Introduction

The Dynamics of Migration

Lillian Trager

In a news article with the headline "Born on the Bayou and Barely Feeling Any Urge to Roam" (Blaine Harden, *New York Times*, September 30, 2002), a resident of Vacherie, Louisiana, is quoted as saying, "Living here is like a security blanket. I stay in Vacherie because my mama's here, my grandmama's here and I just never thought of living anywhere else." The story contrasts the stay-at-home character of people in the Bayou, described as the "most rooted" part of the United States, with the high-population mobility characteristic of American society in general. It emphasizes how "Cajun culture," including food and other traditions, encourages young people to stay at home.

This view of a traditional, stable, and stationary society is similar to the way in which anthropologists and other social scientists have often viewed "traditional" societies. In traditional society, people are assumed to stay in one place, with little mobility; migration and mobility accompany modernization and the transition to urban society. Migration has been framed as an unusual activity, one that needs to be explained: why does an individual move rather than stay at home? The assumption is that any reasonable person would prefer to stay at home, if at all possible.

But is migration unusual? Or is it a normal part of human activity and human history? Clearly, the degree to which people are mobile or stationary

varies from one context to another, as do the reasons why people move or stay. Today, the extent of migration is vast, with people moving from one place to another within a country, people moving across international boundaries, and forced movements of people because of civil conflicts and environmental degradation. Yet, this is not necessarily a new phenomenon. In many world regions, people have long moved from one place to another, as they sought out livelihoods in new locales, moved among a set of places within a geographical region, or established new communities as kin groups expanded. The anthropological literature provides many examples of population mobility. The ethnography of West Africa, for example, includes several types of evidence of movement, ranging from pastoral transhumance to the expansionary practices of lineage societies such as the Tiv to origin stories of communities among the Yoruba, which are usually stories of migration. In Southeast Asia, the history of the Philippines provides an example of movements of people from coastal and riverine regions to the interior and, later, movement to towns that was encouraged by the Spanish colonial power (Trager 1988, 56). Recent archeological research has also begun to examine evidence of migration more closely (Burmeister 2000; see Hoerder 2002 for a world history of migration from the eleventh century to the late twentieth century).

If we take migration to be a key process not only at present but also throughout history, then the types of questions that we ask about it change. Rather than focus only or primarily on why people move, we can ask questions about the dynamics of migration in relation to other central phenomena, such as family and kinship groups, resources and livelihoods, and political and other forces. Rather than assume that most people prefer not to move, we may consider contexts where people seek out and expect to find opportunities for mobility, as well as those contexts where people decide to stay in one place. After all, the Cajun people of the Louisiana Bayou are the result of at least two earlier, very different patterns of migration—the movement of French-speaking Acadians from Nova Scotia and that of the African Americans whose ancestors were brought to the United States as slaves. We may also find that views of migration vary over the life cycle within any specific community; the young men in Mali described by Dolores Koenig (chapter 2, this volume) seek "travel" and "adventure," but elders in the same communities are expected to be back at home.

This volume examines contemporary migration in a number of contexts and from a variety of perspectives. It indicates the range of current research in

economic anthropology on migration and migrants while focusing on a set of key themes. These are themes that have become central in much social science research on migration in the past twenty years; the chapters here broaden and deepen our understanding of those themes, providing not only new data but also new insights. The volume is divided into two parts, each of which considers one major set of issues. Part I considers the intersecting issues of migration, households, and social stratification, while part II focuses on the role of remittances and other flows between migrants and members of their households and communities.

The remainder of this introduction sets the stage by discussing concepts and perspectives that emphasize the dynamic character of migration and mobility in relation to other social and economic forces. The following key arguments are made: first, that "migration" as a concept and subject of study includes a variety of types of mobility and that those various types of movements should be examined in conjunction with one another. I therefore argue that too much of the migration literature considers either international migration or internal migration but not both. In contrast, this volume includes studies of both international and internal mobility, enabling a consideration of common patterns among, as well as of differences between, these processes. Second, in emphasizing the dynamics of migration, I argue that theories of migration need to incorporate both macrolevel forces and microlevel institutions in order to consider a variety of central questions, including not only why people move but also how their movements affect and are affected by other social and economic institutions and processes. Third, migration is viewed here as an ongoing process, with continuing implications not only for those involved (i.e., the migrants themselves) but also for the people to whom they are connected—the families, households, and communities from which they leave and to which they go. Remittances, for example, are important not simply because they provide a source of income to those remaining at home but also because they represent the basis for ongoing social connections and networks.

In the first section, I examine data on migration as a worldwide phenomenon. In the second section, I discuss definitions of migration, emphasizing some of the problematic aspects of current definitions. The third section considers ways in which a variety of theoretical perspectives assist in understanding migration as a dynamic process, while the fourth section focuses on some

of the specific contributions of economic anthropology to the study of linkages resulting from migration. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of some of the key outstanding questions about migration.

MIGRATION AS A WORLDWIDE PHENOMENON: THE EVIDENCE

Estimates of the number of people involved in migration throughout the world are highly varied and inexact. The most recent figures from the International Organization for Migration refer only to those involved in international migration; according to this organization, 175 million people, or 2.9 percent of the world's population, are international migrants (International Organization for Migration 2003, 4). Earlier United Nations publications have tried to estimate numbers of all types, including refugees and those involved in internal, especially rural-urban, migration (United Nations Population Fund 1993, 11–13, 32). In the United States, discussions of migration focus mainly on immigrants, and estimates of illegal immigrants range widely; the same is true of many European countries, as well as other countries where illegal immigration is an issue.

Relatively little attention is paid to the movement of citizens within their own countries, except where urbanization is viewed as a serious problem. For example, in China, which has long sought to prevent urban migration and where household registration is required, estimates indicate that one in five people in the largest cities are migrants (Wang and Zuo 1999, 276).

Even where statistics exist, it is difficult to know just what they represent. At issue are problems such as the definition of who a migrant is, the period considered necessary for someone to be counted as a migrant, the extent of circular and return movements, and so on.

Regardless of the statistics, it is evident that the numbers of people involved in migration are enormous, and probably increasing, and that this is a global phenomenon not limited to any specific region or set of countries. Furthermore, when one looks beyond the specific individuals counted as migrants and to their families, households, and communities, then the numbers of people participating in, and affected by, migration expands to include vast numbers of people, far beyond any of the specific estimates available from official sources.

While rooted in human history and an aspect of ongoing historical processes, contemporary processes of migration can be viewed in terms of a broad range

of social and economic forces. On the one hand, movements within countries are taking place in contexts of urbanization and expanded economic opportunities in specific places. At the same time, however, globalization and international economic processes encourage the mobility of people across national boundaries, although there are also numerous constraints to such mobility. Added to these presumably voluntary types of movement are the forced migrations resulting from wars and other violent conflicts, environmental degradation, and other situations in which people have little choice but to move. Although movements of "refugees" are usually discussed in different terms from those of other migrants, there is ample evidence that the boundaries between "voluntary" migration and forced migration are blurred: on the one hand, many of those who choose to migrate do so in contexts of economic deprivation and poverty; on the other hand, many of those who are refugees move out of the same type of desire for economic betterment found in other types of migrants.

International and Internal Migration

Much of the research on migration examines movements across national boundaries (international migration) as a different and separate process from movements within countries (internal migration). Separate literatures exist on immigration and internal migration, and there is an underlying assumption that there are different explanations, and presumably different theoretical issues, in the consideration of these different types of mobility. In contrast, this volume argues that all types of migration, both international and internal, need to be considered together. This is not to say that these processes are identical. Rather, it is important to consider the ways in which these processes are similar, in both substantive and theoretical terms, as well as the ways in which they differ. Whether the questions focus on why individuals decide to move (or stay), what the social and economic context of migration is, what the consequences of migration are for places of origin and places of destination, what the policy implications of movement are, or whether they focus on a wide range of other significant questions about human population mobility, it is essential to consider all forms of mobility. Movement across national boundaries is simply one type of mobility, not the only or the most significant type of movement.

A recent major overview of international migration (Massey et al. 1998) reflects the shortcomings of focusing on just one type of movement. Although

the volume is entitled *Worlds in Motion* and although its major goal is to examine current theoretical explanations of international migration, the limitations of this focus are both substantive and theoretical. For example, the entire African continent and its peoples are largely excluded from consideration, presumably because they do not make up a major portion of international migratory movements. The chapter on international migration and community development, although using data from studies of internal migration, does not recognize the continuity of processes such as the sending of remittances. Whether the person sending remittances is located in the same country or outside may certainly make a difference to the recipient, but to assume that these are fundamentally different processes misses the crucial point. We need to try to see in what ways they are similar and in what ways different.

More seriously, theoretical discussions that are limited to international migration (or, for that matter, internal migration) miss the important contributions that are being made in the other literature. For example, to discuss international migrant social networks (e.g., Massey et al. 1998, 42–45) without drawing on the literature on social networks and linkages among internal migrants (such as the work on rural-urban linkages in Africa; see Gugler 2002) limits our understanding of these processes.

