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<a> **Reconsidering migration dynamics within diverse rural spaces**

Lydia Medland

 Abstract

More people are thought to migrate *between* rural areas than from rural to urban regions, so the need to understand dynamics of rural migration is clear. Rural migration is deeply affected by political and economic governance. The challenges in rural spaces are complex and multi-faceted: from gendered processes of migration control, to recruiters courting potential migrants in villages, to difficulty maintaining rural livelihoods, and labour market dynamics in rural workplaces. This chapter disputes the urban-rural false dichotomy constructed in migration policy and literature by illustrating how migrants navigate multiple spheres simultaneously. It also demonstrates how the categories of ‘economic migrant’ and ‘refugee’ break down in segmented rural labour markets where mobile people from many contexts seek work. Finally, the chapter identifies an urban-centred condescension towards rural populations, which both preferences metropolitan concerns in the name of industrialisation and development, and reproduces dynamics of control between urban core and rural peripheral areas.

Key Words: Rural migration, rural-rural, work, gender, refugees

 Introduction

Far from the global metropolises where policy and business are established by urban elites, rural spaces are crucial to many migration processes and trajectories. For some migrants, the rural context is the space and place of origin, as well as potential return. For others, multiple rural spaces are the context of the entire migration experience. Rural spaces are places of work, transit and temporary residence, yet migration policy frequently remains focused on what occurs in urban settings. The assumption that the rural world is something ‘of the past’, has deep roots and is part of the dominant development narrative, in which early colonial and industrial elites constructed ‘nature’ in opposition to ‘society’. This narrative constructs activity in the rural world as ‘behind’, and its disruption, occupation or change is inherently assumed to be ‘progress’ because it moves away from nature and towards ‘civilisation’ (Patel and Moore, 2018). Such assumptions obscure the way political and economic governance affect rural contexts and the people resident in them. The financial and trade-related imperatives for low-priced raw materials, cheap food products and low-waged labour forces, for example, deeply affect dynamics of rural mobility. Furthermore, many migrants do not leave rural worlds ‘behind’. As we will consider in this chapter, rural contexts often maintain a key place in migrants’ life strategies, trajectories and family lives.

This chapter problematises the city-centric construction of migration policy and literature by focusing on rural spaces. The chapter begins with three themes: rural migration, rural space

and gender. By considering what rural migration means, we establish the problem that this chapter deals with. Then, I explore 'rural spaces' and emphasise that they are not always as distant as we may imagine, and are deeply connected to global processes. Some are in a process of transformation related to migration and economic governance. The gendered dynamics of rural migration are then introduced and this highlights tensions in states' promotion of mobility and *immobility*, in particular towards women on the move. This indicates how intersectional factors, in connection with migrants' rural origins or social positioning, can denigrate their experiences of migration.

The chapter continues with the illustration of three important dynamics of migration within rural spaces, these are: rural-international migration, rural-rural migration and, labour migration to rural areas. In each scenario, I examine how governance disrupts or distorts the mobility of people through rural space. In the discussion of *rural-international migration*, we see how attitudes of condescension can emerge in relation to rural populations through the practices and histories of the governance of mobility. The role of *rural to rural migration* demonstrates the need to focus on the rural world as a context in which human mobility is deeply connected to ecological change and its consequences. The governance practices that affect such migration are often indirect practices such as economic policies that affect access to rural land or changes in commodity and land prices. This highlights the need to consider economic governance as well as political governance in policies relating to migration. In the third of these scenarios, the *rural work* contexts are discussed as spaces where migrant workers are involved in agriculture, mining and forestry among other roles.

In the final discussion, we see how the categorisations of migration which typically class people as migrants or refugees, break down in the working context in which mobile people, who have left their home contexts for a variety and mix of reasons, and with mixed statuses, work in rural workplaces alongside one another (Corrado et al., 2017, see Chapters in section two, this volume). These key dynamics are also underscored by the complex connection between ecological change and human mobility which reinforces the need to consider mobility in rural spaces (Carr, 2009). In this way, and through the use of many examples in these discussions, the chapter brings into view how rural spaces and communities play active and under-researched roles in the broader dynamics of global migration.

