

INTERNAL MIGRATION*

CHAPTER

7

1. Introduction

Discussions on migration and globalization often tend to involve international migration; so much so, that the term **migration** has become synonymous with international migration. Yet, in many countries, **internal migration**, i.e. that which occurs inside the borders of a country, is actually far more important both in terms of the numbers of people involved and the resulting flow of remittances. This is especially true of countries with marked regional inequalities, but is not limited to the developing world.¹

This chapter deals essentially with internal migration. In a slight departure from tradition, it also covers some types of cross-border migration, even though these are theoretically international movements. This is done to move away from simplistic typologies of migration that may lead to the impression that

“internal” and “international” migrants are totally distinct. The borders in question are often highly porous, and the journeys undertaken are not very different from those within the country of origin. In the case of West Africa, as Adepoju (1998) notes, seasonal and short-term migrant workers regard their movements as simply an extension across national boundaries of internal movements and of rural-rural migration. In addition, in some cases it can be difficult to establish when, in fact, a traveller crosses international borders. Finally, borders often cut through the habitations of ethnic groups where their free movements across the region predates the drawing of colonial frontiers or the emergence of independent nation states and the creation of international borders and concomitant regulations governing immigration.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of the major patterns of internal migration. Rather than dwelling on what is already well known, the discussion focuses on five broad issues that have been highlighted recently in the international research and policy community and which have immediate implications for donor and government programming, namely:

- the growing incidence of temporary movements;
- internal remittance flows and their impact on development and poverty reduction;

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¹ A new study by the Centre for the Study of Living Standards has found that even a developed country like Canada received a huge boost in 2006 due to high migration from low-productivity eastern provinces to high-productivity western provinces; the study provided evidence that migration to western Canada offers jobs to unemployed people from eastern Canada (Sharpe et al., 2007). While it is worth underlining that internal migration is also making a difference in richer countries, this chapter will analyse more closely the impact on the less-developed regions of the world.

- the migration of women, children and ethnic minorities and the associated segmentation of migrant labour markets;
- the links between international and internal migration focusing on three types of movement: step migration, replacement migration and return migration; and
- undocumented or irregular cross-border migration.

It should be stressed at the outset that this chapter is concerned with voluntary migration for employment. It does not include displacement caused by development projects, conflict and civil unrest. Nor does it attempt to provide a comprehensive view on trafficking in human beings, which has become a subject in its own right. However, the divisions between migration for work and other kinds of migration are not watertight, and several forms of migration for work are akin to trafficking in human beings, especially in migration involving vulnerable and often marginalized groups, such as women, children and ethnic minorities. Some aspects of migration that overlap with trafficking will therefore be touched upon.

In the spirit of this volume, efforts have been made, where possible, to link movements with processes that have arisen as a consequence of globalization. And, finally, although this chapter is meant to be global in scope, it draws conclusions on the basis of a review of material pertaining to several, but not all, major economic and geographical regions of the world, namely East, South and Southeast Asia, Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa. Gaps reflect the availability of information rather than any kind of bias.

The chapter concludes with remarks about the need for further policy development and research, recognizing the difficulties faced by internal and cross-border migrants and the need to improve

their situation in order to increase the benefits of migration.

2. Broad Patterns of Internal Migration

It is well known that internal migratory flows are diverse and complex in terms of their direction (rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural); composition (men only, women only, entire families, children only, and ethnic minorities) as well as duration (seasonal, circular and permanent). Many of these exist side by side, and it is not uncommon to find in a single village several different kinds of migration streams that have evolved separately according to historical patterns of employment, social networks between source and destination areas, and the demand for specific skills.

Any discussion on internal migration patterns and trends is severely hampered by the paucity of data. Even where national data on demographics, occupations and incomes exist, short-term movements for work are not captured adequately. This creates an enormous gap in understanding migration and partly explains the lack of interest and political commitment to address it. For this reason, many of the important trends discussed below are highlighted through case studies (often undeservedly relegated to the category of anecdotal evidence) rather than large-scale surveys.

The following discussion shows that mobility has increased, especially short-term movements for work, despite the fact that regional economic trajectories are very different. Rural-urban migration appears to be the fastest growing type of internal migration in many parts of Asia, and a typical representation of such movement is illustrated in Portrait 7.1. On the other hand, Latin America and Egypt show high levels of urban-urban migration. Return migration is also significant as demonstrated by studies from West Africa and China.

Portrait 7.1

Seeking a Better Living in Ho Chi Minh City

Trung is part of a growing group of Vietnamese migrants who have left their rural home communities in search of better opportunities in the city. Born in 1979, just four years after the reunification of North and South Viet Nam, in the southern border province of Tay Ninh, life during Trung's childhood was never easy. "I was the youngest of four brothers. My parents worked in the field growing vegetables and rice. Sometimes they would also work on the rubber plantations or on government public works projects to earn additional income", Trung recalls.

His parents' hard work allowed him and his brothers to attend primary school, but, in time, educating all four children became too expensive. "When I was ten, my brothers and I began selling lottery tickets in the streets after school to support our education. However, even this was not always enough, and sometimes my parents had to borrow money to pay our tuition fees." Not wanting to accumulate debt, and realizing that of the four brothers Trung was the best student, his parents decided to concentrate their efforts on funding his education, while his older brothers took up jobs as labourers.

"Despite having been chosen by my parents to continue my education, I never felt any pressure, because I knew that my family loved and supported me," Trung says. "But it was not easy for my brothers, and when my eldest brother was sixteen, he went on foot to Cambodia to try and find work in the construction industry; but, after working there only for some weeks, he came back as he had been beaten by his employers."

In 1990, Trung's father migrated to Ho Chi Minh City, about 150 kilometres from Tay Ninh Province, to work as a security guard for a foreign company. Every month, he sent money home to support Trung's schooling, and in 1998 Trung completed secondary school. Trung soon went to join his father in the city, and they worked together for a short time at the same company.

"Having been educated in rural Tay Ninh put me at a disadvantage compared to students from Ho Chi Minh City. Still, I was able to enrol in the open university, where I studied accounting and finance. At that time, I also met some Australians in a café near my university. They wanted to learn Vietnamese, so I began teaching them for 50,000 dong per hour (about 3 US dollars). I was happy to have the extra income to buy the necessary books for my studies."

Around the same time, Trung met his wife, another migrant student from the central highlands city of Buon Me Thuot. They soon married, and the following year had a son.

"The money I earn is used to support my family. I spend about 500,000 dong (about USD 30) per month to rent a small room for my wife and son. I also send 300,000 dong (about USD 20) home to my mother who is now old, so that she can buy food and pay her bills. The rest of my income I try to save so that I can support my son's education in the future."

Trung says that it was not easy migrating to the big city. "People often looked at me strangely when they heard me speak with my rural accent. When I went to buy something, they assumed that I couldn't afford to buy certain things, as I am from the countryside. Sometimes my landlords raised my rent and my family and I had to change rooms frequently – we do not have much bargaining power, as we are not registered with the local authorities. But one day, maybe in ten years' time, my wife and I hope to buy some land and a house of our own and set up a small pharmacy. Once we have some property, we will no longer be considered as migrants."

Source: IOM Hanoi.