The numbers of people involved in international migration, and the range of places from which they come and to which they go, are vast. Whereas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries most international migration involved European immigrants to North and South America, today a much wider range of societies are involved, with immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and Africa moving not only to North America but also to Europe. There are also movements to the Middle East, as labor (mostly short-term contract labor) has been recruited in Asia and elsewhere. And there are regional movements within Asia, Africa, and Latin America: Nepalese migrants go to Japan, West Africans to Côte d'Ivoire (at least until recently), Southern Africans to South Africa, and so forth. The specific situations and contexts vary greatly, as do the motivations for mobility among those involved.[1] The old "push-pull" theories to explain these movements have been found unsatisfactory (Massey et al. 1998, 15), and recent discussions suggest that no one theory is likely to be the explanation for all situations: "rather than adopting the narrow argument of theoretical exclusivity, we adopt the broader position that causal processes relevant to international

migration might operate on multiple levels simultaneously, and that sorting out which of the explanations are useful is an empirical and not only a logical task" (50).

Recent research on international migration has shifted focus from simply the movement of individuals from one country to another to the study of the continuing links that are formed and maintained among those who leave and those who stay at home. The shift to the study of transnational migrants has made clear that migration is not a onetime event but rather an ongoing process, with migrants remaining connected to family and community in the home country while becoming part of networks and communities in the new country. Individual migrants move back and forth between locales. As Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc describe in their discussion of the "discovery" of transnationalism,

> the migrants in the study sample moved so frequently and were seemingly so at home in either New York or Trinidad as well as their societies of origin, that it at times became difficult to identify where they "belonged." . . .
>
>   [The researchers] recognized that the dichotomized social science categories used to analyze migration experiences could not explain the simultaneous involvements . . . of migrants in the social and political life of more than one nation-state. Rather than fragmented social and political experiences, these activities, spread across state boundaries, seemed to constitute a single field of social relations. (1994, 5)

If huge numbers of people are involved in international movements, then the numbers of those who move within their own national boundaries are far greater but even harder to estimate. In countries such as the United States, with relatively accurate census data, data are collected on movement into and out of communities. It is therefore possible to know that one place, such as the Louisiana Bayou, is the "most rooted" in that there is relatively little movement in or out, while another, such as Stateline, Nevada, is "way off the mobility scale" and that the state of Nevada in general has fewer people living there who were also born there than any other state in the country (*New York Times*, September 30, 2002). Most countries collect limited data on migration; where such data does exist, they can provide statistics on the percentages of migrants living in the same place where they were born or living in the same place where they were five or ten years earlier. Some countries do collect household survey

data with questions on migration, but even then the validity and usefulness of the data are limited.

The result is that our knowledge of the extent and importance of internal migration mainly derives from surveys undertaken for a specific purpose, such as the study of rural-urban migrants. Rarely do such surveys convey the magnitude of migration. For example, a national survey in Nigeria in 1986 found that 25.8 percent of urban residents and 16.9 percent of rural residents were "life-time migrants"[2] and that in one state in the southwestern part of the country, the figures were 29.9 percent and 29.6 percent, respectively (Federal Republic of Nigeria 1989, 6, 14). But when conducting research in specific communities in southwestern Nigeria, Sara Berry found that in one village over a period of seven years, the total population remained stable but that 60 percent of the people counted the first time had left and been replaced by others (1985, 70), while I found that nearly everyone surveyed in 1991 in five communities had at some time in their lives been migrants (Trager 2001, 60, 64; see also, Trager in this volume, chapter 7).

Those studying internal migration have long recognized the importance of migration as a continuing process rather than a single event, one with implications for both sending and receiving communities. By the early 1970s, several scholars studying urban migrants in various regions of Africa focused on rural-urban linkages among households and communities (e.g., Mayer 1971 for South Africa; Gugler 1971 and Aronson 1971 and 1978 for Nigeria; Weisner 1972 and 1976 for Kenya; see also Gugler 2002 for a recent discussion of this literature). This work, as well as somewhat later research in Southeast Asia (e.g, Trager 1981 and 1988 in the Philippines; Hugo 1982 in Indonesia) and to a lesser extent that in Latin America (e.g., Paerregaard 1997), led to conclusions such as my own, that for migrants "rural and urban places are part of a single social field within which, over time, there may be considerable movement, not only between one village and a particular city, but between a number of such places" (Trager 1988, 12).

There are, of course, significant differences between international and internal migration, the most important of which is that the former involves movement across national boundaries and is therefore regulated by states (or, rather, states attempt to regulate migration across their borders). In the United States, this has meant a great deal of attention in the academic and policy communities to "illegal" or "undocumented" migrants as well as to the

proliferation of various forms of visa classifications for the legal movement of temporary workers (e.g., agricultural workers from Mexico and students from Europe to work in the tourist industry) and for permanent immigration, such as the visa lottery system of recent years and visas for high-tech workers. Most other regions of the world have systems for distinguishing "legal" from "illegal" immigrants, although within regions such as Europe, movement across national borders is quite unrestricted. For the migrant, movement across borders usually involves higher costs and risks than internal migration; in many situations, the distances are greater, and in others (e.g., the Mexico–United States border) the risks of entering illegally have increased. Most countries do not regulate internal mobility, although China is an exception. Chinese policies have sought to restrict urban migration through a system of household registration; nonetheless, since the early 1980s the "floating" population has included an estimated eighty million farmers who have left their villages to work as laborers and traders in the cities (Murphy 2000).

Refugees and Forced Migration

Analysis of the situation of refugees is usually discussed separately from that of other forms of migration. While it is true that the immediate cause for refugee movement is usually some form of catastrophe, such as war or drought, over the longer term, refugee mobility has many of the features of other types of migration. Officially, refugees are considered to be people who have been forced to leave their homeland because of fear of persecution (International Organization for Migration 2003, 98): they go to another country on a temporary basis, or they seek asylum in another country. However, there is increasing recognition of those termed *economic refugees*, who respond to economic crisis such as that brought on by drought by moving elsewhere. Not all move across international boundaries; some become "internally displaced," living in another area of their own country. Statistics on these movements are poor. For example, it is well known that Africa is a region with larger numbers of refugees from wars and environmental degradation; most of these people are living either in neighboring countries or in another region of their own country. Yet, recent statistics, such as those reported in a newspaper article in July 2003, only refer to the increase in numbers of African refugees being resettled in the United States and to the total of 103,000 African refugees who have been resettled in the United States over the past twelve years (Rachel L.

Swarns, "U.S. a Place of Miracles for Somali Refugees," *New York Times*, July 20, 2003).

The overlapping categories of international and internal migration, as well as those of refugee movements, become particularly apparent when we focus on the people who move. As Janet Abu-Lughod pointed out long ago, migration cannot be studied as if "human beings, like iron filings, were impelled by forces beyond their conscious control" (1975, 201). Our attention must focus on the migrants and their families, households, and communities, as well as on the larger economic and social contexts in which they live and work. This has been brought home to me in my own research, which has focused mainly on internal migration. When I was doing research in the Philippines in the late 1970s, I interviewed a woman whose husband was working in Saudi Arabia; she became one of my major case studies, one in which I was able to examine the impact of remittances from international as well as internal migration (Trager 1988, 155–68). More recently, in two academic presentations of my research in Nigeria, Nigerian scholars asked why I focused on only migration and hometown connections within Nigeria and why I had not followed members of my research communities to Chicago or other American cities. To them, it is obvious that those living outside Nigeria are following many of the same patterns as those within the country and that research is needed on the implications of international as well as internal mobility of Nigerians.

Chapters in this volume consider both international and internal migration; they also help to demonstrate the overlap in categories and provide empirical data that demonstrate the importance of considering these categories in tandem. For example, Jeffrey H. Cohen's study (chapter 3) of nonmigrants from Oaxaca explores options other than international migration open to those in a region where migration to the United States is common; Sasha Newell's study (chapter 5) of Ivoirian youth who dream of moving to France or the United States notes the facts of rural-urban migration in Côte d'Ivoire as well as the movement of those migrants from other West African countries into the country.[3]

MOVEMENT IN TIME AND SPACE: WHO IS A MIGRANT?

There is no single accepted definition of who is considered to be a migrant. Two key issues include, one, the degree of permanence, that is, the length of time that a person has spent or will spend in a new locale; and, two, the di-

mension of space, that is, the distance that the person travels. Early research focused on "permanent" migrants, with the assumption being that migration involved a specific activity undertaken by an individual migrant and that once that individual had moved, he or she planned to stay in the new locale. Furthermore, many researchers assume that some kind of border, or change in type of locale, is involved so that spatial distance is not only geographical but also social. For example, there is much more emphasis on rural-urban migration than on rural-rural movements. Movement to a new residence across international boundaries is always understood as migration, even when the distance between the old residence and the new one is negligible.

