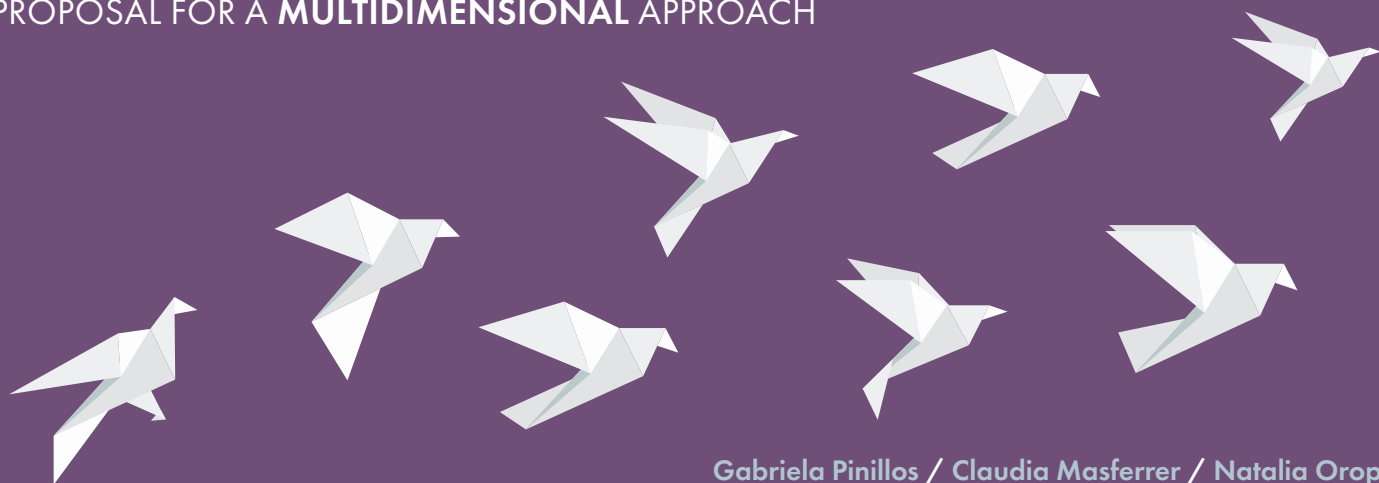


INEQUALITIES, MIGRATION AND BORDERS:

A PROPOSAL FOR A MULTIDIMENSIONAL APPROACH

NOTAS
SOBRE
+ MIGRACIÓN Y
DESIGUALDADES

Seminario
MIGRACIÓN,
DESIGUALDAD Y
POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS



Gabriela Pinillos / Claudia Masferrer / Natalia Oropeza

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The objective of this document is to discuss the importance and need to analyze the relationship between inequality and migration from a multidimensional approach, from an international perspective that places Mexico-United States migration in a broader context. This third issue complements the first two of the series of Notes on Inequality and Migration for the Seminar on Migration, Inequality and Public Policies that focus on the relationship between migration and inequality in income distribution. This document takes

up the questions that served as a starting point in the numbers before it: does migration cause income inequality? and, does inequality cause migration? to present the complexity of this relationship, when considering the multiple variables or categories that cross it: gender, social class, ethnicity, environment, among others. In this way, from the review of the literature that addresses the relationship of these analytical categories worldwide, the foundations are laid that support the discussions within the Seminar.

INTRODUCTION

As a phenomenon, inequality has been studied from different approaches and in separate areas of knowledge. For example, according to Luis Reygadas, “individualist theories have emphasized the distribution of skills and resources among agents, interactionist theories have highlighted the patterns of relations and unequal exchanges while holistic theories have concentrated on the asymmetric characteristics of social structures”¹. According to the proposal of this author, inequality should be analyzed from a multidimensional perspective encompassing different aspects and types of inequality: gender inequalities, ethnic inequalities, educational inequalities, for example, that consider gender, ethnic and class differences, among others.

Putting this into historical context, it was only in the second half of the 20th century that the study of inequality and the issue itself became important as a phenomenon of study due to the large gaps observed both within and between countries². The growth of emerging economies, particularly China, turned academic interest towards the issue of inequality as a phenomenon linked to poverty and social exclusion, but also to other social aspects, such as gender and ethnicity –already mentioned earlier– that complicate its understanding and suggest new methods and epistemologies for analysis.

The majority of studies on inequality are based on analysis at the individual level, generally using income as the measurement parameter, focusing on the distribution of various attributes among people, and analyzing how this distribution affects the unequal results achieved in a given social context³. However, the ability of an individual to obtain a portion of the wealth produced in society depends on many factors, some external and others intrinsic. Whereas external factors refer to the possession of resources that make it possible to produce or extract more wealth from the environment (such as utensils, tools, machinery, means of transport, money, capital), internal factors include the capacity to work according to a person’s quality, quantity and degree of complexity, knowledge, creativity and intelligence.

Consequently, the analysis of inequality focusing on the individual level ignores structural processes that place population groups in precarious conditions while maintaining others in areas of privilege that provide them with greater access to social services and, therefore, greater social mobility.

