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Labour Migration: Dynamics and Politics

Eeva-Kaisa Prokkola

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Introduction

Much of the early research on labour migration drew on the push-pull factors of migration. The emphasis was on economic and individualistic assumptions with little notion of institutions, power and politics. Since the early 1970s, the interest has shifted towards historical and institutional processes and structural factors and their explanatory power on the dynamics and patterns of labour migration. The national and international regimes of migration control have expanded and directed scholarly attention towards border and migration policies and their production of migrant categories. Migration policy research has also extended the focus from receiving-countries towards complex dynamics and interactions between the labour sending and receiving countries. The migration trajectories from the global South to North have been studied extensively and more and more attention is paid to South-North, South-South and North-North migrations. Different types of labour migration and mobilities are also subject to different regional, national, and international policies and policy change. In current literature, the heterogeneity of migration is underlined, and how labour migration politics and policies address high-skilled migrants in different ways than the migrations of low-skilled. The categories of migration are in many ways arbitrary, however. Labour migration is a highly complex and politically contested issue that intersects and forms a continuum with other types

of migration and migration politics. Migration politics and the precarious conditions of foreign workers have been studied, among others, by exploring what influence the temporal nature of migration and restricted permission to stay in the foreign territory have. Moreover, although labour migration is usually understood in terms of voluntary migration, the conditions of migrants sometimes resemble to unfree labour, illustrating the complexity of determining what is counted as labour migration and what politics it concerns. Research shows how the question of labour market segmentation and unfree and undocumented labour are highly intertwined. The research on migrant rights and political atmosphere brings together different migrations and how migrants navigate between different legal and political statuses. The literature is organized chronologically in eight themes that have a similar theoretical approach and/or similar thematic perspective to labour migration: (1) theoretical and historical overviews, (2) international division of labour, (3) the political economy of labour migration, (4) regulation and management of labour migration, (5) regional migration governance, (6) skilled labour migration, (7) temporary and precarious labour migration, and (8) rights and protection. The historical and geographical migration trajectories are visible through the themes, explaining how and why the particular aspects of labour migration have become questions of politics in different parts of the world.

Theoretical and Historical Overviews

The early work on labour migration mainly draws on Ravenstein's individualistic models and the push-pull -factors of migration. In the neoclassical theory of migration, migration was considered as a response to regional economic disparities and wage disparities. After the early 1970s oil crisis and the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, attention raised towards labour migration as a question of regional politics and conflicts of interest within societies. The research on labour migration increasingly turned towards institutionalist, historical and critical approaches. Castells 1975 put forward an argument that in advanced capitalist migration policies can be understood in terms of a class struggle. Piore 1979 argued that labour migration should be understood, first and foremost, as a demand driven phenomena, and therefore the politics of a destination countries would have an impact on migration. Zolberg 1989 provided an overview for migration theories and the shift from the individualistic economic model towards historical and structural approaches. Freeman 1995 analysed and compared the immigration politics of liberal democratic states. Hampshire 2013 analysed the different histories and institutions of the liberal states, and their contradictory imperatives, from the perspective of immigration. In Massey *et al.* 1993 and Meyers 2000, important questions put forward for migration research are how the mainstream theories of migration and migration control influence migration and immigration policies. De Haas et al. 2016 show that, in recent decades, migration policies have become more complex and selective. De Haas, Castells and Miller's 2019 [1993] bestseller provides an overview of migration theories and policy information and analyse the key migration trends in major world regions and the effects of migration.

Castells, Manuel. 1975. Immigrant Workers and Class Struggles in Advanced Capitalism: The Western European Experience. *Politics & Society* 5: 1, 33-66.

The article discusses the growing importance of wage-earning working immigration population in Western European countries and draws attention to the increase in political struggles within societies. It analyses migration policies from the perspective of social conflicts and labour unions, arguing that immigrant labour is an arena for new class struggles in advanced capitalism.

Piore, Michael. 1979. *Birds of Passage. Migrant labor and industrial societies*. London: Cambridge University Press.

The highly cited and influential book analyses the motivations of migration processes to industrialized regions and underlines the need to understand the roots and social context of migration. Whereas the dominant theories up to that point had focused on the push factors of migration, Piore takes the dual labour market theory as a starting point and argues that international migration is a demand driven phenomena.

Zolberg, Aristide R. 1989. The Next Waves: Migration Theory for a Changing World. *International Migration Review* 23: 3, 403-430.

The paper offers an overview to the major change and development of migration theory from Ravenstein's individualistic model to a variety of new historical, structural, globalist and critical approaches, and analyses them with the help of the traditional world-systems approach and state theories. It then discusses the major topics and current trends of migration research and their normative implications.

Massey, Douglas, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. 1993. Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review* 19: 3, 431-466

The highly cited article explicates and integrates the leading theories of international migration and international labour migration, proposing an analytical distinction between the theories of initiation of international migration and the ones explaining their persistence. The article investigates the intellectual basis of the theories from the perspective of immigration policy.

Freeman, Gary. 1995. Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States. *International Migration Review* 29: 4, 881-902.