Current research on migration widely recognizes that migration is not always permanent, and there has been a proliferation of related concepts, such as circular migration and return migration. Nevertheless, most surveys use a definition that involves some length of stay (e.g., six months) to distinguish migrants from visitors and travelers. There is no consistency, however; for example, Arjan de Haan and Ben Rogaly refer to research on Fulani in Burkina Faso where "73 per cent of individuals were involved in some form of migration lasting at least two weeks" (2002, 3). Given that the Fulani are a pastoral society, migration of two weeks seems to have little meaning. Efforts to define migration are often based on the stated intentions of those being studied; as Koenig points out in chapter 2, an individual may say he is just going on a visit, but then he may stay away longer and work. Her discussion points out the complexity of migration and the difficulty of defining who migrants are, at least in a West African context where cultural values support the idea of "traveling" and "going on adventure."

The development of concepts such as seasonal migration, circular migration, and return migration has led to a better understanding of migration as a process rather than as a single event. No doubt there are people who move from one place to another and then stay there permanently. But there are also many who move back and forth between a set of places or who move to one place, then to another, and ultimately return home. Each pattern needs to be considered empirically in terms of the social and economic context in which varied types of movement take place.

The same is true with regard to space. Is someone a migrant who moves from one city to a neighboring city in the United States? Or must the move involve different types of social and economic spaces? In a recent paper, Alison

Newby (2003) examines people living in the border area of El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico; these are contiguous cities divided by an international boundary. If not for that boundary, would those who move from one to the other be considered migrants?

This suggests a third dilemma in the study of migrants and migration: there is frequently an assumption that migrants are poor people who move because they must in order to seek out improved livelihoods. The old push-pull thesis of migration continually reappears, with arguments that people migrate because they cannot survive at home or because they seek economic betterment elsewhere. Many of those who migrate are poor and are seeking improvement, if not for themselves, then for their children. But not all who move are poor; for example, those who participate in contract labor in the Middle East from countries such as the Philippines are often middle-class people with sufficient resources to undertake that type of migration.[4] Recent immigrants to the United States include many highly educated professionals.

Certainly, economic context is often a crucial part of migration activity. Thomas M. Painter has proposed a particularly useful approach in the study of West African mobility, considering livelihood activities in terms of the "action space" in which people operate:

> Action space refers to the geographical and temporal distribution of opportunities and constraints, both local and extra-local, that are identified and used (or avoided) by individuals and corporate groups (e.g., households) to obtain access to the resources they define as critical for their well-being. Action spaces are created, reproduced and modified through mobility. (1996, 83)

Rather than focus on livelihood resources available in a particular type of locale (e.g., urban as opposed to rural), Painter focuses on how people seek to gain access to a range of resources through a variety of livelihood strategies in which mobility is a key element. It is likely that West Africa is not the only environment where such an approach may be useful.

But economic strategies and livelihoods are not the only reasons why people move. For example, in some regions of the world, the only way to obtain secondary school education is to move away from home (see Koenig, chapter 2). Marriage and kinship obligations also underlie migration decisions in many cases, yet there is relatively little research on marriage migration (see

Fan and Li 2002 for an exception). More significant is the fact that there may not be a single reason for a person's decision to migrate. For example, in responses to survey questions, women in Nigeria often said that they had moved for family reasons: marriage, to return home to care for someone, and so on. But when I did extended life-history interviews, these same women talked at length about the work they did and the jobs they had in the various places where they lived; they did not always move when their husbands did but stayed on because of job or educational opportunities (see discussion in Trager, this volume, chapter 7).

MIGRATION AS A DYNAMIC PROCESS: THEORIES AND DEBATES

Consideration of the definition of migrants helps to emphasize the importance of recognizing migration as a dynamic process, one with both causes and consequences. Not only do people move from one place to another, but they also may move back or on to another locale; in addition, they have continuing ties with people in both the places they left and the places they move to. Whereas earlier theoretical discussions of migration tend to focus on explanations of why people move in the first place, more recent discussions incorporate the continuing linkages and their implications. In general, theories fall into two broad groups: those that emphasize macroeconomic forces and those that emphasize individual decisions. In response to both these broad perspectives, an emphasis on intermediate levels of social organization (family, household, community) has assumed greater importance in recent discussions of migration.

Macroeconomic Forces and Migration

Analysis of migration at the level of macroeconomic forces focuses on the broad structural and historical features of societies, especially on labor markets and demand for labor. The key feature of modern migration, according to these perspectives, is that it consists of the "migrations of labor, not of people" (Amin 1974, 66). A variety of theoretical perspectives has been developed, ranging from those of economists who argue that migration is caused by geographic differences in the supply and demand for labor (e.g. Harris and Todaro 1970) to those of world systems and dependency theorists who focus on international migration, arguing that migration takes place "as part of the international dynamics" of the world capitalist system (Portes and Walton 1981, 29).[5]

These theorists are not particularly interested in the individual who migrates or the immediate social context from which one comes or to which one moves but rather in the global societal forces that impel people to move. The focus is primarily on the causes of migration and much less on the consequences. There are some exceptions, however. For example, Claude Meillassoux analyzed migration in West Africa in terms of the intersection of the capitalist economy and that of the noncapitalist, arguing that temporary labor migration "preserves and exploits the domestic agricultural economy" (1981, 110) so that labor reserves are created, with domestic relations of production in the rural area and migration for seasonal work in the capitalist sector. Some attention has also been paid to the loss of labor in rural communities as more and more community members migrate, especially those who are better educated and more skilled (e.g., Lipton 1976, 230–32).

Interest in the consequences of migration at broad societal levels is reflected primarily in studies of ethnicity and assimilation; literature on these issues can be found in studies of both internal migration and international migration. For example, many of the early studies of migration in Africa focus on the processes of adaptation to urban environments (e.g., Little 1957; Mitchell 1956) and the formation of urban associations. Recent work on host societies and international migration expands on earlier work on assimilation (Reitz 2002). This research incorporates consideration not only of race and ethnic relations but also of changing labor markets as well as changing government policies.

Current research increasingly emphasizes migration within the context of globalization. As Stephen Castles states in a recent article,

> It is now widely recognized that cross-border population mobility is inextricably linked to the other flows that constitute globalization, and that migration is one of the key forces of social transformation in the contemporary world. (2002, 1144)

Although he focuses much of his discussion on the formation of transnational communities, an issue considered later at greater length, Castles also notes the importance of globalization as a force influencing migration, arguing that "as globalization reduces barriers to flows, it seems likely that the rate of increase in migration may accelerate" and that despite the efforts to control interna-

tional migration, "it seems unlikely that attempts to radically curtail migration can succeed in the face of the powerful forces which bring about flows" (2002, 1151).

Several contributors to this volume provide detailed analysis of the ways in which specific migration patterns result from and interact with broader economic, social, and cultural processes. Their work goes beyond broad statements on the impact of "globalization" or labor market forces. Robyn Eversole (chapter 9) demonstrates the importance of a truly global phenomenon, the sending of remittances and their implications for development, while in a very different vein, Sasha Newell (chapter 5) portrays the symbolic and cultural effects of globalization on urban young people's desires to migrate.

Migration and Individuals

At the opposite end of the spectrum from theories that focus on broad structural and economic forces are those that explain migration in terms of individual motivations. The questions asked are entirely different. Rather than consider labor markets or global economic conditions, proponents of these theories ask, "Who are the migrants? Why do they move, stay or return? How and where do they move? When do they move? What are the effects of such actions on the migrants and on others?" (Chang 1981, 304–6). Human capital models dominate, using as their basic premise the presumption "that an individual migrates in the expectation of being better off by doing so" (DaVanzo 1981, 92) and then seeking to explain differing patterns of migration in terms of individual decision making. Such models are found in both the literature on internal migration and that on international migration (see Massey 1998, 19–20). As Douglas S. Massey summarizes,

> The likelihood of emigration is predicted to be reliably related to such standard human capital variables as age, experience, schooling, marital status, and skill. The propensity for international migration is also expected to vary with a household's access to income-generating resources at home. (51)

As we discuss later, migrant networks have received considerable attention. Massey and colleagues (1994) identify migrant networks as a form of social capital on which individual migrants can draw. Although the incorporation of the idea of social capital expands the explanatory framework somewhat to include

aspects of intermediate levels of social structure (family, networks, community; discussed later), the theoretical explanations still focus on individual behavior, again leaving us with the question, how do we explain how and why individuals move?

