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Balancing the Migration Space

Richard Kwabena Aboagye-Gyan

Researcher, Modern Ghana Publishing Company, Ghana

Abstract:

The application of theories to the explication of the migration process has been chequered. Early theoretical applications focused on internal migration to the detriment of international migration. However, what obtains in the literature is a far cry from that. There is currently a boom in the application of theories to the international migration process. Such has been the trend that "migration" is comfortably used in the title of several research projects to refer to international migration. This unfortunate overwhelming emphasis on international migration reflects a plummeted interest in internal migration. There is, thus, an urgent need for a paradigm shift in migration studies in terms of the extension of the theories used in the explication of international migration to the explication of internal migration. This paper uses myriad pieces of empirical evidence to explore the initiation and perpetuation of internal migration, proving that the mechanisms and processes involved in the initiation and perpetuation of international population movements are not different from those involved in the initiation and perpetuation of migration within countries. It ultimately points to the need for theorists, scholars and analysts to turn their attention to internal migration, in order to ensure a balance in the migration space.

Keywords: Internal, international, migration, explication, interest and theories

1. Introduction

The application of theories to the explication of the migration process has been chequered. Early theoretical applications focused on internal migration to the detriment of international migration. For instance, Ravenstein's "laws" of migration (1885, 1889) formulated about thirteen decades ago were based on internal migration, not international migration. Moreover, Sjaastad's cost-benefit analysis (1962) and Lee's theorisation of the process (1966) were all based on the internal migration process. Interest in the process was so enormous that it was intensively studied, and the results of those studies were thoroughly reviewed (Harris and Todaro 1970; Lucas 1997; Simmons et al. 1977). This cornucopia of research epitomises the depth and breadth of premium placed on it over its international counterpart.

However, what obtains in the migration space now is a far cry from that. Current migration research "has trended away from studies of internal migration towards studies of international migration" (Ellis and Wright 2016: 14). This is a testament to a research boom in international migration, signifying a heightened interest in the process. That is to say, there is an intellectual hegemony of the explication of international migration in the current migration space. Such has been the trend that some theorists, scholars and analysts comfortably use "migration" in the title of their research projects to refer to international migration. These projects, among others, are *The Global Migration Crisis* (Weiner 1995) which focuses on the crisis of international migration, *Age of Migration* (Castles and Miller 1993) which talks about the age of international migration and *Migration Theory* (Brettell and Hollifield 2000) which discusses international migration theory. Given such an enormous interest, it is unsurprising that Massey and other scholars have come out with an exclusive theoretical application to the initiation and perpetuation of international migration (Massey 1986; Massey 1990; Massey and Espinosa 1997; Massey et al. 1993; Massey et al. 1994; Myrdal 1957; Schooli 1995).

This unfortunate overwhelming emphasis on international migration reflects a plummeted interest in internal migration. It is based on such poor interest that in the 2012 annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers, the analysis of papers given proved that presentations on international migration topics were far more than topics on internal migration by a ratio of 5:1. Furthermore, in a recent conference on migration in Seattle, the historian James Gregory analysed trends in published scholarly works on migration in the USA social science journals and pointed to a decline in papers on internal migration and a sharp increase in scholarly works on international migration since the year 2000. But that should not be the case given that internal migration is arguably more important than international migration. As De Haan and Yaqub note, internal migration is "more important, especially for poorer groups who seldom manage to move abroad" (2008: 17), than international migration. If the more important process is given a poor press, it means all is not well with the migration space. There is the need for internal migration to be given equal attention. Thus, it is high time both migration

traditions are offered equal interest. The migration theories that are predominantly applied to international migration need to be extended to internal migration, as a way of ensuring a balance in the migration space.

That is the primary objective of this paper. It applies the theories that have been employed extensively in the explication of the initiation and perpetuation of international migration to the explication of the initiation and perpetuation of the internal migration process, indicating that not only are such theories applicable to internal migration also, but are central to the understanding of the process. Therefore, while on the one hand, this paper is a pointer to the fact that such theories are applicable to both international and internal migration, on the other hand, it challenges the current intellectual hegemony of the unfortunate overwhelming application of theories to international migration, which tends to obfuscate the dynamic nature of migration.

Indeed, several theories have been used in the analysis of the initiation of international migration but only the neo-classical economics of migration theory will be drawn and applied in analysing the mechanisms involved in the initiation of internal migration in this paper. The neo-classical economics constitutes a theory of economic behaviour which establishes a set of rules governing the migration of people, predicated on an individual's rational thinking. It occupies a significant and substantial part of intellectual explanation and scholarly thinking on migration. As such, there is a consensus that it provides cogent explanation of migration from both macro and micro perspectives.

Moreover, despite the numerous theories that have been applied in explicating the perpetuation of international migration, only the cumulative causation theory will be applied in explicating the perpetuation of internal migration in this paper. The cumulative causation theory of migration refers to "the idea that migration induces changes in social and economic structures that make additional migration likely" (Massey 1990: 5-6). Since its introduction by Myrdal (1957) and further development by Massey (1990), scholars have mostly employed it to explain international migration (Fussell and Massey 2004; Massey 1990; Massey et al. 1994; Stark and Taylor 1989) to the detriment of internal migration. Given that it is the only theory that hypothesises that international migration sustains itself in such a way that it tends to create more international migration (Massey et al. 1993), making it a self-perpetuating phenomenon (Massey 1999), it is the best fit for this paper, since it impeccably proves that internal migration is also self-perpetuating, because it alters the structures in sending regions and increases the likelihood of its subsequent occurrence.