2.1 Asia: Temporary and Circular Movements for Work in Economies in Transition

There is persuasive evidence from several locations across Asia that population mobility has increased

at an unprecedented rate in the last two decades. Internal regional inequalities and uneven development that characterize many Asian countries today (Balisacan et al., 2005; Kanbur and Venables, 2005) are important drivers of migration. Foreign direct investment and export-oriented industries

have benefited some regions more than others and attract cheap labour from underdeveloped rural areas. The service and construction sectors are also magnets for workers.

What is especially striking is the increase in temporary and circular movements, which include a range of diverse movements from trips that last several months to daily commuting for work.² At the same time, there has been a dramatic improvement in communication and transport facilities, which has created the conditions for the large-scale internal movement of people at unprecedented levels.

(a) China: A life cycle strategy for people from poorer regions in a rapidly growing economy

In 2005, China had the fastest growing economy in the world and also the highest level of economic inequality in East Asia (Balisacan et al., 2005). Such internal regional differences have been an important cause of migration, especially since the mid-1990s (Song, 2004). The number of internal migrants has increased dramatically over the past two decades from about 26 million in 1988 to 126 million in 2004, a majority of whom are circular rural-urban migrants who retain strong links with their rural family. Current projections suggest that between 12 and 13 million migrants will move to urban areas each year over the next two decades, and the actual numbers will depend on the extent to which the household registration (*hukou*) system is relaxed. Around 70 per cent of migrants are aged between 16 and 35, and they generally view migration as an intermediary period in their life between leaving middle school and settling down to marry and having children (Murphy, 2006). Roughly a third of Chinese migrants return to their native homes as it is extremely difficult for them to find permanent white-collar jobs on which they would be able to retire (Murphy, 2006).

² Daily and weekly commuting are usually excluded from the category of temporary/circular migration, and this approach is followed in this chapter.

(b) South Asia: Low-skilled migrants dominate seasonal labour flows

Most South Asian economies have experienced growing inequality, mainly because of unequal access to land and education. Migrants typically come from agriculturally backward and poor areas, such as Bihar, to move to towns and cities, industrial zones and coastal areas to work in fish processing and salt panning, such as in Gujarat. High productivity agricultural areas (“green revolution areas”) continue to be important, but more migrants are opting for non-farm activities because of greater returns. Moreover, they are increasingly becoming major sending areas of both skilled and less-skilled migrants to Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Migration rates are high among both the most and least educated and, unlike in East and Southeast Asia, people with little or no education appear to dominate seasonal labour flows. National statistics have underestimated the extent of mobility in the sub-region with the result that there is still some disagreement over whether it is actually increasing or decreasing. An International Monetary Fund (IMF) report states of India, for example:

The anaemic response of cross-state migration to income differentials in India is most likely due to a combination of barriers to the mobility of labour: strong local workers’ unions, which act to keep out competing potential employees; rigidities in nominal wages; lack of housing in fast-growing urban areas and, most important, social, cultural and linguistic barriers to the cross-regional substitutability of labour (Cashin and Sahay, 1996: 49).

Munshi and Rosenzweig (2005), based on panel data collected by the National Centre for Applied Economic Research, argue that India’s relatively low spatial and marital mobility, despite increased growth rates and rising inequality in recent years, is due to the existence of sub-caste networks that provide mutual insurance to their members. On the other hand, a very large number of village studies show very high levels of short-term seasonal and circular internal

migration (for an overview, see Deshingkar, 2005). A vast majority of low-skilled workers are employed in the informal sector and are largely untouched by applicable labour laws.

In Bangladesh, too, migration is an integral part of the livelihood strategies of poor people. A three-year study on the livelihoods of the extremely poor in 16 villages by Proshika – one of the largest NGOs in Bangladesh, funded by the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID) – found that 110 of the 294 respondents had migrated. While 51 respondents said that they had benefited in some way, others spoke of theft, difficulties for those left behind and tough living conditions at the destination (Khan and Seeley, 2005). On the whole, migration to urban areas has been rising for some time, first to the urban informal sector and, more recently, to garment manufacturing units. A study of internal migration in Bangladesh (Afsar, 2003), based on the analysis of data sets generated by the United Nations, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, showed that all types of migration had increased significantly. Rural-urban migration was found to account for nearly two-thirds of out-migration from rural areas, while rural-to-rural migration accounted for ten per cent of out-migration from rural areas, compared with 24 per cent migrating abroad.³ The latest estimates by the Coalition for the Urban Poor of migration into the capital of Dhaka indicate a 6.3 per cent annual increase in migration. Dhaka is the most common destination because it offers greater work opportunities. Most people look for work in the garment industry, rickshaw transport and the domestic sector.

(c) Southeast Asia: Export-led growth and better infrastructure facilitates circular migration

Many Southeast Asian economies saw increases in population mobility long before the countries in

South, West and Central Asia, as they opened up their economies earlier. Thailand was the earliest to implement an export-led growth strategy, and rural-urban migration, especially to the expanding service sector in Bangkok, increased during the period 1985-1990; net immigration to Bangkok more than doubled between 1975-1980 and 1985-1990 (Anh, 2003; Guest, 2003). Although the economic crisis of 1997 radically altered the economic context and migration patterns in Southeast Asia, especially for seasonal and short-term workers to the informal sector, it did not curtail or reverse the long-term growth in labour migration. Seasonal migration from the northeast of Thailand has continued on a large scale. Indeed, north-eastern households depend on remittances from their family members who migrated to Bangkok. Such seasonal movements are facilitated by extensive networks of friends and relatives spread all over the country.

Although poorer and less urbanized than Viet Nam and Thailand, Cambodia has also recently witnessed a sharp increase in rural-urban migration as more young girls and women migrate to urban centres to work in garment factories, as domestic helpers, or as bar girls and sex workers (Acharya, 2003). The Ministry of Planning estimates internal migrants at 35 per cent of the total population, and most of these internal movements are intra-provincial and very short-range (Maltoni, 2006). The garment sector was a major employer of rural-urban migrants, absorbing some 250,000 workers, but this avenue of employment may have suffered setbacks after the termination of the Multi-Fibre Agreement in early 2005.⁴

Circular migration and commuting from rural to urban areas in Indonesia has been documented since the 1970s (see e.g. Hugo, 2003). While Indonesia had relatively low levels of inequality due to more equal access to land and education, differentials

³ On the basis of panel data generated from 62 randomly sampled villages in Bangladesh (Rahman et al., 1996).

⁴ The Multi-Fibre Arrangements (MFA) (a.k.a. Agreement on Textile and Clothing (ATC)) governed the world trade in textiles and garments from 1974 through 2004, imposing quotas on the amount developing countries could export to developed countries. It expired on 1 January 2005.

have increased in the 1990s and appear to be driving internal migration to some extent.

The Viet Nam Living Standards Surveys show a rapid increase in seasonal migration over the course of the 1990s (de Brauw and Harigaya, 2004). According to Anh (2005), spontaneous inter-provincial migration occurred in three major directions during the 1990s: north to north, south to south, and north to south, while migration from the south to the north was not significant. This reflects the pull effect of the south-eastern areas and central highlands of Viet Nam in terms of economic development and natural endowments. A migration survey was carried out by the government of Viet Nam in 2004 in eleven major migrant-receiving cities and provinces covering 5,000 migrant households and an equal number of non-migrant households. The survey showed that nearly 63 per cent of those who moved for work had KT4 registration,⁵ and 50 per cent of those who moved to improve their living conditions had KT4 registration (Deshingkar et al., 2006b).