Although studies of individual decision making in migration reinforce the notion of migrants as active agents, not simply cogs being moved about by global forces, they lack context. Survey data on individual migration provide little understanding of the social and economic context in which such decisions are made, and they essentially provide no information on the continuing impacts of migration decisions on families, households, and communities. Some of those interested in understanding individual behavior within social contexts have found life- and family-history approaches to be useful (e.g., Trager 1988; Brettell 2003; Pérez in this volume, chapter 1).[6] In general, all the authors in this volume, including those that use survey data, have sought to place the examination of individual migrant behavior within broader social and cultural contexts in which the migrants function. For example, Silvia Grigolini's study (chapter 6) of Oaxacan migrants' investment in houses and Stephen Lubkemann's contribution (chapter 8) on the "moral economy" of nonreturn among Portuguese and Mozambican migrants both demonstrate how what may appear to be idiosyncratic behavior on the part of individuals can be explained when viewed in context.

Family, Community, and Networks: Intermediate Levels of Social Organization[7]

Dissatisfaction with explanations at both the structural level of economic and historical forces and the level of individual decision making has led anthropologists, and others, to theorize about migration in terms of those intermediate-level institutions that link individuals and macrolevel forces: the family, household, and social networks. Larissa Lomnitz proposes the study of social networks as a way of analyzing migration, arguing that the social network "represents a middle-range level of abstraction situated between large-scale social structure and the individual" (1976, 134), while Charles H. Wood (1981, 1982) suggests the household as the intermediate unit of analysis, stating that "study of household sustenance strategies, interpreted within an analysis of the socioeconomic and political forces that affect the maintenance and reproduction of the household unit, provides a framework that poten-

tially identifies both structural and behavioral factors that propel population movement" (1982, 300).

Using such an approach in research on internal migration in the Philippines, I have argued that migration has led to the formation of dispersed family networks:

> Dispersed family networks . . . include interaction and . . . support among people who may be residing in two or more different places. These places may be the rural home and urban residence of the migrant, or they may include people in other cities, and even overseas. (Trager 1988, 182)

I argue that such networks have implications for the sharing of resources between migrants and family elsewhere and for the formation and maintenance of households:

> The effects of migration go beyond changes in household composition; migration does not simply lead to the loss of members. Rather, migration adds to the considerable flexibility in domestic arrangements that already exists in the Philippines, leading to situations where family members are residentially absent and yet remain integral to the support of other household members. Families and households engage in a wide variety of activities at different times and in different places, as part of the effort to mobilize resources for maintaining themselves; migration is one means of obtaining access to diverse sources of income. . . . [It] is necessary to examine the total field in which household members operate, the resources available, and how family networks are used to mobilize these.[8] (1988, 183–84)

Study of family, household, and other social networks in the migration process has demonstrated that migration is often part of family and household strategies and that decisions to migrate are made in a family or household context rather than as an individual decision. For example, Henry A. Selby and Arthur D. Murphy argue that "migration is an income-generating strategy directed at family preservation" (1982, iv), while I have analyzed strategies for survival and socioeconomic mobility among Filipino families (Trager 1984a; 1988), pointing out the key role played by women in these strategies. The study of remittances and other forms of economic linkages between migrants and family elsewhere became a central focus in these analyses (see later discussion).

Anthropological studies of the importance of family in migration decision making and of the role of remittances and other continuing ties have led some economists to new theoretical propositions. Spearheaded by Oded Stark, the "new economics of migration" has influenced the debate about both the causes and the consequences of migration (see Stark 1991 for a compilation of his major articles on the subject; see also Stark 1995).[9] In this approach, "the family, rather than the individual, [is placed] at the center of the migration decision" (1991, 5). This premise

> shifts the focus of migration research from individual independence to mutual interdependence. Various implicit and explicit intra-family exchanges, such as remittances, are thus integral to migration, not unintended by-products of it. And given the overall pattern of the demand for labor, the performance of individual migrants in the absorbing labor market can largely be accounted for not just (as in standard human capital theory) by the migrants' skill levels and endowments but also by the preferences and constraints of their families who stay behind. (1991, 3)

He argues further that migration cannot be seen as simply a response to wage differentials and that other variables must be considered, especially in relation to the ways in which families approach risk and to their expectations regarding returns from children. Finally, Stark proposes that migration has continuing effects, and he examines the way in which "migratory outcomes are fed back into and modify the very market environments that stimulated migration" (1991, 4).[10]

Despite the value of such insights, the focus on the family limits these studies. The family is not the only intermediate level of social organization that affects the migration process. While family and household may be key in certain contexts (e.g., the Philippines, Mexico), in other societies broader networks of kin and community members are significant. Social networks that span a number of locales may include mainly members of the same family or household or expand to include a much wider set of kin and community members. The latter is particularly true in Africa, where linkages to home community have a major influence on the behavior of migrants; there is also evidence regarding the formation of community-based links through institutions such as hometown associations, in other regions, and among international as well as internal migrants. These linkages are discussed further in the next section.

Research on intermediate levels of social organization has contributed to the analysis and understanding of the long-term consequences of migration. Migration is not a single event, of one individual leaving a place and moving to another place. Rather, it involves ongoing connections that are formed and maintained among people located in a variety of places. Those ongoing relationships have consequences for those who move and for those who stay behind; they have implications for the home community and the destination community; they lead to the formation of social networks that span specific communities and societies.

LINKAGES, REMITTANCES, AND MULTILOCALITY— CONTRIBUTIONS OF ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Among the most important contributions of economic anthropologists to the study of migration has been the study of the connections that are formed and maintained between migrants and those elsewhere. Whether the focus is internal migration or international migration, anthropologists have explored the material and symbolic aspects of these linkages. In the process, they have gone beyond the study of remittances per se to place material links such as remittances into a context that recognizes social and cultural values of kin and community. They have also explored the spatial dimensions of these linkages: not only are migrants linked to a specific set of people in one specific place, but such linkages may also span a number of different locales.

Linkages

During a visit to Washington, D.C., in fall 2002, one of my taxi drivers was from Ghana. When I mentioned that I would be taking a group of students to Ghana a few weeks later, he wanted to know where we would go. In response to the usual questions from me (what part of Ghana he was from, how long he had been in the United States, if he went home, and so on), he told me that he came from Kumasi, a large city in central Ghana. He said that although he had been in the United States for more than twenty-five years, he went home regularly, nearly every year. He owned houses in both Kumasi and Accra, the capital; the one in Kumasi was for him and his family and that in Accra was an investment (rental property) as well as a place to stay on short visits. In addition, he had spent several months at home two years previously so that he could participate in the Ghanaian elections, and he spoke proudly of the new Asantehene (Asante king) in Kumasi who was installed several years ago. His

wife and children were with him in Washington, but he hoped to retire to Ghana eventually.

This story exemplifies the range of links that exist and the networks that migrants may participate in. It can be repeated over and over, with immigrants from Mexico, India, China, and many other countries and with various permutations, among both internal and international migrants. These connections have social and material aspects, and they exist in a variety of contexts.

The fact of such linkages is now well established. Of greater interest now is the varying forms they take, how they are used by those involved, the ways in which they form part of migration strategies, and how they vary with material and cultural context.[11] The analysis of linkages has received the most attention in studies of African rural-urban migration (e.g., Trager 1996 and its articles; McNulty 1985; Geschiere and Gugler 1998 and its articles; Gugler 2002). Perhaps the reason is that, as Anthony O'Connor points out,

> more than in any other region people belong to a combined rural-urban system of social and economic relationships. Many individuals have one foot in each world, and many families have at any given time some members in the city and some in the country. This intensity of social links between city and country is one of the few features shared by all types of tropical African city. It is also shared by all classes or income groups among the urban population. (1983, 272–73)

There are multiple dimensions to these linkages—social and economic, cultural and political. The cultural importance of knowing where you are from and remaining connected to your place of origin is reflected in proverbs: "A river does not flow so far that it forgets its source" is one example among the Yoruba (Trager 2001, 37); "The son of the hawk does not remain abroad," among the Igbo (Gugler 2002). It is reflected as well in the desire of many Africans to be buried "at home"; as Josef Gugler comments, "Many are the stories of family, kin, and/or co-ethnics making great efforts and going to considerable expense to fulfill this last wish, traveling with the coffin across impossible roads or sending the casket across the Atlantic" (2002, 24; see Gugler 2002 for a review of rural-urban linkages and some of the range of contexts in which they are found within Africa).

Many of the questions that are asked about rural-urban linkages can also be raised about transnational linkages.[12] Newspaper articles portray the in-

vestments that immigrants are making in their home communities (e.g., on Ghana, Joseph Berger, "American Dream Is Ghana Home," *New York Times*, August 21, 2002; on the Caribbean, Janny Scott, "In Brooklyn Woman's Path: A Story of Caribbean Striving," *New York Times*, June 28, 2003; on Latin America, Daisy Hernandez, "Sending More Home Despite a Recession," *New York Times*, July 14, 2003), and recent policy discussions have noted the importance of remittances (e.g., a report on National Public Radio, *Morning Edition*, July 21, 2003). Gugler refers to research on Nigerians in Chicago in which over 90 percent reported remitting an average of $6,000 to home families and nearly half had invested in housing in communities of origin (2002, 39). Andrew Young, in an interview held before the Sullivan Foundation Summit in Nigeria in July 2003, stated that Ghanaians in the United States repatriate "over $1 billion dollars" to Ghana every year (quoted in Emmah Ujah, "As President Bush Visits Nigeria: How We Got Bush to Fight HIV/AIDS in Africa with N200 billion—Andrew Young," *Vanguard Online Edition*, July 10, 2003). As with rural-urban linkages, there are numerous questions about what the specific dimensions of the ties are, who is involved, how they are connected to specific migration strategies, and what the impact is over time (including whether such connections continue beyond the first generation).

