

Elena Ruiz Abril
Ben Rogaly

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an Annotated Bibliography on Temporary
Migration
for Rural Manual Work

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Introductory Essay

Background

Migration of all kinds, particularly income-seeking migration across national boundaries, has attracted much attention in the recent scholarly and policy literature (Morawska, 2001, p47). It has spawned intense debates in richer receiving countries in western Europe and the US regarding the contributions migrants potentially make to the economy and the effect of migration on relations between racial, national and religious groups within the political boundaries of a single state. The debates have produced unlikely bed-fellows with an editorial in the neo-liberal Economist magazine as well as big corporation – friendly US and Mexican presidents seeming to endorse the case for scaling down immigration controls.² A case has also been made by a writer from the internationalist left for the ending of immigration controls in rich countries (Hayter, 2001). Though motivated by very different concerns, big business, which wants cheaper and more vulnerable workers, and writers such as Hayter, who want to open borders for reasons of equality and human rights, advocate similar (though certainly not identical) policies.

Others on the left criticise a human rights based approach because they say it plays into the hands of large scale capital which uses migrant workers to blackmail local workers into lower wages. It is argued that the appropriate response to this is working class solidarity – migrant worker alongside local worker – rather than empathy with the aspirations and goals of migrants as migrants (Kwong, 2001, p294).

Migrant workers are the focus of this annotated bibliography – to be specific temporary migrant workers for rural manual work – although conflictual relations between migrant and local workers fall within its scope. The bibliography summarises journal articles and other contributions which have investigated the reasons why people migrate for such work, and the consequences of such migration in two specific contexts: international migration between Mexico and the US and internal migration within the borders of India. In addition, where work we came across fitted, we have included research on migration of temporary manual workers to rural areas elsewhere in the world, including countries in the European Union. As will be evident from our selection of geographical regions, we do not agree with the notion implicit in the way much of the migration literature is organised that international and internal migration have separate explanations and outcomes. Indeed one of the main lessons from this work to date is

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² Economist, 31st March, 2001, Editorial: Let The Huddled Masses In; Guardian Weekly, February 22-28th 2001, p. 28.

that cross-regional comparisons which ignore such artificial categorisation can contribute much to understanding in the respective regions.³

The bibliography builds on ongoing research by Rogaly on seasonal migration in eastern India and is intended as a first step towards future comparative research. The selection of articles reflects the interdisciplinary methodology of the planned research, which draws both on mainstream sociology and on political economy. The sociological theory of structuration, following Giddens (1976; 1984), which has been applied to migration by, among others, de Haan (1994), Goss and Lindquist (1995) and Morawska (op cit) will be central to our investigation of the ways in which social relations such as gender, ethnicity and class shaped individuals' agency and choice about whether or not to migrate. We will also research how social relations have been influenced by the individual agency of migrants.

Even if political economy is narrowed down to concerns with conflict, power and class (Fine, 2001), the overlap between the mainstream sociological theory of structuration and the political economy of employment migration is unavoidable. Class is often central and is always important in social relations. Social structural change encompasses changing class relations and is likely to be conflictual, or at least not to be a zero sum game. For example, one of the recursive processes perpetuating migration internationally – processes referred to as cumulative causation - has been growing inequality of consumption between those with access to remittances and those without (Morawska, op cit, p47-48, building on Massey et al, op cit; see also Gidwani, 2000).

Temporary migration has its own dynamic relationship with the social relations that play a part in producing it because by definition migrants come and go, often with some frequency. The journey itself is significant as are the repeated interactions at destination worksites and, on return, in sending areas. Interactions among migrants as they travel, between migrant workers and others in the destination areas and back home are a source of social change, including changing identities among migrants, their employers and those who also hire out labour but do not move away from home to do it (Rogaly, 1999; Morawska, op cit, p53). The nature of this change, and in particular its direction and actual impact in migrant communities is still under-researched.

Selection Criteria

This annotated bibliography is based on a document search focusing on seasonal and other short term migration for employment in manual work over the last twenty years, mainly between rural areas. Such temporary migration is numerically very important but has been neglected in aggregated studies of migration. Moreover, migrants who do manual work under insecure arrangements are highly vulnerable, and yet are often ignored in discourses influenced by northern and western countries' apparent cherry-picking approach.⁴ The reason for selecting this particular kind of migration is its importance to a very vulnerable population that poses a major challenge for

³ This is not to deny difference in the dynamics of migration between regions, which is amply illustrated in Massey et al's *Worlds in Motion* (1998).

⁴ Policies to allow more migrants to enter western European countries in recent years have emphasised the short supply of certain kinds of skills. And yet, as several authors have pointed out, the economic prosperity of western European and north American countries relies on bringing in people to work at very low wages in manual, caring, and catering jobs which have been increasingly rejected by others (see Amato and Radzilowski, 1999, on the story of Marshall, Minnesota, which provides a microcosm of this process, especially p42)

geographically-based anti-poverty interventions and for the division of social policy responsibility between administrative units. Which authority is responsible for the welfare of manual workers who move from place to place? Which authority should be responsible?

The specific streams on which we concentrated were selected because we are relatively familiar with both of them. Besides whereas temporary migration by manual workers is an explicit priority within Mexican public policy, it has received less attention in India.⁵ Therefore, comparative analysis of the dynamics of seasonal and other short-term migration in these different contexts is likely to be useful in informing the design of policy interventions⁶ related to migration in these countries and elsewhere.⁷

The literature search was conducted using two bibliographic databases – BIDS and Web of Science – indexing the core journals in the area of social science, including scholarly articles and book reviews. Spanish-language journals are underrepresented in these sources and this is reflected in the bibliography. Additionally, relevant references for books on the subject were derived from articles' own bibliographies and also from book reviews. However, no systematic search for books on this topic was carried out. The bibliography is organised by geographic area into three sections on India, Mexico-US and other areas. Within each section, items are listed alphabetically by author, with an abstract summarising approach and findings. Where we have used the author's abstract rather than our own summary this is noted.

After considering what the two sets of migration streams have in common, the rest of the introduction draws together common findings and disagreements across the cited papers in relation to three sets of social relations: class, gender and ethnicity. It then briefly reports on how agro-ecology influences migration and speculates on the reverse: how migration can change local agro-ecologies. The final section returns to some of the policy issues we began with.

The Two Sets of Streams

The papers included in the bibliography focus on rural workers who migrate at some point in the year to work away from home, often in other rural areas, and go back to their home localities after several months working there. This kind of migration encompasses seasonal migration where migrants move to work during a particular agricultural season and come back at the end of the season.

⁵ For example, the India's Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act (1979) does not in practice protect the vast majority of temporary rural-rural migrants, who are not hired by registered firms. In Mexico, the state has recently taken an explicit interest in the welfare of migrants for manual work over the border in the USA, providing kits containing survival provisions for the often perilous journey (The Economist, May 26th 2001).

⁶ Although we make reference to policies in this bibliography, we do this in the critical awareness that often migration requires devious working round the barriers set by the state. Indeed migration research can, inadvertently or otherwise, serve the agencies which seek to tighten control over human movement (see elaborations on this theme by Samaddar, 1999). This is not our aim here.

⁷ The bibliography includes literature (Bauder, 2001; Dyck, 1990; Frances and Garnsey, 1996; Howkins, 1990; Raven et al, 1995) which, despite not being specifically about migration, is focused on the social relations of production in agrarian societies, including the UK. These works have been summarised alongside the others because of their contribution to a better understanding of the context in which most intra-rural short term migration of manual workers takes place.

Most of the research cited here on Indian migration streams concerns “internal” migration, although this includes migration across the borders of Indian states. The literature cited on migration to the US from Mexico is also selective with a bias towards migrations for work in the US countryside. Although travel and other costs involved in the Mexico-US migration have limited first-time migrants to those who are able to make a significant financial investment in crossing the border, costs which are much higher, in general, than those faced by Indian migrants, the two sets of streams have much in common.

Just as in the Mexico-US case, we cite literature on Indian migrants who do manual work in rural areas. In India this tends to be in brickyards, road works and mining. The outcomes appear quite distinctive, with large numbers of very poor Indian migrant workers, whose primary economic uses of remittances are reported as debt repayment and food consumption. In contrast many of the Mexican migrants cultivate more than just micro-plots of land and spend their remittances on consumer durables, such as electrical appliances.

Short-Term Migrations and Class Relations

Several pieces of recent research on short-term migrations are concerned with the class position and class relations of migrants. Who migrates is often examined from a class perspective, based for example on the composition of a stream of migrants according to whether or not they own land. Durand and Massey’s article (1992) included in this bibliography, represents an innovative way of approaching the matter [see below]. However, investigations into the existence of a correlation between asset ownership and migration arrive at apparently conflicting conclusions about causality. On the one hand, people are in a position to and aspire to migrate because they are better off; on the other hand, migration improves the economic position of those who migrate, and, as a consequence, increases inequality (see De Haan et al, 2000).