** Rural Migration**

In their recent report focusing on migration, agriculture and rural development, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation discuss rural migration as "migration from, to and between rural areas, whether the move occurs within a country or involves crossing a border." (FAO, 2018: vi). Such a categorisation therefore overlaps at different points with other categorisations, such as internal, international, environmental, seasonal, and circular migration to name just a few terms. This chapter will consider how rural spaces meaningfully affect one or many aspects of the migration experience. Where rural spaces might otherwise be characterised as 'left behind', by focusing on mobile people we can see

how rural spaces are places of work, social reproduction and social and ecological contestation. Furthermore, we can see how mobile people, even in small numbers, can deeply transform rural spaces. This starting point also alerts us to the forms of governance that directly and indirectly affect people in rural spaces, and their blind spots.

Whilst a slow shift from majority rural- towards majority urban-living has occurred since early industrialisation in the eighteenth century, 45% of the world population continue to live in rural spaces (World Bank, 2018). There are many forms of rural migration and some are clearly more common. Many more migrants move from rural to urban contexts than from urban to rural contexts, suggesting that rural to urban migration is the norm (FAO, 2018: xv). However, as global migration literature demonstrates, many people also live in split households in which migration is an ongoing feature of life. This is seen for example in the case studies of Chinese and Paraguayan rural – urban migration (Chuang, 2016; Finnis, 2017). Furthermore, macro-trends can overlook the levels of rural-rural migration occurring both within countries, and to a lesser extent, between countries. Despite poor data on rural-rural migration, it is generally thought that “a larger share of people migrate between rural areas than from rural to urban areas” (FAO, 2018: xv). Of these migrants, some go on to migrate to cities and fewer to migrate across borders. The scale, as well as the nature of rural to rural migration therefore makes it an important phenomenon to consider in greater depth.

** Moving beyond rural and urban space**

As people move through spaces, these spaces are in turn shaped by their migration. We therefore need to problematise the meaning of rural space in the context of migration. Rural spaces change in relation to migration and mobility for many reasons: demographic changes and increased urban space; land use change; and climate change to name a few factors. Furthermore, increased mobility may affect the way that spaces are understood in relation to one another due to increased connections between spaces and social groups (Finnis, 2017). The notion of rural spaces must therefore be understood beyond a simple contrast with ‘urban’. Indeed, rural spaces cannot be understood within a ‘single cultural frame’ and what is referred to as ‘rural’ will differ from context to context (MacKrell and Pemberton, 2018).

Southern Morocco, in particular in the province of Chtouka Ait Baha, provides a case study illustration of how rural spaces can be fundamentally changed by new patterns of working and living in them. This is a region of destination for internal migrants, who could be considered ‘rural migrants’ for several reasons: they originate in great majority from rural areas of Morocco in the Atlas and Anti-Atlas mountainous regions; they come to the region predominantly in search of jobs in the agricultural export-orientated production sectors in the region; finally, the region of Chtouka Ait Baha has no major city and until recently has been considered a rural space dominated by traditional culture and production (Medland, 2019). The ‘rural’ plays an important role in this case (migrants’ rural origins, agricultural work, absence of major metropole). Yet the very scale of the social and ecological transformation involved in the process of people moving and settling, as well as direct

impact of the agro-export industry that offers jobs in the area, has transformed the space itself. Ben Attou (2018) asserts that under the urban influence of international and national investment, as well as inward migration, this 'rural' area is at the point of becoming 'urban' even if the towns and 'pseudo towns' built by migrant workers have not yet been recognised as such (Ben Attou, 2018: 76-78).

Processes of transformation often involve social resistance as traditional ways of life are challenged in contexts of broad social and ecological change. Despite the context of rural migration and agricultural activity, the presence of international actors and investment in Chtouka Ait Baha has created dynamics of capital intensification in which traditional actors of authority struggle to keep pace with the self-organised activity of migrant workers (such as autonomous building without state planning or authorisation) (Bouchelkha, 2016). Ben Attou argues, '...we qualify this phenomenon of suburban-urban as having become a space of territorial negotiation between actors, administrations, [and] multinationals.' (Ben Attou, 2018: 79). This is a rare recognition of diverse actors contesting how the space itself will change, as it is actually occurring.