The paper analyses the politics of immigration in liberal democracies and identifies three groups of states displaying distinct immigration politics: English-speaking settler societies, the migrant-receiving European countries, and traditionally migrant-sending European countries. It argues

that immigration politics in these states are considerably similar when viewed in terms of expansionism and the objective of inclusion.

Meyers, Eytan. 2000. Theories of International Immigration Policy — A Comparative Analysis. *International Migration Review* 34: 4, 1245-1282

The article delineates the major theoretical approaches in the field of immigration control research, analyses their strengths and weaknesses and their impact on immigration policy. The paper proposes different strategies for developing immigration policy theory.

Hampshire, James (2013). *The Politics of Immigration: Contradictions of the Liberal State*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

The book examines the different histories and institutions of the liberal state and distinguishes different constitutes of statehood (representative democracy, constitutionalism, capitalism and nationhood) and their contradictory effects on migration. the book provides an nuanced analysis of the multifaceted, selective nature of state migration policies in the Western liberal states

de Haas Hein, Katharina Natter, and Simona Vezzoli. 2016. Growing Restrictiveness or Changing Selection? The Nature and Evolution of Migration Policies. *International Migration Review*. doi.org/10.1111/imre.12288

The article studies the characteristics and evolution of migration policies in 45 countries around the world over the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. It demonstrates that migration policies have, overall, become less restrictive and simultaneously more complex and selective as to tightened policies and control are directed towards undocumented migrants and family migration and simultaneously the entry of many other migrant groups have been facilitated across countries.

De Haas, Hein, Castels, Stephen, and Mark Miller. 2019. *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Sixth Edition. London: MacMillan Press Ltd.

The book is one of the most cited books on migration, pointing out how international migration is the key phenomenon of modern times. The authors explain international migratory processes, the politicization of migration and the role of migration and immigrants in the shaping of contemporary societies and political landscapes. The book offers a balanced coverage of Western and non-Western regions.

International Division of Labour

Theories of international division of labour provide an important framework for understanding labour migration and vice versa. Cohen 1987 argues that spatial division of labour is more scattered than

Immanuel Wallerstein's world system theory and the core-periphery distinction suggests and needs to be studied in terms of restricted regional political economies. In his later work, Cohen 2006 explores the dynamics of global migration and the interplay of different groups of social actors regarding international migration policy. Sassen 1998 revises the theories of international division of labour by highlighting the role of global cities and May *et al.* 2007 develops an understanding about the division of migrant labour from the perspective of city politics. Kaur 2004 offers a historical analysis of labour migration and economic development in Southeast Asia. Parrenas 2000 and Oishi's 2005 work provide nuanced understanding of the gendered system of global capitalism and the politics of female migration. Misra, Woodring and Sabine Merz 2011 show how nation-state migration policies contribute to the global division of care work. Mezzadra and Neilson 2013 bring migration and border studies into dialogue, proposing the concept of a proliferated border as a method for studying the multiplication and global division of migrant labour.

Cohen, Robin. 1987. *The New Helots. Migrants in the International Division of Labour*. Research in ethnic relations series. Aldershot: Gower.

The book argues that the international division of labour and capitalist mode of production has been historically characterized by a combination of free and unfree labour. It shows that spatial division of labour is scattered (compares with Wallerstein) and needs to be examined in the context of a restricted regional political economy. The empirical studies focus on the structural factors of labour migration in three regional political economies.

Sassen, Saskia. 1988. *The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

The book provides nuanced understanding about the processes of labour migration with respect to the internationalization of production. The empirical study explores migration into the US from the South East Asia and several Caribbean Basin countries from 1960 to 1985 and the reconcentration of capital in the US cities.

Parrenas, Rhacel Salazar. 2000. Migrant Filipina domestic workers and the international division of reproductive labor. *Gender & Society* 4: 4, 560-580.

The highly cited article elaborates the commodification and politics of reproductive labour at an international level with a focus on Filipina domestic worker migration. It documents the international transfer of reproductive labour between different groups of women and provides nuanced understanding about the gendered system of transnational capitalism.

Kaur, Amarjit. 2004. *Wage Labour in Southeast Asia Since 1840: Globalization, the International Division of Labour and Labour Transformations*. Palgrave Macmillan.

The book offers new knowledge of labour migration and its role in the economic development of Southeast Asia. The historical investigation focuses on labour mobilities, labour and migration systems, class and gender relations, and labour standards.

Oishi, Nana. 2005. *Women in Motion. Globalization, State Policies and Labor Migration in Asia*. California: Stanford University Press.

The book studies women's temporary migrations and complex system of inequalities within Asia by employing the integrative approach. It examines the cross-national patterns of female migration and compares the policies of female migration in the major migrants sending countries and non-sending countries in Asia.

Cohen, Robin. 2006. *Migration and its Enemies. Global Capital, Migrant Labour and the Nation-State*. London: Routledge.

Cohen shows how the preferences, interests, and actions of three major social actors in international migration policy — global capital, migrant labour and the national politicians — intersect and often contradict each other. Cohen addresses these vital questions by providing an explicit, wide-ranging, and accessible account of the historical origins and contemporary dynamics of global migration.