The interpretations of several authors lead them to conclude that the latter direction of causality predominates (see for example Haberfeld et al, 1999; Kawahara, 1990; Kirchner, 1980; Cederstrom, T, 1990; Taylor and Wyatt, 1996). However, such work does not enable us definitively to distinguish between whether migrants are better off because they have a long history of migration or migrate because they are better off. So much is context-specific. In the same vein, and with regard to land, an apparently positive correlation in some studies between land-ownership and migration may mean either that migrants have land because they have been able to buy it with their remittances or that they migrate to be able to invest in their land. Durand and Massey (op cit) highlight the analysis above and argue that these relations need to be understood within a dynamic framework and conceptualised as a migration cycle.

Several of the cited works on India (and elsewhere in Asia) investigate the relations between temporary migration and changes in the social relations of production (Breman, 1993, 1996; Rodgers and Rodgers, 2000; Ilcan, 1994). Migration becomes a way to acquire alternative sources of income through wage labour. In this manner, migration allows farm workers to escape production relations that link source area employers and wage workers through debt. In some parts of India, the prevailing mode of social organisation during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries consisted of a set of reciprocal obligations that tied workers to their employers for life. Therefore, the avenue of wage employment through migration opened the door for farm workers to

move up the class ladder by changing from a 'semi-free' status in their villages to one of 'free' labourers in wage employment in the neighbouring areas (Breman, 1993).

The consequences of short-term migration for inequality among wage workers in sending communities are also considered by one major writer on short-term migration in India and by several for Mexico. All the studies cited point to an increase of inequalities between migrants and non-migrant households. There are several mechanisms by which this happens. Opportunities to migrate are biased against those without social contacts and at least minimum resources. In this way, landless Halpatis in south Gujarat, with less employment contacts than workers of other castes, have greater problems finding a job. On the other hand, for those with enough income to pay for a three month apprenticeship, migration is more rewarding and allows people to scale the job ladder (Breman, 1996).

In the case of the Mexican studies, the dynamics reported are more about how migration *remittances* exacerbate inequalities, with migrants becoming better off than others of similar class backgrounds, than about the unequal opportunities for migration among poor people, although this is also analysed (Durand and Massey, op cit; Mines and Massey, 1985; Wiggins et. al, 1999) . In Mexico, those able to migrate increase their material living standards in absolute and relative terms compared to those who stay. Furthermore, more often than in India, remittances are invested in acquiring land. This has resulted in land prices increasing and in the concentration of land-ownership in migrant hands (Wiggins, et al, 1999; Mines and Massey, 1985; Reichert, 1981; Basok, 2000).

Finally, for several geographical areas reviewed we have found works referring to the effect that the massive concentration of migrant workers has on the balance of power relations within the productive sphere. The debilitating influence that the reserve army of migrant labourers can have on other workers' power in the labour market and at the workplace has been found for different parts of India (Roy, 1995; Breman, 1996 and 1993; Schenk-Sandbergen, 1995); Mexico (Barron and Rello, 2000); and elsewhere in the world (Balan, 1980; ORSEU2000, 1997). It is for this reason that Kwong (2001) emphasizes the importance of working-class solidarity across migrant and local workers.

Short-Term Migrations and Gender Relations

Social constructions about gender influence who migrates, and the conditions of migration. Several papers in this bibliography point to some of the problems women experience in seeking work as migrants due to exclusionary ideologies about what work is appropriate for women (Schenk-Sandbergen, 1995; Breman, 1996). Moreover, the quality of the migration experience and the ability to benefit from migration are both gendered. For example, migrant women carrying out equivalent tasks to migrant men are reported to earn lower wages in several of the works included (Breman, 1996; Kirchner, 1980; Guendelman, 1987). The problems of sexual harassment that these women experience are also highlighted by several authors (eg Breman, op cit; Schenk-Sandbergen, op cit).

The obstacles to women's mobility often result in women staying behind while men move away. There are other reasons for migration being by men more than by women – these may include women deliberately using such ideologies as resources to avoid

having to do drudgerous and demeaning manual work. Other women do not have the choice not to migrate. From our review, heavily gendered migration patterns (men migrating, women staying behind) are more often the case in the Mexico to US stream than in India and other parts of Asia where women's migration is quite high (eg Kumari and Tataji, 1998), amounting to 40% in several examples (Chakrapani and Kumar, 1994; Haberfeld et. al., 1999). When women do not migrate they may take over male tasks and become main agents in agricultural and community tasks in the absence of their husbands. However, there is no inevitability that such roles will fall to women. Managerial responsibility in particular may be taken over by non-migrating male relatives (see for example, the study of migration in the Sahel by Ruthven and David, 1995).

Other literature on gender and migration not summarised in this annotated bibliography (such as Gulati, 1998, Jetley, 1987, Chant, 1992, Kadioglu, 1997) has found that the overburden of those women whose workload increases as a result of male migration is sometimes compensated for by women's higher autonomy. From our review, we do not have enough evidence either to support or contradict this finding. However, Kawahara (1990) in her work cited in this bibliography shows how Japanese women staying at home are not able to cope with the new situation and end up with the same social status as before, as well as increased stress from dealing with their new roles. For these women, their husbands' migration translates into increased psychological and health problems and no rise in autonomy.

However, the influence of gender ideologies on migration is not unidirectional. Firstly, Rogaly (1998) reminds us of how cultural obstacles to women's migration are confronted with the compelling economic need for including them into the migratory flow. Secondly, in other cases, gender ideologies can boost migration as in the example of the Thai girls described by Mills (1997). These girls migrate to acknowledge debts to parents unable to contribute to religious merit through men-only Buddhist service. In the same vein, social expectations about men's roles as breadwinners (Schenk-Sandbergen, op cit) and constructions about masculinity (Osella and Osella, 2000) often foster male out-migration.

Most importantly, migration can be a mechanism through which gender relations change. Guendelman (1987) describes how gender relations became more co-operative between Mexican migrant couples in the US when both spouses worked. However, she also acknowledges the temporary character of the change. Once back in Mexico women and men resumed their 'traditional' roles.

In sum, migration may provoke changes in social perceptions about women's work (Schenk-Sandbergen, 1995) and lead to women's contributions being valued more highly in their communities. (De Haan et al, 2000). However, examples of women migrating to pay their own or their sisters' dowries (see, for example, Schenk-Sandbergen, op cit) reflect how migration can also contribute to reinforcing the structures which subordinate women.

Migration can be a way of fulfilling women's interests. For women who stay behind, the migration of their husbands may mean escaping a conflictual relationship for a period of time. Nevertheless, this will depend very much on their ability to manage other relationships inside and outside their households during that time. For migrant women, migration offers an opportunity to engage in waged labour and to work outside the

reproductive sphere. In some cases, migration may even bring the learning of new skills for working women. However, in the case of intra-rural migration many women end up both working in the fields and cooking for male workers, and hardly any new skill is learnt (see Breman, 1996 for Gujarat; Guendelman, 1987 for Mexico to US; and Kirchner, 1980 for Argentina).

Short-Term Migrations and Ethnicity

Most of the literature within the realm of political economy in this bibliography conceptualises workers' identities as strongly influenced by class-consciousness; further worker-employer relations are thought of in terms of class confrontations. One of the works included offers a fresh approach for looking at employer-employee interactions, emphasising the relevance of ethnicity in the analysis of production relations in Californian agriculture. Wells (1996) describes how Mexican workers in Mexican-owned plantations in California displayed a feeling of reverence and gratitude toward employers, as well as a complacent attitude regarding their appalling working conditions. This is contrasted with the actions and attitudes of Mexican workers in plantations owned by American or Japanese employers. Wells shows how ethnic identity can act as a bridge across classes.

Thus their ethnicity can directly influence the living and working conditions of migrant workers. The reverse is also true: the experience of migration can impact on the ethnic identities of migrant workers, as several works cited here suggest. Breman (1996) refers to migrants not complying with caste expectations either in destination areas or in their own communities once back from migration. In the same vein, Kirchner (1980) describes how indigenous people behave like locals in destination areas, speaking Spanish and wearing modern clothes during the migration period in many parts of Latin America. Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan (2001) use the politics of body representation to explain how migrants challenge caste and wider cultural norms (as well as class relations) by displaying non-conventional consumption habits.

Breman (1993) also describes more subtle changes produced by migration that not only affect workers' caste identities but also alter the configuration of caste relations between source area employers and migrants. He does this by showing how Dodhias' migration to nearby brickyards in south Gujarat undermines Anavil landlords' power over them in their origin areas.