While many workers in Chtouka Ait Baha continue to return to families in remote areas during the 'down' season of production, and retain roots in rural areas, others have established lives in the region, and some even find onward routes into international migration. Rural migration is not only or always about urbanisation: but it is often related to changes in the socio-economic organisation of people, space and their (formal and informal) governance. Intermeshed dynamics of economic and political governance in this Moroccan region have facilitated export-orientated agricultural trade (of tomatoes and green beans particularly) with knock on effects for rural-rural and rural-urban migration (Medland, 2019). This illustrates how economic governance, in which a particular mode of production or work is promoted and economically supported by regional, national and international governments, often has knock-on effects for patterns of migration in the short and long term.

** Gendered patterns of work and rural migration**

Migration, especially for work, is a multi-faceted livelihood strategy for many rural-born women and represents a main way in which they express agency in response to a harsh political-economic climate (Pickbourn, 2018). The workplace is affected by social ideas about gendered divisions of labour, and this is the case for both the work of social reproduction (care work, domestic work and work to reproduce society as a whole) and work organised through wage-labour and self-employment relationships (see de Lange, Bernsten and de Sena Chapter 24; Marchetti, Chapter 25). Particularly in the case where migrants travel to seek work, social divisions of labour in both the region of origin and destination have informed labour migration decisions about *who* migrates to do *which* jobs. Often, macro-economic policies have a disproportionate effect on rural communities and add to their motives to leave or move rural contexts (FAO, 2018). Yet, as part of this mobility, women can be faced with several problems. These include: enduring low social status and gendered expectations once back in the context of origin, immobility in parts of

their trajectories, and policy responses which exacerbate discrimination, marginalisation and personal security.

In recent years within out-migration flows from rural areas, women have made up an increasing share of those migrating to cities (ILO, 2016; Pickbourn, 2018). This trend can be associated with both the feminisation of many industrial processes, as well as changing social roles and community needs. This can be seen in particular in labour migration towards particular production networks such as for the production of ready-made garments in Bangladesh (Anwary, 2017; Elson and Pearson, 1981). In relation to this trend, a debate has emerged regarding whether migration is an empowering process for women, individually and in relation to their communities of origin in rural areas (Finnis, 2017; Torres and Carte, 2016; Lenoël, 2015; de Haas and van Rooij, 2010). This research suggests that while women from all backgrounds are playing an increasing role in global mobility, it should not be assumed that gender inequalities are decreasing.

In China, rural-urban migration has had an impact that has been transformative not just for China but for the global division of labour and production. Since the 1990s women in China have increasingly been hired to work in factories in Export Processing Zones of the country (Chuang, 2016). Meanwhile, male rural-urban Chinese workers have often found work in sectors such as construction. Despite assumptions about widespread social change in rural areas due to outward labour migration, Chuang finds that 'a dominant paradigm of proper femininity that relegates young women to household labour' (2018: 467) often persists even once women have returned from urban factory jobs. Such cases also expose the limitations of the potential of migration for livelihood support and development, as young women's wages are insufficient to meet these needs in the medium to long term. Similar results were found from Lenoël's study of Moroccan women 'left behind' when their husbands travelled to France to find work in the last 1980s (Lenoël, 2015). Therefore, despite assumptions that changing gender models from urban migration experiences will alter rural women's bargaining power in places of origin, even those women with their own migratory projects are often then left vying for control over wages, assets and remittances with families and in-laws in places of origin.

Even in the case of rural-urban migration, many cases demonstrate that despite overarching trends towards urban living, this does not necessarily imply that the rural is being 'left behind' by all. In fact, for some migrant workers, particularly where family, state or other factors incentivise their return, urban migration can result in funds for a re-investment in rural spaces. Finnis (2017) provides an informative case of women who are migrant workers in Paraguay. This illustrates how rural-urban mobility is not only characterised by strategies that span space, but also time. Finnis (2017) shows how the strategies of mobile workers may represent renewed commitments towards rural livelihoods as urban income can be used to buy rural land and improve or build homes that will be relied on in later life and by migrants' children. These strategies demonstrate how when women leave rural contexts, they do not necessarily leave for good. The permanence or temporality of any 'migration' should therefore be considered in the policy assumptions that concern the gendered

practices of migration and work in different regions of the world (on the temporal dimension, see Griffith, this volume).