Using data on migrants to New York City from the eastern Caribbean, Haiti, and the Philippines, Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc demonstrate the significance of family and organizational linkages in transnationalism. Defining transnationalism as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement," they examine the "multiple relationships"—"familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political"—in which "transmigrants" are involved (1994, 7). They show how family networks, including both close and more distantly related kin, can assist in initial migration as well as in continuing "multi-stranded involvements focused on education and family reproduction, health care, and economic and political activities" (83). Among these connections are "reciprocal transactions," including "gifts of money and goods, the minding of migrants' children and the care of their property." As they point out,

> Such "gifts" are not a one way street, but rather are part of a complex web of reciprocal transactions that are at once a survival strategy for those in St. Vincent

and Grenada, a symbolic statement about the depth of the transnational rela-
tionship, and a means for migrants to secure a base in the home society. (85)

In other words, their description of the transnational links maintained by
Caribbean immigrants to the United States is highly reminiscent of descrip-
tions of rural-urban links and family networks in Africa and elsewhere in the
developing world.

Economic aspects of transmigrant networks are not limited to family sur-
vival. Commercial networks that link migrants and family at home involve the
development of small commercial enterprises (Basch, Glick Schiller, and
Szanton Blanc 1994, 89). A perhaps exceptional case is that of the Mourides,
a Muslim brotherhood from Senegal that has established highly successful
transnational trading networks which include men in New York, Senegal, and
elsewhere (Susan Sachs, "In Harlem, Finding a Spiritual Link to Senegal," *New
York Times*, July 28, 2003).

Women play central roles in family networks linking migrants and nonmi-
grants; for example, in the Philippines (Trager 1984a, 1988) and among Fil-
ipino immigrants, "transmigrant kin networks frequently center around
women who are said to have special responsibilities as 'elder daughters' for
their kin" (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994, 239). Expectations
about the contributions that daughters will make to family sustenance are
based in ideas about familial obligations within Filipino culture, as well as in
the opportunities for education and employment that are open to women
both within the Philippines and outside the country. Differential expectations
and roles for women migrants, in comparison with those of men, vary across
society and culture; in most African societies, it is men rather than women
who play the central roles in migrant networks (Gugler 2002; Trager, this vol-
ume, chapter 7; see also, Brettell 2003, 139–51, on gender and migration).

Remittances

Within the broad range of linkages established and maintained by mi-
grants, those that involve economic transactions from the migrant to those at
home have attracted the greatest attention. Termed *remittances*, these transac-
tions have become the focus not only of academic debate but also of policy
discussions. In fact, if recent media attention is an indication, remittances
seem to have been "discovered" in the policy and financial world (e.g., Eliza-
beth Becker, "Latin Migrants to U.S. Send Billions Home," *New York Times*,

May 18, 2004; Editorial, "Banking for the World's Poor," *New York Times*, November 19, 2003).

A great deal of evidence now exists about the extent and importance of remittances. At the same time, many questions remain, both about what "remittances" actually are and about their significance for the migrants themselves and for those to whom remittances are sent.

Estimates of remittances vary widely and are problematic. In a recent review of the size of remittances in international migration, Manuel Orozco reports estimates of annual average remittance per worker of $700 to $1,000 (2003b, 1); in the 1980s, the total value of remittances was placed at between $15 billion and $30 billion annually (Russell 1986, 680), and there is general agreement that total remittance flows have been increasing. Estimates based on official reporting vary; for example, the World Bank "reports fewer than two billion dollars in remittances to the Philippines, but the Philippines' central bank reports over six billion" (Orozco 2003b, 1). In addition, remittances are often not reported at all, and immigrants remit in a variety of ways, through informal institutions, direct deposits to accounts of relatives, and so on (3). Certain countries receive a large proportion of the total remittances sent; for example, India and the Philippines are among those receiving the largest amounts of remittances. For these countries, the export of labor and the remittances received from migrants have come to play major roles in their economies. Estimates for Latin America and the Caribbean indicate quarterly flow of about $2.5 billion in Mexico, $493 million in El Salvador, and $362 million in Jamaica (Orozco 2003b, 3).

Estimates of the size of remittances in internal migration are far more problematic, as there is little data of any sort. De Haan refers to studies that estimate urban-rural remittances in Africa and Asia to be 10 percent to 13 percent of urban incomes; estimates of the relationship to rural incomes vary from 40 percent or more of rural household income to much lower percentages (1999, 23–24). Survey research in specific communities provides more details of the numbers of migrants who remit, but estimates of the actual amount of money (and other things) involved tend to be limited to ethnographic and case study data. For example, in my research in Dagupan City, Philippines, in the late 1970s, I found that about three quarters of all migrants remitted something, and about half remitted money (Trager 1984b, 324). In research in Nigeria in the 1990s, I found that more than 80 percent of those

people living in five rural communities reported receiving money from relatives who were migrants elsewhere, either at the time of visits or through other means; the amounts reported varied from small, token amounts to larger sums, including some reports of amounts over one thousand Naira, which was equivalent to $50 at the time (Trager 2001, 83–85).[13]

Embedded in these analyses of remittances are a number of important questions that are not always clearly delineated and are rarely answered. As Gugler points out with regard to the literature on remittances in African rural-urban migration,

> the many studies of transfers by urban residents to rural areas tell us very little about the urban-rural connection in as much as they usually fail to ascertain the beneficiaries: wife and children? parents? a communal development project? or perhaps the sender on whose behalf an investment is to be made—farm labor to be hired, cattle or land to be bought, a house to be built? (2002, 28)

Similar questions can be asked about remittances in international migration. What exactly are remittances? Are they limited to money from migrants to family members at home? What if that money is really an investment being made on behalf of the migrant? What about other types of gifts that are sent home? Who are the family members who receive them, and what are their expectations (which may not be the same as the migrants' expectations)?

A central element in nearly all discussions of remittances is the question of what their impact is. That is, how are they used by recipients? Are they simply used for consumption, either of necessities or for consumer goods? Are they used for productive investments and, if so, what type?

Analysis of remittances in internal migration has focused on the debate over whether they are used for productive investments. Early on, Henry Rempel and Richard A. Lobdell argue that "it seems certain that very little is used directly as investment for rural development" (1978, 336), whereas Oded Stark argues that there is "sufficient evidence to suggest that rural-to-urban migration and urban-to-rural remittances can and have actually been used to transform agricultural modes of production" (1991, 214, originally published 1980). Using case study data on Filipino migrants, I have suggested that much depends on the socioeconomic situation of the migrant and his or her family; in a case of a landless, very poor household, remittances formed a crucial part

of family income and were used mainly for subsistence, whereas in households with land, some remittances were used directly for productive investments (e.g., purchase of farm animals) and others indirectly (e.g., freeing other resources for productive activities; Trager 1988, 188–89).

A second question has been whether remittances help to equalize rural income distribution or cause greater income inequality. Michael Lipton has argued that remittances are "unlikely to do much to reduce rural poverty" and that those who receive larger remittances are better off to begin with (1980, 11–13). Stark, in contrast, has suggested that by increasing the income of poor rural households, remittances help reduce overall inequality in rural areas (1978, 90). In a later analysis, Stark concludes that "the impact of migrant remittances on the rural income distribution . . . appears to depend critically on a village's migration history and on the degree to which migration opportunities are diffused across village households" (1991, 272).

Similar questions have been asked about the impact of remittances in international migration, and there seems to be a diversity of conclusions about the extent to which remittances are used for consumption, including the consumption of luxuries, and the extent to which they are used for investment in agriculture (de Haan 1999, 24–25). Stark (1991, 261–73), using data from Mexico, and R. H. Adams, using data from Pakistan, conclude that different sources of remittances have different effects. Adams argues that remittances from international migration tend to increase inequality, whereas those from internal migration have an equalizing effect (Adams 1998; de Haan 1999, 25; see also Russell 1986, 686–89).

John Connell and Dennis Conway, using comparative data from island nations in the Pacific and the Caribbean, disaggregate the ways in which remittances are used into a number of different categories:

> (1) family and dependent basic needs; (2) savings strategies; (3) (flexible) human capital resource investments; (4) (fixed) location-specific capital ventures; (5) diversified micro-economic investments; (6) community support, maintenance and sustenance, and "social capital" realizations; and (7) migration and re-migration investments. (2000, 63)

They conclude that international migration has both positive and negative effects but argue that the positive effects are significant, especially for societies

such as those of small island states, which have relatively limited development potential. Remittances provide migrants and their families and kin "an extended range of options for various forms of familial, personal and community development" (72). In this volume, Robyn Eversole (chapter 9) addresses the remittance debate by considering the large body of data that now exists and by arguing that remittances play an important role in rural development.