From the three sections above, we conclude that migrants' identities are dynamic and multiple. Migrants have different interests and concerns, attributable in part at least to their class, gender, ethnic and individual characteristics. Rather than adopting a particular subject position at a particular moment (Moore, 1994), these and other different dimensions of identity interact throughout the migration experience and it is their interface which shapes migrants' identities.⁸ Take for instance the case of migrant women described by Schenk-Sandbergen (1995). These women's concerns as fish processing workers blur with their worries and aspirations as mothers, daughters or sisters, and again as members of a low caste in Kerala. Besides, the interplay of their subject positions is different from that of men and women sugar cane cutters from south Gujarat (Breman, 1996) or Tucuman (Argentina, Kirchner, 1980).

⁸ Rogaly, Coppard, Rana, Rafique, Sengupta and Biswas (2001) make similar observations regarding employers in West Bengal, who travel to recruit migrant workers

Short-Term Migrations and Agro-Ecology

Economic elements of migration are frequently researched in the migration studies cited here. According to Massey et al, looking at migration as a whole across almost any era “reveals a consistent propensity towards geographic mobility among men and women, who are driven to wander by diverse motives, but nearly always with some idea of material improvement” (1998, p1). Lack of employment opportunities is at the root of migration decisions in most of the research referred to in this annotated bibliography. The influence of agro-ecological conditions in dictating economic opportunities is highlighted by many authors (Anonymous, 1988; Breman, 1993, Kawakara, 1990, Schenk-Sandbergen, 1995, Taylor and Wyatt, 1996; Rizvi and Hashim, 1982-3). Migration by agriculturalists with insufficient production to cover year round need is common globally.

Processes that affect land availability can be especially influential in fostering migration or contributing to population retention. For example, during the 1930s, Mexican peasants stayed in their communities due to expectations about land reform. After the actual land redistribution, many of them began migrating in order to save and make productive investments in their new properties (Durand and Massey, 1992).

Government interventions influencing peoples’ access to common lands or forests can be important to migration decisions. Several examples in this bibliography refer to how policy interventions reducing such access encourage migration, particularly of tribal peoples (Schenk-Sandbergen, 1995; Goza, 1992; Rizvi and Hashim, 1982-3). Furthermore, agro-ecological conditions determine the direction of migration flows. Roy (1995) and Goza (1992) show how migrants move from regions with poor soils and lack of irrigation facilities, to areas where ecological conditions have allowed a higher development of commercial agriculture.

Finally, we believe that migration can lead to changes in agro-ecology. When working in destination areas, migrants may learn new skills and be in contact with new technologies that can lead to changes in their own production when applied to their local areas. However, we do not have enough evidence to test this hypothesis in our review and more research is needed in this particular aspect of the relation of migration to agro-ecology.

Short Term Migrations and Policy

At the start of this introductory essay, we referred to the growing policy interest in international migration in western Europe and the USA. Much of this has emerged, not surprisingly, from a starting point which emphasises the economic and political interests of receiving country governments. In contrast many authors cited here considered the consequences of migration - internal as well as international – for migrants themselves, and for sending areas. Several of them analyse the impact of immigration regimes on migrants working and living conditions (see Sharma, 1997 for Canada; Roberts, 1997 for Chinese internal migration policy; Tsuda, 1999, for Japanese policy; and Simmons 1998 for the US). They show how the official category of migrant is defined differently across countries and how this has direct consequences on migrants’ wellbeing. Sharma (1997), for example, points to how Canadian laws define actual migrants as officially non-migrants under the *Non-Immigrant Employment Authorisation Program*. This

allows local employers to restrict these workers' mobility, bargaining power, and other rights that can be claimed by those officially defined as immigrant workers.

In general, two trends with regard to migration policies arise from this bibliography. There is a group of authors that sees migration as a threat to local development or which concentrates on the negative impact of migration on migrants themselves and their source areas. They therefore propose different mechanisms to discourage migration directly and/or indirectly by promoting rural development in local areas (Reichter, 1981; Schenk-Sandbergen, 1995; Taylor et al. 1996), or by checking immigration flows (Balakrishna, et al, 1981).

Countering this trend is a second group of authors, who emphasise the role of migration as a source of livelihoods for origin communities (De Haan et. al., 2000) and propose different measures to make migration less insecure (Roy, 1995; Breman, 1996; Barron and Rello, 2000; Raven et al, 1995; Frances and Garnsey, 1996; ORSEU2000, 1997). Their recommendations address the weak position of workers in destination areas. Some of them support the strengthening of union action (Roy, 1995) and increased capacity-building to make this action more effective. For example, the UK Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) supports the idea of mobile union offices during the agricultural season supervising the action of gangmasters.⁹

This group of authors is also concerned with the living conditions of workers in destination areas and some authors propose the improvement of infrastructure there. Barron and Rello (2000) recommend the provision of schools in the tomato-growing areas for working children in Mexico in order to meet both the education and income needs of migrant families. In the UK context, ORSEU2000 (1997), Raven et al (1995), and Frances and Garnsey (1996) argue that the way to improve workers conditions consists of passing legislation to make supermarkets co-liable (together with producers) for labour and other social costs in their supply chain.

Our reading of the literature suggests that where there has been legislation to protect migrants' interests, it has not necessarily had the effects that might be expected from its stated intentions. For example, Breman (1996) reports that legislation to improve migrants' working and living conditions has not been implemented effectively in his Indian research area. Verhaeren (1986) describes how protective legislation for temporary workers in France translated into a hardening of working conditions in farms and building sites as a defence mechanism by employers. In their recent research, Rogaly, Coppard, Rafique, Rana, Sengupta and Biswas (2001) have warned that heavy-handed regulation of seasonal migration in West Bengal might not be in the interest of migrant workers. At the same time they advocate public action to address migrant workers and their families' exclusion from health, education and other social provision (ibid).

To conclude, migration for hard manual work may be undertaken out of economic necessity but it can also serve migrants' interests in reshaping the social space and their position in it. Material interests are only part of this as Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan (op cit) remind us. Migration influences migrant workers' identities and in some circumstances enables them to challenge and change social relations of dominance. If it

⁹ Pollard, D., 1997, Report on the Survey on Gangmaster Labour for the European Federation of Agricultural Workers, Transport and General Workers Union, Unpublished Internal Document.

is to be undertaken from the perspective of migrant workers, public action needs to be based in a proper understanding of migration as a social and political economic process.

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India

Anonymous, 1988, “Migrant Workers Super-exploitation and Identity”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 (23) 1152-1153

The growth of the sugar industry in South Gujarat led to a large demand for seasonal workers to cut cane. The author uses the findings of the report of a committee appointed by the high court of Gujarat into those workers' living and working conditions to support his thesis of super exploitation of migrant workers. The super-exploitation of workers has its roots in processes of debt bondage and extra-economic coercion but also encompasses struggles over caste identity and nationhood.

Balakrishna, S., Rangacharyulu, S. V., and Panduranga Rao, J., 1981, “Seasonal Migration of Agricultural Labour: a Study in East Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh”, *Behavioural Sciences and Rural Development*, 4 (2), 231-245

East Godavari District, in Andhra Pradesh, India, has a relatively large number of seasonal in-migrants. Scheduled caste men travel every year looking for employment opportunities in agriculture and better wages than they can get at home. In the destination area their working conditions are well above those described by studies for other parts of India. The paper compares the situation of local workers, recent settlers, and seasonal migrant workers and concludes that at the time of the study the seasonal movement helped all these groups. However, it warns of the potentially less beneficial effects of seasonal migration in the future if demand for local workers were to cease. The authors thus recommend public intervention to restrict migratory movements.

Breman, J., 1993, *Beyond Patronage and Exploitation: Changing Agrarian Relations in South Gujarat*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

A progressive transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist modes of production has taken place in south Gujarat, India, in the last fifty years with major consequences for social relations. The feudal Hali system which tied farm servants to masters came to an end towards the beginning of the 1960s and a new kind of relation between workers and employers developed in agrarian areas. The book explores the nature of this new relationship in three villages of South Gujarat during the 1961-1987 period. Changes in the mode of production associated with the introduction of cash crops, as well as cultural processes as a result of the devaluation of agriculture and agricultural work, led landlords-employers to distance themselves from agricultural production. This resulted in a new configuration of the social contract characterised by an impersonalisation of labour relations and increased vulnerability of farm workers.

Breman, J., 1994, “Seasonal Migration and Co-operative Capitalism: Crushing of Cane and Labour by Sugar Factories in Bardoli”, in Breman, J., *Wage Hunters and Gatherers*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

The development of the sugar cane industry in the 1960s led to extensive socio-economic changes in the region of Bardoli, Gujarat, from which clear cutting groups of winners and losers emerged. The local mass of landless labourers was excluded from employment, and instead seasonal migrants from Maharashtra carried out cane cutting jobs in the fields. These migrants worked long hours in harsh conditions for low wages, and were subject to twofold exploitation coming from their recruiters, and from farmers.