Migration is often undertaken by women as a response to the increasing non-viability of rural livelihoods due to changes in economic, ecological or social conditions. The share of women migrating within the African continent varies by country from around 12% in Burkina Faso to around 53% in Malawi (Pickbourn, 2018: 4). An example of migration as a response to economic policy failure rather than a decisive departure *from* rural contexts, is of women who predominantly work as market porters migrating from Northern to Southern Ghana. Pickbourn (2018) demonstrates that in the Ghanaian context, it is declining agricultural income that has meant making a livelihood from rural activities is increasingly difficult in rural Northern Ghana. This has led to large scale internal, and often circular and seasonal migration of Ghanaian women to urban centres such as Accra. Pickbourn identifies a predominantly negative attitude towards rural-urban internal migration in Ghana in which women are socially marginalised in urban contexts and blamed for unplanned slum housing (2018). Such an attitude has led to policy approaches which attempt to keep migrants, and particularly women, in their regions of origin; NGO initiatives aimed at women in regions of origin involve the teaching of skills such as soap making, while aggressive government actions such as forced slum-clearances and evictions take place. Soap-making may be an option for few; however, rural-urban migration is a much more realistic broad response from women to the socio-economic contexts that they face.

The blaming of women for poor quality housing in inner cities is therefore a short-sighted (and cruel) response to an expression of a rural crisis in which economic and political governance has allowed agricultural livelihoods to become financially untenable. Clearly the economic governance leading to such a scenario is also a question of global governance and an orientation away from small-scale diversified farming and towards the mass production of agricultural and other products. Political strategies which stimulate insecurity (such as slum clearances) do not deal with the root problems and instead make the migration experience more difficult. Putting women's personal security at risk has the added implication of questioning their legitimacy in the working context which can contribute to gendered social stigma about the role of women in the public and working domain. This makes for both a social and political response to situations of rural crisis which are reproduced by distorted economic and ecological governance, or lack of it.

** International migration: from village to airport and beyond.**

This section examines contexts in which migration occurs from rural areas and is orientated towards international destinations. While some policies facilitate and shape migration from rural areas, others explicitly deter it. Barriers to rural populations' mobility and migration are sometimes overt. In the case of China, rural populations have long been restricted in their mobility, making internal migration towards major metropolises more limited than it may otherwise be. State governance of rural populations is able to control both their spatial location as well as their access to potentially increased wages. Private actors too can extend

into rural spaces, where potential migrants are also potential clients. In both Indonesia and China, Xiang and Lindquist (2014) demonstrate how potential migrants are courted by local labour brokers who gear them towards international migration. Crucially, it is in this rural space, in villages, homes and on routes towards cities, where dynamics of control are first established.

Rural to urban migration is primarily understood to be motivated by perceived increasing wage opportunities, these in turn are reinforced by poor access to public services in rural areas (FAO, 2018: xvii). Rural out-migration is also affected by several other key factors related to economic governance which include: the increase of neo-liberal policy formulations favouring export-orientated and large scale production, the removal and reduction of fixed or indexed prices for some crops, the removal and reduction of agricultural subsidies and volatile and decreasing crop prices. These factors have made making a living from agriculture in rural areas increasingly difficult. This is evident in many African and Latin American countries (Pickbourn, 2018: 7; Davis, 2006)¹. Difficulty making a living in the countryside in this context of is compounded by ecological factors. These include: decreasing soil fertility, access to sufficient clean water, and the onset of climate change. Such economic and ecological factors can leave people with good reasons to migrate.

