SECURITY OF LAND TENURE AND MIGRATION

Paper for the World Bank Land and Poverty Conference, 2018

Marcela Villarreal, FAO

## INTRODUCTION

A good understanding of the relationship between land tenure security and migration is of strategic importance for both political and development agendas. Yet, relatively little attention has been given to its study and a solid evidence base, necessary for adequate policy formulation and programme development is lacking. This article reviews current literature to assess the hypothesis that increased tenure security is associated to reduced migration through a weakening of push factors while tenure insecurity constitutes an important push factor and hence can increase migration. It proposes a framework for the analysis of the relationship between the security of land tenure rights and migration, and argues that the implementation of the Voluntary Guidelines for the Responsible Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forestry in the Context of National Food Security (VGGT) contribute to create a culture of good governance where tenure rights are respected and migration can be an effective choice rather than a necessity.

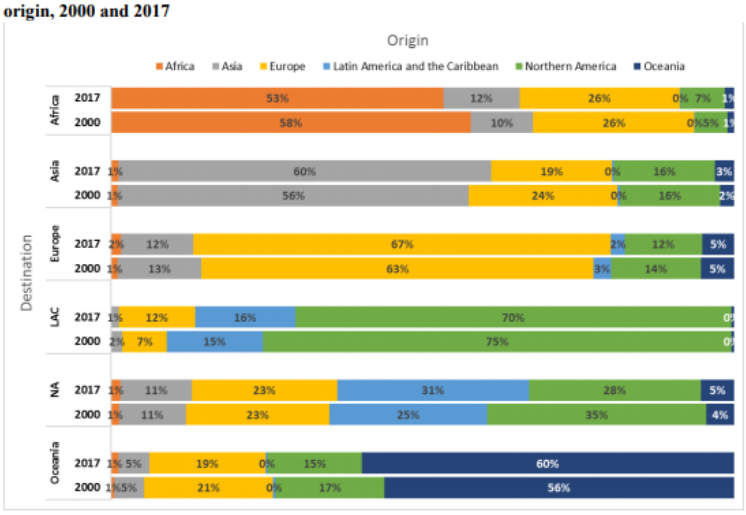
## MIGRATION: overview

Migration has been an integral part of human life since the onset of humanity and indeed, a major determinant of the way human societies are distributed and function since *homo sapiens* populated the world through intercontinental migration flows. A significant part of modern migration has its roots in a lack of rural development or an impossibility of agriculture to provide for the range of needs of people, from food to lifestyle expectations (Villarreal 2008). The UN Secretary General has recently emphasized the positive contribution of migration as an engine of economic growth, innovation and sustainable development, allowing millions of people to seek new opportunities each year, creating and strengthening bonds between countries and societies (UN 2017a). For FAO, migration is part of the process of development: as economies undergo structural transformation, the movement of people in search of better employment opportunities within and across countries is inevitable (FAO 2016). As a global phenomenon, most countries are simultaneously origin, transit and destination (*ibid*).

According to the latest UN figures, the number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow over the past seventeen years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 173 million in 2000. This growth rate has surpassed that of population growth and has resulted in an increase in the share of migrants in the total world population from 2.8 to 3.4 percent in the same period (UN 2017). International migration is expected to continue to grow and to exceed 400 million persons by 2050 (FAO 2016b).

The distribution of international migrants is highly skewed, with high-income countries hosting almost two thirds of them, or about 165 million persons, while the proportion living in middle and low income countries was 32% and 4% respectively as of 2017. Globally, most migrants move within the region of their birth. With the exception of North America, 53 to 70% of migrants moved within their region in 2017.

**Percentage distribution of international migrants by region of destination, for regions of origin, 2000 and 2017**




Source: United Nations (2017a)
Notes: NA stands for Northern America, LAC stands for Latin America and the Caribbean

Women compromise about half of all international migrants, with the proportion falling slightly from 49.3 to 48.4 from 2000 to 2017. In the same period there was an increase in the median age of migrants worldwide from 38.0 to 39.2 years of age. The median age of migrants was highest in the high-income countries (40.6 years), followed by migrants in middle-income countries (37.3 years) and low-income countries (29.8 years) (United Nations, 2017).