Internal migration in the Philippines is a fundamental part of rural livelihood strategies and rural transformation, and not only to escape poor rural areas (Quisumbing, A.R. and S. McNiven, 2005). Research undertaken by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the Research Institute for the Mindanao Culture, Xavier University (RIMCU) in the mid-1980s and repeated in 2003-2004, found that *poblaciones*⁶ and cities attract better educated individuals to either find a

job or further their education. The study also found that an exception to this trend was the significant migration of less educated men to nearby urban areas to engage in construction and other low-paid manual labour. However, rural-rural migration is significant, especially for first-time male migrants.

2.2 Latin America: Urbanizing Countries

Latin America as a whole has seen a rise in population movements fuelled by increasing disparities in the distribution of wealth due to globalization, restructuring of national economies and a succession of financial crises since the mid-1990s (Serageldin et al., 2004). While during the import-substitution era rural-urban migration constituted the major part of internal movements, this has recently levelled off or even decreased with urbanization. With a dwindling rural population, urban-urban migration has increased steadily since the 1980s. In Mexico, for example, between 1987 and 1992, 50 per cent of interstate movements (excluding intra-metropolitan movements) originated in and were directed at urban areas and, between 1995 and 2000, 70 per cent of all inter-municipal (*intermunicipio*)⁷ movements took place between urban areas. In Brazil, 61 per cent of all inter-municipal movements between 1981 and 1991 were between cities (Cerruti and Bertonecello, 2003). In a study of internal migration in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, Busso (2006) concludes that population mobility is characterized by urban-urban movements, although, in some parts of Brazil, rural-urban migration is still high. Cities are often areas of both origin and destination in the three countries studied. In fact, a large proportion of migration on the South American continent takes place between small administrative divisions within the city and from the centre to the periphery. Intra-metropolitan movements are attracting the attention of academics and policymakers alike as they have many important consequences for urban policies (Pellegrino, 2006).

⁵ There is a complex household registration system in Viet Nam. The system is applied in both urban and rural areas. There are four categories of residents: KT1, KT2, KT3 and KT4. The 2004 Migration Survey defines these categories as follows:

- KT1 – Person registered in the district of residence;
- KT2 – Person not registered in the district of residence, but registered at another district of the same province;
- KT3 – Person who has temporary registration for a period of six months and more;
- KT4 – Person who has temporary registration for a period of less than six months.

There is also a category of “no registration” at the destination.

⁶ Primary administrative seats of rural districts in the Philippines.

⁷ A *municipio* is an administrative entity corresponding roughly to a county.

Their link with issues of territorial segregation is high on the political agenda given that migrants tend to concentrate in poor areas separate from those where better-off people live. At the same time, there has been an increase in international migration, often to the United States, a theme explored in more detail later. Migrants are predominantly young, female and with an educational level higher than their non-migrant counterparts.

2.3 Sub-Saharan Africa: High Mobility, Much of it Temporary and Driven by the Need to Seek Alternatives to Farming

Results of the surveys carried out by the Network of Surveys on Migration and Urbanization in West Africa (NESMUWA) in seven countries (Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal), summarized by Konseiga (2005), show very high rates of internal migration. Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal had the highest figures (62% of total migration flows) followed by Mauritania (54%), Mali and Guinea (51%) and Niger (47%). Burkina Faso had the lowest internal migration incidence (30%), probably due to the limited work opportunities available locally and the exodus of migrants to Côte d'Ivoire.

East Africa is not different. The 1999 Labour Force Survey (LFS) in Ethiopia shows high rates of internal mobility with rural-rural flows (as opposed to stocks) dominating and involving nearly a million people. Urban-urban migration accounted for a further million people and rural-urban flows are also significant and account for over half a million people (Casacchia et al., 2001). Reverse migration, i.e. urban-rural migration, was also recorded, involving around 370,000 people even though counter-urbanization is not yet the dominant process in Ethiopia. The LFS analysis found that the change of residence for employment purposes (looking for a job or job

transfer) accounts for about a quarter (23%)⁸ of all migration, and the majority of these movements are towards urban centres.

The importance of temporary migration for work is evident in many areas. Research conducted under the International Network for the Demographic Evaluation of Populations and their Health (INDEPTH) migration and urbanization project in eight countries (Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda) between 1996 and 2001 by a consortium of researchers from Brown University, the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Witwatersrand among others, found that internal migration accounted for 15 to 25 per cent of the sample population and that much of it was temporary (Choi, 2003).

Recent studies indicate that mobility has been affected by economic crises and structural adjustments. Country studies conducted under the De-agrarianization and Rural Employment project (DARE) and the Sustainable Livelihoods, Access and Mobility (SLAM) project by Bryceson and others (2003) found increased mobility resulting from structural adjustment programmes, which, in turn, led to occupational diversification and increased travel. There are also examples of reduced mobility, as seen in Zimbabwe, where the fear of contracting AIDS and a rise in oil prices has curtailed travel (Bryceson and Mbara, 2003).

On the whole, although rural-urban and rural-rural migrations are still significant, the incidence of return migration, i.e. urban-rural, is rising in some countries. In Nigeria, retrenchment of workers in both the public and private sectors in the 1980s is thought to have increased return migration. Indeed, a study of Aba and its surrounding area in south-

⁸ It is noteworthy that some of the movements classified as "along with family" may be included in the categories of migration for work reasons, since they derive from the decision of the head of the household to migrate for work (Casacchia et al., 2001). See Chapter 6 for a more detailed analysis of the link between employment and family mobility.

eastern Nigeria by Okali and others (2001) found that nearly half the households in rural areas are headed by return migrants, who average about 50 years of age. In Ghana, about 35 per cent of migratory movements were urban-rural, 32 per cent rural-rural and almost one quarter (23%) urban-urban (Ghana Living Standards Survey, 2000).

2.4 Middle East and North Africa: Internal Movements are often more Significant than International Movements with Public Sector Downsizing an Important Cause

In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), internal migration has increased with public sector downsizing (Al-Ali, 2004) and the resulting occupational diversification. Nonetheless, long-distance rural-urban migration to Cairo from Upper Egypt is a long-standing phenomenon that has existed for at least a hundred years. Greater Cairo, which includes Cairo, Giza, and Qalyoubyya governorates, attracted the bulk of internal migrants as shown by a number of studies mentioned in Zohry (2005). But successive censuses show only a slight increase in rural-urban migration. In contrast, return migration, i.e. urban-rural, has increased steadily and accounted for nearly a quarter (23%) of all movements in 1996. Urban-urban migration represented the bulk of movements (60.4% in 1996) between the large governorates of Cairo, Guiza, Qalyoubyya and Alexandria. Rural-rural migration was the least important type of movement, remaining at around four per cent at each census.

Internal migration in Morocco continues to be more important than international movements in numerical terms, notwithstanding the high number of international migrants originating from this country (De Haas, 2005). Interestingly, De Haas (2005) notes that patterns of rural-to-urban migration have changed lately, which is particularly the case in the provinces of the interior, as the policies of decentralization and improved road and electricity infrastructure favoured the growth of urban centres

in rural areas. Therefore, urbanization and partial “de-agrarianization” are general processes that occur also within rural Morocco, as so-called rural populations increasingly earn additional income outside the traditional agricultural sector.