Meanwhile, the development of agriculture through co-operatives allowed farmers to become part of the rural elite, to disengage from manual work and to increase their standards of living. Finally, in the middle, the controversial figure of the jobber became a key intermediary, matching workers' needs for credit and work, and sugar-growers' needs for a cheap labour force.

Breman, J., 1996, *Footloose Labour: Working in India Informal Economy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Breman explores the nature of informal sector in South Gujarat through an in depth anthropological study of two villages in the area. He explains the mechanisms behind seasonal rural urban and intra-rural migration and gives an account of the causes that lie behind migration and the processes that facilitate its reproduction. The author finds that debt bondage and the subcontracting system of recruitment caused the poor working conditions of seasonal migrants. The book argues that the existence of a reserve army of migrants on the one hand, and the lack of class identity of the manual wage workers on the other, contribute to the perpetuation of the unequal dynamics of labour markets in rural South Gujarat. It offers evidence illustrating how migration reinforces inequalities within the source area. Selection mechanisms that discriminate against those without savings, land, education, or social networks preclude many poor people from jobs as migrant workers.

Chakrapani, C., and Vijaya Kumar, S., 1994, "Migration Pattern and Occupational Change (a study of Palamur Labour in Andhra Pradesh)", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, 55 (1), 83-94

Large-scale out-migration creates many problems in both urban and rural areas. Continuous migration leaves people out of developmental programmes. Drought conditions force people to migrate in search of work. Migration in the direction of urban areas seems to be the dominant. The major shift in occupation is to non-agricultural labour. Incomes of migrants have increased substantially. Provision of self employment opportunities and distribution of land are measures suggested by migrants to check large scale migration. (Author's abstract)

Chopra, R., 1995, "Maps of Experience: Narratives of Migration in an Indian Village", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 30 (49), 3156-3162

Chopra explores the material and cultural conditions that shape migrant workers' identities in their seasonal journeys from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh to agricultural villages in Punjab. The author uses migrants' narratives to unravel the character of the employer-employee relationship in the productive sphere as well as the insider-outsider relationship in destination communities. He concludes that different categories mediate the idea of who is a migrant, and proposes the analysis of the meaning underlying each representation of a migrant.

Gidwani, V., 2000, "The Quest for Distinction: a Reappraisal of the Rural Labour Process in Kheda District (Gujarat), India", *Economic Geography*, 76 (2), 145-168

In this article I examine how the rural labour process is constitutive of social identity, particularly status, by harnessing empirical evidence from Kheda District, Gujarat and other parts of India. Emphasis is on the labour practices of the dominant Lewa Patel caste, and only secondarily on the practices of other caste groups. My central claim is that the labour process is a primary arena in which the quest for social distinction occurs and that the primary source of distinction is the ability to withdraw family labour power from the commoditised labour circuit. In this paper I seek to deepen conventional

understanding of the labour process within economic geography, agrarian studies and mainstream economics. (Author's abstract)

Haberfeld, Y., Menaria, R. K., Sahoo, B. B., Vyas, R. N., 1999, "Seasonal Migration of Rural Labour in India", *Population Research and Policy Review*, 18, 473-489

The impact of seasonal migration has been overlooked by students of migration. A unique data set collected in Dungarpur - one of the less developed districts of India - allows us to closely examine both the determinants and impact of seasonal migration. Detailed information was gathered from all members of 624 households, thus enabling analyses at both individual and household levels. The findings indicate that seasonal migration among rural labourers is wide-spread. Rural households in India use migrant labour offered by their members to improve their well-being by both reducing the impacts of inferior conditions and by raising households' income levels. Migrant labour is a compensating mechanism used by households to reduce their disadvantageous position. Migrant households are characterized by lower education levels, lower levels of income from agriculture, and by an inferior geographical location. However, those households sending migrant labour are found to have higher income levels than those not sending migrant labour. Income from migrant labour accounts for almost 60% of the total annual income of households sending at least one migrant labourer. Such findings are in accordance with explanations derived from the 'new economics of migration'. We can thus learn that migration-related decisions should not be evaluated only on the basis of utility maximization of individual migrants, but also on the basis of risk reducing by households. (Author's abstract)

Kumari, T. A. H., and Tataji, U, 1998, "Seasonal Migration of Women Workers: Process, Patterns and Consequences", *Indian Journal of Social Work*, 59 (3), 791-806

The paper analyses seasonal migration of women in Andhra Pradesh. The authors define a typology of seasonal migration of women distinguishing between independent, team, associational and occupational-associational migration. By using this typology to analyse the different occupational sectors, the study provides us with evidence against the well-established hypothesis that most women's migration is marriage migration. It also describes the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants by occupational sector in the area, and their working and living conditions. It mentions some of the consequences that migration processes have for women and their communities.

Osella, F. and Osella, C., 2000, "Migration, Money and Masculinity in Kerala", *Journal of the Royal Anthropology Institute*, (N.S) 6, 117-1133

This article examines migration, styles of masculinity and male trajectories through the lifecycle in Kerala, South India, a region with a long history of high migration, most recently to the Persian Gulf states. Ethnography suggests that migration may be integrated into wider identity projects and form a part of local subjectivities. The article considers four important local categories: the gulfan migrant, typically an immature unmarried man; the kallan, a self interested maximizer or individualistic antisocial man; the pavam, an innocent good guy, generous to the point of self-destruction; and the mature householder, a successful, social, mature man, holding substantial personal wealth, supporting many dependents and clients. Another theme to emerge is the relationship between masculinity and cash: migration appears as particularly relevant to masculinity in its enhanced relationship with money, an externalisable (detachable) form of masculine potency: maturity means being able to use those resources wisely. (Author's abstract)

Rizvi, S. M. H, and Hashim, S. R, 1982-3, “Patterns of Seasonal Migration: A Study of a Tribal Area”, *Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda*, 31, 109-122

The article describes the socio-economic characteristics of tribal migrants from the Vadodara District in Gujarat. Migrants are mainly from agriculture-based classes such as small and large farmers and agricultural workers. They migrate to support their livelihoods and as a consequence of the agro-ecological crisis in the area. Women constitute a high proportion of the migrant population. In destination areas migrants work in cultivation, mining, quarrying, and bamboo work for low wages. The propensity to migrate is higher among larger families in the area.

Rodgers, G. and Rodgers, J., 2000, “Semi-feudalism Meets the Market: a Report from Purnia”, Working Paper 6, Institute for Human Development, New Delhi. Based on empirical evidence from surveys across three decades, the authors explore the relationship between migration and agrarian change in two villages of Northeast Bihar, from a political economy perspective. Side effects of migration in the area have been increased employment opportunities, the growth of local wages, and the rising cost of production for cultivators. These have caused changes in the way social and production relations are structured resulting in a higher market power of local workers, a decline in the political power of the landowners and of semi-feudal structures accordingly. Even though migration can be seen as an equalising mechanism, reducing income disparities between workers and employers in the area, persistent inequalities between those who migrate and those who stay -mainly women- still exist.

Rogaly, B., 1998, “Workers on the Move: Seasonal Migration and Changing Social Relations in Rural India”, *Gender and Development*, 6 (1), 21-29 Seasonal and other temporary outmigration for manual work from Indian rural areas has been shown by many researchers to be an important component of the livelihoods of poor rural workers and their employers in most parts of the country. Men, women and children moving around India pose a major challenge for development policy-makers. This is because, while seasonal wage workers are among the poorest people, they and their children are often excluded from geographically based interventions by their absence. The contention of this paper is that effective policy and practice require improved understanding of the extent, trends, causes, and consequences of seasonal migration. Seasonal migration is both a part of and an outcome of the structures of social and economic relations in the Indian countryside. At the same time, through the actions of migrants and their employers, such migration can in some circumstances change those structures. Hypotheses are suggested for further research into why there is a greater possibility of changing social relations through seasonal outmigration in some regions than in others.