A significant share of international migrants are born in rural areas, and many migrate to urban contexts prior to international migration (FAO, 2018: XiV). Potential migrants in these contexts do not always embark on migration projects of their own initiative but may be actively courted by brokers. The relative poverty and aspirations of such individuals then become a way to extract funds which are already in short supply, for an international migration project that offers no guarantee of being financially beneficial to the migrant (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014). It is not only commercial actors involved in this mediation process, but also regulatory, technological, humanitarian and social groups (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014).

Derogatory attitudes and practices towards those from rural origins are echoed in international migration. This was shown in the struggles of rural migrants in the Ghanaian case discussed above, but can equally be seen in Southeast Asia. For example, villages are the main sources of migrant workers from Indonesia towards international destinations (Lindquist, 2018: 80). Distrust and controlling dynamics of the state towards rural populations have led to historical patterns in which rural populations are infantilized by policy makers who seek to manage their activities through a complex matrix of intermediaries, particularly, 'field agents' (Ibid.). Lindquist shows that concern for rural women's welfare has led to the development of an integrated system of escort of international migrants who intend to travel to countries in the Gulf as domestic workers. There is a coercive infrastructure through which at different times they are deprived of their personal liberty (to choose the address to which they wish to go to on return), funds (having

¹ These references refer to the cases of Ghana (Pickbourn) and Morocco (Davis)

to pay agents) and ironically, of their mobility (being locked in rooms prior to international flights) (Ibid, 2018). Lindquist shows that these dynamics have a long history in Indonesia.

The rural origins of migrants intersect here with gendered practices of escort, as well as historical rural – urban patterns of governance and control. Rural spaces can therefore be seen as significantly shaping those migration dynamics which might not initially be considered as ‘rural’ in character.

“Despite the ubiquity of cell phones and that most migrants now travel directly by airplane [...] in the space between rural and urban areas different brokers temporarily collaborate. In this process, [brokers] are able to control capital, documents, and the migrants themselves.” (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014: 141)

What is relevant to the discussion of rural migration here is the way in which each of these processes of escort are mediated through finance, private and political infrastructure and regimes of governance.

** Rural – rural migration: from village to forest**

Migration and mobility, although occurring in the rural sphere, are often triggered by activity in urban spaces, including changes in demands for food (for example the increase in demand of soya now met by supply from the Amazon basin) and for precious minerals such as gold (IOM, 2018). Rural migration in these cases is therefore, if indirectly, also associated with processes of globalisation, industrialisation and capitalism despite its occurrence in remote spaces. It is also connected with processes of human interaction with ecosystems in which land use change often leads to more unsustainable practices (e.g. intensive farming, mining, logging, and others).

Although many forms of rural mobility are ultimately orientated towards increasing urban spaces, some people decide to travel deeper into rural territories. This is the case of people in Latin America who travel to forest frontiers in order to settle agricultural land to make a living. When rural communities can no longer support subsistence agriculture with income from trading supplementary crops, or with jobs in local sectors, mobility is often a response to the need to find surplus income, often from another sector such as services (FAO, 2018; Carr, 2009). In migration trajectories towards more remote rural contexts, this incurs a change in, rather than a departure from, rural livelihood strategies. Carr argues that this is precisely why rural migration matters: rural migration transforms not just livelihoods but also the nature of the human ecological footprint on earth (2009, 355; see also Boas and Wiegel, Chapter 7). When people, households and communities take decisions to move towards urban or rural spaces, this is related to changes in residence as well as changes in land-use and livelihoods.

Carr (2009) illustrates the multifaceted implications of segregated patterns of labour migration; rural migrants who travel to the frontier of the Amazon rainforest in Latin America to settle on newly deforested land are those unlikely to be highly educated or have

language skills. Their prospects in the cities are therefore weak, yet unsettled lands on forest frontiers offer the potential to settle and gain agricultural property. At this human-ecological interface where rural migrant small farmers engage in forest clearing to secure livelihoods at the edges of the world's most significant forest basin, Carr (2009) argues that the significance of rural migration is clear: poverty and ecological destruction are related and entwined in the interplay of rural development. Understanding land use change (such as urbanisation, deforestation, settlement) and migration and population movements together should in this view therefore be a priority in order to both mitigate rural poverty and ecological destruction at forest frontiers (Carr, 2009, 370).