May, Jon, Jane Wills, Kavita Datta, Yara Evans, Joanna Herbert, and Cathy McIlwaine. 2007. Keeping London working: global cities, the British state and London's new migrant division of labour. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 32, 151–167.

The paper documents the conditions of the low-paid migrant workers in London and proposes a framework for understanding the new migrant division of labour in London and what it means for politics in the city. It shows that the British state plays a more active role in shaping the labour market divides than what the Global Cities Hypothesis suggests.

Misra, Joya, Jonathan, Woodring, and Sabine N. Merz. 2011. The globalization of care work: Neoliberal economic restructuring and migration policy. *Globalizations* 3: 3, 317-332.

The authors scrutinize how nation-states migration policies are put to work to create and reinforce the international divisions of care work, a global system where poor immigrant workers provide care in wealthier states. They examine and compare sending and receiving migration flows between Morocco/France and Poland/Germany.

Mezzadra, Sandro, and Brett, Neilson, B. 2013. *Border as method, or, the multiplication of labor*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

The book provides a timely analysis of the shape of border and migration regimes across different geographical sites. It develops a novel perspective into the global composition of

migrant labour as a commodity through the multiplication of labour concept and from the point of view of the proliferated border, moving beyond the traditional explanations of international division of labour in terms of centre/periphery.

Political Economy of Labor Migration

The political economy rationale of migration and immigration underlines the question of economic growth and the costs-benefits of migration from the perspective of states. State visa and border policies provide the means to regulate migration and to maximize the benefits from the perspective of state economy. The emphasis on narrow economic rationale is clearly illustrated in the work of Buckley 1996 who argues that the US should only facilitate the entry of valuable economically valuable migrants. Hollifield 1992 develops a more versatile perspective and underlines the challenges of liberal democracies to take simultaneously into account the economic factors and political pressure to secure the rights of migrants. Miles 1986 discusses the complex role of the state migration management and the politics of controlling labour migration, including the racist forms of action. Freeman and Kessler 2008 argue for more dialogue between economics and political science to gain a better understanding about migration policy. The collection edited by Gabriel and Pellerin 2008 examines the different levels of labour migration governance, underlining the importance of the human rights perspective. Lindquist *et al.* 2008 highlight the tensions between the state and markets from a new perspective by bringing in the role of migration brokers. Thiollet 2011 connects labour migration with the politics of regional integration and diplomacy in a novel way. Freeman 1986 problematizes the relationship and even the coexistence of the welfare state and the free movement of international labour. Paul 2015 offers a topical examination of the historical paths and rationales of labour migration management in three different EU countries. Kahanec *et al.* 2016 research provides understanding of the EU's post-enlargement migration from the political economy perspective.

Freeman, Gary. P. 1986. Migration and the Political Economy of the Welfare State. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 485: 1, 51–63.

The paper examines the consequences of the transnational flows of labour from the perspective of migrant statuses and for the viability of the welfare states themselves. It puts forward an argument that national welfare states cannot coexist with the free movement of international labour.

Miles, Robert. 1986. Labour migration, racism and capital accumulation in western Europe since 1945: an overview. *Capital & Class* 10: 1, 49–86.

The article discusses the post-war political economy of migrant labour in Western Europe with a specific focus on crisis management and the role of state. The author proposes that instead of

employing economic and functionalistic models of labour migration a dialectical analysis should be developed into better recognize the complex forms of migration management and the politics and racist actions in the control of labour migration.

Hollifield, James. 1992. *Immigrants, markets and states. The political economy of postwar Europe*. London: Harvard University Press.

Hollifield studies the globalization of labour markets and the political economic factors that affected the rise of immigration in the postwar European countries and, comparatively, the United States. He argues that the combination of free markets and rights-based politics in the liberal democracies has created a dilemma from the perspective of immigration control.

Buckey, F. H. 1996. The Political Economy of Immigration Policies. *International Review of Law and Economics* 16:81-99.

The article examines the market for migrants and the United States's immigration policy from political economy perspective. It argues that the United States should compete for valuable immigrants and close its doors to "value decreasing" migration. Buckey suggests that the cutting of welfare benefits to immigrants deters unwanted immigrants.

Gabriel, Christina, and Hélène, Pellerin, eds. 2008. *Governing International Labour Migration. Current Issues, challenges and dilemmas*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. London: Routledge.

The volume examines the changing governance and differentiated forms of labour migration. It utilizes the political economy perspective with a particular focus on labour migration regulation, dichotomy and categories, and regional dynamics.

Freeman, Gary P, and Alan K. Kessler. 2008. Political Economy and Migration Policy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34: 4, 655-678.

The paper underlines that stronger dialogue between economics and political science is needed to better understand migration policy. This is demonstrated by bringing into discussion the economic ideas that are grounded on the theories of the labour market and by linking these ideas with political analyses, that is, the role of the states, institutions, and interest groups.

