Asia'. *Policy and Society*, *29*(4), 385–397.

Kilkey, M., & Merla, L. (2014). 'Situating transnational families' Care-Giving arrangements: the role of institutional contexts'. *Global Networks*, *14*(2), 210–229.

Kofman, E. (2012). 'Rethinking care through social reproduction: articulating circuits of migration'. *Social politics*, *19*(1), 142–162.

Kofman, E., & Raghuram, P. (2010). 'The Implications of Migration for Gender and Care Regimes in the South'. In K. Hujo, & N. Piper (Eds.), *South-South Migration* (pp. 46–83).

Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour. *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies*, *22*, 131–91.

Locke, C. (2017). 'Do Male migrants "care"? How migration is reshaping the gender ethics of care'. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, *11*(3), 277–295.

Lutz, H. (2018). 'Care migration: the connectivity between care chains, care circulation and transnational social inequality'. *Current Sociology*, *66*(4), 577–589.

Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2012). *Migration and New Media: Transnational Families and Polymedia*. Routledge.

Morokvasic, M. (1984). 'Birds of passage are also women'. *International Migration Review*, *18*(4), 886.

Ogawa, R. (2017). *Gender, Care and Migration in East Asia*. Springer.

Parreñas, R. S. (2000). 'Migrant filipina domestic workers and the international division of reproductive labor'. *Gender & Society*, *14*(4), 560–580.

Parreñas, R. S., & Silvey, R. (2021). The governance of the *Kafala* system and the punitive control of migrant domestic workers. *Population, Space and Place*, *27*(5), 1–7.

Pearson, R., & Sweetman, C. (2019). Introduction: gender, development, and migrants in a global economy. *Gender & Development*, *27*(1), 1–13.

Peng, Y., & Wong, O. M. H. (2016). 'Who takes care of my Left-Behind children? migrant mothers and caregivers in transnational child care'. *Journal of Family Issues*, *37*(14), 2021–2044.

Petrou, K., & Connell, J. (2023). *Pacific Islands Guestworkers in Australia: The New Blackbirds?*. Springer.

Piper, N. (2022). 'Temporary labour migration in Asia: the transnationality-precarity nexus'. *International Migration*, *60*, 38–47.

Portes, A., & Walton, J. (1981). In C. Tilly, & E. Shorter (Eds.), *Labor, Class, and the International System*. Elsevier Science.

Rai, S. M., Hoskyns, C., & Thomas, D. (2014). 'Depletion: The cost of social reproduction'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *16*(1), 86–105.

Ramsøy, I. J. (2016). 'Transacting care transnationally: Remittances and agency within global care chains'. In M. Nowicka, & V. Šerbedžija (Eds.), *Migration and Social Remittances in a Global Europe* (pp. 191–210). Palgrave Macmillan.

Ranis, G., & Fei, J. (1961). A theory of economic development. *The American Economic Review*, *51*(4), 533–65.

Rankin, K. N. (2001). Governing development: neoliberalism, microcredit, and rational economic woman. *Economy and Society*, *30*(1), 18–37.

Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The laws of migration – I. *Journal of the Statistical Society*, *48*(2), 167–227.

Razavi, S. 2007. '*The Political and Social Economy of Care in a Development Context: Conceptual Issues, Research Questions and Policy Options*', *Gender and Development Programme Paper Number 3, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), United Nations: Geneva*.

Robert, E. (2015). 'A Gender Perspective on Migration, Remittances and Development: The UN-INSTRAW Experience'. In T. van Naerssen, L. Smith, & M. Marchand (Eds.), *Women, Gender, Remittances and Development* (pp. 17–36). Routledge.

Rosewarne, S. (2012). 'Temporary international labor migration and development in south and Southeast Asia'. *Feminist Economics*, *18*(2), 63–90.

Sachs, J., Kroll, C., Lafortune, G., Fuller, G., & Woelm, F. (2021). *Sustainable Development Report 2021*. Cambridge University Press.

Sen, A. (1985). Commodities and Capabilities. *Professor Dr. P. Hennipman Lectures in Economics*. Elsevier.

Sen, G., & Grown, C. A. (1988). *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*. Earthscan.

Shillito, C. (2022). *'Future Directions of the Pacific Australia Labour Mobility (PALM) Scheme'. Pacific Update Conference. Suva, Fiji*.

Shiva, V. (1988). *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development*. Zed Books.

Shivakoti, R., Henderson, S., & Withers, M. (2021). 'The Migration Ban Policy Cycle: A Comparative Analysis of Restrictions on the Emigration of Women Domestic Workers'. *Comparative Migration Studies*, *9*, 36.

Shutes, I. (2021). 'Gender, Migration and the Inequalities of Care'. In C. Mora, & N. Piper (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Migration* (pp. 107–120). Springer.

Sjaastad, L. (1962). The costs and returns of human migration. *Journal of Political Economy*, *70S*, 80–93.

Sørensen, N. N., & Vammen, I. M. (2014). 'Who cares? transnational families in debates on migration and development'. *New Diversities*, *16*(2), 89–108.

Tinker, I., ed. (1990). *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. Oxford University Press.

Tronto, J. C. (1993). *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. Routledge.

Ullah, A. K. M. A., Ferdous, J., & Chattoraj, D. (2022). 'Social, political and cultural remittances: implications for the origin and destination countries'. *Millennial Asia*. https://doi.org/10.1177/09763996221088639

Vanuatu Daily Post. 2021. '*Helping Vanuatu's families get ready for overseas work*'. https://www.dailypost.vu/news/helping-vanuatu-s-families-get-ready-for-overseas-work/article_9be54eac-c977-11eb-b390-6b273534e332.html.

Waring, M. (1988). *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics*. Harper & Row.

Williams, F. (2018). 'Care: intersections of scales, inequalities and crises'. *Current Sociology*, *66*(4), 547–561.

Withers, M. (2019a). *Sri Lanka's Remittance Economy: A Multiscalar Analysis of Migration-Underdevelopment*. London: Routledge.

Withers, M. (2019b). 'Decent Care for Migrant Households: Policy Alternatives to Sri Lanka's Family Background Report'. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *26*(3), 325–347.

Withers, M. (2022). *'Rapid Analysis of Family Separation Issues and Responses – Final Report'*. Canberra: Australian Government.

World Bank. (2011). *Gender Equality and Development*. World Development Report World Bank.

World Bank. (2017). *'Maximizing the Development Impacts from Temporary Migration: Recommendations for Australia's Seasonal Worker Programme'*. World Bank.

World Bank. (2006). *Global Economic Prospects: Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration*. World Bank.

World Vision. (2021). *'Famili i Redi Pre/Post Test Results'*. World Vision.

Yeoh, B. S. A. (2016). 'Migration and gender politics in Southeast Asia'. *Migration, Mobility, & Displacement*, *2*(1), 75–88.

Yeoh, B. S. A. (2014). 'Engendering international migration: Perspectives from within Asia'. In G. Battistella (Ed.), *Global and Asian Perspectives on International Migration* (pp. 139–152). Springer.

Yeoh, B. S. A. (2019). 'Corporeal Geographies of Labor Migration in Asia'. In K. Mitchell, R. Jones, & J. Fluri (Eds.), *Handbook on Critical Geographies of Migration* (pp. 92–105). Edward Elgar.

How to cite this article: Withers, M., & Hill, E. (2023). Migration and development, without care? Locating transnational care practices in the migration-development debate. *Population, Space and Place*, e2648. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2648