

in Latin America, whereas in other parts, Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, men tend to migrate more than women. The generalization can perhaps be made that, over time, the proportion of women tends to increase in most migrant flows, and particularly the proportion of women moving independently of men (see also **gender division of labor**).

Most of the issues involving the relationships between migration and development at the national level may also be seen with respect to discussions of **brain drain** and **remittances** in the context of international migration and the differences between core and peripheral countries (see **international division of labor**).

In view of the complexity of the migration and development interrelationship, it is unlikely that any single overarching theory relating the two can be advanced to provide a truly satisfactory explanation for migration at all levels and in all contexts. Many different approaches have been used in the analysis of migration, ranging from classical economic models based upon migration as the result of an individual decision to maximize income, through to migration which is much more the result of a collective family or household risk minimization strategy (see **risk and insurance strategies**). Neo-Marxist models of labor exploitation have also been prominent in the field, and more recent accounts have tended to focus on the experiences of the migrant as an individual. Again, these shifts in how analysts have approached the topic are to be found in narrower studies of international migration, and reflect broader changes in the social sciences in general.

See also: brain drain; circular migration; displacement; international migration; Harris-Todaro model; labor migration; MIRAB (migration, aid, remittances and bureaucracy); population mobility; refugees; internally displaced persons; remittances; rural-urban migration; transmigration; urbanization

Further reading

Bilshorow, R. (ed.) (1998) *Migration, Urbanization, and Development: New Directions and Issues*, Norwell MA: Kluwer.

Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. and Robinson, V. (1998) *Exploring Contemporary Migration*, London: Longman.

Skeldon, R. (1990) *Population Mobility in Developing Countries: A Reinterpretation*, London: Belhaven.

Skeldon, R. (1997) *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*, London: Longman.

United Nations (1998) *Population Distribution and Migration*, New York: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division.

United Nations (1998) *World Population Monitoring 1997: International Migration and Development*, New York: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division.

RONALD SKELDON

military and security

Debates about the military and security, and development refer to the impact of military strategies on development objectives; the roles played by the military in domestic and international politics; and the contribution to other developmental questions such as **economic growth** and **governance**.

The relationship between military expenditure and development is often presented as a "guns versus butter" problem, the assumption being that an increase in investment into the military sector would reduce the resources available for other sectors, thereby hampering economic growth and development. Yet, no conclusive evidence exists to support this view. There are two contrasting views on the relationship between military expenditure and development. One view emphasizes the positive effects of military spending on economic growth rates in developing countries. Evidence indeed suggests that countries with a high military burden may have high rates of growth. Military spending may stimulate the economy by acting as a seed for money for the development of national industries, promoting **technology transfer** and the acquisition of new skills (as with Japan and the newly industrialized countries of East Asia). Furthermore, the military may have a positive influence on the process of development by way of

acting as a harbinger of modernization (as with Israel and Turkey in the early years of development) (see **modernization theory; multiplier effect**).

An alternative view proposes that economic growth – such as from military expenditure – does not necessarily foster **economic development**. Furthermore, investment into the military sector may fail to promote indigenous industries. In case of the Arab world, the only military-industrial complex that has developed is a purely mercantile one that links bureaucratic elite (see **elites**) with civilian entrepreneurs who live on arms import commissions. Second, the military establishment, if conservative in nature, may hamper, rather than harbinger, modernization and development. Furthermore, there is always the likelihood that further investment in the military (even when successful in bolstering economic growth) might lead to a decrease in overall **security** by actually triggering security dilemmas. The “peace dividend” (i.e. the reallocation of resources from military to peacetime purposes) may not only permit military expenditures to be transferred to civilian purposes, but also create an atmosphere of security in which investments and foreign economic assistance might grow.

The provision of security receives maximum attention from governments in times of peace as well as war. This attention partly acknowledges the need to provide security for human existence. It also concerns the discursive power of the term “security.” When an issue gets labeled as a “security concern,” valuable resources are channeled towards it, often without further scrutiny. In the provision of security, the military sector has traditionally been given an important place because resources have been allocated to it at the expense of other socio-economic needs. Governments often legitimize this decision by saying that without security no other human goal can be pursued.