Lindquist, Johan; Xiang, Biao; Yeoh, and Brenda S.A. 2012. Opening the Black Box of Migration: Brokers, the Organization of Transnational Mobility and the Changing Political Economy in Asia. *Pacific Affairs* 85: 1, 7-19.

The special issue investigates transnational migration regimes and infrastructures that condition migration across Asia from the viewpoint of migrant brokers. It points out that migrant broker perspective offers a fruitful methodological vantage point through which the shifting logic of migration can be studied, revealing distinctions that consist between the state and market.

Thiollet, Helene. 2011. Migration as Diplomacy: Labor Migrants, Refugees, and Arab Regional Politics in the Oil-Rich Countries. *International Labor and Working-Class History* 79. 1, 103-121.

The paper studies the political and historical dynamics of labour migration in the Middle East from the 1970s onwards. It argues that the politics of regional integration in the Arab countries can be better understood by examining migration trends and proposes “migration diplomacy” as an analytical framework.

Paul, Regine. 2015. *The political economy of border drawing: Arranging legality in European labor migration policies*. New York: Berghamn.

The book offers a comparative policy analysis of labour migration management in three EU member states: Germany, France, and United Kingdom. It takes the co-production and ambiguities of the EU and national labour migration policies as a starting point and unpacks how values and norms guide the definition of labour migrants.

Kahanec, Martin, and Klaus F. Zimmermann, eds. 2016. *Labor Migration, EU Enlargement, and the Great Recession*. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer.

The edited volume addresses the political economy aspects of post-enlargement migration in EU, including its broader political contexts, redistributive impacts, but also the nationalization of the enlargement agenda. The authors evaluate brain circulation as a sought-after vehicle of improved allocative efficiency of EU labour markets.

Regulation and Management of Labor Migration

A considerable number of studies on labour migration focus on the management and regulation of migration. A well-managed and governed migration is increasingly seen by states and regions as an important factor of economic and social development. Massey 1999 focuses on the role of the states in the processes of international labour migration. Gonzalez 1998 offers a study of Philippine labour migration policy and government initiatives. Bartnam 2005 offers historical investigation the policy choices and logics of that explain the variation of foreign labour in capitalist countries. Martin *et al.* 2006 provide a more pragmatically oriented study of the global patters of migration and political trends and offer recommendations for more sustainable migration policies. Fitzgerald 2006 highlights the importance of studying the dynamics and regulation of labour emigration. Gammeltoft-Hansen and Sørensen 2013 explore the immigration policies of both immigrant-receiving countries and the countries of origin to create new understand contemporary labour migration and its management. Research from Balch 2010 provide understanding about labour market segmentation and the impact of the EU on the national policies on labour migration. Bauder 2006 widens an understanding of regulation by scrutinizing how migration regulates the labour market. Parvati 2009 analyses how

particular framing of migration and development become hegemonic. Natter 2018 contributes to the theorization of migration policies by drawing attention to different political systems.

Gonzalez, Joaquin Lucero. 1998. *Philippine Labour Migration: Critical Dimensions of Public Policy*. Singapore: Continental Press Pte Ltd.

The work provides a comprehensive evaluation of Philippine labour migration from the state and societal perspectives. It discusses the focal points of Philippine labour migration policy, the content of past government initiatives and their justifications, bilateral and multilateral avenues, and proposes arenas for further transmigration policy research.

Massey, Douglas, S. 1999. International Migration at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: The Role of the State. *Population and Development Review* 25: 2, 303–322.

The review article pays attention to the role of the state and the efficacy of state immigration policies in shaping international migration. It underlines the importance of studying not only the immigration policies of immigrant-receiving developed countries but also the regulation of emigration in countries of origin.

Bartnam, David. 2005. *International Labour Migration: Foreign Workers and Public Policy*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

The book studies the variation of foreign labour in capitalist countries with the focus on Israel and Japan, thus focusing on countries that have relatively low numbers of foreign labour. Offers a comparative-historical perspective and investigation of the policy choices and logics of why some governments extensively support the employment foreign labour whereas other countries require different responses in addressing labour shortages.

Martin, Philip L., Abella, Manolo, and Christiane, Kuptsch. 2006. *Managing labor migration in the twenty-first century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

The book offers a survey of global migration patterns and comprehensive analyses regarding the causes and effects of labour migration. It discusses the complex relationship between immigration policies and politics and makes a policy recommendation for more sustainable and fair migration policies.

Bauder, Harald. 2006. *Labor Movement: How Migration Regulates Labor Markets*. New York: Oxford University Press.

The book illustrates how migrants and their vulnerability influences labour markets in the contemporary context of migration and labor market dynamics. Bauder underlines, by following Manuel Castells, that not only labour markets regulate migration, but migration regulates

markets. Highlights that state policies toward migration are not an economic inevitability but instead reflect political decision-making.

Fitzgerald David. (2006). Inside the Sending State: The Politics of Mexican Emigration Control. *International Migration Review* 40: 2, 259-293.

The article widens an understanding of labour migration politics from the perspective of sending states. It focuses on labor emigration control policies and policy changes in the context of Mexico, pointing out the internal and external constraints that have hindered the successful implementation of emigration control.