The paper is structured as follows. Section two consists of three parts. In the first part, the initiation of internal migration based on the neo-classical economics of migration theory will be examined. In the second part, how cumulative causation dovetails in the perpetuation of internal migration will be explored based on the expansion of networks, culture of migration and agrarian organisation. In the third part of section two, several pieces of empirical evidence regarding the initiation and perpetuation of internal migration will be explored. In section three, the paper examines the justification for extending such theories to the explication of the internal migration process. Several factors will be explored to prove the need for it to be given equal attention as international migration. Section four provides a succinct analysis of how to achieve a balance in the migration space. Section five provides the conclusion and highlights the significance of the paper.

2.1. The Initiation of Internal Migration: the Neo-classical Economics Theory

As hinted above, migration, based on this theory, can be explained from both the macro and micro-level perspectives. At the macro level, the initiation of internal migration is orchestrated by geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour. Some regions have abundant labour with low capital, and their wage level, being correspondingly low, while others have scarce labour and high capital, with a correspondingly high-level of wage (Arango 2000). Therefore, labour tends to migrate from the low-wage region to the high-wage region, with capital moving in the opposite direction. Migration is, thus, orchestrated by individuals' motivation of balancing "pains" and "pleasures". In theory, these are "pains" of surplus labour and low wage in the sending region in relation to the "pleasures" of scarce labour and high wage in the receiving region, resulting in wage differentials that essentially cause migration to occur. As migration occurs between these two economically divergent regions, the "pains" associated with the sending region gradually ease as labour decreases and wages increase, while the "pleasures" associated with the receiving region gradually reduce as labour increases and wages decrease. In the long run, the "pains" and "pleasures" will reach equilibrium, with the migration process expected to cease.

Although the wage-differential factor in migration has been widely accepted by scholars and analysts, its implication on information flow has generally been inadequately explored. Individuals migrate because they harbour an expectation of earning higher wages in the receiving region. The expected wage differential is determined by the interaction of two variables viz. the actual wage differential between the sending and receiving regions and the probability of successfully obtaining employment in the receiving region (Todaro 1980). The "probability" of securing employment in the analysis means imperfect information. It is sometimes assumed that migrants have perfect information about the destination, especially the benefits they will derive from the migration process (McDowell and De Haan 1997). But that is far from the truth. Migrants factor in the probability of getting a job in the receiving region in their analysis because they do not have adequate information about jobs there. Indeed, they are always privy to some information, but are imperfectly informed about the features of the destination, especially regarding jobs. The neo-classical theory of migration proves that it is fallacious to claim that migrants have perfect information about the destination. If they did, they would be certain about jobs available for them in the receiving region as well as their earnings and there would be no room for "probability". That the element of probability is an integral part of neo-classical analysis is indicative of the fact that migrants have imperfect information about receiving regions.

On the other hand, from the micro-level perspective, migration is regarded as a project embarked upon by rational beings. People tend to undertake actions that they deem beneficial. No wonder migrants desire destinations they would derive benefits (Arango 2000; Massey et al. 1993). However, such benefits are not determined in isolation. Migration comes with costs. This is the reason individuals perform a cost-benefit analysis, and upon realising that the benefits outweigh the costs, they make a rational choice of migrating. Thus, as decision-makers who wish to benefit from their labour, migrants ponder over where that would suffice in tandem with the costs involved in the migration process, before migrating. It is in light of this that Arango contends that migrants act as rational actors and migrate to destinations where the benefits they would derive from their labour will be higher than the one they get at home, in a measure sufficient to offset the costs involved in the move (2000).

The cost-benefit calculation implies investment. According to Sjaastad, due to the cost-benefit analysis associated with migration, it is a form of investment (1962). Sjaastad argues that a prospective migrant calculates the value of the opportunity in the market of each alternative destination in relation to the value of the opportunity in the market at the source region and subtracts the costs involved in the move and chooses the destination which maximises the present value of lifetime earnings. Their passion for the benefits associated with the move is what influences them to invest in it and migrate to a destination they can maximise their productivity. However, given the costs involved in the migration process, only individuals with relatively fortunate economic circumstances would have the highest tendency to embark on it (Rystad 1992). That is, migration is a rational project but not everybody can afford it. It then becomes a privilege of only the economically fortunate. That makes internal migration a selective project. Thus, the selective function of migration is applicable to the neo-classical theory of migration. Therefore, there is the need to go beyond the rational decision-making analysis of the neo-classical theory and incorporate how such a rational move can be curtailed by one's poor economic status.

Based on all the discussions above, the following hypotheses can be gleaned.

1. *Discrepancy hypothesis*. Internal migration gets initiated by an imbalance in the distribution of labour, capital and wage between regions. Migration, thus, reflects balancing the "pains" of superfluous labour, low wage and poor capital in the sending region and the "pleasures" of scarce labour, high wage and abundant capital in the receiving region. The higher the discrepancy between the "pains" and the "pleasures", the higher the tendency to initiate migration, and the lower the discrepancy, the lower the tendency to initiate migration.

2. *Expectation hypothesis*. The expectation of earning higher wages serves as an incentive to migrate (Arango 2000; Massey et al. 1993). This explains why wherever there is an expectation of higher wages, it is not uncommon for individuals to migrate to that destination so that the expectation can be actualised. Thus, individuals migrate because they expect to receive higher wages in the receiving region. The higher the expectation, the higher the tendency to migrate, and the lower the expectation, the lower the tendency to migrate.

3. *Benefit hypothesis*. The desire to maximise one's gains increases the propensity to migrate. Migrants do not migrate to any region for the sake of migration. They migrate to where their benefits will outweigh their losses. Such losses are the costs incurred in migration such as the travel cost, maintenance and psychological costs (Massey et al. 1993; Rystad 1992). This is an indication of the fact that the initiation of migration stems from people's quest to derive benefits from their labour in relation to the costs involved in the migration project.