3. Cross-border Migration

The issue of cross-border migration needs to be viewed together with internal migration, especially for countries that are separated by porous borders and populated by people who are historically very similar in language and culture.

Ratha and Shaw (2007) assert, on the basis of datasets constructed by the University of Sussex,⁹ that almost 80 per cent of South-South migration takes place across the land borders of adjacent countries and appears to occur between countries with relatively small differences in income. However, official statistics cannot capture the vast numbers of undocumented cross-border migrants.

An analysis of examples of cross-border migration in Africa and Southeast Asia will serve to illustrate the similarities with internal migration and the rationale for considering both types of movements within the same framework.

The NESMUWA surveys in Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal recorded more than 6.4 million migratory movements between 1988 and 1992, of which 2.3 million were international, with flows between Côte d’Ivoire and Burkina Faso dominating. However, migration from Burkina Faso to Côte d’Ivoire has since dropped significantly due to the economic recession in the latter country. This has also been accompanied by return flows of migrants from urban areas of Côte

⁹ The bilateral migration matrix was created for the Global Trade Analysis Project using national censuses, population registers, national statistical bureaux and a number of secondary sources (OECD, ILO, Migration Policy Institute (MPI), DFID, UNDP) to compile bilateral migrant stocks for 162 countries.

d'Ivoire. Most of the return migrants are active (93.8%) and are entrepreneurs.

The circular migration¹⁰ by West Africans dates back to the pre-colonial period. This process has received a boost with the increasing liberalization of economies. New communication technologies are helping to consolidate historical social networks between peoples who are ethnically and linguistically similar, but artificially separated by political borders. This has led to unprecedented levels of flows of information, ideas, people, goods and money (Balbo and Marconi, 2005). The circularity of the movements allows migrants, a large proportion of whom are women, to maximize the returns from seasonal agricultural production.

The other major area of cross-border migration in Africa is to South Africa from countries in the sub-region, especially Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. South Africa is home to an estimated three to eight million migrants, most of whom are employed in the mining industry (Stalker, 2000, cited in Sanders and Maimbo, 2003).

In Southeast Asia, Thailand has emerged as the major destination for migrants in the entire Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS). As Thailand's own population has aged and the economy has grown, the demand for foreign labour has increased, especially for low-skilled labour. Thailand currently hosts an estimated 2.5 million migrants from Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar (Maltoni, 2006) with nearly 90 per cent in an irregular status (World Bank, 2005). Thousands of border crossers from Myanmar flow into the Thai border town of Mae Sot every year. Most of them

are looking for economic opportunities and are not eligible for refugee status. An estimated 50 per cent of Mae Sot's 80,000 migrant workers from Myanmar do not have proper work permits, which leaves them open to abuse from unscrupulous bosses, most of whom run garment factories (BBC News, 26 February 2007). Many others, especially women, commute on a daily basis from Cambodia to Thailand for petty trade, domestic work or agriculture, as the two countries share a very long and porous border. Men tend to migrate farther afield and for longer durations (Godfrey et al., 2001). Finally, in South Asia, India has a long history of migration from Bangladesh. Poorly demarcated borders between the two countries, cultural affinities (language and lifestyle) with certain Indian provinces such as West Bengal, physical proximity and the presence of earlier migrants contribute to the acceptance of these migrants as de facto members of local communities. These factors also explain why the largest numbers of migrants are believed to be concentrated in north-eastern India, close to the Bangladesh border, even though this region is not as economically robust as other areas in India that are now witnessing increased inflows from Bangladesh (Ramachandran, 2005).

4. Internal and International Labour Migration

The links between internal and international labour migration have recently begun to attract attention at the international policy level, especially in response to concerns by developed countries over migrant flows. Important questions are whether today's internal migrants are tomorrow's international migrants; whether international migration and internal migration are substitutes for each other; and whether internal and international migrants share the same profile. Needless to say, the answers depend very much on the local context and thus can only be arrived at through location-specific case studies. In very broad terms, the links between internal and international migration are of three types: step migration, where people move to one or more locations within their country before emigrating to

¹⁰ Circular migration here refers to the livelihood strategy that has been traditional in West Africa for over 1,000 years as people followed livestock and crops on a seasonal basis; this concept therefore differs slightly from what is currently put forward in the European Union (EU) as a temporary labour migration policy (see Chapter 11): "Circular migration is a form of mobility that most closely ties migrants to their countries of origin, and allows them to build bridges between it and other (usually more developed) countries, thereby creating opportunity for the migrant's country of origin to make the most of its comparative advantages" (MPI, 2007: 3).

another country; replacement migration,¹¹ where the “vacuum” created by workers departing for another country is filled by workers from other parts within the country; and return migration, where people who had migrated return to their place/region of origin. These processes are illustrated through examples from different parts of the world.

The occurrence of replacement migration, whereby migrants of rural origin move to towns to fill jobs left vacant by nationals who have emigrated to other countries, can be observed in several sub-Saharan African countries (Adepoju, 2006). In Burkina Faso, Gabon, Côte d’Ivoire, Mali and Senegal, replacement migration has occurred where urban workers migrated to France. It has also been noted in Egypt (Zohry, 2005) where people have migrated to the Gulf. Replacement migration has also been documented in the Indian state of Kerala where the gaps in the workforce left by skilled workers leaving for the Gulf are filled by migrants from the neighbouring states (Zacharia and Rajan, 2005).

Step migration, i.e. rural-to-urban movement followed by international migration, has also been observed in Mexico by Fussel (2004), using the Mexican Migration Project dataset. She finds that, while the movement from the central-western rural area of Mexico to the United States still predominates and is reinforced by well-established social networks, there is a newer stream of migrants from interior urban communities. Using econometric analysis, she identifies within this group a sub-stream of migrants who first settle in the northern region (border urban community of Tijuana) and then, in a second phase, emigrate to the United States. Step migration to the border is a way to gain migration-related information and to improve one’s chance to make it to the U.S., with or without authorization (Fussel, 2004). Fussel also

finds that some returnees relocate to border regions to facilitate their next documented or undocumented trips to the U.S.

Morocco is another country where rural-urban migration often is a precursor of international migration (Laghout, 1989, cited in De Haas, 2005). But in this Maghreb country, the link between internal and international migration is not limited to only international out-migration from small towns within rural provinces, as the concomitant counter-flow of remittances contributes to employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, creating an opposite movement of internal migration (i.e. from urban provinces to towns in rural provinces) (De Haas, 2005).

But not all cases are as clear-cut. A recent study in Egypt by Zohry (2005) found that people migrate internally and externally without any logical order or common pattern. In fact, buying a bus ticket to Libya is not much different from internal migration to Cairo or Alexandria. Pieke’s (2004) work on migrants from Fujian Province shows that Chinese emigration has become much more intertwined with socio-economic changes and migratory flows within China itself. Many of the migrants they studied had spent considerable time elsewhere in China, or had worked for a few years in Singapore, or in the Macao SAR or Hong Kong SAR on fixed-term contracts before returning to Fujian and subsequent emigration to Europe. They also found that international migration in Fujian in coastal Fuzhou prefecture was often supported financially by wives or other female family members circulating or commuting into nearby Putian county to work in factories producing shoes and other consumer items. Conversely, areas of emigration in Fujian attract in-migrants from elsewhere in Fujian or farther afield to undertake agricultural work that the local population either does not want or cannot do because of their absence.