Raghuram, Parvati. 2009. Which Migration, What Development? Unsettling the Edifice of Migration and Development. *Population, Space and Place* 15: 2, 103-117.

The paper shows that the current discourses of migration and development make their relationship visible in specific ways, ignoring certain scalar politics and temporalities. It utilizes Foucauldian framework as a method for unpacking the hegemonic notions of migration and development and their relationship by various international organizations and governments involved in migration management.

Balch, Alex. 2010. *Managing Labour Migration in Europe: Ideas, Knowledge and Policy Change*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

The book studies the role of the ideas and knowledge in shaping and framing labour migration policy processes. With the focus on the UK and Spain immigration policymaking, it asks why, when, how and where policy frames on labour migration shift and to what extent the EU influences the national level policy debate on labour migration and its management.

Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas, and Ninna Sørensen, eds. 2013. *The migration industry and the commercialization of international migration*. London and New York: Routledge.

The chapters of the edited book offer new theoretical insights for the study of international migration and migration industry. It brings together cross-disciplinary theoretical explorations and case studies from different parts of the world, covering both migrant destinations and migrant sending regions.

Natter, Katharina. 2018. Rethinking immigration policy theory beyond 'Western liberal democracies'. *Comparative Migration Studies* 6: 4, 1-21.

The paper highlights the importance of gaining understanding of immigration policies across different political systems and challenges the usefulness of dichotomous categories (Western/non-Western, democratic/autocratic). With the focus on immigration policymaking in

Morocco and Tunisia, the paper more broadly investigates how political systems shape migration politics.

Regional Migration Governance

Regional cooperation and integration unions play an important role in migration governance and in the facilitation of labour migration. A considerable number of studies have focused on the European Union's migration governance and policies. A good introduction to the EU labour migration policy is offered in Geddes 2008. van Houtum and Pijpers 2007 scrutinize the EU migration politics and the creation of a two-tier system of international migration where EU citizens and so called 'third country nationals' are subject to different rights. Schrijvers *et al.* 2013 research focuses EU internal labour movement after the 2004 and 2007 enlargement processes that increased migration from the newer Eastern European member states to the older and wealthier ones like UK and Germany. Menz 2015 offers knowledge on the EU policy and directives on labour migration and how the individual member states determine the criteria of migration within their own territory. Alongside the mushrooming research on the European Union migration, policies there are a number of publications available from African, Asian and Southern American regional cooperation contexts. Adepoju 2001 offers knowledge of the regional governance of labour migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. Margheritis 2013 focuses on the migration policies and their contradictions within Mercosur. Kaur 2017 offers an analysis of the Southeast Asia regional labour migration system. Lavenex 2019 focuses on regional migration governance and highlights its role in global initiatives.

Adepoju, Aderanti. 2001. Regional Organizations and Intra-Regional Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa: Challenges and Prospects. *International Migration* 39: 6.

The paper investigates the role of regional cooperation organizations in the management of intra-regional labour migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. The analysis focuses on the Economic Community of West African States and South African Development Community, and their challenges and potential in facilitating labour migration.

Van Houtum, Henk, and Roos Pijpers. 2007. The European Union as a Gated Community: The Two - faced Border and Immigration Regime of the EU. *Antipode* 38: 2, 291-309.

The article discusses the problematics of the EU's two-tier migration regime. Simultaneously as the free mobility of EU citizens is considered a key pillar of the Union and the member states are striving to attract economically valuable immigrants, tightened and highly selective border controls are directed towards particular groups of third-country nationals, thus reproducing global inequalities.

Geddes, Andrew. 2008. *Immigration and European Integration: Beyond Fortress Europe?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

The book investigates the EU free movement framework and migration policy, the measures it has developed to promote the integration of migrants and the impact the measures on migration and asylum new member states and non-EU states. The book provides new understanding about the interface between migration and the market building process, welfare and social dimension of the EU.

Schrijvers, Erik., Kremer, Monique, and Jan, Holtslag. 2013. *Making Migration Work: The Future of Labour Migration in the European Union*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

The book describes the EU labour migration and the changes in its nature, scale and direction due to the enlargement processes in 2004 and 2007. The book links migration with the demographic trends of the union's member states and makes policy recommendations for improving the management of labour migration.

Margheritis, Ana. 2013. Piecemeal regional integration in the post-neoliberal era: Negotiating migration policies within Mercosur. *Journal Review of International Political Economy* 20: 3, 541-575.

The paper provides understanding of how migration policies are negotiated within Mercosur, the Latin American Southern Cone Market. The study sheds light to broader questions about regional migration policies in the sensitive area of migration and the contradictions between pragmatic and humanitarian approaches.

Menz, Georg, 2015. Framing the matter differently: the political dynamics of European Union labor migration policymaking. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 28: 4, 554-570.

The article investigates the European Union migration policymaking and the heightened role of the European Commission. It argues that to facilitate consensus between different groupings in the contested domain of migration, the Commission discursively frames common problems and solutions around migration in terms of competitiveness, economic growth and migrant rights.