Two questions as a starting point for the debate between inequality and migration

In the Seminar on Migration, Inequality and Public Policies, in order to lay the foundations for a discussion that addresses the broad complexity of the relationship between migration and inequality, two initial questions were explored to begin the discussions and debate: does migration cause income inequality? and does inequality cause migration? These questions were developed separately in two issues of this series *Notes on Migration and Inequalities*: 1) Does migration cause income inequality? by Pia Orrenius and Madeline Zavodny, and 2) Is Mexican migration to the United States a matter of economic inequality? by René Zenteno. This third issue explores the complex relationship between migration and inequality from a multidimensional approach, incorporating various factors and analytical elements. We refer to the international case, without restricting ourselves to Mexico-United States migration.

In addition to the approach that measures economic inequality using income, migration has been analyzed in relation to economic and social development among different countries. The evolution of how the effects of migration on economic development in origin countries are conceived mirrors the evolution of social theories and paradigms, as De Haas (2010) states. Within this debate, remittances have been conceived of as a fundamental source of economic resources for development in contexts of origin, which influence the maintenance, evolution and characteristics of migration (De Haas, 2010). Next, we outline the state of the art of studies on migration and inequality, which, in addition to income, have focused on remittances and other variables.

Does inequality cause migration?

Using a literature review, René Zenteno (2019) offers clues and elements to clarify the direction in which the link between these two major interconnected social phenomena occurs. However, he concludes that the debate on the link between inequality and migration remains open and requires new empirical studies specifically designed to answer this question.

A review of the theories explaining the causes of Mexico-United States migration shows that none of them fully explains why Mexicans migrate. Moreover, the studies reviewed yield evidence on the Mexican case that fails to provide a clear picture of the interaction between inequality and migration. Zenteno finds that inequality determines the self-selection of migrants, both in terms of observed and unobserved characteristics prior to migration. Thus, understanding who migrates and who remains in Mexico is not only important for capturing the effects of inequality on migration decisions, but also the consequences for the economic and social development of Mexico. Whereas in other international contexts, there is usually positive educational selectivity, for example, this does not happen in Mexico. In other words, whereas in general, those who migrate have higher educational attainment than those that do not, in Mexico this is under debate.⁴

Of the series of migration theories reviewed, the concept of relative deprivation has been used to explain Mexico-United States migration, as well as that of other origins. This approach is key because it conceives that the decision to migrate is based on a calculation where the position in the distribution of household income is crucial. In other words, not only does the level of income matter, but also how it compares with that of other members of the community or a reference group.⁵ Thus, migration is not only a product of income inequality among members of the community or between reference groups, but will also depend on the position of the individuals themselves.

Does migration cause income inequality?

We first review what is known of the Mexico-United States case. Orrenius and Zavodny explain how, unlike what has been observed in other world regions, Mexico has experienced a

decrease in inequality since the mid-1990s, which coincided first with the largest increase in emigration to the United States and subsequently with a rapid decline in the latter.⁶ Emigration of Mexicans from the lower echelons of occupational distribution, as well as the remittances they sent, partly contributed to the reduction in inequality in Mexico, by distancing their families from the poverty line. Contrary to what is commonly believed in the United States, immigration played a minor role in the increase in income and wage inequality in that country. Given that a large share of the immigrant population in the United States is of Mexican origin, when the increase in inequality is attributed to immigration, it tends to be associated with migration from Mexico. However, the authors show how the increase in inequality is more a product of globalization and technological change.

To understand what is happening in other international contexts, results depend on whether the focus is on countries of origin, destination or return. There seems to be a general consensus in this literature that migration reduces the number of people living below the poverty line in the countries of origin, although there is no consensus regarding the effect on inequality between countries or within each country, whether they are of origin, destination or return. This is partly because the question is of an empirical nature and the particular characteristics of internal and international migration are important in each context⁷. Findings from the international experience are summarized below.

Inequality in the country of origin

The relationship between migration and inequality in the place of origin has mainly been studied from the perspective of the effect of the economic remittances migrants send their families that have remained in their communities in conditions of poverty and inequality. It has consistently been found that remittances contribute to the income of these households and are used for everyday expenses, as well as productive, savings or investment projects. Since they increase household income, remittances tend to have a poverty-reducing effect, at both the household and national level.

However, migrants require minimum economic and social resources to move. Accordingly, those who migrate are usually not the poorest members of the community. In some Latin American countries, as Clark and Williamson (2003) have pointed out⁸, emigration may contribute to the increase in inequality, although there is no consensus on this⁹. A study on the effect of the number of emigrants and remittances in seventy countries, on different poverty measures, shows an effect of poverty reduction¹⁰. However, the effect of remittances depends on the nature of migration, since it is associated with the type of links with the community of origin, and the likelihood of sending remittances. In other words, it depends on whether migration is internal or international, the scale, its type (work, in search of protection, for family reasons), and whether it is temporary or permanent. The volume of emigrants can influence the size of the workforce in the community of origin.