What these examples illustrate is that even those who live in rural areas may be indirectly benefiting

¹¹ While the UN refers to replacement migration as the “international migration that a country would need to offset population decline and population ageing resulting from low fertility and mortality rates” (UN, 2001), it is defined here as the internal movement of workers in response to international migration.

from international migration by filling jobs that international migrants have left behind. They also respond to the demand created by the flow of remittances from abroad. However, it is not clear how these patterns will change in the longer term and more empirical research is needed. Moreover, there are no clear-cut policy implications, and governments in Europe and North America endeavouring to regulate immigration through interventions aimed at interrupting these migratory chains and steps find that there are no easy solutions. However, creating more attractive employment opportunities in countries of origin by facilitating the flow of remittances (among other strategies) is something that governments in both source and destination areas need to heed.

5. Labour Market Segmentation and the Migration of Ethnic Minorities

Circular migration is largely driven by labour market segmentation, as populations in prosperous destination areas are, or become, reluctant to perform low-wage, low-status, seasonal or physically demanding work. More often than not, the dirtiest, most dangerous and most difficult jobs (“3D” jobs) are performed by migrants who belong to the lowest segments of society; lower castes and tribes in the case of India, and ethnic minorities elsewhere. Segmentation is best captured through in-depth case studies that gather detailed information on ethnicity, occupations and seasonal movements.

5.1 Castes

Several case studies from India show that the lower castes and tribes have a greater propensity to migrate, and many of them migrate for short-term, low-skilled and low-paid work with the highest levels of vulnerability and lowest levels of social

protection.¹² There are sharp sub-divisions even within caste categories with particular sub-castes doing particular kinds of work. In Bihar, for example, a recent study (Deshingkar et al., 2006a) found that the *Musahars*, who were traditionally landless rat-catchers and have largely remained on the fringes of society, almost always migrate for work in brick kilns, as casual construction labourers, farm workers and rickshaw pullers. Their earnings are too low to result in any savings and working conditions are difficult and degrading. Another study found that tribal girls from Jharkhand are employed as domestic maids in Delhi. All of these occupations involve strong elements of exploitation and bondage. Migration offers Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs)¹³ an escape from traditional structures of caste-based oppression in villages and gives poor labourers some bargaining power vis-à-vis their traditional employers. However, some analysts maintain that structures of oppression are reproduced through labour contracting arrangements at the destination and may even be more exploitative (Mosse, 2002; Olsen and Ramanamurthy, 2000).

5.2 Ethnic Minorities

In Viet Nam, ethnic minorities accounted for over four per cent of total recorded movements in 2001 (Anh, 2005). Detailed information on employment patterns collected under the 2004 migration survey conducted by the Government of Viet Nam shows that migrants belonging to minority groups earn half

¹² Deshingkar and Start (2003), for example, found that the scheduled tribes had higher migration rates in the Indian states of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Similar observations have been made by Dayal and Karan (2003) regarding Jharkhand: whereas 15 per cent of scheduled castes and tribes migrated, only eight per cent of upper castes and three per cent of “other backward castes” migrated. A study by Jagori (2001), an NGO on migration in Rajasthan, found that 95 per cent of the migrants congregating at recruiting centres are *dalits* (*dalits*, often called untouchables or outcasts, have historically been prevented from doing any but the most menial jobs) coming from Bhilwara, Ajmer, Tonk and Kota. The latest Human Development Report for the State of Punjab notes that many migrants coming into the State from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are *dalits* and tribals.

¹³ SCs and STs are the lowest castes and most vulnerable persons in the Indian Caste System.

as much as those from the Kinh majority, are far less likely to have a work contract, or to receive help to find a job, and are far less likely to find work in a government organization (Deshingkar et al., 2006b). In Indonesia, too, minorities have faced difficulties in integrating into mainstream labour markets due to language differences. There are more than 200 distinctive ethno-linguistic groups in Indonesia, and although universal education has helped to some extent, difficulties in integrating in the mainstream remain.

6. The Internal and Cross-border Migration of Women and Children

6.1 Children

The independent migration of children (i.e. without their parents) appears to be very prevalent in certain regions such as West Africa and South Asia. Child migration has received much attention recently because of its similarities to trafficking, given the involvement of intermediaries, exploitation and infringements of rights. According to one estimate, approximately one to 1.2 million children are trafficked globally each year, and most of those in or from Africa originate from the West African region (Beyrer, 2004, quoted in Kiell and Sanogo, 2002). Burkina Faso has a high incidence of child migration. For example, a World Bank study by Kielland and Sanogo (2002) estimated that around 330,000, or 9.5 per cent of children aged between six and 17 years, lived away from their parents. Of these, 165,000 migrated for work, with poverty being the main reason for migrating. However, as case studies have shown, there are more sides to this phenomenon than blatant exploitation. For example, Hashim's (2005) study of the extremely poor Bawku East District of the Upper East Region in the very north-eastern corner of Ghana found that children viewed migration as a positive opportunity. Moreover, case studies on child migration in West Africa, published by the Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty at the University of Sussex,

point to the negative, but also the positive aspects of this labour mobility. On the one hand, they confirm that young migrants are vulnerable – as shown by their efforts to obtain work, to remain in work, to receive their wages and to avoid being cheated or manipulated. On the other hand, these studies also give a strong sense that such children are not just passive victims of circumstances and that motivation for migrating often involves the child's own desire to earn an income (Anarfi et al., 2007).

Kiell and Sanogo (2002) also found that poor rural families see it as desirable, or even a good investment, to send a child to the city or abroad to work. This is probably why NGO and government initiatives to return trafficked children to their villages have sometimes been met with an unhappy response from children, incredulity from parents and teasing and humiliation from the children's peer group (Black et al., 2004). A much more differentiated and sensitive approach is needed, one that understands the aspirations of the poor and creates the conditions to enable them to better look after their children at home.

6.2 Women

There is no doubt that migration is becoming increasingly feminized, and this development has been driven by two main factors. On the one hand, the improved access of females to education and training opportunities has enhanced their employability in the organized labour market, locally and across national boundaries (Adepoju, 2006), but, on the other, women have also been obliged to seek additional income-generating activities to support the family due to the loss of male employment following structural adjustment policies. Adepoju (2006) notes, for example, that the traditional pattern of migration in sub-Saharan Africa – male-dominated, long-term and long-distance – is rapidly changing as more women migrate. Women in West Africa work mainly in the informal sector, which is less affected by economic recession compared to the

wage sector, where most male migrants work. As the formal job market becomes tighter many families are relying on women to earn money. Bah et al. (2003) draw on research in six case studies in Mali, Nigeria and Tanzania and point out that the great increase in female migration in Africa in recent years is linked to employment opportunities as domestic workers in urban centres or in new international tourist resorts. They also highlight that women's migration is increasingly acceptable socially in as much as it contributes to their family's household income through remittances.

The INDEPTH surveys between 1996 and 2001 found that female migrants outnumbered male migrants in five sites and were equal at the other two. Female migrants are on average younger than male migrants. In particular, those aged between 15 and 35 years have the highest propensity to migrate. The 1999 Labour Force Survey in Ethiopia showed that roughly 55 per cent of migrants are women.