Rogaly, B., 1999, “Dangerous Liaisons? Seasonal Migration and Agrarian Change in West Bengal”, in Rogaly, B., B. Harriss-White and S. Bose (eds), *Sonar Bangla? Agricultural Growth and Agrarian Change in West Bengal and Bangladesh*, New Delhi/Thousand Oaks/London: Sage Seasonal migration of agricultural workers has long been part of agrarian structure in West Bengal. Rapidly increasing numbers of migrants for the transplanting and harvesting of rice, the production of which boomed in the 1980s and early 1990s, has brought about wider changes in employer-worker relations. The increased possibilities for work in the central southern districts of the state has changed the nature of such

relations in peripheral areas. Employers there are as reliant on 'their' workers as ever, but the workers' degree of choice about whom to work for and on what conditions has improved. On the other hand, the increasing availability of migrants in intensively cultivated areas enables employers there to contain demands from local workers for better wages and conditions. The shared interests of employers of migrant workers and the migrants themselves result in the crossing of boundaries associated with caste and class. Workers shelter recruiting employers on their visits to peripheral areas, while accommodation for migrant workers in destination areas tends to be inside employers' neighbourhoods in disused buildings, away from the residences of local workers. The rivalry between recruiting employers and local employers in peripheral areas suggests that at the state level there are conflicting interests within this class. These may be being aggravated by the increases in seasonal migration.

Roy, M., 1995, "Agricultural Labour Markets in South Bengal: Some Issues", Ph.D thesis, Department of Economics and Politics, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

Conditions applying specifically to agricultural labour markets preclude them from operating freely. These conditions include the monopolistic power of landlords, state intervention and the lack of information flows. This study analyses the nature of the agricultural labour market in three districts in south West Bengal, India. The different degrees of capital penetration in the form of fertilisers and irrigation techniques, and the different levels of commercialisation of agriculture cause the inter-district migration. As a consequence, the three market segments are integrated through the migrant labour force, workers escape pre-capitalist structures of debt bondage and there is complete information in the market. All this is contributing to farmers' accumulation in the region, and to the commercialisation of agriculture. However, due to the migrant nature of the labour force, increases in productivity are not translated into higher wages and employers keep wages rates controlled, with negative consequences for labourers' living conditions.

Schenk-Sandbergen, L., (ed), 1995, *Women and Seasonal Labour Migration*, Sage, New Delhi London.

This study based in three rural areas in as many Indian states (Orissa, Kerala, Maharashtra) explores how gender roles and relations change as a consequence of migration. It analyses some of the obstacles to migration by women due to social taboos about their mobility and engagement in manual work. It provides detailed studies of the changing position of women and men in society during the migration cycle. The book concludes that migration, rather than contributing to the empowerment of women, reinforces their subordination via heavy reproductive workloads and discriminatory working conditions in the productive sphere. The authors argue for a new approach in migration studies where women's subjectivity substitutes for the household as unit of study.

Mexico

Barron, M. A., and Rello, F., 2000, "The Impact of the Tomato Agroindustry on the Rural Poor in Mexico", *Agricultural Economics*, 23, 289-297

This article refers to internal migration within Mexico rather than international migration from Mexico to US. It addresses the issue of whether the tomato agroindustry (TAI) has been an effective instrument in the reduction of rural poverty. The TAI is by far the most important agroindustry in Mexico in terms of exports and employment

creation. Most of the labourers employed by the TAI in Northwest Mexico are temporary migrants coming from poverty-stricken regions in southern Mexico. Conditions of poverty-induced migration are explained. The characteristics and strategies of large, modern tomato enterprises are analysed. The main conclusion is that migrant income earned in the tomato fields and packing plants, is fundamental for the bare survival in villages in poverty-stricken regions. However, this does not provide a solution to poverty alleviation because migrant income is not sufficient to contribute to capital formation in the migrating communities, or to create the conditions for endogenous local development. (From author's abstract)

Basok, T., 2000, "Migration of Mexican Seasonal Farm Workers to Canada and Development: Obstacles to Productive Investments", *International Migration Review*, 34 (1), 79-97

This article explores the impact of international labour migration on development in communities of origin. It outlines three theoretical positions corresponding to specific theoretical trends in the field of development. The first position is represented by those who postulate that remittances and acquired skills and knowledge contribute to local development (the optimistic perspective). The second position is represented by those who regard the impact of international migration in predominantly negative terms (the pessimistic perspective). And finally, there are those who believe that some, although limited, growth is possible when transmigrants remit financial and social capital (a moderate optimistic perspective). Based on research on Mexican seasonal migrants to Ontario, the article will argue that while international migration can contribute to some economic growth, this growth is limited. While the standards of living of seasonal labour migrants and their households improve (and therefore there is a basis for some limited optimism), few among them invest their money in productive activities. Instead, the improvements that the household migrants experience are linked to continuous external sources of income. The article illustrates that while Canada-bound migrants experience both the structural constraints related to the decline in subsistence agriculture in Mexico and those related to household composition (absence of males from the household), specific criteria used to select participants in the Canadian seasonal farm worker program compound the problems associated with the low potential among these workers to invest remittances productively. (Author's abstract)

Cederstrom, T, 1990, "Migrant Remittances and Agricultural Development", *Culture and Agriculture*, 40, 2-7

The impact of remittances on sending communities has called the attention of many authors working in migration. Neo-classical proponents argue that remittances improve rural conditions via increasing investment and income. On the other hand, historical-structuralists think migration increases social inequalities within the origin communities. This article analyses the consequences of migration for a community in Mixteca Baja in Mexico through the different migration experiences of the twentieth century. It concludes that migration favours development but at an unequal rate. Furthermore, it argues that the transformation of remittances into productive agricultural investment depends on the availability of irrigated land, degree of openness of the regional market, farmers' experience in cash cropping, lack of alternative investments, and consumption values that favour investment over immediate consumption.

Davila, A., 1986, “The Seasonality of Apprehensions of Undocumented Mexican Workers”, *International Migration Review*, 20 (4), 986-991

This article uses data on apprehensions of migrants by border controls to test the economic determinants of Mexican undocumented immigration to the United States. These data are highly seasonal and within-year variations in border patrol apprehensions suggest that this seasonality is not only due to changes in border patrol enforcement. The results from this study are similar to those of earlier studies, which used annual apprehensions’ data and show that the seasonality of demand for agricultural workers in the US is an important determinant of the variation in apprehensions; and that earning differentials across the border stimulate migration. (From author’s abstract)

Durand, J., and Massey, D. S., 1992, “Mexican Migration to the US: a Critical Review”, *Latin American Research Review*, 27 (2), 3-42

This paper is a review of studies of Mexican migration to the US in the 1970s and 1980s. It critically examines quantitative issues such as the extent of migration and remittances, as well as analysing the causes and consequences of migration in the sending areas. The authors consider the socio-demographic composition of Mexican migrants and conclude that whereas there is a preponderance of young landless men at the beginning of the migration cycle, the class spectrum and demographic composition widens as long as migration evolves. They also analyse socio-economic effects of migration and offer evidence opposing the thesis of the “migration syndrome” (Reichert, 1979). From the comparative material the article proposes new ways of understanding migration based on a detailed study of the social dynamics surrounding migration processes.

Gonzalez Jacome, A., 1993, “Management of Land, Water and Vegetation in Traditional Agroecosystems in Central Mexico”, *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 27, 141-150

Traditional agro-ecosystems in Central Mexico have pre-Hispanic origins. Agricultural practices and societies have co-evolved through a long period of time. These agricultural systems can be characterised as follows: they have been practised during an extensive time-span; they are organised on an ecological basis so as to be largely self-sustainable, and they tend to use a larger input of human labour than of agricultural machinery. The individual aspects of the systems are simple but they are integrated into a complex network in which they become interdependent, and the system depends on that integration for its functioning. Agricultural knowledge is transmitted informally from one generation to the next within the context of family organisation. The most important variable in these systems is the workforce, which has gradually been attracted to jobs in industry and to seasonal migration. This paper deals with some of the above characteristics of Mexican traditional agro-ecology in relation to the management of land, water and vegetation in Central Mexico. It discusses alternatives practised by peasants in view of a declining workforce and the possibilities of sustaining present practices under the pressures of an industrializing society. (Author’s abstract)

Guendelman, S, 1987, “The Incorporation of Mexican Women in Seasonal Migration: a Study of Gender Differences”, *Hispanic Journal of Behavioural Sciences*, 9 (3), 245-264

Causes and consequences of seasonal migration for women migrants have been analysed within the migration literature. There is evidence suggesting that women’s and men’s decisions to migrate are influenced by different factors and that access to employment is differently structured for both sexes. This article explores these trends in

the context of the Mexico to US migration and concludes that whereas men's migration is mainly caused by economic factors, women migrate in order to avoid family separation. It also shows how migrant women who join the labour force develop a sense of independence and self-reliance, whereas those migrant women who stay at home end up being more dependent on their husbands. The incorporation of women migrants in the labour force creates more equal gender relations, depending on the co-operation of the spouses. However, these changes are temporary and women resume their traditional roles when they return to Mexico due to the lack of employment opportunities in their communities.