The stage of the development process in the country of origin also plays an important role in the association between inequality and migration. In other words, at the start of the technological development process, emigration rates increase together with economic inequality with high migration costs and high selectivity of migrants. At more advanced stages of development, migration rates and inequality decrease as a result of the increase in the migration rates of people with lower educational attainment. When countries achieve high income levels, once again, migration declines, while educational selectivity increases¹¹. In other words, there are bidirectional effects between economic growth, inequality and migration selectivity, where greater inequality can create positive selectivity (when migrants have higher than average levels of educational attainment), and slow down growth, whereas insignificant economic growth can cause high levels of inequality together with greater migration selectivity.

The volume of remittances is also affected by the composition of the flows and migrant population in the destination countries. In a worldwide analysis for the period 1985 to 2005, for example, Le Goff and Salomone (2012) find that the presence of women with a university education has a positive effect on the amount of

remittances sent, even when the gross domestic product, financial control, geographical distance between countries, and socio-political indicators, such as language and the existence of colonial ties between origin and destination are taken into account. In other words, both the amount of remittances sent and the purpose for which they are used depend on the composition by gender and the socioeconomic and academic profile of emigrants¹².

In the South Asian region, in Pakistan, a study found that greater access to remittances together with an increase in technical education in rural areas, as well as greater regulation of hiring processes, support for low-income migrant workers, and financial policies to reduce the cost of sending financial resources would reduce income inequality¹³. In Vietnam it was found that the effects of non-labor migration reduce the severity of poverty nationwide to a greater extent than labor migration, probably due to the higher expenses represented by members who migrated for non-work reasons.¹⁴ This would imply, as the authors point out, that the effects of internal and international migration on poverty and inequality depend on the context and nature of migration, according to the geographical area.

The South Pacific islands are unique cases in that their isolated geographical situation limits the migration possibilities of their inhabitants. In the case of the Republic of Fiji - in Melanesia - and the kingdom of Tonga - in Polynesia - a counterfactual analysis shows that the situation of poverty would have been worse in a scenario without migration¹⁵. The effect of migration on the reduction of inequality is ambiguous with the possible result that although they alleviate poverty, remittances could have the effect of reinforcing existing income inequalities. On the other hand, in Melanesia, one study considers that migration expands economic possibilities by increasing and diversifying household income sources without greatly increasing inequality, and in fact less so than what income from salaries would for the same income level.¹⁶

In the same sense as in the cases mentioned above, in Africa, other studies have posited two aspects regarding the relationship between migration and inequality in the place of origin:

1) the importance of considering the context of each country in order to undertake this type of analysis, and 2) the ambiguous nature of the effect of remittances on inequality, given that remittances can improve the income of recipient households, and increase spending, reducing poverty levels, although they do not always reduce inequality.¹⁷

For example, in Kenya, it has been found that remittances impact on the total income distribution, having a greater effect on the poorest households; in other words, those that receive more remittances increase their spending, which in turn has an impact on poverty levels. In their study, the authors measure poverty fundamentally by access to land and a cell phone and rainfall, which is a crucial resource in Kenya for agricultural production. In this respect, one can see how context and geographical location matter in the analysis. Thus, since the poorest populations benefit the most from remittances, reducing the barriers to migration that hinder mobility for these populations is important. The study also mentions that one aspect to take into account is the increase in credit so that poor households can finance migratory movements.¹⁸ At the same time, in Ethiopia, international remittances significantly reduced poverty by increasing per capita consumption in recipient households, but when poverty and inequality values were compared, no effect was found on the latter (Beyenne, 2014). The author suggests that this is related to the moderate rate of migration in that country, which means that if migration increases, both poverty and inequality levels will decline.

In summary, according to the studies analyzed, migration has a positive effect on reducing poverty in the short term in origin countries, although this is not the same across all countries, and has unclear effects on inequality within countries and, in some cases, actually increases inequality.

Inequality in the country of destination

In destination countries, inequality has been analyzed more frequently than in the previous case, with many of these studies focusing on the comparison between natives and immigrants, especially to assess the impact on native wages. Economist

George Borjas embodies this line of analysis of the link between selectivity in migration and the impact on wages in destination countries. In general, his studies view immigration to industrialized countries as unfavorable, especially that involving Latin Americans with low educational attainment. For example, he has analyzed the impact of Mexican migrants with little schooling on the salaries of Americans with incomplete high school¹⁹, as well as the effect on African-Americans²⁰. He has also found that opening borders would not significantly increase the GDP of industrialized countries, contrary to what defenders of open borders claim²¹. Michael Clemens, for example, promotes the idea that migration reduces global inequality on the basis of the results of empirical studies. Clemens concludes that migration reduces economic inequality, since labor mobility achieved through migration leads to compensation in the shortage of resources affecting certain regions in the world, which puts them at a disadvantage in comparison with other highly privileged regions²². For this author, less restrictive migratory policies and free mobility would expand the Gross Domestic Product worldwide.

For the Central American case, studies have analyzed the effects of international migration in various destinations²³. For example, the case of Nicaragua is interesting when one compares the differences between migrants in the United States and those in Costa Rica. The United States attracts migrants with more resources, who are able to afford the trip and assume the risks, whereas Costa Rica is a destination for Nicaraguan migrants with fewer resources²⁴. Estimates of consumption show, when comparing the current migratory situation with a hypothetical situation in which migration does not occur, that in the short term, remittances from Costa Rica increase per capita consumption in poor households, whereas migration to the United States increases consumption in middle-class households, which in turn increases inequality since households in the middle part of distribution benefit most. In the long term, it is unclear what effect remittances could have on inequality since the available expenditure could be used to invest in the education of migrants' relatives.