2.2. *The Self-perpetuation of Internal Migration: the Cumulative Causation Theory*

2.2.1. Network Expansion

Networks play a crucial role in the cumulative causation of internal migration, inasmuch as they make it easier for more people to migrate. Networks are the ties or connections between individuals and families living in the community of origin and those living in the destination, or ties or connections between individuals and families in the community of origin and former migrants (Davis and Winters 2000; Massey 1990). Thus, they provide the intrinsic mechanisms of the internal migration process that create the impetus for the intensification of the process over time. The first people to migrate are network deficient. As they settle at the destination, networks start to develop and grow.

The development and growth of networks ensure the flow of information. According to Lee (1966), migration facilitates the smooth flow of information from the destination to the sending region, which facilitates the flow of later migrants. That is to say, migrants are significant vectors of information from the destination to the sending region. This information equips potential migrants in the sending region with the heightened motivation to migrate. In addition to the information, migrants and former migrants "provide financial assistance, facilitate employment and accommodation, and give support in various forms" (Arango 2000: 291) to migrants and potential migrants, thereby increasing the tendency to migrate. This connotes the existence of networks between migrants and non-migrants that makes it possible for potential migrants to receive other goods of significance such as information and assistance that influence them to embark on migration.

That networks make it possible for the receipt of other goods of significance is an indication of the presence of social capital in network-generated internal migration. This is true in the sense that networks can be seen as a form of social capital insofar as they are social relations that permit access to other goods of significance (Arango 2000). By itself, social capital "refers to connections among individuals - social networks and the norms of reciprocity" (Putnam 2000: 19) "that make possible such organisation of large numbers of people in pursuit of collective projects" (Harris 2002: 3). Thus, networks bind

families, friends and other acquaintances together in pursuit of a collective project. The migrants observe norms of reciprocity in pursuit of the collective project of migration. Regarding individuals who consider embarking on internal migration, ties with current or former migrants represent a valuable social asset because such connections can be extremely helpful in the acquisition of information and assistance. As internal migration increases, the stock of ties increases, resulting in the expansion of networks. Not only does this contribute in raising the odds of getting a job, but also in limiting the uncertainty of migration and reducing the costs and risks associated with entering the receiving community. This is consistent with the acknowledgement that the information and assistance go a long way in limiting the uncertainty, reducing the costs and risks of migration, as the expansion of such networks occurs (Arango 2000; Davis and Winters 2000; Massey et al. 1993), increasing the likelihood of further internal movements.

However, it is important to point out that the role played by ties is not straightforward. The dissemination of information within networks crucially depends on the nature of the ties. Granovetter argues that inasmuch as "no strong tie is a bridge" but "all bridges are weak ties", the diffusion of information and opportunities are more likely to enter and pervade groups through weak ties rather than strong ones (1973: 1364). Thus, weak ties, that are bridges, ensure the smooth flow of information and assistance. Based on Granovetter's hypothesis, Putnam has come out with "bonding" and "bridging" social capital (2000). Whereas bonding capital refers to ties that exist among homogeneous groups, bridging capital refers to the ties or loose associations that exist among heterogeneous groups, regarded to be the indispensable machinery for the spread of information and assistance. Information pertaining to new destinations, opportunities and assistance is more likely to be disseminated perfectly through loose associations or weak ties among acquaintances and casual friends than close friends and families connected by strong ties. Therefore, it can be safely said that groups of weak ties or strong bridging capital are more likely to participate in internal migration. Thus, the weaker the ties of a group, the higher the propensity to be involved in internal migration, and the stronger the ties of a group, the lower the propensity to be involved in the process. A group of weak ties or loose associations tends to benefit from information regarding jobs, opportunities, assistance and innovative ideas associated with internal migration, given the heterogeneity of its members.

Then also, the expansion of networks is crucially dependent upon one's knowledge of a migrant. According to Fussell and Massey, "knowing a migrant increases the probability of becoming a migrant, which increases the number of people who are likely to know migrants" (2004: 152-153). Knowing a migrant is an important prerequisite of becoming a migrant, and becoming a migrant has the tendency of increasing the number of individuals who are likely to know migrants. Not everybody can be influenced by networks to embark on internal migration. Only the connected can migrate. A connection to a current or former migrant is enormously useful in motivating further migration since people who have already been to a place are well-placed to help others migrate to that location. Therefore, people who are connected to migrants are better able to migrate to join already established networks and contribute to their expansion. As such, individuals who hail from communities where migration is common are more likely to migrate as a result of the network expansion than people who hail from communities where migration is uncommon.

Not only can network migration behaviour be affected by the sending region, it can also be affected by the destination. As hinted above, with the help of family and friends, migrants can obtain all the assistance they need at the destination, thereby reducing drastically the costs, risks and uncertainty of the internal migration process. This underscores the fact that migrants do not just migrate to any destination. They tend to move to a destination they will have access to kinship and other networks. This epitomises the crucial role kinship and other networks play in network migration behaviour. This is consistent with the viewpoint that "persons having access to kinship and other networks at a place of destination are more likely to choose that place" (Lucas 1997: 743).

Internal population movements result in networks. The networks influence internal "migration to rise, which causes additional movement, which further expands the networks, and so on" (Massey et al. 1993: 449). This means that the availability of migrants causes network expansion which leads to a spurt in the occurrence of internal migration. This creates the situation whereby the networks expand until they reach a considerable level, then internal migration becomes self-perpetuating.

2.2.2. Culture of Migration

It is often argued that the exposure of non-migrants to the changes in the lifestyles of (return) migrants as reflected in their ideas, goods and wealth can immensely contribute to changes in, among other things, tastes and aspirations, making life in the sending community less appealing, discouraging people from working in agricultural and other traditional sectors (De Haas 2008; Lipton 1980; Piore 1979). This raises two significance issues. First, circular or return migration plays an instrumental role, as it is the means by which non-migrants get exposed to the ideas, goods and wealth of migrants. Second, there is a far-reaching repercussion on consumption patterns. It increases the demand for urban or receiving communities' food and goods in sending communities and lowers demand for locally-produced food and goods (De Haas 2010). Taken together, the increased circular migration and the strong taste for food and goods of the receiving community influence the inhabitants of the sending community to aspire for life in the former. Only through embarking on internal migration can they satisfy that aspiration.