Margulis, M. and Tuiran, R., 1984, "Nuevos Patrones Migratorios en la Frontera Norte: La Emigración", *Demografía y Economía*, 18 (3), 410-444

The article analyses the demographic evolution of several cities on the Mexico- US border using census data for the period 1960-1980. The border zone has traditionally attracted immigration due to the development of industry such as maquiladoras. Since the sixties, demographic growth has been negative. However, this does not imply that immigration to the area has disappeared. Quite the reverse, the zero growth is due to the fact that young people's out migration has increased during the same period. According to the authors the decreasing economic dynamism in the border region, together with the strong expansion of public and private investments in other areas of the country have caused demographic stagnation in the border.

Massey, D. S., and Mullan, B. P., 1984, "A Demonstration of the Effect of Seasonal Migration on Fertility", *Demography*, 21 (4), 501-517

Fertility estimates were calculated using own children data from the Mexican migrant town of Guadalupe, Michoacan. In this town, 75 percent of families have a member working in the United States, and wives are often regularly separated from their migrant husbands. Simulations by Menken (1979) and Bongarrts and Potter (1979) suggest that fertility among these women should be depressed. Our results confirmed this hypothesis, showing that the seasonal absence of migrant husbands disrupted both the level and the timing of fertility. However, the effect was greater for legal than for illegal migrants, a pattern that stemmed from social factors as well as physical separation. A logistic regression analysis showed that reductions in birth probabilities are greater the longer a couple is separated, and that these reductions are in the range expected from prior simulations. (Author's abstract)

Mines, R. and Massey, D. S., 1985, "Patterns of Migration to the US from Two Mexican Communities", *Latin American Research Review*, 20 (2), 104-123

This anthropological study analyses the causes and consequences of migration to the US from two communities in the Central Plateau of Mexico. The author compares the situation of legal migrants from Guadalupe with that of undocumented migrants from Las Animas. He concludes that in both cases migration exacerbates inequalities within communities between migrants and non-migrants via land accumulation in migrant hands. The article highlights the process of disinvestment as a consequence of the out-migration of men of productive age, and the opportunity cost of agricultural production in Mexico compared to waged labour in the US.

Reichert, J. S., 1981, "The Migrant Syndrome: Seasonal US Wage Labour and Rural Development in Central Mexico", *Human Organization*, 40 (1), 56-66

Seventyfive per cent of the families in Guadalupe have a member involved in Mexico to US temporary migration. The analysis of patterns of expenditure in Guadalupe

reveals that some proportion of migrants' earnings is devoted to financing public works, or to build new houses and buy land and livestock but the majority of these earnings is used to satisfy consumption needs. In the case of Guadalupe migration to the US has increased inequalities between legal migrants on the one hand and undocumented migrants and non-migrants on the other. The accumulation of land in legal migrants' hands and their inability to make productive investments on the owned land due to long periods of absence, has resulted in a process of disinvestment in the area in the last twenty years that has pushed migration even more. Reichert refers to the 'migration syndrome' as the process by which migration, precludes local development and perpetuates the conditions of underdevelopment.

Roberts, K. D., 1997, "China's Tidal Wave of Migrant Labour: What Can We Learn from Mexican Undocumented Migration to the United States?"
International Migration Review, 31 (2), 249-293

The purpose of this article is to place Chinese labour migration from agriculture within the context of the literature on labour mobility in developing countries by comparing it to undocumented Mexican migration to the US. The similarities fall within three general areas: the migration process, the economic and social position of migrants at their destination, and the agrarian structure and process of agricultural development that has perpetuated circular migration. The last section of the article draws upon these similarities, as well as the differences between the two countries, to generate predictions concerning the development of labour migration in China. (Author's abstract)

Stark, O., Taylor, E., Yitzhaki, S., 1987, "Labour Migration, Income Inequality and Remittances: a Case Study of Mexico", Development Research Department, World Bank, Washington.

This paper uses the extended Gini inequality index to examine the sensitivity of measurements of impacts of migrant remittances on the distribution of household income by size to different value judgements when measuring inequality. The results illustrate the robustness of earlier findings that the impact of migration on village income distributions differs for different types of migration and for different periods in a village's migration history. The magnitude of these impacts, however, appears to be quite sensitive to the weights attached to incomes at different points in the village income distribution. For example, in a village with considerable Mexico to US migration experience, remittances from Mexico to US migrants have a favourable effect on the village income distribution. However, the extended Gini analysis shows that this favourable impact decreases as more weight is attached to incomes in the poorest households. This finding is consistent with the view that barriers to high paying Mexico to US migration work exist for households at the bottom of the village income distribution. (Author's abstract)

Simmons, A. B., 1998, "NAFTA, International Migration and Labour Rights",
Labour, Capital and Society, 31 (1-2), 10-43

Literature on the potential impact of NAFTA on international migrations rest on theoretical hypothesis and models that have only been partially tested. In parallel, empirical research on the topic has increased dramatically in the last years. Recent historic studies conclude that the increasing number of commercial exchanges derived from NAFTA does not translate into an automatic increase of migratory flows. Actually, the liberalisation of trade will have to accommodate the migratory pressures in the medium and long term. Although Mexico to US migration will be the most affected by NAFTA, new hypotheses point to the increasing interest of Canada in

Mexico and the Central America and Caribbean countries. These hypotheses pose new questions for the orientation of future Canadian immigration policies. (Author's abstract)

Taylor, J. E., and Wyatt, T. J., 1996, "The Shadow Value of Migrant Remittances, Income and Inequality in a Household Farm Economy", *The Journal of Development Studies*, 32 (6), 899-912

Contrary to the well-established thesis in the literature that remittances increase income inequalities within the sending communities, this article claims to offer evidence that remittances have an equalising effect on income distribution. The results of the econometric estimation show how remittances stimulate household farm incomes indirectly by relieving credit and risk constraints on household farm production. According to the authors, a high but unequally distributed shadow value of migrant remittances on the income distribution appears to reinforce an equalising direct effect of remittances on the income distribution across a sample of household farms in rural Mexico.

Wells, M., 1996, *Strawberry Fields: Politics, Class and Work in California Agriculture*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.

The author examines the case of Mexican migrant workers in three different strawberry plantations in California Central Coast. She offers a new framework for the analysis of labour relations based in the study of socio-political aspects of class conflict rather than only the economic aspects of it. She concludes that contrasts in the interests, resources, values, and social relations of the local class populations, and in the array of job opportunity, entry and exit structures and reward standards, differentiate the operation of the labour markets. She points to the local organisation of production and the political context in the way of unionisation, migration laws and protective legislation as the sources of power for workers in their production relations.

Wiggins, S., Keilbach, N., Preibisch, K., Proctor, S., Rivera Herrejon G., Rodriguez Muñoz, G., "Changing Rural Livelihoods in Mexico", CICA and CEIEGT (Mexico) and University of Reading (UK), Research Report to ESCOR (Department of International Development, UK).

This report analyses three different kinds of migration in which people from the Misanla Valley and Toluca Atlacomulco Valley (Mexico) engage: internal migration to cities in Mexico; legal international migration to Canada under the Mexican Government sponsored program; and illegal international migration to the US. The deterioration of livelihoods due to economic crisis, climatic conditions, and the increasing cost of raw materials are the main causes of migration. With regard to internal migration the analysis shows that migration is relatively easy in villages close to cities given the low travel costs, whereas only relatively better off people migrate if cities are far away. In the case of US migration it is not only the availability of capital to fund the travel, which determines who migrates but also individual's social connections. In the case of State sponsored migration, the authors conclude that the lack of information available about the programme in many villages is an obstacle to locals entering this form of international migration.

Wilson, T. D., 1993, *Theoretical Approaches to Mexican Wage Labour Migration, Latin American Perspectives*, 20 (3), 98-129

The article reviews the main factors influencing migration from Mexico to the US. It analyses the causes of migration and considers the application of push-pull theories, as

well as world systems and dependency theories to see why people migrate. It reviews models of the migration market, stage migration and chain migration. In determining who migrates the author considers the influence of household strategies, class status and social networks among others. Within the household the main element highlighted is the influence of the dependency ratio. Wilson argues that there is no correlation between class status and migration and concludes that social networks are one of the mechanisms making possible migration of people from different class backgrounds.

Other Areas

Balan, J., 1980, “Migraciones Temporarias y Mercado de Trabajo Rural en America Latina”, Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad, Buenos Aires.

This article explores the relationship between capitalist development in agriculture and intra-rural seasonal migration. In particular it analyses the circumstances that lead agricultural capitalists to choose migrant workers over local, and individual workers over families. It concludes that the existence of a reserve army of migrant workers help employers to minimise risks during the agriculture season. Besides, the low level of unionisation among migrant workers increases employers' preference for a non-local labour force. On the other hand, the preference for individual workers as opposed to families is higher when the production process is highly centralised and demands a homogeneous labour force.