One particularly interesting type of use of remittances is investment in housing. This seems to be a near-universal way in which international migrants (and some internal migrants) demonstrate their success and commitment to remaining connected to their home area. Often seen as an example of "conspicuous consumption," such housing construction is, as Connell and Conway point out, a real investment: "In anticipation of an eventual return on retirement, many permanent migrants remit money for the construction of permanent houses for themselves, which are used by kin in their absence" (2000, 66). Similar investments are visible parts of the landscape in many regions of the world: one of the first things an urban migrant in Nigeria is expected to do is build a house "at home" (see Trager 2001). It is especially important to consider such activities from the perspective of the migrants themselves and the strategies that they and their kin pursue. Silvia Grigolini in this volume (chapter 6) focuses on housing investment as a key strategy among migrants from Oaxaca, Mexico.

Lacking from much of the debate about remittances is any discussion of the social and cultural context in which remittances are sent; at the same time, the focus on monetary remittances limits our understanding of exchanges that are one part of a broader constellation of exchanges that include visiting, gift giving, and other material exchanges. In considering remittances in the Philippines, for example, I have argued that they need to be considered in a cultural context that places high value on reciprocal obligations (*utang na loob*) that are expressed through both symbolic gifts and the giving of necessities, including money (1984b; 1988, 188). In Nigeria, I found that there were extensive two-way flows between migrants and those at home, including not only visits from both directions but also gifts and monetary remittances. However, money was mainly sent by migrants to kin at home, whereas other material goods, such as foodstuff, tended to go in the opposite direction (2001, 85–86).

Lisa Cliggett argues that, among urban migrants in Zambia, there really are no "remittances"; rather, there are "gifts." She argues that "gift-remitting" is

used to express the continuing recognition and feelings of affection that exist between migrants and those at home:

> Gifts, one in two years, of a dress, a plate, or a bag of sugar, are tokens of affection that tell an old mother she is remembered, although not a remittance on which families can depend for survival. . . . Rather than offerings of support for daily life, gift-remitttances represent a gesture of recognition that will keep pathways for return to the village open. . . . Without maintaining even this symbolic relationship with the village, a migrant risks losing his option to return, should life in town become undesirable. (2003b, 23; see also Cliggett 2003a)

Similarly, Mike Evans, in a study of Tonga international migrants, argues that monetary remittances between migrants and family at home need to be viewed in the context of Tongan gift-exchange practices:

> Remittances are in fact one of several ways in which children can show their love. Fishing, farming, domestic care, and the production of women's wealth are all ways of showing love to those who benefit from one's work. Remittances are remarkable insofar as they primarily take the form of cash, while these other activities tend to result in the production of subsistence and traditional wealth. All these forms of wealth, including cash, can be and are turned toward the reproduction of social relationships through the gift exchange process. (2001, 148–49)

In this volume, Stephen Lubkemann (chapter 8) explores the phenomenon of remittances and related exchanges from the perspective of why migrants continue to send things, even in situations where they seem unlikely to ever return to their home communities.

Multilocality and Community

Most of the discussion of remittances and exchanges makes two assumptions: one, that these exchanges take place between a migrant and others in one other place, the "home"; and, two, that the majority of exchanges takes place among family or household members. It is often the case that these assumptions are correct. However, with the ever-increasing extent of mobility and the greater range of places to which people move, it is increasingly the case that connections are maintained with people in many different locales and that those connections are not just to kin elsewhere but are also with others, nonkin who identify themselves as part of the same "community."

In my contribution to this volume (chapter 7), regarding my recent work on Yoruba migrants in Nigeria, I suggest the concept of multilocality as a way of understanding connections that span more than one location, arguing that we need to examine people and their activities in terms of their "attachment to and participation in social and economic activities in a number of places" (see also Trager 2001, 60, 236–38). In my view, this concept is valuable more generally, not only for the consideration of Yoruba migrants and other internal migrants in regions of high mobility, but also for the examination of participants in transnational movements. Koenig applies it in her study of migrants in Mali (this volume, chapter 2).

Among Yoruba migrants in Nigeria, many have lived in several different places over the course of their lives, and their social and economic activities have often included connections in several different locales:

> An individual may be working in Lagos [the largest city], participating in organizations and institutions there, while also traveling home regularly to participate in hometown activities. He or she may also be involved in activities in other towns and cities . . . [including] his or her spouse's hometown. . . . Not all such connections may be of equal strength or importance, but all have potential for the individual. At a given time, the ties in one locale may have greater claim, or may provide access to resources (e.g., a job); at another time, claims and resources may be more important in a different locale. (Trager 2001, 237)

The research on transnational migration suggests similar patterns. For example, immigrants to the United States from the Caribbean may have previously moved to another island or from a small town to a city within their own country; they may also have connections with others who have moved to other countries, such as Britain. As Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc describe their "discovery" of transnationalism, they portray the migrants whom Basch studied in New York and Trinidad as people who "moved so frequently and were seemingly so at home in either New York or Trinidad as well as their societies of origin" that it was difficult to say where they "belonged" (1994, 5).

As migration is an increasingly important factor in the lives of people all over the world, and as transportation and communications systems make it possible for people to move and communicate over great distances, multilocality is likely to become the norm for increasing numbers of people. Perhaps

paradoxically, this phenomenon seems to be accompanied by a strengthening of identity with "home" communities and of economic exchanges not only with kin but also with those communities. Rather than become "rootless," migrants are in some ways more "rooted" to those places from which they came. However, there are a number of different dimensions to this process of establishing connections with home communities, dimensions that have been explored in recent research and about which still further research is needed. In this volume, Koenig explores the relationship between multilocality and stratification.

Recent research also points to the importance of connections that are not limited to kin but rather link migrants to the home community. Philip F. W. Bartle suggests that an "extended community" formed among those in Ghana whom he studied:

> What I call the extended Obo community includes not only some people living in Obo . . . but also a much larger number . . . living in various places outside Obo. Since it includes people who identify or feel they belong to Obo, it includes many who were not born there, many who do not live there, many who have visited only a few times and even some who have not yet visited Obo. (1981, 126)

My research in several Yoruba communities in southwestern Nigeria demonstrates the multifaceted nature of these connections. It is not just that people identify with a place and with others from that place. A person is expected to act on the basis of that identity, "to fulfill obligations to the hometown, to participate in organizations and activities with others from the community, both those who live at home and others living outside. . . . It is not sufficient to claim a particular place . . . as one's hometown; rather, the hometown also places claims on those who are its 'sons and daughters'" (Trager 2001, 239–40; see also Trager, this volume). The ways in which people participate can vary considerably. Furthermore, the reasons for maintaining connections over long periods involve not only identity but also structural conditions in the broader society and economy, including lack of security and questions of access to key resources.[14]

Likewise, recent research on international migration suggests the formation of "transnational communities" in which "individuals and groups constantly negotiate choices with regard to their participation in host societies,

their relationships with their homelands, and their links to co-ethnics. Their life strategies bring together elements of existence in both national and transnational social space" (Castles 2002, 1159). The specific ways in which individuals participate in activities connected to their homelands vary, but in addition to sending remittances to kin, they also include memberships to organizations and donations to philanthropic causes.

One of the problematic aspects of considering connections of this type is the question of what constitutes "home" or the "home community." Is it really a specific village or town? Or is it a larger ethnic or regional entity that has been defined as home (see, e.g., Lentz 1995; Gugler 2002; Trager 2001)?

Regardless of how migrants define their home communities, there are several common ways in which they tend to engage with those communities. Two of the major patterns are the formation of organizations and donations for the benefit of those at home.[15] Hometown organizations, and other organizations based on shared identity and membership in a community, are commonly found among migrants in Africa, and recent research describes the formation of hometown associations among immigrants from Latin America (Orozco 2003c, 13–14).

Among the activities of these associations are the raising of funds for the benefit of the home community. According to Orozco, hometown associations among Latin American immigrants in the United States are "primarily philanthropic groups whose work sometimes overlaps with economic development" (2003c, 14). The activities they undertake are similar to those undertaken by hometown organizations formed by internal migrants in West Africa (see, for example, Pratten 1996; Honey and Okafor 1998; Trager 2001). In the Ijesa Yoruba communities I studied, hometown organizations have undertaken local development projects since at least the 1920s; one of the first such organizations was the Egbe Atunluse Ile Ijesa (Ijesa Progressive Society), which established the first secondary school in the region in 1934 (Trager 2001, 103–4). They have undertaken electric and water projects in several communities and, in recent years, have been instrumental in the formation of community banks in two communities; however, other types of economic development effort have been less successful (Trager 2001, 165–203). The amounts of money collected for specific development projects and more general development funds can be substantial. Much of that money comes from the most successful migrants from the community, but nearly everyone who

identifies as a member of the community is expected to contribute something (see Trager, this volume, as well as Eversole in this volume for the impact of remittances on development).