It is not just (potential) agricultural land that attracts rural migrants to spaces at ecological frontiers, but also the hope of making a livelihood from mining, and other precious stones and substances that can be found in remote spaces (IOM, 2018). Furthermore, these activities take various forms; while in the case described by Carr, migrants were pursuing livelihoods independently, in other cases employment through large-scale companies or intermediaries facilitates the entry of migrants into rural areas where mining, agriculture or other activities associated with land use change take place. The growing role of these sectors in rural areas is deeply connected to broader processes of global transformation, including rural-rural migration.

** Work in rural contexts: from village to plantation**

Rural areas are often also places of intense social and economic activity, including work in agriculture, mining and forestry. Rural areas may also connect borders of countries, urban metropolises or industrial centres which themselves offer employment. For a long time now in areas of the global North, agricultural work in rural areas has been associated with migrant labour (Corrado et al., 2017; Rye and Scott, 2018; Scott, 2013). Such work provides informal opportunities sought by migrants without formal work permission, and usually has lower barriers to entry for those from backgrounds (often rural) with little education or experience in other sectors. However, it is also often associated with very poor living conditions (Ziebarth, 2006; Holden, 2002), racism and other forms of discrimination, segregation, and wages below minimum legal wage levels (Martin Diaz, 2002; Corrado, 2011; Hinnershitz, 2013).

As mentioned above, remote regions, and people within them, often elude the attention and awareness of policy makers and urban populations. However, when rural spaces emerge in the public eye as sites of migration, they can also spur new dynamics of contestation and governance. This was the case in the rural town of El Ejido, Spain, when violent riots in 2001 between the town's farmers and workers drew both the existence of the migrant work force, and their poor living and working conditions, to national public attention (Martinez Viega, 2014). Gonzalez-Enriquez (2009) termed the practice of the government turning a blind eye to undocumented migration in the 1990s, 'the Cheap Model' due to the convenience of the labour that migrant workers offered the agricultural economy; low wage levels, and little involvement from regulators to either gain explicit public consent or to administrate the process.

The events in the fields of El Ejido triggered a national change in immigration policy over the successive decades in Spain (González-Enríquez, 2009). Some mass regularisations of sub-Saharan and North African migrant workers took place in the early 2000s however, this approach came to a halt with both increasing border controls through European Union efforts (backed by Spain) and decreasing public consent for regularisations in the context of the economic crisis of 2008. Temporary migration programmes which aim to discourage settlement are now preferred options for policy makers to meet rural labour demands (Fudge and Olsson, 2014; Medland, 2017; see also Piper, Chapter 32). This case highlights how migration in rural spaces can both occur beyond the awareness (or attention) of policy makers and the public, and can then be the subject of, and intersect with, changing regimes of migration.

** Blurred categories: The refugeeisation of rural work**

The increasingly racially and ethnically segregated work forces in rural areas reflect global inequalities more broadly. The 'refugeeisation' of agricultural labour (Dines and Rigo, 2015) is also a significant characteristic in some regions of the world such as in south eastern Europe and some areas of sub-Saharan Africa. For example, according to researchers in the region, rural agricultural work in Cameroon is increasingly being carried out by refugees from bordering states in conflict such as from the Democratic Republic of Congo (Toussé Djou, 2019). This phenomenon demonstrates how the categories of 'refugee' and labour migrant break down in practice (see Bakewell, Chapter 10; Crawley and Setrana, Chapter 16). In the field or agricultural workplace, the refugeeisation of agricultural labour refers to the same process in which the vulnerability (or decreased social bargaining power) in the economic relationship of migrant worker and employer permits farmers to pay lower wages to refugees fleeing conflict in their places of origin (or prior destinations). In the case of Turkey, which is now hosting more than half of the 4.4 million Syrian refugees who fled Syria in the wake of the Arab Spring and Syrian civil war, refugees are now playing a large role in the informal agricultural labour force (Akay Erturk, 2017).