However, the case of China can also be used to consider the effects of migration on places of destination. Although it is a case of internal migration, due to the enormous size of its territory, and the sociocultural diversity within it, as well as current system of restricted mobility, many studies regard internal migrations as being similar to international migrations. The specificity of the *hukou* registration system, which makes it difficult for migrants to settle permanently in cities, forcing them to remain tied to their places of origin and denying them the same rights or the same access to work as urban natives, places them at a disadvantage in comparison with urban natives. Remittances generated by migration from rural localities to urban localities have the effect of reducing regional and interprovincial inequality. However, migration does not reduce interpersonal inequality in the form of precarious work and social exclusion,²⁵ or between ethnic minorities and the Han majority,²⁶ or between rural and urban inhabitants.²⁷

Inequality in the place of origin upon return

In the past decade, greater attention has been paid to the issue of return migration, due to changes in migratory flows and dynamics worldwide. This type of studies analyzes inequality in return scenarios, using comparisons between return migrants and natives in the country of origin, and in their integration into the labor market, or analyzes the importance of the pensions of migrants who have returned to their homes.

In West Africa, in Cabo Verde, where the majority of the population has a family member abroad, an ethnographic study analyzed the impact of the migratory experience for both family recipients of remittances and return immigrants²⁸. The study shows that regardless of the social position of the recipient, many send remittances, but that the amount does not suffice to change the degree of poverty in which their relatives in the country of origin live. Instead, it is the pensions of return migrants that allows for a more comfortable standard of living due to the difference between the currency of the country to which the person migrated and local currency. Migration can therefore help mitigate the situation of people

in poverty, but not reduce inequality itself. It is in the cases where return migrants take advantage of the exchange disparity that the greatest advantage occurs, whereas remittances actually only serve to alleviate poverty. In the Maghreb, specifically in two regions of Algeria, the effect of the pensions of former migrant workers on the reduction of the local Gini index has also been analyzed. The effect is explained by the increase in household incomes located in the lowest quintile of the income distribution and the reduction in the number of people living below the poverty line.²⁹

In conclusion, even though we do not include a review of all the case studies, the review shows that the effect of migration on inequality can be analyzed from many angles. The analysis varies in terms of the scales and according to the comparison groups: it can include migrants with a national or international destination, internal migration when comparing rural flows with urban natives, and developing countries versus richer countries. The analysis can refer to the region of destination or origin. Each context and type of flow will define specific situations and income conditions that will require attention and particular approaches, by examining both public and migration policies, and the processes whereby these different types of mobility are produced. In any case, the relationship between migration and inequality is always relative and contextual.

The mobility approach: A multidimensional perspective

The scenario described in the previous section that uses income as the indicator to measure inequality presents gray areas of analysis that raise new questions for understanding inequalities and the migration phenomenon. As mentioned by Reygadas in his 2004 text,³⁰ individuals' capacity for appropriation depends increasingly on the social context. In this section, we seek to unpack the complexity of the relationship between inequality and migration, in order to open up the debate and have a broader discussion.

The individual approach based on the assumptions of individualist theories, focused on the distribution of capacities and resources among agents and measured through income distribution,

remittances, or spending, has been criticized by many sectors, not only academia, but also civil organizations and international organizations. Amartya Sen has been a vocal critic of the approach that traditionally sought to analyze the issue of inequality. For Sen, beyond the discussion about the best measure of inequality, it is necessary to promote capabilities that will affect people's opportunities and freedom³¹. But Sen's approach has also been questioned for failing to overcome the individualist and individual capabilities approach. This has spawned various criticisms that attempt to achieve a multidimensional approach that will make it possible to understand the complexity surrounding inequalities.

To overcome the individual approach and achieve one that encompasses the multiple dimensions of inequality, recent analyses by Anderson, Piketty and Stiglitz suggest one should acknowledge the intervention of various factors that go beyond individual capabilities and are more difficult to assess or quantify than income³². These include cultural capital, certifications, status, social class, citizenship, ethnicity, gender and other individual attributes such as height, weight, beauty, physical appearance, skin color, strength, agility and physical disability. These factors are the result of adjustments and imbalances in the global social order, and are recognized as elements that influence the construction of various types of inequalities and inequities, discrimination and social exclusion.

Within this same line, it has been suggested that the best explanatory models would be those in an intermediate position in which one would choose to give weight to both structural constraints and the real, albeit limited, ability of individuals and their communities to overcome and mobilize within the larger social context in which they are immersed, and where states continue to play a crucial role in the construction of general conditions favorable to human development (257-259)³³.

Gender, ethnicity and social class: transversal elements of the analysis of inequality

Subjective elements combine with the structural aspects of each context and intervene in migratory processes and, in general, the possibility of

mobility of the population. In other words, these elements create inequalities in mobility. Several authors have focused their studies on analyzing the relationship between these subjective elements and inequality³⁴. The general conclusion reached by these studies is that gender, ethnicity and social class must be analyzed together since they reinforce each other and exacerbate the exclusion of certain groups over others.