Bauder, H., 2001, “Culture in the Labour Market: Segmentation Theory and Perspectives of Place”, *Progress in Human Geography*, 25 (1), 37-52

Labour market segmentation theory explains the economic marginalisation of racial minorities, the working class and women. Economic geographers have contributed a perspective of spatial entrapment and spatially contingent job markets. In this article I emphasise supply side processes and the role of these processes in labour market segmentation theory. In particular I focus on issues of cultural experience of place and cultural representations of place. I develop this argument by integrating two bodies of literature: (1) segmentation theory (2) cultural geography, in which such conceptualisation of place exists. The article follows a contemporary trend in human geography that links cultural with economic processes. (Author's abstract)

Borges, M. J., 2000, “Migration Systems in Southern Portugal: Regional and Transatlantic Circuits of Labour Migration in the Algarve (Eighteenth – Twentieth Centuries)”, *International Review of Social History*, 45, 171-208

The Algarve region in the South of Portugal has a long tradition of migration. Migratory flows of rural workers and small farmers to Southern Spain, Gibraltar and Morocco, to work in agriculture, fishing and mining have occurred since the eighteenth century. Migration has traditionally been a strategy to complement rural livelihoods in the region. At the end of the Nineteenth century, the development of transport, and the emergent economic opportunities as the other side of the Atlantic facilitated migration of Algarvians to overseas destinations in Brazil, Argentina and the United States. This article analyses the change in the migratory flow using a systems approach and argues for continuity rather than radical rupture in the interpretation of the Iberian and transatlantic migratory flows. It understands the latter as an extension of the former, made possible as a result of the social networks already in place.

Dyck, I., 1990, “Towards the Cottage Charter: the Expressive Culture of Farm Workers in Nineteenth Century England”, *Rural History*, 1 (1), 95-111

The Cottage Charter represents the expression of rural workers rights in nineteenth century England. Its contents arise from the post war protest songs of rural areas. The analysis of those songs has a lot to say about the cultural and social ideologies of rural nineteenth century England. Dyck uses those sources to conclude that class-consciousness among rural workers in England arose as early as the 1820s. At that time labourers understood class conflict as conditional and aspired to social and cultural reconciliation with their employers. As the decade progressed, workers acknowledged the structural character of the conflict, forgetting about ideas of fellowship with farmers and moving in the 1830s towards the elaboration of a cottage charter where they established and claimed their rights in relation to employers.

Frances, J., and Garnsey, E., 1996, “Supermarkets and Suppliers in the UK: System Integration, Information and Control”, *Accounting, Organisations and Society*, 21(6), 591-610

This paper raises the issue of control in new organisational configurations where information and communication technology is the critical enabler of business integration. It is organised around two guiding questions: how and why major UK supermarkets have taken control and dominance of the food market, and the role of information technology and accounting information in replacing market relationships. The study illustrates the way in which markets can be structured and controlled by strategic reconfiguration of supply sources and customers outlets. This reconfiguration of supply sources has caused dramatic changes in the way suppliers organise their labour force in order to achieve a more flexible way of functioning. This has had as a result the casualisation of the labour force. Workers are contracted through gang-masters, and usually working on piece rates for low wages. (From author’s abstract)

Goza, F., 1992, “Causes and Consequences of Migration in the Jequitinhonha Valley of Minas Gerais”, *Sociological Inquiry*, 62 (21), 147-168

This study documents the recent development and expansion of temporary inter-regional labour migration in central west Brazil. Several explanations for the expansion of this movement are investigated, including the financial crisis that have affected Brazil’s recent social and economic development. Temporary and permanent movement typologies are also examined in an attempt to discern why this region is now characterised by temporary rather than permanent moves. I suggest that permanent moves occurred primarily as a response to structural changes, while temporary movements resulted at least partially because of the country’s recent economic crises. Examination of the consequences of this movement (for example remittances use) indicates that this temporary migration is more of a survival plan than a mobility strategy. (Authors abstract)

Gurak, D. T., and Caces, F., 1992, “Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migration Systems” in Kritiz, M. and H. Zlotnik and L. Lim, (eds) *International Migration Systems: a Global Approach*, Clarendon, Oxford.

This paper reviews the literature on networks in the migration process on the one hand, and social network analysis on the other. In the first part of the chapter the role of migrant networks as adaptation mechanism is examined. The authors conclude that whereas migrant networks help migrants to adapt themselves to the destination community in the short term, they also facilitate their isolation from broader sectors of society in the longer run. From the review of social networks analysis, the authors

highlight three ways in which the understanding of migrant networks can be enhanced. Firstly, they suggest the incorporation of the notions of weak and strong ties. Secondly, they argue for the widening of the concept of community to overcome territorially bounded definitions. Finally, they support the idea of considering different categories of migrants' networks (eg legal and illegal).

De Haan, A., Brock, K., Carswell, G., Coulibaly, N., Seba, H., Toufique, K. A., 2000, "Migration and Livelihoods: Case Studies in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Mali", Research Report 46, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton.

Migration is an important livelihood strategy in many parts of Asia and Africa. The relationship between migration and people's livelihoods has been avidly taken up in recent social science literature. This paper examines it in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia with qualitative and quantitative material from Ethiopia, Mali and Bangladesh. In parallel, it explores the role of social networks and households in migration in general and in transforming remittances into sustainable livelihoods in particular. The authors conclude that whether households can achieve sustainable livelihoods through migration depends on household structure and cohesiveness; a household's overall portfolio of activities; migrants' social networks and conditions at the destination.

Holmes, D., 1989, *Cultural Disenchantments: Worker Peasantries in Northeast Italy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

This book is an in depth anthropological study of production relations in the coexisting agricultural and industrial milieu of an Italian village. The author does a profound analysis of the process of formation worker-peasant identities and emphasises the importance of ethnic, religious and folkloric categories to understand local waged workers identities. He points to the liminal, transitional and phantom characteristics of workers identities respectively reflecting the abiding social dynamics, the potential for change and the methodological ambiguities that imbue this field. The paper supports the idea of enlarging class identity with other social categories to further the understanding of social relations of production.

Howkins, A., 1990, "Labour History and the Rural Poor", 1850-1980, *Rural History*, 1 (1), 113-122

The identity of farm labourers is a complex subject because it moves in between that of labourer and farmer. The traditional Marxist explanation based on class identity is not enough to clarify farm labourers' position in the production process. Marxist explanations, when automatically applied to production processes other than the industrial in which they originated, miss some of the specificity of alternative forms of social organisation of production. In the case of agriculture, they cannot account for the repressive power of the rural elite expressed through control of the home, workplace, and community of the labourer. Based in the review of the literature for rural mid-nineteenth and twentieth century England, this article argues for a comprehensive analytical framework to study farm labourers identity that involves looking in detail at class, gender and locality as categories of study.

Iltan, S. M., 1994, "Peasant Struggles and Social Change: Migration, Households, and Gender in a Rural Turkish Society", *International Migration Review*, 28 (3) 554-579

This article sheds light on the interrelationships of seasonal migration, subsistence production and peasant relations in a community (Salki) located in Turkey's

northwestern countryside. Most studies argue that rural outmigration is either an adaptation to persistent unemployment or a phenomenon resulting from pressures and counter-pressures in the social features of rural culture. Besides, power determines conditions for seasonal migration and its effects on social relations. While migrant labour is understood by local villagers as forming part of a continual battle to preserve local tradition and kinship ties, this article shows how it reduces the domination of landlords as well as creating intra-household differentiation and gendered hierarchies. (From author's abstract)

Jamieson, L., 2000, "Migration, Place and Class: Youth in a Rural Area", *The Sociological Review*, 48 (2), 203-223

The claims that locality, kinship and social class are no longer the basis of ties that bind and of limited significance for identity in late modernity, remain seductive, despite their critics. Those who remain rooted are then presented as inhabitants of traditional backwaters, outside the mainstream of social change. This article presents young people's reasons for leaving or remaining in a rural area of Britain, the Scottish Borders. Young people's views about migration and attachment demonstrate a contradictory and more complex pattern than that of detached late modern migrants and traditional backwater stay at homes. These stereotypes have some resonance in local culture for example in disdain for rootless incomers lacking real sympathy with 'the community' and in the common accusation of the parochial narrow mindedness of locals who have never been elsewhere. However, such stereotypes emerge from complex social class antagonisms and cross cutting ties to locality. Many young people's ties contradict the classifications these stereotypes imply. There are young out-migrants who are children of 'rootless' in-migrants but also nevertheless, have lasting attachments to the locality of their childhood. Then, there are young stayers who are the children of born and bred local s but yet feel serious disaffection from their locally. These 'attached migrants' and 'detached stayers' may not represent settled orientations to their locality of childhood, but they, nevertheless, contradict both certain local stereotypes and Baumanesque 'late modernist' sociological theorising. (Author's abstract)

Kawahara, Y., 1990, "Women Left Behind: Wives of Seasonal Migrant Workers in Japan", *Asian Profile*, 18 (2), 127-135

Migration has been a common phenomenon in Japan since the end of World War II. During the 1970s, the mechanisation of agriculture created a surplus of labour in rural areas. At the same time, the economic boom increased the demand for unskilled labour in building and manufacturing industry in the cities; as well as the need for cash to pay debts in rural areas. In this context, seasonal labour migration of medium and large farmers developed increasingly. With male out migration, the physical burden of women who stayed behind increased. Besides, they extended their role out of the domestic sphere dealing with many tasks at the community level. However, women could not take advantage of the their new responsibilities as firewomen, or members of the farming co-operatives, to increase their social status. Quite the reverse, the new roles resulted in increasing stress and had negative consequences for their welfare in the form of health problems.