Kaur, Amarjit. 2017. Labour migration trends and policy challenges in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Policy and Society* 29: 4, 385-397.

The article provides new understanding about the development and characteristic of the Southeast Asia regional labour migration system and its connection with post-colonial geographies. It analyses the migration policies and regulation and recruitment processes in the Southeast Asian countries and points out patterns of convergence among the countries.

Lavenex, Sandra. 2019. Regional migration governance – building block of global initiatives? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45: 8, 1275-1293.

The paper scrutinizes regional institutions and regional integration frameworks from the perspective of migration governance. It shows that regionalism contributes to multilevel migration governance by strengthening vertical interplay and horizontal relationships between different regional institutions.

Skilled Labour Migration

The academic and policy interest in skilled and professional migration has increased since the 1990s political change and the shift towards knowledge societies. Skilled labour migration and policies are studied from the perspective of receiving countries and sending countries. In a report to OECD, Salt 1997 offers a general introduction to the topic and governance perspectives. Koser and Salt 1997 offer an excellent review of the literature on skilled migration and explain it in relation to state migration policies. Raghuram and Kofman 2002 and Hawthorne 2005 offer sophisticated studies of how specific state level policies and procedures impact skilled migration. Skeldon 2009 provides understanding of the politics skilled labour migration from the perspective of the countries of emigration and how brain drain affects development. Duncan 2012 investigates state migration policies in terms of the immigration points system, usually favouring skilled migrants. Today highly skilled migration is politically supported by special visa politics. Cerna 2013 explores how EU migration policy is implemented in practice with the help of Blue Card initiative. Mavroudi and Warren 2013 study the UK labour immigration policy reforms from the perspective of skilled individuals. Czaika and Parsons 2017 present the data of policies for ten OECD destinations from the perspective of high-skilled migration. Kwon 2019 examines the policies and governance of skilled migration in Singapore, Japan and Korea.

Salt, John. 1997. *International Movement of the Highly Skilled*. Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers No. 3. Paris.

The work provides a definition of highly skilled migrants and highlights the diversity of the group. It discusses the data problems, trends, and governmental perspectives of highly skilled with the help of empirical examples, offering a general, practical introduction to the topic.

Koser, Khalid, and John Salt. 1997. The Geography of Highly Skilled International Migration. *International Journal of Population Geography* 3, 285–303.

The much-cited article provides a review of the literature on migration by the highly skilled and its relation to changes in state migration policies. It scrutinizes policy shifts in different states, the impact of regulations and the roles of different actors in attracting and managing highly skilled international migration.

Raghuram, Parvati, and Eleonore Kofman. 2002. The state, skilled labor markets, and immigration: The case of doctors in England. *Environment and Planning A* 34, 2071-2089.

The paper explores the complex nature of the labour market and immigration regulations with a focus on the UK welfare sector and the migration of doctors. It brings forward how the state level policies provide a useful analytical lens for analysing the labour market shortages and for understanding skilled migration.

Hawthorne, Lesleyanne. 2005. "Picking Winners'? The Recent Transformation of Australia's Skilled Migration Policy. *International Migration Review* 39: 3, 663-696.

The article focuses on the Australian skilled migration and labour market policies and the transformation of the selection procedures and programs for skilled migrants. It analyses the factors that lead to this policy transformation and define its labour market outcomes.

Skeldon, Ronald. 2009. Of Skilled Migration, Brain Drains and Policy Responses. *International Migration* 47: 4, 3-29.

The paper highlights the importance of discussing the brain drain and examines the interpretations of the migration of health professionals. It examines the policy approaches towards skilled labour migration, arguing that the focus should shift from migration control towards the question of development.

Duncan, Natasha. 2012. *Immigration Policymaking in the Global Era: In Pursuit of Global Talent*. New York: Palgrave MacMillian.

The book explains the political ramification of international labour migration and the adoption of the immigration points system in many industrialized states. It focuses on the diffusion and mechanism of the points system and the domestic and international factors that explain the policy process towards the adoption of the system.

Cerna, Lucie (2013). Understanding the diversity of EU migration policy in practice: the implementation of the Blue Card initiative. *Policy Studies* 34: 2, 180-200.

The paper points out how tensions exist in both member state and EU level regarding the openness and closure to migration. It scrutinizes the transposition of EU's Blue Card Directive for the admission of the entry of highly skilled third-country nationals and examines the scope and diversities of its implementation across the member states.

Mavroudi, Elizabeth, and Adam Warren. 2013. Highly skilled migration and the negotiation of immigration policy: Non-EEA postgraduate students and academic staff at English universities. *Geoforum* 44, 261-270.

The paper discussed the UK labour immigration policy reforms and how skilled individuals negotiate immigration policy. With the focus on higher education, it investigates how skilled academics cope with the restrictions imposed by immigration controls and the practical challenges that these entail in their everyday lives.

Czaika, Mathias, and Christopher R. Parsons. 2017. The Gravity of High-Skilled Migration Policies. *Demography* 54, 603–630.