For example, the issue of gender is one of the most frequently studied in terms of the relationship between migration and inequality. As a result of the studies carried out to date, new analytical areas have emerged in the quest for a deeper understanding of this relationship. This is largely due to ideas such as those put forward by Ariza (2000) and others, which argue that gender is a universal principle that structures and orders migration.³⁵

In the case of Mexico-United States migration, in gender issues and in the particular the issue of how migrants are incorporated into the labor market, studies show that the aspects or conditions that most affect women and men in the migration experience vary. In women, for example, incorporation into US society is affected more by access to resources, while the ways they can participate in transnational activities depend more on the socioeconomic status they achieve in the destination country. In contrast, among migrant men, aspects such as class and race barriers in the context of origin exert the greatest influence³⁶.

As mentioned earlier, the relational element is crucial to understanding the reproduction of inequality and why the gaps between social classes have significantly expanded in recent years, particularly during the last decade of the 20th century and the early decades of the 21st century. This is how the processes whereby the state, the family and the market –as structures of opportunity and resource systems– create inequalities between groups and individuals, and stratify the life course. These are key to understanding that poverty and exclusion are not the result of a “deviant” biographical trajectory but rather the result of the interaction between these social institutions³⁷.

The reproduction of inequalities in collective spaces occurs along the borders separating the different groups.

“The establishment and/or recognition of differentiations and characteristics between groups according to different subjective and structural aspects become frontiers which, in turn, take the form of physical barriers (walls, fences, gates, ravines, metal detectors, etc.), legal devices (prohibitions, permits, tariffs, concessions, preserves, patents, restrictions, rights, etc.) and symbolic mechanisms, which are more subtle and effective (glass ceilings, stigma, classifications, distinctions in clothing or the body, decoration of spaces, etc.) [...]. These borders are never fixed and are constantly crossed, reinforced, challenged, raised, rebuilt and transgressed” (Reygadas, 2004: 15).

Reygadas’ analysis highlights the border as a social construct that allows us to understand and connect inequality with mobility, and therefore with migration. Multiple types of mobility occur today. Until a few years ago, “South-North” migrations, referring to the mobility of populations from poor countries to rich countries, constituted the traditional flows of human mobility at the international level. However, with the emergence of economic crises, changes in migration policies, the reinforcement of border control and climate change, among many other phenomena and processes, the new North-South and South-South flows have become both important and increasingly recurrent. The analysis of other types of migratory flows goes beyond the scope and objectives of this document.

Borders as social constructs in the exacerbation of multiple inequalities

Based on the above, the creation of symbolic or physical boundaries allows us to understand the link between mobility and inequality. However, it is also necessary to recognize that the analysis of mobility must consider not only exchange, passage and transfer, but also enclosure. Authors such as Josiah Heyman and others argue that the concept of human mobility overlooks one type of complexity: it assumes porosity and fails to incorporate the way restrictions and inequalities in movement are shaped³⁸.

Unequal mobility is linked to other systems of inequality in society. In the achievement of these

systems of unequal mobility, scrutiny, vigilance and classification, which allow some to pass and “free” exchange while limiting it for others, are extremely important. Cunningham and Heyman propose examining the duality between mobility and enclosure that occurs in the conjunction of different economic, social, cultural elements, among others, caused by structurally established and socially reproduced inequalities³⁹. It is a two-way relationship: boundaries and limits in mobility are created by the inequalities that classic authors have already told us about and these borders in turn create new inequalities.

The existence of controls and their reinforcement, as occurs on the northern border of Mexico, but also on other borders and borders between countries in the rest of the world, profoundly influences the likelihood, and therefore the actual incidence of migration movements. Thus, controls defined on the basis of selective differentiation of the population due to gender, ethnicity and social status, for example, exacerbate inequalities and thus exclude certain population groups over others. Exclusion is materialized and legitimized through mental machinery and consolidated by administrative, institutional, and legal means. A concrete example is the establishment of identity documents, whereby processes that encourage the passage and mobility of populations whose resources are seen as capitals for reproduction of the capitalist production system are revealed⁴⁰. Generalized surveillance is a standard way of control and repression in the United States that devalues populations that are supposedly less deserving of democracy and human rights than the privileged and protected classes. This is a perfect example of a continuous process of the creation of inequality, which occurs increasingly in certain Latin American countries such as Mexico, Brazil, and Colombia⁴¹.

Thinking about inequality of mobility as a phenomenon of multiple dimensions and as a process constructed at the intersection of multiple variables or social and cultural categories, allows us to understand and expand the traditional vision of migration and go beyond traditional theories that have explained migration, considered the economic perspective to a greater extent. However, we aim to move towards an understanding

and analysis of inequalities in various forms of internal and international migration and other social and cultural types of mobility, such as voluntary and forced returns, migrations in transit, everyday exchanges at commuter borders and asylum and refuge from a broader perspective.