Nevertheless, the entrance of Syrian refugees into informal agricultural labour markets in Turkey, has been triggered by more than just the war in Syria. Prior to this mobility, international pressure on agricultural prices, European Union quotas, World Trade Organisation decisions and rising input prices, had (similar to in other rural contexts) meant rural agricultural work was becoming unprofitable and had triggered internal rural-urban migration of many Turkish people of young working age (Akay Erturk, 2017). Therefore, refugee populations from Syria, willing to accept lower than normal wages, have filled a gap in the labour force opened by previous flows in rural migration. The interrelationships between rural mobility and rural work demonstrate how stress on rural populations is often felt by newcomers who are offered poorer wages due to their weak (often informal) position in the labour market. In this case the arrival of Syrian refugees, often employed by aging Turkish farmers, has been a factor which has meant that olive oil production in some areas has continued to be viable despite the exit of Turkish working age people and poor prices for the product (Akay Erturk, 2017). As illustrated by some of the case studies

mentioned above, the injustices of racially and ethnically segregated work forces in rural areas reflect global inequalities more broadly and are readily contested by migrant and refugee rural workers (Corrado et al., 2017).

** Conclusion**

This chapter has explored how rural spaces play significant roles in the experiences of migrants and migration governance. We have seen how governance disrupts and distorts the experiences of migrants in rural spaces in complex ways. I have also considered how rural spaces themselves are transformed and co-produced by mobile people. While some aspects of rural migration are considerably well understood (rural – urban migration), others require further attention. The most significant of these, highlighted in the chapter, are: the intersection of gender and migration control, especially in international migration; rural – rural migration; and labour migration to rural contexts, in which work is often taken up by refugees. Although globally, the overall trend is for human populations to move towards urban living, this by no means suggests that the countryside is deserted. We should pay better attention to dynamics of migration and its governance in the rural context.

There are various ways in which migration through rural space is affected by state and private regimes of migration control. Many of these are related to international connections at the heart of our globalising world: demand from the global North for fresh food year round, demands from corporations for raw materials found at ecological frontiers, and labour markets which are stratified in ways that are racialised and respond to migrants' lack of security with low wages and poor conditions. The governance of rural spaces and rural mobility cannot be separated from this context in which it occurs. As I have illustrated, falling agricultural prices imply falling incomes for those rural peoples who rely on them. By assuming that people wish to move away from the rural world, social, economic and political policies alike serve to demean and make more difficult the choices and livelihoods of those travelling from, to and within rural space.

Migrants of rural origins can be undermined in their choices, agency and mobility due to social attitudes which construct the rural world as 'behind'. From the infantilising practices of the Indonesian state towards rural peoples, to the overt aggression of the Ghanaian state towards rural-urban internal migration, examples have been considered here that illustrate how both efforts to facilitate and impede rural migration use practices of aggressive control over migrants' bodies, persons and possessions alongside rhetoric of protection. The condescension towards people of rural origins can translate into disrespect, and into a weakening of their social position. Women can be differentially affected by rural migration policies and may have different strategies as part of their migration projects.

High pressures on rural livelihoods deeply influence patterns and dynamics of rural mobility from, within and between rural spaces. In this way, migrants and refugees work in agricultural jobs that are vacant due to changes in economic governance and emigration patterns of people formerly working in agriculture. Ecological change is another factor which affects rural livelihoods and mobility, often triggering outward mobility from rural (or

costal) contexts. In contexts of economic difficulty in rural areas, it is often those who are least protected (legally and socially) in the labour market who fill gaps in agricultural labour markets: these are often migrant and refugee workers.

A major problem with governance in relation to rural mobility is that it is often constructed in relation to urban contexts, priorities and viewpoints. This is accompanied by the deeply problematic assumption that the rural world should gradually be integrated and incorporated into capital-centric urban life. How migration occurs and is governed within rural spaces has important consequences; the global political economy relies on extracted resources as well as under-protected, and under-estimated migrant workers. Respect and recognition of their labour and livelihoods should be incorporated into political and economic governance, not only of migration, but also of trade and labour. We need to recognise that rural spaces, and the well-being of populations living in them, are crucial to human and ecological survival.

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