Kirchner, J. A., 1980, "Sugar and Seasonal Labour Migration: a Case of Tucuman, Argentina", Department of Geography, Univerisity of Chicago, Chicago.

Tucuman has traditionally been the centre of sugar cane production in Argentina since 1870. Migration of rural workers to cut the sugar cane at harvest time has occurred since

colonial times. The synchronisation of agricultural cycles in sending and receiving areas allows peasants to grow subsistence crops during the year and to migrate to the sugar plantations at harvest time. If migration is unilocal (only one destination during the season) the whole family migrates. Men do the felling and women divide their time between removing cane leaves and household chores. When migrants move from one crop to another in a sequential way young males do it on their own. In both cases, working conditions include long hours of hard work and low payments. According to the author, migrations to Tucuman help to maintain the integrity of the rural farming system in sending areas.

Mills, M. B., 1997, “Contesting the Margins of Modernity: Women, Migration and Consumption in Thailand”, *American Ethnologist*, 24 (1), 37-61

The dramatic rise in women’s rural urban migration in Thailand has called the attention of many studies in the last years. These studies tend to explain rural exodus as a consequence of the economic differential between city and countryside. However, as the narratives of young Thai girls show, migration is not only driven by economic considerations. Aspirations to a culturally constructed modernity, associated with urban life, are important determinants in the decision to migrate. Young Thai girls engage in a process of re-identification through migration, where the image of good daughter and that of modern woman revolve. Migration offers these women the possibility of complying with familial obligations by providing remittances, as well as allowing them to become independent, sophisticated, modern women through urban consumption. By manoeuvring around the tension of these two self-images, Thai women reshape their identities through their migration experiences.

ORSEU 2000, 1997, “Undeclared Work in Agriculture”, Consultancy Report for DG V of the European Union, November

This is a report by the consultancy ORSEU2000 for a research project commissioned by the European Federation of Agricultural Workers on undeclared agricultural labour in six European Countries (UK, The Netherlands, Germany, Italy, France and Spain). It makes an extensive use of the data comparing the general state of the agricultural labour in the six countries, and describes the historic evolution of the retailing sector and how they have changed the way of organising agricultural suppliers. It argues that the rapid concentration of the supermarket sector, their monopolistic position, and the pressure exerted on suppliers for cost reduction has resulted in the use of undocumented immigrants as agricultural labour all over Europe. It also offers in detail information on recruitment systems in the UK, Italy and the Netherlands, and their different influences on agricultural labourers working conditions.

Raven, H., Lang, T., and Dumonteil, C., 1995, “Off Our Trolleys? Food Retailing and the Hypermarket Economy”, Institute for Public Policy Research, London.

This paper reviews a range of concerns about retail concentration in the UK and the rise of supermarket giants. It does so by contrasting supermarkets’ reputations as paragons of the free market with the reality of market failure. Through their reliance on car travel, industrialised farming, and the excessive use of packaging, supermarkets give rise to social costs which they do not bear themselves. One of these costs is the worsening of working conditions of agricultural workers in supermarkets’ supply chains. These costs are not internalised in the price of the food. The paper argues that public debate about the social, environmental and economic consequences of rising retail concentration is an urgent priority. It makes a number of detailed recommendations for competition policy,

institutional change, planning regulations, transport policy, local enterprise, and packaging. (From author's abstract)

Schrieder, G. and Knerr, B., 2000, "Labour Migration as a Social Security Mechanism for Smallholder Households in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Case of Cameroon", *Oxford Development Studies*, 28 (2), 223-236

Labour migration is traditionally considered to be a way of protecting household members at the migrant's place of origin from economic pitfalls by receipt of remittances. More recently, young urban migrants from rural regions have been observed to neglect their traditional obligations to support their elderly parents, especially if they do not intend to return to their native village, do not expect any sizeable inheritance and have no reciprocal insurance commitment with their parents. Under such circumstances, rural people are exposed to the risk of staying without support in times of economic crises or during their old age. This paper analyses the potential of migration with remittances strategies to stabilize the income of rural households. The analytical results are based on a microeconomic survey from Cameroon in 1991/2. A probit model is applied to analyse access to remittances and a tobit model to look into their extent. A major result of this analysis is that migration with remittances strategies fails as a social security mechanism when the potential remitter does not expect any sizeable inheritance. (Author's abstract)

Sharma, N., R., 1997, "Birds of Prey and Birds of Passage: The Movement of Capital and the Migration of Labour", *Labour, Capital and Society*, 30 (1), 8-38

Canadian immigration policy promotes the entry of foreign workers to work in agriculture under bonded contracts. Entry conditions stipulate a fixed period, and employer, as well as unchangeable working conditions during the period of the workers' stay. This considerably restricts the mobility and labour power of those under this category and thus results in pockets of unfree labour within the Canadian labour market. Within a political economy framework this article analyses whether the existence of unfree labour is compatible with a fully developed capitalist economic system or whether it is a remnant of pre-capitalist forms of production. The author concludes that unfree labour not only co-exists with capitalism but is a fundamental element helping the accumulation of capital and the social control of workers. He argues that Canadian immigration policy is the mechanism making this possible.

Tsuda, T., 1999, "The Motivation to Migrate: The Ethnic and Socio-cultural Constitution of the Japanese Brazilian Return Migration Systems", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 48 (1), 1-31

The shortage of unskilled labour in the Japanese economy at the beginning of the 1990s boosted the arrival of Brazilian migrants with Japanese origins into Japan. The timing of the economic demands of labour in Japan and the economic crisis in Brazil caused the flow of population between the two countries. The ethnic affinity of both populations smoothed the process. In both sending and receiving populations a manipulation of discourses of ethnicity took place to accommodate the new situation. In Japan, authorities justified the incoming of unskilled masses of Brazilian workers by contrasting this with the destructive effects that Asian immigrants would have on Japanese ethnic identity. In Brazil, migration's negative connotations of low status were substituted by the praising of migrants who moved to Japan in order to 'assist the Japanese patria'. The culture of migration that developed in Brazil, as well as the development of personal and employment networks, increased the volume and

diversified the profile of those going to Japan, creating a stable flow between the two countries.

Verhaeren, R. E., 1986, “The Role of Foreign Workers in the Seasonal Fluctuations of the French economy”, *International Migration Review*, 20 (4), 856-874

Foreign workers in French economy are concentrated in agriculture, the construction sector and the hotel and restaurant trade. In agriculture and construction the immigrant labour force is fulfilling a stabiliser function counterbalancing the exodus of national workers toward more attractive ways of employment. Many of these migrants, especially in agriculture, are seasonal workers. Despite the total numbers of foreign workers going down, migrant labourers in agriculture have increased by 45% from 1986 to 1991. This has made the government pass legislation to protect temporary workers. However, the response from employers to the restrictive legislation has translated into a hardening of working conditions in farms and building.

Williams, T.O., 1999, “Factors Influencing Manure Application by Farmers in Semi-Arid West Africa”, *Nutrient Cycling in Agroecosystems*, 55, 15-22

Animal manure is one of the principal sources of nutrients for soil fertility maintenance and crop production in semi-arid West Africa. Farm-level decisions concerning the use of manure are governed by socioeconomic and institutional factors, as much as they are by agronomic and ecological concerns. This paper analyses the cultural and socioeconomic factors affecting manure use decisions in parts of semi-arid West Africa using a logit model. The results show that the major factors that positively influence farmers' manuring decisions are the farmer's own herd size, contractual arrangements between herders and farmers for manure, seasonal migration and its effect on livestock investment and the proportion of cultivated land owned by the farmer. Factors found to negatively affect manure use are farm size, distance of fields to the homestead, the proportion of cultivated land recently under fallow and land-labour ratio. The paper concludes by suggesting strategies for removing the constraints to efficient manure utilisation and soil fertility improvement in semi-arid West Africa. (Author's abstract)