THE FUTURE: MIGRATION AND MIGRATION RESEARCH

It is evident that migration is a process in which ever-larger numbers of people are participating and, at the same time, one that has continuing ramifications for those who do not themselves migrate. In recent years, there has been more attention to the study of this process, as well as to policy issues related to it. For the most part, however, most of that attention has been to the numbers themselves and to ways to control and regulate movement, especially across international borders. Much less attention has been paid to the social and economic linkages formed through migration and to policy that recognizes those linkages, in both internal and international migration.

Recent reports (International Organization for Migration 2003) reflect the concern of international and government agencies about population mobility around the world. Within specific countries, similar concerns exist; in the United States and Europe, for example, most of the focus is on immigration, and with the recent concern about terrorism, more barriers have been established to both legal and illegal immigration. Countries such as China have also attempted to regulate the internal movements of their populations; most other countries do not have laws to restrict internal movement but are nevertheless concerned with the ever-enlarging cities and the difficulties of providing infrastructure and other basic necessities for enormous urban populations.

Most of those engaged in policy debates continue to make a number of assumptions about migration, assumptions that are contradicted by much of the recent research. It is still largely assumed that migration involves the movement of individual migrants and that most moves are permanent; there is little recognition of the role of family and kin networks in migrant decisions and activities or of the movements back and forth and continuing linkages that exist. Ironically, even when there is recognition of linkages, contradictory policies may negate those that draw on the positive aspects of those linkages. A recent example involves banking regulations and efforts to encourage more remittances through the official banking system between migrants in the United States and their relatives in Latin America. A report on National Public Radio (*Morning Edition*) in July 2003 described efforts being made to encourage

Mexican immigrants, most of whom are "unbanked," to use American banks to send remittances home (see Andres Martinez, "How a Seed-Money Loan of $60 Turned Melanie Pico into an Entrepreneur," *New York Times*, July 8, 2003; Daisy Hernandez, "Sending More Home Despite a Recession," *New York Times*, July 14, 2003; for a review of policies in various countries, see Orozco 2003b). At the same time, policies directed at terrorists are regulating more closely money sent out of the United States through banks and other institutions.

Researchers have been more successful than policymakers in moving beyond earlier assumptions about migrants and migration. Nevertheless, many research questions remain. One set of questions emerges from the recognition that large numbers of people are not only moving but also remaining connected to communities and nations of origin. As we have seen, recent research on international migration has demonstrated the existence of transnational networks that may influence economic activities, politics, and culture. What are the implications of these networks for citizenship, ethnicity, and nationality? A recent article by Castles raises some of the relevant questions in the context of international migration (2002, 1157–63). He points out, for example, that "if people move frequently between different countries, and maintain important affilations in each of them, citizenship needs to be adapted to the new realities" (1161). It may seem that these are questions most appropriate to international migration, but in fact, similar issues arise within countries, at least in those that are multiethnic (i.e., most places in the world) and where migrants do not necessarily have the same rights as others. For example, a recent study by Onigu Otite of rural-rural migrants in Nigeria points out the problem of migrants who do not have "full citizenship" in the locales to which they have migrated, even when they may have been there for several generations (2002, 153–61). Based in large part on concepts of land ownership and the claims of particular ethnic groups that are considered to be the "indigenes" of a particular locality, the lack of rights of migrant groups has widespread ramifications in economic activities and politics, leading at times to interethnic violence, not only in Nigeria, but also elsewhere in Africa (see Geschiere and Gugler 1998; Gugler 2002). How, then, can people "achieve full citizenship" in the locales to which they migrate while also retaining their connections with the places that they left? This question, and its implications for economic activities (e.g., landownership, sending of remittances), needs to be considered for both those engaged in international mobility and those who are internal migrants.

A second set of research questions concerns the broader impact and implications of kin and community networks for individuals, households, communities, and local development activities. Now that it is evident that decisions about migration are made not just by individuals but also by families and households, many questions remain. One key issue is that of who migrates and who stays; obviously, despite the increasing number of people who participate in migration, not everyone does. Why do some families and households keep all their members at home? And why are certain family members preferred as migrants? Cohen's study in this volume provides a perspective on these questions, showing a relationship between mobility and stratification.

A second set of issues involves the continuing connections that have been discussed at length here. It is clear that we must move beyond the focus on remittances to consider not just monetary exchanges but also other exchanges and the social networks in which they take place. Why do migrants continue to maintain contact with kin elsewhere, long after they have left? What are their expectations, and what are the expectations of those who remain at home? How do the monetary and other material exchanges get used, and who is making the decisions about their use? Connections that span communities also need further investigation. In what contexts do migrants make donations to home communities? Again, what are their expectations, and what do the community members at home expect from them (see Trager 1998)? When migrants make contributions for local development projects, who decides about the use of those contributions? And what is the impact of such donations on local communities?

Finally, what are the symbolic and cultural frames within which migration takes place, and how is the migration process continually reshaping those frames? In societies where migration is a normal aspect of life, how do migrants and others understand and interpret their activities? How do those understandings affect the perpetuation of the process? Koenig (this volume) quotes the Asante (Ghanaian) proverb "If the bird does not fly, it does not eat." As described by Newell in this volume, in much of West Africa today, young men seek to "travel," meaning that they hope to go to Europe or the United States for a period of time.

How are global cultural processes being affected by the activities of migrants? In March 2003, just after the Iraq war began, I saw a television news broadcast in which Tom Brokaw interviewed the mother of one of the soldiers

taken as a prisoner of war in the early days of the war. When Brokaw asked Anecita Hudson, living in New Mexico, how she had heard the news about her son, she replied that she had been watching Filipino television and saw the picture of her son there (U.S. networks had not shown the images of those taken). Satellite television increasingly means not only that people in Third World countries are watching CNN but also that immigrants in the United States, from places such as the Philippines, India, and Nigeria, can watch programs from their home countries. The Internet, too, has expanded the ways in which national and ethnic communities of immigrants can communicate and mobilize, not simply on political or ethnic issues, but also for social reasons. Several years ago, for example, a notice went out on Naijanet (a Nigerian Internet list) about the death of a young Nigerian woman in Madison, Wisconsin; people were asked to contribute to the cost of sending her body home to be buried, and many who did not know her personally responded to this request.

The ability to mobilize economic resources, as in this last example, from a broader network of people than would be true in a face-to-face community suggests one of the many dimensions of the ways in which both global and local cultures are changing and the ways in which migration as a process contributes to those changes. Orozco has suggested that "remittances have become a part of the human face of globalization" (2003a, 11); and other sources point to remittances as the "second-largest source, behind foreign investment by private companies, of external funding for developing countries" (BBC 2004). But it is not just remittances; rather, it is migration itself, and all its attendant relationships and consequences, that is a central feature of contemporary globalization processes. As Newell shows in this volume, even when they do not actually migrate, young urban Ivoirian men "consume" migration; it is a feature of their dreams and desires for "modernity."

OVERVIEW OF THIS VOLUME

Authors in this volume address some of the questions outlined here and pose additional questions for further research. All of the chapters reflect a focus on migration as a dynamic process that responds to and is shaped by broader economic, cultural, and social forces. At the same time, the activities of migrants lead to new forms of social and economic institutions and processes, such as transnational and multilocal networks through which remittances and

other flows take place. Those networks, involving individual migrants, families, households, and local communities, in turn have significance for larger economic and social institutions, including the potential—and, in some cases at least, the reality—to contribute to local development.

The geographic foci of these chapters include regions well-known in the migration literature, such as Mexico and West Africa, as well as regions that have been little discussed, such as Kazakstan and Mozambique (see figure Intro.1). Two authors consider migration in Oaxaca, Mexico: Cohen analyzes people who do not participate in migration, while Grigolini considers housing as a critical investment among Oaxacan migrants to the United States. Ricardo Pérez's contribution focuses on migrants from Puerto Rican fishing communities to the mainland United States and back to Puerto Rico. Three chapters utilize research in West African communities: Koenig, in a region of Mali; Trager, in a set of communities in southwestern Nigeria; and Newell, among urban youth in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire.

Meltem Sancak and Peter Finke deal with a complex situation of migration in one of the countries that was part of the Soviet Union, Kazakstan. Lubkemann draws on research in several ethnographic settings for his analysis; migrants from Mozambique to South Africa and from Portugal to the United States provide the basis for a comparative analysis. Finally, Eversole's study draws on data from a large number of different countries, although much of the best evidence on the use of remittances comes from Latin America.