Indeed, the above indicates that an interaction between the sending community and destination through migration leads to changes in tastes and aspirations. Yet of more importance is the role played by internal migration in producing a

cultural change, which in turn precipitates a reciprocal effect on the process. De Haas notes that a contextual feedback mechanism with a reciprocal effect on migration is migration-induced cultural change (*ibid*). For starters, internal migration induces a cultural change. The internal migration process "becomes deeply ingrained into the repertoire of people's behaviours, and values" (Massey et al. 1993: 452). That is to say, it becomes part and parcel of the perceived ornamental values of the sending community. Emphasis must be laid on changes in values and perceptions, caused by a long history of internal migration. The changes increase the odds of internal migration, with the probability of the re-occurrence of the process increasing as the number of moves increases, demonstrating how the culture in turn spurs the process. Thus, the internal migration process leads to the emergence of a culture of migration which alters the sending community in a way that makes additional internal migration possible, cumulatively causing the process.

2.2.3. Agrarian Organisation

Internal migration can be said to have a significant impact on the organisation of agrarian production, a mechanism through which the process becomes cumulatively caused. The effect of agrarian organisation in cumulatively causing internal migration can be seen in several ways. First, households of internal migrants, out of shortage of labour, tend to embrace capital-intensive methods of farming, substitute machines, and apply sophisticated seeds, pesticides, insecticides, irrigation equipment and fertilisers, thereby neglecting human labour, given that they have the financial muscle to do so. Households of internal migrants are more likely to use these agricultural inputs than non-migrant households, with the tendency to use them rising as internal migration increases. Simply put, the higher the internal migration process, the higher the capitalisation of agriculture and the higher the sidelining of human labour, culminating in more internal migration. Second, internal migrant households hire labour as a way of making up for the lost labour caused by internal migration. This becomes more expensive as the years go by, leading to a reduction in the hiring of the labour. This results in low yield that fuels further internal migration. This is because the low productivity serves as a disincentive to investment in agriculture, especially for those who can embark on the process. Finally, internal migrant households often use land less intensively than non-migrants by allowing it to lie fallow for several months. This leads to a drastic fall in the demand for local labour. This unfortunate constriction of local labour results in greater internal migration.

Therefore, there is little or no contention about the fact that internal-migration-caused dislocation in local labour is the main factor responsible for how agrarian organisation causes further internal migration. It has to be remembered that the initial internal migration process causes a dislocation in local labour. Therefore, the process serves as a safety valve for the local inhabitants, who are not employed (as labourers) to work in the agricultural sector. The increased internal migration process is a function of agrarian disruption. As the disruption gets greater by the intensification of the process, the structures that stimulate subsequent internal migration are created, cumulatively causing the process.

2.3. Empirical Evidence

2.3.1. The neo-classical Economics Theory

Several pieces of empirical evidence exist for the initiation of internal migration in China based on the macro-level perspective of the neo-classical economics theory. For instance, whilst Zhang and Song use time-series and cross-section data to find that rural China is plagued by arable land shortage (2003), Qi et al. find that rural China is plagued by land scarcity and surplus rural labour, estimating per capita arable land as 0.1 ha (2013), signifying poor employment opportunities in rural China. Thus, unavailable arable land which results in lack of employment opportunities in rural China is of utmost significance in migration decisions. It is in light of this that Hare admits that an additional *mu* of arable land reduces the tendency to migrate by 27% in rural China (1999). This implies that just 0.07 ha of arable land is likely to prevent the migration of the Chinese rural dweller.

While the above connotes undesirable conditions in rural China, it is noteworthy that urban China is blessed with desirable conditions. Urban centres in China have been growing more than an annual rate of 1.44% since 2002 (Qi et al. 2013), as a result of the introduction of effective economic reforms that has resulted in the expansion of urban employment opportunities for migrants (Liang 1996; Zhang and Song 2003), signifying that internal migration gets initiated in "response to [employment] opportunities" (Liang 2001: 317) in the urban centres. This is the reason, Ma and Lin, based on a comprehensive survey conducted in 1985, find that available employment opportunities in urban centres is the chief reason for migration to such areas (1993). The availability of employment opportunities in urban centres puts urban dwellers in an advantaged position in terms of income and savings. Hence, it is unsurprising that based on an in-depth survey of return migrants in rural China, Ma finds that more than 80% of the returnees cited "income earning and savings" as the main motivation for migrating to the urban centre in the first place (2001: 248).

The above discussions set rural and urban China apart. While rural China is plagued by surplus labour and low wages, urban China is characterised by scarce labour and high wages. That is, there are geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour, which results in the flow of labour from low-wage rural China to high-wage urban China. This implies a wage-differential effect. No wonder Lee and Meng use a linear probability model to prove that wage differential between rural and urban income is positively related to the probability of migration within China (2010). Additionally, using data from a 1993 survey of Hubei, Zhu proves that the income gap between rural and urban areas is a determinant of internal migration

(2002). The higher the wage differential, the higher the migration rate between two geographical locations. As such, it can be concluded that income gap is what initiates internal migration in the Chinese context. This is consistent with the models of Harris and Todaro (1970) and Todaro (1969) that capture migration as a project which is initiated by income gap between rural and urban areas.