The relationship between military and security was brought to the attention of world opinion by debates on **human security** in the post-Cold War era. human security is understood as a condition in which the material (**food**, shelter, **education** and **health** care) and non-material (human dignity, opportunity to fulfill oneself as a human being)

dimensions of human needs are met. Increasing interest in human security has emerged as a reaction to the decline in the global social indicators of human security, notwithstanding the “peace dividend” created by the end of the **Cold War**. According to the United Nations Human Development Report (1994), although global military spending declined by 3.6 percent per annum between 1987 and 1994, no comparable increase in spending on **human development** was observed. In other words, there has been a lack of genuine commitment by global actors to achieving human security. The **World Bank** and the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** have attempted to use **conditionality** on lending authority to reduce arms purchases, and increases in human security, but these have not always been successful (see **arms sales and controls**). Indeed, some agencies and their officials have hesitated to raise the sensitive issue of military reform for fear of jeopardizing an otherwise good working relationship with the recipient government. Moreover, the mutual interests and support for each other of military and industrial actors in countries (the so-called military-industrial complex) further hampers efforts for military reform.

The effect of increased military spending on development becomes clearer when viewed through the lenses of the most vulnerable (who are also the least vocal) in society: **children**. Research findings show that countries with high levels of military expenditure also have low levels of child development (measured in terms of the “under-five” mortality rate) (see **children; infant and child mortality**). This is because as defense spending increases, spending on social welfare is usually cut back. Increased military spending may also hamper long-term economic growth, thereby disturbing delicate balances in the country and giving rise to conflict and **war**. Conflict and war, in turn, further exacerbate the difficult condition children find themselves in. Thus, the “guns versus butter” dilemma becomes more acute in the case of child development. As the military sector gains at the expense of the children, what is referred to as the “scissors effect” operates on future economic development. An increase in military expenditure and decrease in spending on child development reinforce each other in hampering economic

growth. This, in turn, triggers a new cycle of crisis that may threaten global security.

See also: arms sales and controls; elites; human security; landmines; security; transparency; war

Further reading

Deger, S. (1990) *Military Expenditure: The Political Economy of International Security*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thomas, C. (2000) *Global Governance, Development and Human Security: The Challenge of Poverty and Inequality*, London: Pluto.

UNDP (1994) *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

PINAR BILGIN

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are a series of internationally agreed targets of development that form the basis for much international development effort in the twenty-first century. In September 2000, 147 heads of state and government – and 191 nations in total – adopted the Millennium Declaration and the associated MDGs. The MDGs include: (1) *Eradicate poverty and hunger*: reduce the proportion of people living on less than US\$1 a day to half the 1990 level by 2015 – from 28.3 percent of all people in low and middle income economies to 14.2 percent. The Goals also call for halving the proportion of people who suffer from hunger between 1990 and 2015. (2) *Achieve universal primary education*: all children everywhere should be able to complete a full course of primary schooling by 2015. (3) *Promote gender equality and empowerment of women*: eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education no later than 2015; (4) *Reduce infant mortality*: reduce by two thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate (see **infant and child mortality**). (5) *Improve maternal health*:

reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the **maternal mortality** ratio. (6) *Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases*: halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS by 2015, and halt and begin to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases by 2015 (see **HIV/AIDS (definition and treatment)**; **HIV/AIDS (policy issues)**). (7) *Ensure environmental sustainability*: Integrate the principles of **sustainable development** into country policies and programs and reverse the losses of environmental resources; halve by 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe **drinking water** and basic **sanitation**; and have achieved by 2020 a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million shantytown dwellers (see **shantytowns**). (8) *Develop a global partnership for development* (see **partnerships**): The last goal has various targets: develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system (such as via commitments to good **governance**, and poverty reduction); address the special needs of the least developed countries (such as tariff and quota-free access for exports (see **tariffs**); **debt** relief and cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous official development assistance for countries committed to poverty reduction; address the special needs of landlocked countries (see **landlocked developing countries (LLDCs)**) and **small island developing states (SIDS)**; deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures to make debt sustainable in the long term; develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth; provide access to affordable essential **pharmaceuticals**; and make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications (see **technology transfer**).

Appropriate indicators have been selected to monitor progress on each of the targets (see **indicators of development**). The MDGs incorporate most of the goals and targets set at the global conferences and world summits of the 1990s. MDG monitoring has been taking place at the global and country levels. At the global level, the Secretary-General of the **United Nations** is to report annually to the UN General Assembly on