The authors of the five chapters in part I utilize a variety of thematic and theoretical approaches to consider the relationships of individual migrants, households, and social stratification. Pérez emphasizes the ways in which Puerto Rican fisherfolk use "mobile livelihoods," moving not only between geographic locales but also among a variety of jobs. He, like Koenig and Trager, demonstrates some of the ways in which people can move between a variety of places while retaining a connection to home. Koenig and Cohen both introduce important issues of social stratification into the discussion of migration, demonstrating how local differences in social strata affect both the participation of households in the migration process and the outcomes of that process for access to resources.

Sancak and Finke, like Pérez, use life-history data as the basis for an analysis of how earlier migration and attendant exposure to other economic systems affect economic behavior, especially risk taking. In contrast, Newell is
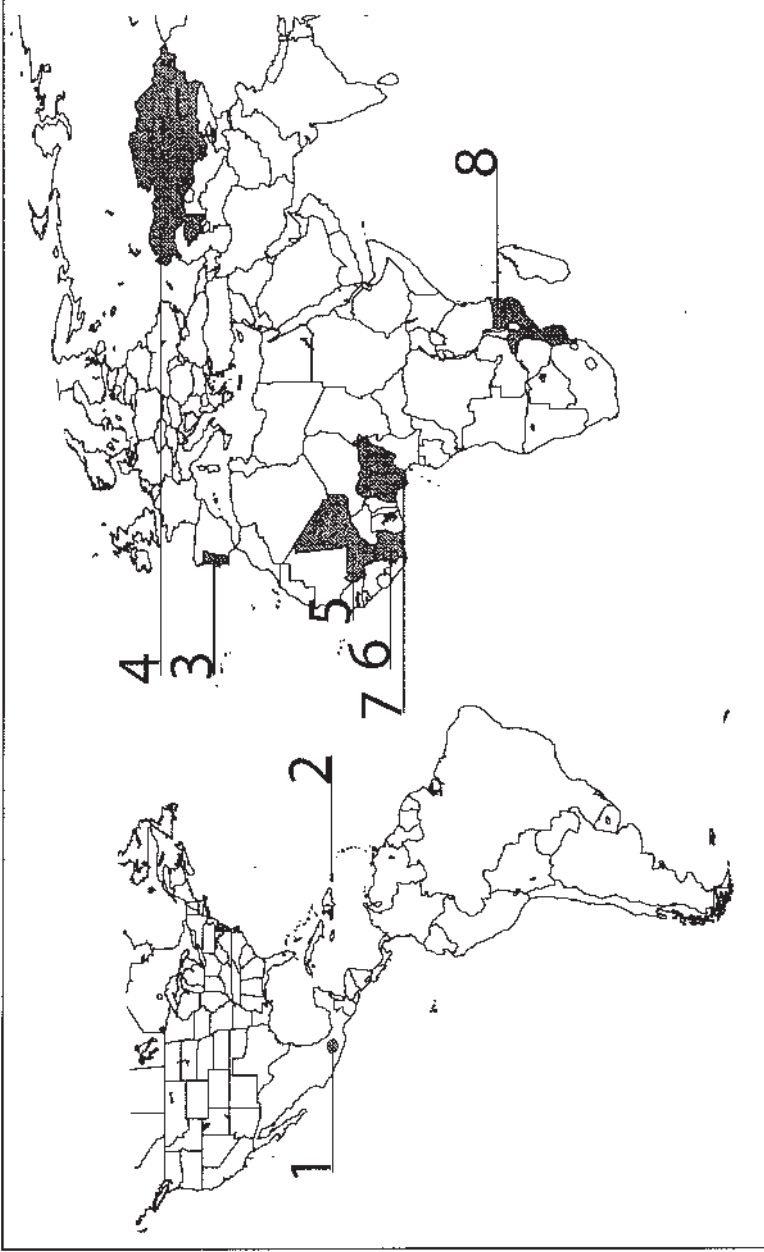
FIGURE INTRO.1.

Research locations: (1) Oaxaca, Mexico (ch. 3, 6); (2) Puerto Rico (ch. 1); (3) Portugal (ch. 8); (4) Kazakstan (ch. 4); (5) Mali (ch. 2); (6) Côte d'Ivoire (ch. 5); (7) Nigeria (ch. 7); (8) Mozambique (ch. 8)

much less interested in actual migration or in economic motivations as explanations for migration. He draws instead on consumption theory to argue that Ivoirian youth seek personal transformation. Newell's approach leads us to consider globalization and transnationalism not simply in terms of demand for labor and the responses to that demand but also in terms of the symbolic impact of global discourses, such as "modernity," and local appropriation of those discourses.

The four chapters in part II demonstrate the importance of understanding remittances within broader economic, social, and cultural contexts. Grigolini analyzes investment in housing by migrants, arguing that the construction of a house has social, symbolic, and economic significance. I consider the ways in which Yoruba women migrants contribute to their home communities, and also argue that this is one way in which those from elite backgrounds enhance their status. Lubkemann asks a key question: why do people who seem to have most of their social and economic life in the place to which they have migrated continue to send money and invest at home? He argues that there is a "moral economy" within which migrants continue to operate. In the final chapter, Eversole moves beyond a specific ethnographic setting to address the broader question of whether, and how, remittances assist in development. She argues not only that remittances contribute but also that those in the development community have largely ignored a key grassroots strategy in which people throughout the world are engaged: migration and the sending of remittances to benefit family and community at home.

The chapters in this volume demonstrate the importance of viewing migration in relation to the details of individual lives and household situations. Migration is not simply deciding to move from one place to another, nor is it simply an individual decision. Mobility is affected by the resources and assets that are available to individuals and the households of which they are a part; in turn, the process of migration affects the long-term structure of household members and their participation in local social and economic institutions. These chapters also demonstrate the importance of viewing migration and related phenomena such as remittances within broader social and cultural frameworks of kin, family, and community; local social strata; and symbolism and meaning. Finally, these chapters bring us back to questions about the global importance and impact of migration. While it is true that globalization and labor demands help shape contemporary migration patterns, it is also the

case that economic activities in which migrants engage, including their investments in home communities, affect local and regional economies and development.

NOTES

1. Thomas Faist asks the question, why are there "so many international migrants out of a few places?" (2002, 7), arguing that only a small percentage of potential migrants move internationally and that most move within their own countries.

2. Lifetime migrants include people whose residence at the time of the survey differs from the place of birth, as well as those who are currently living in the birthplace but who had lived elsewhere for at least six months (Federal Republic of Nigeria 1989, 38).

3. Martha Woodson Rees (2003) and Tom O'Neill (2003) show how, respectively, Oaxacan and Nepalese migrant destinations have changed over time in response to changing opportunities and labor force demands and include both internal and international destinations.

4. When I was doing research in the Philippines, I met a woman who was home for a visit from England, where she was working as a chambermaid in a London hotel; she had been a schoolteacher before she left the Philippines. A serious aspect of the "brain drain" from African countries has been that of professionals, such as the Nigerian medical professionals who have taken jobs in Saudi Arabia.

5. Massey and colleagues (1998, 18–41) provide a comprehensive review of macroeconomic and structural historical theories as they relate to international migration.

6. I note the value of using methods based on life histories and family case studies in migration research (Trager 1988, 13–16), and Brettell (2003, 23–26) also discusses the value of life-history approaches. In general, however, there has been little discussion of methods in migration studies.

7. Three recent books use the term *meso* or *mesolevel* to refer to what I call "intermediate levels of social organization" (Brettell 2003; Faist 2000; Hoerder 2002).

8. Researchers focusing on the comparative study of households make similar points about the necessity to include nonresident members (Wilk and Netting 1984).

9. Although in most of his papers Stark does not explicitly refer to work of anthropologists, there are indications that he is familiar with at least some of the

research in which anthropologists emphasize family strategies in migration (e.g., Lauby and Stark 1988).

10. Stark's work focuses mainly on internal migration in less-developed countries, with the view that the situation there "constitutes a good migration research laboratory for studying migration in general" (1991, 23). His work has influenced scholars interested in international migration as well, however, as indicated by Massey and colleagues (1998, 21–28, 53–54).

11. Obviously, not all migrants maintain such ties; it is also interesting to examine those situations where people break their connections.

12. If I have focused on linkages in African rural-urban migration in this discussion, the reason is that Africa is the continent where this topic has received the greatest emphasis, although there is some literature elsewhere (e.g., Carrier and Carrier 1989 on Papua New Guinea; see also Paerregaard 1997, on Peru; Trager 1988, on the Philippines).

13. As discussed later, both studies examine remittances within a broader context of flows, not only of money, but also of gifts and other material exchanges.

14. There is good evidence that these connections may continue beyond the first generation of migrants (see Gugler 1991).

15. Other ways, not considered further here, are ritual and ceremonial occasions that bring people home (see Trager 2001, 15–35), which are also used for fund-raising, and political connections, such as those described among immigrants to New York (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994).

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