Final remarks on the study of migration and inequality

Migration and inequality are two complex phenomena that intersect and impact each other. Their relationship has mainly been studied with income as a measurement parameter. This is true of both the case of Mexico-United States migration, and most cases at the international level. One explanation for this is the attention and importance economic factors have had in migration theories, as well as the economic crises that have exacerbated poverty in the poorest countries, and the increase in class gaps in rich countries. However, the exacerbation of social problems and the persistence of social crises worldwide has raised the need to create new approaches, currents and schools that will address the phenomenon of inequality from a broader perspective. With this goal in mind, various studies have been undertaken in different regions that address migration and inequality together with other aspects such

as gender, ethnicity, social class and environmental conditions.

This multidimensional approach from social and cultural studies usually contributes to the consolidation of a large volume of information that can be translated into more effective public policy lines, designed to ensure greater equity in the distribution of resources, rights and social services for the population. This position is similar to that of authors such as Luis Moreno, in that it considers that more equitable social policies, despite not eliminating inequalities, would mitigate them, since it is thought that these policies “would make it possible, regardless of the differences in class, age, race or gender, for citizens have the same rights to develop their vital potentials”⁴².

It is not our purpose in this text to make recommendations about specific policies and programs that address the phenomena discussed. However, we can conclude that one of the fundamental elements in mitigating inequalities in migration is the consideration of the institutional and contextual context as a key element that helps or hinders resource distribution among the population. Accordingly, in the Seminar we seek to link studies on inequalities in migration, with social/public/migratory/education policies to address the inequalities in migration highlighted by empirical evidence.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Gabriela Pinillos Quintero. Holds a PhD in Social Sciences with specialization in Regional Studies from El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, a Masters in Borders, Integration and Regional Development from the Universidad de los Andes in Venezuela, and is an Economist from the Universidad Industrial de Santander, Colombia. She is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow for the Seminar Migration, Inequality, and Public Policies at El Colegio de México. Her research interests link inequality, borders and mobility, processes around citizenship, and how public policy and the State control these processes. She has teaching experience in Colombia and Mexico and has been part of diverse research projects, in which stand out the Regional Observatory for Peace from the Laboratory for Peace in Colombia, funded by the European Union, and the Impact Evaluation project for the Habitat Program in Mexico.

Claudia Masferrer. Is an Assistant Professor at the Centre for Demographic, Urban, and Environmental Studies at El Colegio de México and the Coordinator of the Seminar Migration, Inequality and Public Policy. She holds a PhD in Sociology from McGill University and an MSc in Statistics from the University of Texas at Austin. Her research focuses on the intersection of internal and international migration, inequalities, immigrant integration, family dynamics and demographic change, and how policy mediates these processes. Her work centers on understanding North America as a region of emigration, immigration, transit, and return migration. Her scholarship has been published at academic journals, as policy briefs, and as book chapters. She is a member of the Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (Level 1).

Natalia Oropeza Calderón. Holds a Master in Demography from El Colegio de México and a B.A. in Social Anthropology from the National School of Anthropology and History. Her thesis work for the Master in Demography studied the influence of internal migration in the timing of first union and first birth among women born in Mexico between 1950 and 1981, applying longitudinal methods and using the Demographic Retrospective Survey. Her thesis in Anthropology analyzed *danzón* as a use of public space. Her main research interests are internal migration and urbanization processes. She participated in diverse research projects and gained teaching experience in the Centre for Demographic, Urban and Environmental Studies at El Colegio de México. She currently works in the federal public administration.