South African internal migration has also become more feminized as a recent study has shown (Posel, 2004). Overall, the migration of women has risen steadily between 1960 and 2000.

Bryceson et al. (2003) argue that the migration of women and children increased with the diversification of household livelihood strategies in response to the growing pressure on land and the deterioration of the international terms of trade for African small producers. Households increasingly abandoned the traditional pattern of growing food crops and relying on male migrant earnings in favour of one where everyone earns and non-farm activities are becoming central.

In Southeast Asia and Latin America the feminization of migration streams exceeds that of many other regions of the world. In Thailand, women are employed in five major export-oriented, labour-intensive industries, namely: the manufacture of small electrical appliances, electronics and computer

parts; textiles and garments; chilled, frozen and canned food; precious stones and jewellery; and footwear. Work in the sex trade is also significant; however, while it provides more disposable income to women and their families at home, it also puts them at great personal risk. Cambodia experienced a sharp increase in female migration as more young girls and women migrated to urban areas to work in garment factories, as domestic helpers, beer girls and sex workers (Acharya, 2003). A similar trend can be observed in Viet Nam as female labour migration to Ha Noi and Ho Chi Minh City is increasing (Anh, 2005), reflecting a large demand for female workers in labour-intensive manufacturing (textiles, garments, footwear and food processing), commerce and service jobs (shopkeepers, housemaids, street vendors, café/restaurant workers, entertainers and trash collectors).

On the one hand, segmented labour markets reduce competition among migrants because different groups of migrants occupy different niches; but, on the other, there are also negative aspects that require urgent policy attention because the niches occupied by the most vulnerable and historically subjugated are often unregulated and authorities may turn a blind eye to exploitation.

7. Remittances, Poverty and Development

Remittances are an important additional or even principal economic resource for poor rural households worldwide, helping them to smooth income flows and to invest in assets and human capital. Yet, internal remittance flows are seriously under-reported, especially flows through informal channels.

Although generalizations are risky, there is some evidence to support the view that internal circular migrants often bring back more money than the remittances sent home by permanent migrants. For example, Van der Geest's study in Ghana (2003) found that seasonal migrant earnings amounted to about seven per cent of total household income and 14

per cent of the total cash income (while remittances from permanent migrants abroad accounted for 3% and 5%, respectively). Other contributions included food, clothes and payment of school fees. Rural-urban migrants usually send money, and rural-rural migrants are more likely to send food. As a cash earner, seasonal labour migration was more important than livestock production and the sale of food crops.

In Bangladesh, the Coalition for the Urban Poor (CUP) estimates that migrants in Dhaka remit up to 60 per cent of their income to relatives. For the receiving households, remittances provide up to 80 per cent of the household budget. A recent study in the poor Indian state of Bihar, from where very large numbers of migrants leave to work in small industries all over India, also found very high levels of remittances among circular migrants. These migrants, who are away for eight to nine months in a year leave mainly to earn and send money back home, and migration is part of the life-cycle planning of extended families. When the sons reach an age where they can begin to migrate, the fathers stay at home to look after the family farm (Deshingkar et al., 2006a).

7.1 Impacts at the Household Level

Earlier analyses questioned the significance of remittances in the household budget as well as their impact on poverty reduction (see, for example, Lipton, 1980), and many scholars still maintain that migration is mainly a distress phenomenon that perpetuates poverty (cf. Breman (1985, 1996)) and Reddy (1990) on India, and Blessing (2005) on Ethiopia). However, they rarely examine the counter-factual proposition, i.e. what these people would have done in the absence of the opportunity to migrate, and what their life prospects would have been in their villages.

Recent case studies show that even small migration earnings can contribute to household well-being (see for example, Deshingkar and Start (2003) on Andhra

Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh; Deshingkar et al., (2006) on Bihar; Haberfeld et al. (1999) on Rajasthan and Dayal, and Karan (2003) on Jharkhand).

7.2 Impacts on the Source Economy

The development and poverty reduction impact of remittances remains disputed, but there is ample evidence to support the argument that remittances can lead to overall economic development.

On the one hand, remittances have often been seen as “disequalizing” because receivers are typically better off than their fellow villagers. It is known that migrants usually come from poor regions, although not necessarily the poorest regions, and that they are often poor but not the poorest of the poor since the poorest lack even the most basic resources (e.g. labour, information, social networks) needed to migrate (de Haan, 2005). Moreover, there is evidence that the degree of inequality in remittances-receiving villages will depend on the actual use of remittances. An empirical study by Barham and Boucher (1998) in Nicaragua adopts a “counter-factual approach” (i.e. the observed income distribution is compared to a counter-factual scenario without migration and remittances) to determine the impact of remittances on inequality. The study highlights that conclusions depend on the way remittances are treated in the analysis: when they are used as a substitute for home earnings, they tend to increase income inequality in the receiving community, while, when treated as an exogenous factor, they decrease inequality.

On the other hand, on the basis of research in Bangladesh, Afsar (2003) argues that remittances help to expand business in agricultural products and construction materials. Remittances also help to generate savings, the major source of capital in the absence of institutional credit on easy terms. She believes that migration and remittances have invigorated the land tenancy market in rural areas: the proportion of tenant farmers increased from 42 per cent to 57 per cent between 1988 and 2000,

and the land under tenancy cultivation rose to 33 per cent, which was 11 per cent more than in 1988. Studies conducted in Thailand by Guest (1998) show that remittances are an important supplement to household income and have a multiplier effect on the economy, with many major items of expenditure, such as construction materials and labour, procured locally. Anh (2003) draws similar conclusions based on data from Bangladesh, China, Viet Nam and the Philippines. Cai Fang (2001) writes that migration

contributed 16 per cent annually to the growth in China's GDP in recent years (Cai Fang, 2001, quoted in De Wind and Holdaway, 2005). Similarly, the ILO study on internal migration in Indonesia (2004) concludes that migration to urban areas can be associated with macroeconomic growth.

Any positive impacts notwithstanding, internal and cross-border migration is full of risks and costs that can reduce the benefits, especially for poor families (Textbox 7.1).

Textbox 7.1

The Hazards of Internal and Cross-Border Migration

Internal and cross-border migrants often face difficulties on account of their poverty and powerlessness. Among the many hardships are:

- debt bondage – many borrow to migrate;
- long working hours;
- living in the open or in very poor accommodation with inadequate water and sanitation;
- vulnerability to sexual abuse;
- restriction of freedom and movement because of fear of arrest and/or deportation on account of migrants' irregular status;
- lack of safety and vulnerability to criminals;
- dangerous, dirty and difficult working conditions;
- lack of access to health services and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS;
- unreliable and unsafe remittance systems;
- difficulties in registering with the local authorities;
- discrimination;
- language barriers;
- difficulty in contacting the family in the village of origin (although this is improving rapidly with the spread of mobile telephone networks);
- lack of information about rights, entitlements and the applicable law in general;
- inability of children to gain access to schooling;
- inability to access assistance and government services.

8. The Future and Directions for Policy

Internal migration will continue as long as regional inequalities persist. Circular migration will continue as long as land and other rural ties have a significant economic and cultural value and urban conditions are not secure enough to enable more permanent settlement. However, cross-border migration trajectories also depend on a range of other factors, including relations between the countries in

question, demographic and economic trends, and levels of skills and education.