On the other hand, in consonance with the micro-level perspective, numerous empirical studies have been conducted in Ghana. Migration from the three regions of northern Ghana, namely the Northern, Upper West and Upper East to the two dominant cities in the south such as Accra and Kumasi are incessant. In her survey of migrants from northern Ghana to the south, Mariama finds that 30 out of the 37 female respondents and 18 out of the 21 male respondents migrated because of economic hardship in the source region and concludes that "employment possibility is the main factor that encourages migration of both women and men from the North to the South of Ghana" (2010: 47). She points to a significant distinction between northern and southern Ghana in terms of employment prospects. While northern Ghana is characterised by poor employment prospects, southern Ghana is blessed with an avalanche of employment avenues. Other empirical studies reveal that northern Ghana is plagued by lack of employment opportunities and lower incomes as against available employment avenues and higher incomes in the south (Bosiako et al. 2014; Van den Berg 2007). This explains why based on logistic regression analysis, Adaawen and Owusu find a significant relationship between the higher income earned in southern Ghana and the remittances sent by migrants from northern Ghana (2013).

The above presupposes that this form of migration can be said to be a rational action. According to Arango, migration is a rational action since it involves individual decision-makers "who seek to improve their well-being by moving to places where the reward of their labour will be higher than the one they get at home, in a measure sufficient to offset the tangible and intangible costs involved in the move" (2000: 285). The migrants from northern Ghana seek to improve their well-being and decide to migrate to the south to derive benefits from their labour. They do not derive the benefits they require in northern Ghana. After undertaking a cost-benefit analysis, they decide to migrate upon realising that the benefits they would derive in the south will be more than the cost involved in the move. Hence, the cost involved in this form of migration "is seen as [a] short-term cost to be paid for a long-term gain" (Agarwal et al. 1997: 257). This is not contestable since it has been proved empirically that the destination offers the migrants higher rewards for their labour than the source area (Ghana Statistical Service 2005). This means internal migration gets initiated by the tendency of acting rationally by migrating to a location where individuals can derive benefits from their labour.

2.3.2. Expansion of Networks

Sow et al. in an empirical study of north-western Benin note the presence of ties in internal migration by pointing out that it is "not always confined to a single individual. It normally involve[s] couples and entire families in search of a better life" (2014: 385). Moreover, based on a study of migrants in central Benin, Doevenspeck finds that two-thirds visit their home village at least once per year and half of them have at least one person from home who plans to migrate to the study area (2011). A migrant's visit to a source region and an interaction between the migrant and a non-migrant lead to the establishment of networks between them. Therefore, these studies underscore the crucial role internal migration plays in the formation of networks in Benin. Through the networks, the migrants help the non-migrants to migrate. Inasmuch as migration influenced by networks between migrants and non-migrants dovetail in reciprocal obligations that spur more migration (Massey et al. 1994), the new migrants also help other non-migrants to migrate based on reciprocal obligations, culminating in the accumulation of the networks.

This accumulation leads to the expansion of the networks. Doevenspeck further argues that the networks "accumulate [and] increase in importance as time goes by" (2011: 64). He draws our attention to the fact that the networks multiply and expand. The expansion leads to limited uncertainty, reduced costs and risks associated with this form of migration, leading to the creation of the requisite structures of the likelihood of additional migration in the context of Benin. Thus, internal migration results in the formation of networks that expand over time. The expansion in turn makes additional internal migration possible.

2.3.3. Culture of Migration

In their empirical study of migrants, from northern Ghana, in the southern part of the country, Agarwal et al. prove that having migrated from northern Ghana, "they returned there at regular intervals" (1997: 247). Thus, the migrants are involved in circular migration. When they return to northern Ghana, as Van den Berg empirically finds, they go with changed behaviour, dressing and way of speaking (2007). Thus, the ideas, goods, wealth and success of the return migrants, as reflected in their behaviour, dressing and way of speaking, alter non-migrants' tastes in the area, as they yearn for such changes and aspire to experience life in southern Ghana, making life less appealing to them in northern Ghana. The implication is that the interaction between northern Ghana and the south through the circulation of migrants culminates in a situation by which non-migrants in northern Ghana develop new culture, transmitted from the migrants, influencing them to migrate.

The above means migration-precipitated cultural change can lead to more migration. This is comparable with the hypothesis of De Haas that "the cultural impacts of migration can encourage more migration" (2010: 1595). As the migrants from northern Ghana keep moving to and fro the south, the new culture they transmit to the non-migrants spreads and diffuses thoroughly in northern Ghana, leading to the development of a voracious appetite for this form of migration as non-

migrants in the area continue harbouring the aspiration of tasting life in the southern part of the country. This eventually culminates in a culture of large-scale migration of people from northern Ghana to the south, insofar as the north-south migration in the country gets firmly implanted in the behaviours and perceived values of people in the source region. Thus, through this cultural effect, this form of migration perpetuates itself.

2.3.4. Agrarian Organisation

Liu provides empirical evidence of how rural-urban migration in central China leads to loss of labour, which results in the use of fertilisers, pesticides, sophisticated seeds and substituting machine power for human labour, hiring of labour during the agricultural peak season, and allowing land to lie fallow for several months, resulting in a reduction in agricultural productivity, dovetailing in the self-perpetuation of rural-urban migration (2011). Internal migration leads to a reduction in agricultural productivity, to the extent that agriculture no longer remains economically viable.

The above implies that internal migration has a negative effect on agricultural productivity. This is consistent with the viewpoint of De Haas that internal migration results in a decline in agricultural productivity (1998). Liu's (2011) evidence of how internal migration yields negative effect on agricultural productivity, spurring further migration is very illustrative. Internal migration alters the agricultural fabric negatively and stimulates subsequent migration in the Chinese context. Liu's negative effect of internal migration on agricultural productivity occurs because of a disruption in agriculture caused by loss of labour in sending communities. The further dwindling of the fortunes of those who indulge in agriculture in the sending communities caused by the aggravated lost labour makes internal migration a sensible option, leading to the cumulative causation of the process.