The paper presents a bilateral data and a judicious cross-country assessment of policies for ten (10) OECD destinations between 2000 and 2012 from the perspective of high-skilled migration. The research analyses the impact of different policies and bilateral agreements and shows that points-based systems are especially effective in attracting and selecting high-skilled migrants.

Kwon, Oh-Jung. 2019. The diverging paths of skilled immigration in Singapore, Japan and Korea: policy priorities and external labor market for skilled foreign workers. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources* 57, 418–444.

The paper compares the nature and politics of skilled migration in Singapore, Japan and Korea. The paper points out how the different governmental modes of attracting skilled immigrants and different labour market policies have resulted in different modes of skilled labour migration across the countries.

Temporary and Precarious Labor Migration

Temporary migration and specific temporary worker programs have a relatively long history in many countries. The definition and distinction between permanent and temporary migrations are often not obvious. Massey *et al.* 1989 provide understanding of the long-term consequences of the US-temporary worker programs and show that temporal migration has often resulted in more permanent settlement. The research from Anderson 2010 and Lewis *et al.* 2014 show that current immigration policy increases the segmentation and precarity of migrant labour. Canada is often considered as a role model for immigration. Straehle *et al.* 2012 offer knowledge and critical examination of Canadian immigration policies and temporary labour migration programs. Lenard 2012 argues that from the perspective of receiving states, temporary labour migration programs are less successful than permanent migration. Lillie 2012 pays attention to the regulation and conflicts of interest in the EU labour market with the focus on subcontracting and posted migrants. Scott 2013 provides understanding about labour migration politics and the interests of the employer sector. Palmer 2016 offers knowledge of the overseas labour migration programmes. Valenta *et al.* 2019 provide understanding of the United Arab Emirates' labour migration policies and temporary migration system. The literature review shows that migration scholars, in general, are critical of the politics of temporary labour migration and the temporary worker recruitment programs.

Massey, Douglas, and Zai, Liang. 1989. The long-term consequences of a temporary worker program: The US Bracero experience. *Population Research and Policy Review* 8, 199–226.

The paper studies the establishment of temporary worker programs and the US-sponsored temporary worker program Bracero Program, in particular. It shows that substantial numbers of Bracero migrants and their family members eventually settled in the United States, therefore challenging the idea of a temporary worker program.

Anderson, Bridget. 2010. Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers. *Work, employment and society* 24: 2, 300-317.

The widely read article argues that immigration controls function to produce particular relations between migrants and employers and labour markers that may undermine labour protections. Immigration policy and control increase the segmentation of migration and position migrants as 'precarious workers'.

Straehle, Christine, and Lenard, Patti Tamara. 2012. *Legislated Inequality: Temporary Labour Migration in Canada*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

The book provides a critical evaluation of the development and shift in Canadian immigration policies. It argues that the shift towards temporary labour migration recruitment and programs threatens the success of Canada as an immigrant nation. The book proposes ways to improve the conditions and lives of migrant labour.

Lenard, Patti Tamara. 2012. Why Temporary Labour Migration is Not a Satisfactory Alternative to Permanent Migration. *Journal of International Political Theory* 8: 1-2, 172–183.

The paper argues that temporary labour migration programs often produce more harmful effects in receiving states than permanent migration. Point out the need for developing more sustainable labour migration programs and policies that alleviate the negative societal effects of temporary labour migration.

Lillie, Nathan. 2012. Subcontracting, posted migrants and labor market segmentation in Finland. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 50: 1, 148-167.

The article explores subcontracting and segmentation in the European Union's labour market and argues that the responses of labour unions toward migrant work are conditioned by product markets. The case studies from Finland point out that some unions are more successful in enforcing wage norms than others.

Scott, Sam. 2013. Labour, migration and the spatial fix: Evidence from the UK food industry. *Antipode* 42: 5, 1090-1109.

The paper argues the concept of the “spatial fix” from David Harvey is fruitful for understanding contemporary labour migration. With an empirical focus on the British food industry, the paper argues that employers’ urge for international migrant labour does not denote an absolute labour shortage but instead concerns the maximization of labour power in downgraded jobs.

Lewis, Hannah, Peter Dwyer, Stuart Hodgkinson, and Louise Waite. 2014. Hyper-precarious lives: Migrants, work and forced labour in the Global North. *Progress in Human Geography* 39: 5, 580-600.

The paper explores the relationships between neoliberal work, welfare regimes and restrictive immigration regimes in the Global North with the focus on migrants’ experiences. It introduces the concept of ‘hyper-precarity’ as a way of furthering understanding of the intersections between social action and conceptual inquiries concerning migrant’s precarious work.

Palmer, Wayne. 2016. *Indonesia’s Overseas Labour Migration Programme, 1969-2010*. Leiden: Brill.

The book offers a detailed analysis of the overseas labour migration programme of Indonesia and how it is connected with the other developments within the Indonesian government. The author describes the Indonesian political involvement and the ways migrant labour export to destination countries is administered by the government.

Valenta, Marko, Kaley Elizabeth Knowlton, Jo Jakobsen, Mouawiya Al Awad, and Zan Strabac. 2019. Temporary Labour–Migration System and Long–term Residence Strategies in the United Arab Emirates. *International Migration* 58: 1, 182-197.