The Delphi Consultations,¹⁴ conducted by the Italian organization CeSPI (Centro Studi Politica

¹⁴ CeSPI and SID used the Delphi methodology to bring together international experts and researchers in an online discussion to analyze migration and development from various viewpoints. Delphi is a formal and iterative process of survey and discussion often used in the private sector to bring large groups of experts to a consensus estimate on the underlying drivers and assumptions.

Internazionale) and SID (Society for International Development) with the assistance of the Director General for Cooperation of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were undertaken to forecast the pattern of migratory movements likely to emerge in Africa. Mazzali et al. (2006) assess the outcomes of a series of interviews with experts in the field of migration and development representing varying viewpoints and come to the conclusion that the largest migrations are likely to take place within continental boundaries. Similarly, the West Africa Long-Term Perspective Study (WALTPS), conducted by the Club du Sahel and the OECD (Cour and Snrech, 1998), warns that West Africa must come to terms with particularly high rates of intra-regional migration flows and rapid urbanization. Migration will continue from landlocked countries to the rest of Africa under the increasing constraints of climatic changes and environmental limits, as well as the demand for migrant labour in coastal countries. Such mobility is expected to reduce inequalities and foster growth.

Forecasts of labour mobility and migration trends in Asia, prepared by the Economist Intelligence Unit (2006), indicate that in all major Asian countries, especially the Philippines, Malaysia and India, but not Japan, working-age populations will increase. A positive outlook for economic growth of the region as a whole will drive demand for labour up to 2015. China will have one of the lowest growth rates because of its rapidly ageing population and as its working-age population is expected to peak by the early 2020s and decline thereafter.

In absolute terms, China and India will see the largest increases in working-age populations by 2015 (88 million and 148 million, respectively), followed by Indonesia and the Philippines. However, HIV/AIDS could impact on changes to the size of the working-age population.

9. Policy Developments

9.1 Policies Aimed at Labour Supply and Demand

Few countries have taken a progressive attitude towards rural-urban migration. In sub-Saharan Africa, for instance, current policies do not suggest that such is the case concerning either internal or cross-border migration. Adebusoye (2006) considers that in most African governments there is as yet insufficient awareness of the poverty reduction effects of internal migration. This view is supported by the UN (2002) review of policies affecting migration in sub-Saharan Africa, which shows that governments are averse or at best neutral to migration, especially rural-urban migration. This is based on the concern that movements from rural to urban areas burden urban services, and that housing, education, health and various welfare provisions will be strained because of a sudden influx of migrants, which is indeed the case as urban authorities are ill prepared to receive migrants. The focus of African governments has been on underdevelopment, poverty, socio-economic instability, population pressure on limited natural resources, and conflict as drivers of migration. Their main goal is to reduce migration and limit the formation of urban slums.

Similarly, internal migration was until very recently viewed negatively by many policymakers in Asia. Most governments have tried to control rural-urban movements through a combination of rural employment creation programmes, anti-slum drives and restricting entry to urban areas. However, this limited approach is changing for a variety of reasons, including: a) ineffectiveness of controls; b) the value of migration to poor households and growing industries becoming more visible; and c) the growing strength of the political voice of migrant workers. China is at the forefront of efforts to recognize the importance of internal migration, and the government is testing labour migration agreements

between provinces of origin and destination.¹⁵ The Ministry of Labour and Social Security has announced several measures aimed at improving conditions for millions of farmer-workers currently working in cities. The measures include approaching companies to abolish all limitations and unreasonable fees on workers seeking employment, and for charges for information and consultations provided by public agencies to migrants looking for work to be dropped. Local governments have been asked to establish professional training and education plans for workers. However, while controls on population movements have been relaxed, the right to settle still remains restricted under the household registration (*hukou*) system, which excludes rural migrant workers from claiming state benefits in urban areas as long as they remain registered in their place of origin.

A number of events in India have also signalled a change of attitude to internal migration in the country. There have been two high-level policy dialogues on internal migration and its potentially positive impact since 2005, and consultations at state level have been organized with the help of U.K. (DFID) funding by the Gramin Vikas Trust. Two state governments, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, are actively engaged in developing policies to reduce the hardships faced by migrants. Rajasthan is piloting mobile ration cards¹⁶ for 5,000 migrants, while Madhya Pradesh is introducing a comprehensive migrant support programme (see the next section on migrant support). At this point, it is difficult to say whether other states are likely to follow.

Viet Nam has an elaborate and complex KT registration system¹⁷ for residents in urban and rural areas, which

restricts access to government services outside the authorized location of residence/work. The fact that the government conducted a special survey on internal migration, among other key issues, to understand the difficulties faced by migrants, is in itself an indication of their concern to make migration less costly and risky.

In the case of cross-border migration, bilateral and multilateral agreements in such areas as trade, migration, financial channels, labour standards and information have a particularly important role to play in regulating migration and maximizing the potential returns for both areas of origin and destination (see also Chapter 13). Adepoju (2006) welcomes the determination of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)¹⁸ to abolish rigid residence permits and introduce modern border procedures, information sharing and staff exchange programmes. The adoption of an ECOWAS passport as a symbol of unity to progressively replace national passports over a period of ten years is intended to advance the concept of a borderless sub-region (Adepoju, 2002; see also Textbox 13.2). The Common Market for East and Southern Africa's (COMESA) Protocol on Free Movement of Persons has been established, but has not made much progress so far on the free movement of workers owing to the reservations of some of its member states,¹⁹ notably South Africa, which is the

major recipient of migrant workers. Peberdy and Crush (1998) point out that within the Southern African Development Community (SADC)²⁰, agreements on free trade have been much more successful than

¹⁵ Personal communication with Hans van de Glind, Manager/Chief Technical Advisor, ILO Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) project to prevent trafficking in girls and young women for labour exploitation in China (CP-TING project).

¹⁶ Ration cards are issued to poor families in India to enable them to access subsidized foodgrains and other essentials. But entitlements through ordinary ration cards are based on proof of residence and cannot be transferred to another location.

¹⁷ See n. 5 above.

¹⁸ ECOWAS members are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

¹⁹ COMESA members are Angola, Burundi, Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Protocol on Free Movement of Persons has not yet entered into force. Members need to ratify the Protocol for it to come into force, and only four have done so to date.

²⁰ SADC Members are Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

those on free movement. In South Asia, the main focus of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is on trade and transport rather than migration. The SAARC is working towards a South Asian Customs Union by 2015 and a South Asian Economic Union by 2020, which will have a bearing on the intra-regional mobility of the people of South Asia. However, progress has been slow so far.

Similarly, in Latin America a proposal within the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) for the gradual implementation of free movement of persons in the Southern Cone for Latin America was not followed up due to the subsequent redefinition of MERCOSUR,²¹ and the current focus is mostly on the free movement of goods and capital (Maguid, 2007).

In Southeast Asia, efforts are being undertaken to match labour supply and demand across the borders of adjacent countries in a regular and orderly manner with a view to countering trafficking in human beings. For example, a Memorandum of Understanding has been drawn up between the Thai and Cambodian governments to create a bilateral administrative process for structured employment procedures regarding inter alia recruitment, a mechanism for the return of migrant workers at the end of their contract, labour protection guidelines and prevention and intervention mechanisms to combat irregular migration and human trafficking. However, the rules and procedures have been criticized for their complexity and lack of user-friendliness. In the meantime, people continue to move and face unnecessary hardship because they are often perceived as engaging in unauthorized activities (Maltoni, 2006).