NOTES

- 1 Reygadas, 2004, Las redes de la desigualdad: un enfoque multidimensional, Política y Cultura, no. 22, pp. 7-25
- 2 Tilly, Charles. 1992. Coercion, Capital and European States. Oxford: Blackwell. Stiglitz, Joseph, 2012, El precio de la desigualdad, Taurus. Sen, Amartya, 2010, La idea de la justicia, Taurus
- 3 Ayala, Luis, 2006, La monitorización de la desigualdad y la exclusión social: hacia un sistema integrado de indicadores. Reygadas, 2004, Más allá de la clase, la etnia y el género: acciones frente a diversas formas de desigualdad en América Latina, ALTERIDADES, 2004 (28): pp. 91-106
- 4 See studies by Ramírez and Lozano (2017), Thayer (2016), Aruj (2006)
- 5 Stark, Oded and S. Yitzhaki, 1988, "Labour migration as a response to relative deprivation", Journal of Population Economics, 1, pp. 57-70. Mendoza Cota, Jorge Eduardo, 2006, "Determinantes macroeconómicos regionales de la migración mexicana", Migraciones Internacionales, 3 (4), El Colef, Tijuana, pp. 118-145.
- 6 See Orrenius, Pia, and Madeline Zavodny. 2005. "Self-selection among undocumented immigrants from Mexico." Journal of Development Economics, 78(1): 215-240. Campos-Vazquez, Raymundo, and Horacio Sobarzo. 2012. "The Development and Fiscal Effects of Emigration on Mexico." Migration Policy Institute. www.migrationpolicy.org/research/RMSG-development-fiscal-effects-emigration-mexico. Gonzalez-Barrera, Ana. 2015. "More Mexicans Leaving than Coming to the U.S." Pew Research Center. www.pewhispanic.org/2015/11/19/more-mexicans-leaving-than-coming-to-the-u-s/. Orrenius, Pia, Madeline Zavodny, Jesus Canas and Roberto Coronado. 2012. "Remittances as an Economic Development Engine." In Migration and Remittances from Mexico: Trends, Impacts and New Challenges. Alfredo Cuecuecha and Carla Pedersen, editors. Lexington Books. Esquivel, Gerardo, and Alejandra Huerta-Pineda. 2007. "Remittances and Poverty in Mexico: A Propensity Score Matching Approach." Integration and Trade Journal, 27(11): 45-57. López-Córdova, Ernesto. 2004. "Economic Integration and Manufacturing Performance in Mexico: Is Chinese Competition to Blame?" Latin America/Caribbean and Asia/ Pacific Economics and Business Association Working Paper 23.
- 7 Viet Nguyen, Cuong, Marrit Van den Berg, & Robert Lensink (2010). "The impact of work and non-work migration on household welfare, poverty and inequality". Economics of Transition, 19 (4): 771-799.
- 8 Clark, X., Hatton T. and Williamson, J. (2003) What explains cross-border migration in Latin America?, Harvard Institute of Economic Research Discussion Paper No. 2012.
- 9 Hobbs, Andrew and Kenneth P. Jameson, 2012, "Measuring the effect of bi-directional migration remittances on poverty and inequality in Nicaragua". Applied Economics (44): 2451-2460.
- 10 Adams, Richard Jr and John Page, 2005, "Do international migration and remittances reduce poverty in developing countries?", World Development, 33 (10): 1645-1669.
- 11 Naval, Joaquín, 2017, "Wealth constraints migrant selection, and inequality in developing countries". Macroeconomic Dynamics, 1-33.
- 12 Le Goff, Maëlan & Sara Salomone, 2016, "Remittances and the Changing composition of migration". The World Economy, 513-529.
- 13 Shahbaz, Muhammad, Ijaz Ur Rehman, Nurul Shahnaz Ahmad Mahdzan, 2014, "Linkages between income inequality, international remittances and economic growth in Pakistan". Qual Quant, 48: 1511-1535.
- 14 In this study, migration was defined using data on the members of those who disappeared between the first (2004) and the second wave (2006) of a panel survey. The type of migration was defined using the answer household members reported as the reason for the departure of the member of the migrant household, which included work and family as reasons (Viet Nguyen, et al., 2011:773-774). One limitation of the analysis is the impossibility of distinguishing international migration from internal migration. However, it was observed in the data that most of the migration for non-work reasons was due to marriage or leaving the household, which is mostly internal (Viet Nguyen, et al., 2011: 787).
- 15 Brown, Richard & Eliana Jimenez, 2008, "Estimating the net effects of migration and remittances on poverty and inequality: comparison of Fiji and Tonga", Journal of International Development, 20: 547-571.
- 16 Gibson, John, 2015, "Circular migration, remittances and inequality in Vanuatu" (2015). New Zealand Population Review, 41: 153-167.
- 17 Bang, James, Aniruddha Mitra, Phanindra Wunnava, 2017, "Do remittances improve income inequality? An instrumental variable quintile analysis of the Kenyan case". Economic Modelling, 58: 394-402. Beyene, Mekonnen Berhe, 2014, "The effects of International Remittances on Poverty and inequality in Ethiopia". The Journal of Development Studies, 50 (10): 1380-1996.
- 18 Bang, James, Aniruddha Mitra, Phanindra Wunnava, 2017, "Do remittances improve income inequality? An instrumental variable quintile analysis of the Kenyan case". Economic Modelling, 58: 394-402.
- 19 Borjas, George, 2007, "Introduction". In Borjas, George. (ed.). Mexican immigration to the United States. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago: 1-12.