3. Justification for the Extension

As regards international migration, the forces that trigger it and how the process gets sustained have turned out to be the most significant facets of the process. Many scholars have minced no words in exploring the forces that trigger and sustain it. Under different guises, such factors have been analysed as the initiation and perpetuation of international migration (Massey 1986; Massey 1990; Massey and Espinosa 1997; Massey et. al 1993; Massey et al. 1994; School 1995). Telling from the depth and breadth of their analyses, they obviously point to the fact that such forces of initiation and perpetuation are applicable to only international migration. If research projects are conducted to cover only one or two areas, it can wreak adverse effects on subsequent projects. Therefore, conducting research to cover only the initiation and perpetuation of international migration influences others to join the bandwagon while other areas are either totally ignored or are given minimal attention. As such, it is unsurprising that the initiation and perpetuation of international migration continue to attract the attention of theorists, scholars and analysts. It seems very easy for them to imagine that only international migration can get initiated and perpetuated. This explains why it has gained more and outrageous attention at the expense of internal migration.

However, those forces are not exclusive to international migration. As proved in section 2, some scholars have documented the forces that trigger and sustain internal migration and have drawn our attention to the fact that internal migration also gets initiated and perpetuated (see also Lucas 2015). This implies that the mechanisms involved in the initiation and perpetuation of international migration are applicable to internal migration. The forces of migration initiation and perpetuation do not act on the two migration traditions differently. The two traditions are not different processes that affect different sets of people. Hence, the picture painted in the migration discourse that only international migration gets initiated and perpetuated is totally misleading. Ending the preponderance of international migration initiation and perpetuation is intellectually necessary.

Closely associated with the above is the exposition of the four conditions attached to international migration. Massey et al. contend that for any theoretical account of international migration to be satisfactory, it must consider four elements: the structural forces in sending societies that promote emigration; the structural forces in societies that attract immigrants; the motivations, goals and aspirations of the actors who respond to these forces by embarking on international migration; and the social and economic structures that arise to connect areas of out-migration and in-migration (1998). Thus, any account of international migration must contain these four conditions in order to be satisfactory. These conditions act to initiate and perpetuate the international migration process. As such, the initiation and perpetuation of the process reflect these conditions. In this context, it can be safely said that these conditions form the basis for the building of the theories for the explanation of the initiation and perpetuation of international migration. It is in this context that Massey elaborates on the explication of international migration based on, among other theories, the neo-classical economics and cumulative causation and concludes that the integration of "these theories in light of the empirical evidence yields ... account of how international migration is initiated and sustained in the world today" (1999: 304).

This draws our attention to the fact that internal migration has been unfairly treated. There are four similar satisfactory elements reflected in any theoretical account of it: the structural forces that cause out-migration; the structural forces in receiving communities that pull migrants; the motivations, goals and aspirations of the actors who respond to these forces and migrate internally; and the social and economic structures that arise to connect sending and receiving communities. Yet they are not recognised. The only one who comes out clearly to argue that it also has four conditions is Bakewell (2010). Inasmuch as it also has four conditions, its initiation and perpetuation must be given adequate attention. Giving international

migration, a ballooned scholarly attention based on the four satisfactory elements to the detriment of internal migration presents the erroneous impression that only international migration has such satisfactory theoretical conditions.

The development impact of international migration makes it more attractive than internal migration. International migration is regarded as being of profound development significance, a situation which implicitly presents internal migration as being inimical to development. Nevertheless, the consensus nowadays is that internal migration is also of profound development significance. According to Todaro, the re-allocation of labour from one region to the other in internal migration is an essential prerequisite for economic growth, and hence, serves as an integral component of the entire development process (1969). This implies that the allocation of labour to the receiving region yields development. Regarding the high number of migrants involved, internal migration is very significant insofar as it is able to alleviate their poverty and improve their well-being (De Haan 1999; Deshingkar and Grimm 2005). Also, the migrants contribute to the betterment of the destination through the flow of both unskilled and skilled labour, including technicians, teachers, managers, among others, who augment the stock of human capital. It is from this perspective that Byerlee admits that internal migration entails the allocation of labour, and more importantly, human capital (1974), crucial for development.

Conversely, there is the flow of remittances to the sending region. This counter-flow of capital has a considerable development impact on the source region. In terms of the significance of remittances from internal migration, whereas David finds that remittances are vital to food security because they reduce risks and ensure support in times of harvest (1995), Rempell and Lobdell confirm that they accounted for as high as 40% of income of rural households (1978). Byerlee also notes that remittances can be useful in promoting development, inasmuch as they can overcome deficiencies in capital markets in the sending region (1974). It is as a result of this considerable significance that it is asserted "that even very small amounts of remittances can be vital for poor people, including their food security" (De Haan and Yaqub 2008: 8), inasmuch as the flow of remittances from internal "migration in many cases does alleviate poverty" (De Haan 1999: 27). No doubt, remittances associated with internal migration crucially help in allocating and redistributing income, resulting in the development of individuals, households and communities. Thus, in terms of development, internal migration is as important as international migration.

A reflection on the development impact of the international migration process brings its place in policy analysis into focus. The process occupies a significant position in issues regarding policy formulation and implementation by countries, based on the motivation to tap its development impact. This often leads to spurring the initiation and perpetuation of the process. For instance, among other countries, the Philippines, Indonesia, Pakistan, India and Mexico implement policies targeted at increasing international migration to stimulate development from remittance flows, development of skills and the reduction of unemployment, resulting in spurring the initiation and perpetuation of the process (Castles 2004; De Haas 2005; Massey 1999). Admitting the potency of policies in that regard, Arango notes that nothing promotes international migration movements better than policies (2000). Each time the significance of policies is mentioned in relation to population movements, international migration is also mentioned. This accounts for its prominence.