The paper investigates the United Arab Emirates’ labour migration policies and the sponsorship–based temporary migration system *kafala*. The paper provides knowledge of the long-term migration and population trends in the country and identifies the strategies of migrants to prolong their residence in the country.

Rights-Based Approach

Labour migration policies require simultaneous decisions on how to regulate labour migration, how to select migrants and what rights are granted to migrants. The literature shows that the decisions about the rights of labour migrants have wide impact on the society in question, migrants and their well-being and the countries of emigration. Morris 2002 pays attention to the system of stratified rights for in different national contexts. Wickramasekara 2009 discussed the ‘closed door policy’ of the migration destination countries and explains how it leads to the exploitation of migrant workers and the trampling of migrant’s rights. Piper 2009 explains the shortages of current migration policies and the failure to promote migrant rights in the countries of origin and destination alike. Elias 2010 highlights that the rights-based approach needs to be more sensitive to gendered and racialized

nature of migrant work. Ruhs has authored several influential works. In his book, Ruhs 2013 provides knowledge of migrants' rights and policy interest of different countries. Ruhs and Anderson 2010 complicate an understanding regarding the effects of illegality and vulnerability migrant labour markers by showing how both migrants and employers can benefit the illegality and the ambiguous status of migrants. Ethemcan, Zografos and Kallis 2015 pay attention to the highly topical question climate adaptation policies and the continuing vulnerability of seasonal migrant workers. Kemp and Kfir 2016 contribute to the discussion of labour migrants' rights and their mobilization from the perspective "non-immigration" countries.

Morris, Lydia 2002. *Managing Migration: Civic Stratification and Migrants' Rights*. London: Routledge.

The book offers an analysis of the management of contradiction and proposes a framework for the sociology of migrant's rights. It examines the system of stratified rights for the third country nationals (TCN) and how rights and constraints operate in different national contexts with the focus on three European countries (Germany, Italy, and Britain).

Wickramasekara, Piyasiri. 2009. Globalisation, International Labour Migration and the Rights of Migrant Workers. *Journal Third World Quarterly* 29: 7, 1247-1264.

The paper explains how the 'closed door policy' leads to irregular migration and the violation of the rights and exploitation of migrant workers. The policy explains the limited development impact migration and the potential of labour migration to generate welfare globally.

Piper, Nicola. 2009. Rights of Foreign Workers and the Politics of Migration in South - East and East Asia. *International Migration* 42: 5, 71-97.

The paper studies cross - border migration and the politics of migrants' rights in South - east and East Asia with the focus on unskilled, vulnerable labour migrants. It shows that the challenges to provide adequate protection to unskilled migrants are linked to migration policies and the recognition of their rights in the countries of origin and destination alike, thus the promotion of migrants' rights requires a holistic approach.

Ruhs, Marting, and Bridget Anderson. 2010. Semi - compliance and illegality in migrant labour markets: an analysis of migrants, employers and the state in the UK. *Population, Space and Place* 16, 195-211.

The paper explores the determinants of illegality in the UK's migrant labour market and argues that in order to maximize economic benefits, many migrants and employers take advantage of the semi-compliance (il)legality benefits of migrant's employment. The authors suggest that high-income countries need to carefully monitor the employment of migrants.

Elias, Juanita. 2010. Making migrant domestic work visible: The rights based approach to migration and the 'challenges of social reproduction'. *Review of International Political Economy* 17:5, 840-859.

With the focus on female migrant domestic workers in Malaysia, the paper argues that the 'rights based approach to migration' does not sufficiently recognize gender justice and that more attention should be paid to the gendered and racialized nature of migrant domestic work on the global economy.

Ruhs, Martin. 2013. *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

The book analyses the regulation of migrants' rights in over forty high-income countries as well as the policy interest of migrant sending countries. It argues that the granting and denying the migrants rights forms the core component of labour migration policies. The book moves beyond the political economy debate of labour migration, underlining the ethical dilemmas of labour migration policy.

Ethemcan, Turhan, Christos, Zografos & Giorgos Kallis. 2015. Adaptation as biopolitics: Why state policies in Turkey do not reduce the vulnerability of seasonal agricultural workers to climate change. *Global Environmental Change* 31, 296-306.

The article examines the social and climate change policies of Turkish government that focus on the adaptation of seasonal agricultural workers. The article suggests that instead of targeting the root causes of seasonal workers' vulnerability the adaptation policies and interventions are an attempt to secure the smooth circulation of labour and commodities.

Kemp, Adriana, and Nelly, Kfir. 2016. Mobilizing Migrant Workers' Rights in "Non-immigration" Countries: The Politics of Resonance and Migrants' Rights Activism in Israel and Singapore. *Law & Society Review* 50: 1, 82-116

The article studies migrant workers' rights and their mobilization in the political regimes of Israel and Singapore. It contributes to the rights-based approach by enriching an understanding of migrants' rights activism in "non-immigration" countries and how the mobilization of rights takes place in multiple sites and contexts.