- 20 Borjas, George, Grogger, Jeffrey and Hanson, Gordon, 2010, Borjas, George J. and Grogger, Jeffrey T. and Hanson, Gordon H., Immigration and the Economic Status of African-American Men. *Economica*, Vol. 77, Issue 306, pp. 255-282
- 21 Borjas, George, 2015, "Immigration and Globalization: A Review Essay". *Journal of Economic Literature*, 53(4): 961-974.
- 22 Clemens, Michael, 2011, Economics and Emigration: Trillion-Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk ?, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*-Volume 25, Number 3-Summer 2011-Pages 83-106
- 23 Adams, Richard Jr, 2004, Remittances and poverty in Guatemala, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 3418. Hobbs, Andrew and Kenneth P. Jameson, 2012, "Measuring the effect of bi-directional migration remittances on poverty and inequality in Nicaragua". *Applied Economics* (44): 2451-2460.
- 24 Hobbs, Andrew and Kenneth P. Jameson, 2012, "Measuring the effect of bi-directional migration remittances on poverty and inequality in Nicaragua". *Applied Economics* (44): 2451-2460.
- 25 Peng, Lianqing & Sarah Swider, 2017, "Migration and regional inequality: changing characteristics of China's economic inequality". *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 58 (1): 89-113.
- 26 Howell, Anthony, 2017, "Impacts of Migration and Remittances on Ethnic Income Inequality in Rural China". *World Development*, 94: 200-211.
- 27 Lu, Yao & Feng Wang, 2013, "From general discrimination to segmented inequality: Migration and inequality in urban China". *Social Science Research*, 42: 1443-1456.
- 28 Akesson, Lisa, 2013, "The Queue Outside the Embassy: Remittances, Inequality and Restrictive Migration Regimes". *International Migration*, e1-e13.
- 29 Margolis, David, Luis, Miotti, El Mouhoub, Mouhoud and Joël Oudinet, 2013, "To Have and Have not": Migration, remittances, poverty and inequality in Algeria". Paper accepted in the *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*.
- 30 Reygadas, 2004, Las redes de la desigualdad: un enfoque multidimensional, *Política y Cultura*, no. 22, pp. 7-25
- 31 Sen, Amartya, 1985, "Well-Being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures 1984", [*Journal of Philosophy* 82. Sen, Amartya, 1999, *Desarrollo y Libertad*. Editorial Planet.
- 32 Anderson, Tim, 2014, ¿Por qué importa la desigualdad? Del economicismo a la integridad social. Piketty, 2014, *Capital in the 21st century*. Cambridge, Belknap Press. Stiglitz, Joseph, 2012, *El precio de la desigualdad*, Taurus.
- 33 De Haas, Hein, 2010, "Migration and Development: A theoretical Perspective". *The International Migration Review*, 44 (1): 227-264.
- 34 Rao, Smriti and Cade Finoff, 2015, Marriage Migration and Inequality in India 1983-2008. *Population and Development Review*, 41(3), pp 485- 505. Zamudio, Francisco, Ayala, María del Rosario, Arana, Roxana, 2014, Mujeres y hombres. Desigualdades de género en el contexto mexicano, *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 44, July-December. Martín, Adela, Cerver, Mercedes, González, Alicia, Magro M.ª Carmen, Partearroyo, Teresa, 2014, Equidad y desigualdad nutricional en dos centros escolares de la ciudad de Madrid (Spain), *Nutr Hosp.* 29(1):128-135. Reygadas, Luis, 2004, Las redes de la desigualdad: un enfoque multidimensional, *Política y Cultura*, no. 22, pp. 7-25. Sen, Amartya, 2010, *La idea de la justicia*, Taurus. Sassen, Saskia, 2013, *Inmigrantes y ciudadanos: de las migraciones masivas a la Europa fortaleza*, Siglo XXI, Editores. Magliano, Maria Jose, 2009, Migración, género y desigualdad social: la migración de mujeres bolivianas hacia Argentina, *Revista Estudios Feministas*, vol. 17, no. 2, May-August, 2009, pp. 349-367, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Santa Catarina, Brasil. Giorguli, Silvia and Itzigsohn, José, 2006, Diferencias de género en la experiencia migratoria. *Trasnacionalismo e incorporación de los migrantes latinos en Estados Unidos*, Pap. poblac vol.12 no.47 Toluca Jan./Mar.
- 35 Ariza, Marina, 2000, *Ya no soy la que dejé atrás... Mujeres migrantes en República Dominicana*. México: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Editorial Plaza y Valdés.
- 36 Giorguli, Silvia and Itzigsohn, José, 2006, Diferencias de género en la experiencia migratoria. *Trasnacionalismo e incorporación de los migrantes latinos en Estados Unidos*, Pap. poblac vol.12 no.47 Toluca Jan./Mar.
- 37 Dewilde, 2003 cited in Bayón, 2015. Bayón, Cristina, 2015, *La integración excluyente: experiencias, discursos y representaciones de la pobreza urbana en México*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales/Bonilla Artigas Editores, 2015
- 38 Heyman, Josiah, 2011, "Cuatro temas en el estudio de la frontera contemporánea", in Ribas, Natalia, ed., *El libro bravo mediterráneo: las regiones fronterizas en la época de la globalización*, Ediciones, Bellaterra, Spain, pp. 81-98
- 39 Cunningham, Hilary and Josiah Heyman, 2010 Introduction: Mobilities and Enclosures at Borders, *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 11:3, 289-302
- 40 Castell, Robert, 2004, "Encuadre de la exclusión", in Saül Karsz (coord.), *La exclusión: bordeando sus fronteras. Definiciones y matices*. Gedisa. Spain Gibson, John (2015). "Circular migration, remittances and inequality in Vanuatu" (2015). *New Zealand Population Review*, 41: 153-167.
- 41 Heyman, Josiah, 2012, *Capitalism and US policy at the Mexican border*, *Dialectical Anthropology*, January, Vol. 36, pp. 263-277
- 42 Moreno, Luis, 2003, *Ciudadanía, desigualdad social y Estado del bienestar*, Unidad de Políticas Comparadas (CSIC), Documento de Trabajo 03-08

EDITOR OF THE SERIES: Claudia Masferrer | June 2019

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: Gabriela Pinillos

TRANSLATOR: Suzanne Stephens



MIGDEP thanks the funding granted by the **MISSION FOODS TEXAS-MEXICO CENTER**.

**NOTAS
SOBRE
+ MIGRACIÓN Y
DESIGUALDADES**



SMU | Mission Foods Texas-Mexico Center
DEDMAN COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SCIENCES

In partnership with the Cox School of Business

 @SeminarioMigdep
 migdep@colmex.mx
migdep.colmex.mx