Whilst the above proves the fact that international migration features prominently in policy analysis due to its development impact, it raises the question of the reason behind the surprisingly little attention offered to internal migration in policy analysis, despite its considerable development impact. More devastating is the fact that in the few countries where it is adequately included in policy analysis, it is not promoted in order to tap its development impact, but rather, it is restricted. Ethiopia and China are examples of such countries. The fact that it "continues to get little attention" (De Haas and Yaqub 2008: 17) is indicative of the blatant disregard for its development impact. In light of its considerable development impact, it must be integrated into policy analysis (Byerlee 1974). It is worthwhile for countries to promote it and tap its development impact. This is likely to catapult it into prominence like its international counterpart.

Moreover, there is a nagging misconception in the literature that international migration occurs in unprecedented rates, culminating in the use of apocalyptic terminologies and metaphors such as "massive flows", "waves" and "floods" in its description. This has been dubbed a "myth" in migration studies by De Haas in his article: *International Migration, Remittances and Development: Myths and Facts* (2005). But scholars still leave no stone unturned in mentioning its name in dispatches. Castles and Miller aver that we live in the "Age of Migration" where international migration has accelerated enormously (1993). Furthermore, it is regarded as a concept that will define our future (Goldin et al. 2011). Thus, it has the potential of shaping our future, while internal migration is bereft of any modicum of potential to define or shape our future. One contributing factor of the current heightened interest in international migration is the "Age of Migration" viewpoint (see Ellis and Wright 2016). Nevertheless, recent scholarly works prove that applauding international migration as having grown leaps and bounds to the detriment of internal migration is unfounded and factually wrong. De Haas, for instance, describes it as "incorrect" (2005: 1270).

Numerical comparison between the two traditions is illustrative. Numerically, international migrants cannot in any way be compared with internal migrants. In 2005, the number of international migrants was estimated to be 190 million, representing just 3% of the world's population (Skeldon 2008). It has to be emphasised that global estimate for internal migrants is lacking. However, a fair idea about the magnitude of internal migration can be taken from China and India. Internal migration in China between 1991 and 2001 was estimated at 100 million (Deshingkar and Grimm 2005), while the 2001 census in India estimated 300 million people to have been involved in internal migration, constituting about 30% of the country's total population (Deshingkar 2006). Thus, the statistics from just these two countries place internal migration on top

of international migration. This numerical superiority is superbly illuminated by Castles in the contention that "international migrants remain a fairly small minority", while the number of internal migrants "is much larger" (2000: 275). The fact that more people are involved in internal migration indicates that it is more popular than international migration.

From this perspective, it is understandable that the different types of internal migration increase by the day. The urban-rural and urban-urban types are gradually increasing in momentum (Deshingkar and Grimm 2005; Tacoli 2001). Furthermore, some scholars point out the unequivocal salience and growth of the rural-urban type. For instance, Lucas admits that it attracts much attention (2015). Moreover, while Deshingkar and Grimm note that it "is rapidly gaining in importance" (2005: 15), Harris and Todaro admit that it "not only continues to exist, but indeed, appears to be accelerating" (1970: 126). The case of the rural-rural type makes the poor interest in internal migration enormously astonishing. In addition to being much more common than the rural-urban type, it dominates the volume of migration, yet has generated comparatively little interest (Lucas 1997). If rural-rural internal migration is the dominant type of migration, it should not generate comparatively little interest. Rather, it should enjoy overwhelming interest, as the drivers, mechanisms or processes involved in it need to be explored, with such an interest expected to culminate in an increased interest in internal migration. In cognisance of such a terrible interest, it is unsurprising that internal migration generally suffers terribly low interest. However, the fact that the process increases by the day is immutable. This is consistent with the assertion that, on a daily basis, internal migration increases all over the world (Deshingkar and Grimm 2005).

So why should premium be placed on international migration instead, creating the unfounded impression that the theories used in its explication are applicable to it alone? Should we continue to showcase interest in international migration, while rejecting internal migration? The answer is surely no. As established above, the number of internal migrants surpasses that of international migrants, as such, maintaining the status quo is the worst injustice that can be done to migration studies. International migration should not continually receive enviable scholarly attention at the expense of its internal counterpart. None of the two traditions should be rejected inasmuch as they are the two sides of the same coin. Sight should not be lost of the striking similarity between them. It is in light of this that some scholars highlight linkages between them, with internal leading to international migration and international leading to internal migration (Conti and King 2013; King and Skeldon 2010; Skeldon 2008).

Thus, there is an urgent need for a paradigm shift in migration studies. We need to shift our attention to internal migration. The theoretical frameworks that are applied to international migration must be applied to internal migration as well. This theoretical extension will cure the lopsidedness in the literature, which obfuscates the dynamic nature of migration and presents it as an utterly misleading concept that it occurs only internationally.

4. Balancing the Unbalanced Space

Regarding early theorisations of migration, the best attempt to integrate internal with international migration within the same framework is made by Zelinsky in his path-breaking hypothesis of the mobility transition (1971). Based on the modernisation theory and the notion of stages of demographic change of the 1950s and 1960s, he provides a logical framework for hypothesising connections between internal and international migration (King and Skeldon 2010). Zelinsky's viewpoint espouses the significance of both migration traditions by analysing them within a single framework. Although he does not call for the extension of theories from international to internal migration, since during his time there was no problem of theoretical bias in migration studies, he seeks to provide a balance between internal and international migration, in terms of the application of theories to both traditions. The theoretical bias in the migration space started in the 1980s.

With this bias comes the response of Pryor. He makes a rare attempt of applying the predominantly international migration theories to internal migration, revealing the fact that the two traditions can be analysed within a common theoretical framework (1981). He does not present an overarching meta-theory of migration but contributes immensely to giving internal migration a theoretical facelift by calling for the integration of theoretical approaches to both international and internal migration, suggesting that both migration traditions must be given equal theoretical priority before we can obtain adequate migration research. Yet Pryor's effort never generated the gamut of scholarly build-up it deserved, as the unfortunate one-way theoretical application continued.