Efforts are being made to reduce the costs and risks of migration in some countries, for instance in China, and by civil society organizations in others, such as in India and Viet Nam, often with donor support.

9.2 Migrant Support

(a) China

The Chinese Ministry of Labour and Social Security has rescinded the working card requirement for migrant farmer-workers in urban locations. Previously, farmers needed such permits to work outside their place of birth. The ministry has also asked local labour and social security departments to reform policies and cancel illegal charges targeting migrant workers. In addition, it is working on a draft law on household registration management to create conditions for free movement and settlement.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions has submitted a proposal to the Legal Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, suggesting the ministry concerned issue a law concerning rural migrant employees to safeguard their legal rights, and advising the State Council to establish a special working committee on the protection of migrants.

The ILO CP-TING project in China, which aims to prevent the trafficking of young women and girls for labour, has succeeded in raising the level of understanding of migration and trafficking among policymakers. Hans van de Glind, project manager, believes that migration will continue and many will use irregular channels if regular channels are not made available.²² This puts migrants at risk of trafficking and exploitation, as it is very difficult to protect the rights of migrant workers if their movement is not through safe channels. The project is trying to develop cheap, fast and transparent labour migration channels on a larger scale, geared especially towards those with low education and skills.

²¹ MERCOSUR members are Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay

²² See n. 15 above.

(b) India

In India, a large number of migrant support initiatives have emerged over the last two years, which can be broadly classified into five categories:

(i) The social protection model

This model provides a range of subsidized support services. Social protection aims to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting efficient labour markets, limiting risk exposure and enhancing the capacity of migrants to protect themselves against hazards and the interruption or loss of income. A well-known example is the DFID-funded Migrant Labour Support Programme implemented by the Gramin Vikas Trust. The project provides a range of services to migrants moving to the states of Gujarat and Rajasthan from poor tribal districts of Madhya Pradesh. These include identity cards issued through local government bodies, job information, creating awareness on rights, assistance with negotiating wages, communication facilities and help in accessing government programmes. The rationale of the social protection model is that poor migrants cannot fend for themselves in a job market that is dominated by labour market intermediaries and employers who are stronger, better informed and connected than they are. They are in need of support to reduce their vulnerability, but are unlikely to be in a position to pay for such services on a full-cost recovery basis immediately. The services provided will enable them to access better jobs and reduce the level of uncertainty and harassment that they face in the job market.

(ii) The market-based approach

This model works with existing labour market patterns and offers services on a cost recovery basis. An example of such an approach is the initiative launched by the NGO Samarthan and

the District Poverty Initiatives Project (DPIP) in Madhya Pradesh, called Mazdoor.org, funded by the World Bank. This initiative will provide skills enhancement and certification programmes, advice and information on jobs, and help workers to link up with government schemes on insurance and workers' funds. The project implementers intend to work within the existing industry and labour market structures, i.e. recognizing that capital and labour are highly mobile and that capital/industry relocate where cheap labour is available. They also recognize that a majority of industrial workers are not listed on the employment registers of industries and are recruited by intermediaries who are not accountable to anyone under the existing law. Mazdoor.org will take on responsibility for the welfare of workers, even though by law it would be the responsibility of the industry and employers. For this, they plan to make industry pay service charges.

(iii) The labour union model

This is a rights-based approach for better implementation of labour laws and the regulation of labour flows. Some NGOs, such as Sudrak in Rajasthan and Disha in Gujarat, believe that unionizing migrant workers will go a long way towards realizing their rights, strengthening their bargaining power in the market and preventing exploitation. The Aajeevika Bureau, established by Sudrak, for example, has set up a union of migrant workers who work in cotton fields. One of its main objectives is to regulate the supply of labour as an oversupply of labour lowers the bargaining power of migrants. So far some 1,500 "mates" have enrolled, and the union has created a charter of demands and also set up around 16 manned check points at all the border crossings between Gujarat and Rajasthan. As a result, employers have offered partial wage rate increases and negotiations are continuing. A similar approach has been adopted by the Bandhkam Majoor Sangathan (BMS) established by Disha in Ahmedabad.

(iv) The rehabilitation model

The best example of this model is the work by Action Aid with brick kiln workers in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. This NGO believes that migration of this kind amounts to a form of trafficking where workers are lured with false promises and often borrow money from recruitment agents whom they must then repay through punishing work schedules. Their movement is restricted at the work site, and wages are well below the legal minimum. In addition, women and children are also exploited in various ways, and living conditions are appalling. Action Aid conducts raids on brick kilns together with the police to release and rehabilitate bonded migrant workers.

(v) Providing migrant-friendly financial services

Poor migrants carry money themselves and at great risk. Some private banks have now started to recognize the need for financial services for migrants. For example, the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India (ICICI) Bank has recently launched an initiative for Tamil migrants from Thirunelveli living in the slums of Dharavi in Mumbai. Some NGOs have also entered this area. Adhikar, an NGO in Orissa, has been helping migrants in Gujarat to send money back to Orissa. This service was started following the 2001 earthquake, when they found more than 10,000 migrants from Khurda district working in and around Gandhidham: at the Kandla port, in the free-trade zone, at the Indian Farmers Fertilisers Cooperative (IFFCO) and for the railways. Adhikar was supported by the research and innovation fund of CARE India's Credit and Savings for Household Enterprises (CASHE) project.

Possibilities for cross-learning on migrant support between different countries should be further explored. This is an area where donor organizations can effectively add value to efforts being made by government and civil society organizations.

10. Research Needs

Data on internal and cross-border migration need to be improved, and this has to be integrated into large-scale data collection efforts such as censuses, living standard surveys and other panel datasets. The Indian Government has planned to focus on migration as its theme for the 2008 National Sample Survey.²³ The Government of Viet Nam has already conducted a special survey on migration. It is heartening to note that there are now several academic institutions engaged in research and data collection, such as those involved in the Africa Migration Alliance in South Africa, the South Asia Migration Research Network in Bangladesh and the Asia Pacific Migration Research Network (APMRN) in Australia. A large number of NGOs are also conducting their own surveys and could use technical support and help with methodology. The importance of researchers' networks and lesson-sharing cannot be overstated. Finally, a greater understanding of the segmentation of migrant labour markets is essential for the development of effective and appropriate support systems able to reach different groups of people with different needs.

11. Conclusion

Assuming that labour migration can benefit areas of origin and destination, as well as migrants and their families, there is a strong argument for facilitating internal and cross-border migration, while limiting their negative aspects. However, until recently, policy attitudes towards such movements have been, for the most part, reserved if not entirely negative. As Harris (2002) points out, such attitudes are hardly justified, given that globalization has created markets in which some locations specialize

²³ Personal communication by Professor Amitabh Kundu, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, a recognized authority on rural-urban links and migration.

in making particular types of workers available to other locations, thus creating a circulation of labour. There is a need for greater recognition of this at all policy levels, and the policy discourse needs to be informed by solid research of internal and cross-border migration and accompanying patterns and impacts of remittance flows.

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