This intransigence came to an end after three decades with an attempt by Hao (2012) to balance the migration space. She applies the cumulative causation theory to internal migration, pointing out how networks contribute immensely in making additional internal migration likely in the Chinese context. However, Hao fails to forcefully and emphatically point out the need for the application of such theories to the explication of internal migration. She is not interested in emphasising the applicability of migration theories to internal migration, although she directly applies a predominantly international migration theory to internal migration. To the best of my knowledge, no other frantic effort has been made in applying the predominantly international migration theories to internal migration. As such, it is not surprising that we are confronted with a glittering global interest in international migration and a contrastingly pitiful relegation of internal migration that it vociferously begs for rehabilitation, if not redemption, in the current migration discourse. Hence, King and Skeldon are right with the assertion that "internal migration has faded into the background and surely needs to be rehabilitated" (2010: 1632).

It is based on such contrasting fortunes that King and Skeldon additionally acknowledge a deep cleft between the two migration traditions (*ibid*). This cleft distressingly extirpates the unified feature of the migration process. As Skeldon notes, focusing exclusively on international migration, while neglecting internal migration, implies "truncating a unified migration

space" (2008: 37), which has the potential of perpetuating the unpleasant and erroneous impression that international migration is more important than internal migration. And given that most migrations occur internally (McDowell and De Haan 1997), this situation will result in neglecting the high volumes of migration within such countries as Ghana, China, Nigeria, India, among others. This will aggravate the cleft. The migration studies literature has to be filled with research projects on internal migration. This will narrow the cleft and provide the assurance of obtaining a balanced migration space.

To be successful in doing so, there is the need, as demonstrated above, for the combination of existing theories and empirical evidence. Pryor contends that there is an urgent need "of integrating aspects of existing theories and empirical findings in a new way" (1981: 110). This refers to the combination of existing theories that focus on international migration and the empirical findings on internal migration in an unprecedented fashion, which will culminate in increasing interest in the internal migration process. This implies "selling" less of the international migration we are already "selling" and "selling" more of the internal migration we are not "selling". Without this, attaining this much-needed balance will be shrouded in impossibility. The application of the theories of migration to exclusively international migration, is to look at only one part of the story which only produces an unbalanced interpretation of migration theories (Skeldon 2006). This proposal of marrying existing theories to empirical findings of population movements within countries presupposes that research on migration has reached a state where it needs to be embellished with new thoughts and ideas. Thus, the time is ripe to reassess the mosaic of "theories of international migration and bring them into conformity with new empirical conditions" (Massey et al. 1998: 3) associated with population movements within countries.

The above means achieving a balanced migration space will espouse the holistic nature of migration, inasmuch as it entails combining various research perspectives, levels and hypotheses of international and internal migration. This is particularly true in the sense that incorporating various research perspectives, levels and hypotheses is indispensable for dealing with migration as a whole (see for example Massey et al. 1993). If migration is solely seen from the international perspective, we lose touch of its essential feature of being a "whole" concept. The fact that theories of migration continually get applied to international migration reveals the absurdity of current rumination on migration in presenting the concept as characterised by broken fragments of international and internal migration, undermining this all-important feature. Balancing the migration space will save the concept from being regarded as such. Hence, any attempt employed towards tailoring theories of migration to empirical findings with an ultimate aim of achieving a balance in the migration space will be a giant step towards treating migration as a holistic concept.

At this point, there is no contention that the balance being proposed refers to a reconciliation between theory and empirical research, aimed at increasing interest in the internal migration process. However, it has to be noted that this reconciliation is a herculean task. According to Arango, "there are no simple and easy prescriptions for such a reconciliation" (2000: 295). Prescriptions for reconciling migration theories with empirical findings to provide new research projects are complex and tedious. Nevertheless, it is not impossible to conduct such research projects. It is a matter of extirpating theoretical boundaries, surmounting tremendous difficulties in fitting ideas and avoiding the propensity of placing more premium on some factors than others. This research serves as a superb prescription for integrating theory and empirical findings. It could prove stupendously useful in opening the floodgates for more research in this area that would incorporate a variety of processes, motivations, perspectives and contexts in migration studies.

5. Conclusion

There is no doubt that one of the most attractive topics in social science is migration. Nevertheless, it is not devoid of controversy. There is a discrepancy in the interests of theorists, scholars and analysts regarding the two migration traditions. Current research projects, in an unfettered manner, focus on the forces that pertain to the initiation and perpetuation of international migration, ignoring internal migration. But this paper has taken a divergent view. With the help of an avalanche of empirical evidence and based on the use of the neo-classical economics of migration and the cumulative causation theories, this paper has done justice to the explication of the initiation and perpetuation of the internal migration process, pointing to the fact that it is possible to apply the migration theories that are usually applied to international migration to internal migration.

Whilst on the one hand, it has uncovered the fact that there are no difficulties in the application of such theories to the internal migration process, on the other hand, it has proved that the mechanisms and processes involved in the initiation and perpetuation of international population movements are not different from those involved in the initiation and perpetuation of migration within countries, correcting the erroneous impression that migration theories are applicable to solely international migration. This epitomises the urgent need to extend the theories used in the explication of international migration to the explication of internal migration, in order to balance the migration space. Although the proponents of the theories predominantly applied to international migration differ in terms of opinions and ideologies, using them in the explication of internal migration is neither impossible nor egregious, insofar as interpretations of such theories fit perfectly into internal migration forms and processes. The demonstration of the theoretical applicability and receptiveness of internal migration by this research is indicative of its monumental contribution to opening up new frontiers and alternative forms of analysis in migration studies.

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