Whereas most international migrants move for socio economic reasons, an important—and growing – proportion moves due to conflict or persecution. The global level of forced displacement across international borders continues to rise. In 2015, 65.3 million people were forcibly displaced by conflict and persecution, including over 21 million refugees, 3 million asylum seekers. By the end of 2016, the total number of refugees and asylum seekers in the world had risen to an estimated 25.9 million representing 10.1 per cent of all international migrants. The developing regions hosted 82.5 per cent of the world's refugees and asylum seekers (United Nations, 2017).

As large as it is, international migration represents only a fraction of the migratory process. The number of internal migrants was estimated to be 763 million in 2013. A large share of these originate in rural areas, as shown by the recent evidence that some 40% of international remittances are sent to rural areas. In many African countries more than half of the households reported having at least one internal migrant (FAO 2016). Internal and international migration are often interconnected (FAO, 2016). Internal displacement is often the first stage of 'migration' and provides an indication of potential increases in forthcoming cross-border migrant flows (FAO 2016a)

MIGRATION: causes

Since Ravenstein's seminal article on the Laws of Migration (Ravenstein, 1885), the literature addressing the range of his proposed push and pull factors has been vast. Interestingly, many of his Laws, grouped into the reasons for migration (mostly economic), the distances covered ("most migrants relocate only a short distance and stay in the same country") and the characteristics of migrants (mostly young adults, predominance of females for shorter spans) still hold today in a broad sense. His framework, however,

developed from the viewpoint of a German geographer studying migration flows to the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century, does not cover many factors of relevance to the relationship between security of land tenure and migration today.

Rather than attempting to provide an overview of all causes and consequences of migration, this article proposes a framework to better understand those that are related to the security of the tenure of land, with the objective of informing policy processes and decisions in the developing world. It focuses on rural out-migration.

The causes of migration are highly context-dependent and complex and when examined in relation to land, a myriad of factors must be taken into account, including the specificities of the land tenure system (ranging from customary to statutory), and within these systems, the specific kinds of rights to land – sale, use, rent, mortgage, inherit, transfer, *inter alia*) as well as the kind of migration (permanent, seasonal, return, circular, refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, other forcibly displaced persons, regular or irregular low income migrant workers, *inter alia*).

According to FAO (2016), rural out-migration is caused by rural poverty and food insecurity (as small holders lack access to credit, services, technology, inputs and markets, resulting in low productivity); lack of employment and income generating opportunities; inequality (urban areas offer better employment, health, education); limited access to social protection (the majority of the 73% of global population without access to social protection live in rural areas); climate change and weather related disasters (droughts, food price volatility); depletion of natural resources due to environmental degradation and climate change; land degradation (dramatic land degradation and desertification affect around one third of the land used for agriculture and 1.2 billion people worldwide), *inter alia*.

A significant body of literature identifies food insecurity, low agricultural productivity and land degradation as primary determinants of rural out-migration (McLeman, 2017; FAO, 2016; Curran and Agardy, 2002; Clark, 1998). These factors are closely interlinked and are also related to the factor that the demographic literature finds more consistently significant, i.e. population pressure (Laws and Avis, 2017; Bezu and Holden, 2014; Jayne et al., 2014; Mwesigye et al., 2014; Bohra-Misha and Massey, 2011; Bravo-Ureta, 1996) and people/ land rations, i.e. population density (Muyanga and Jayne, 2014; Mwesigye et al., 2014; Bezu and Holden, 2014). Dependency ratios are also considered among the important demographic factors in this context (Tegenge and Penker, 2016; Anríquez, 2007).

From the socio-economic perspective, the most powerful factor consistently associated to migration by all different bodies of literature (since Ravenstein's time) is level of education. Long time evidence from all regions of the world shows that a relatively higher level of education (compared to peers) is associated with a higher probability to migrate, both in rural and in urban settings. This well studied factor continues to benefit from further fine-tuning, such as, for example, a recent study that found that more educated rural out migrants have a higher probability of migrating within the country while less educated ones were likelier to migrate internationally in Thailand (Jampaklay et al., 2017).

Social protection

Good systems of social protection may have a deterrent effect on rural out-migration, as they enhance local resilience to shocks, reduce vulnerability and reduce food insecurity inter alia. They can also provide enabling basis for people to migrate, by for example, helping relax credit constraints and

financing travel through cash transfers. The literature provides evidence that links social protection programmes both to increases and to decreases of migration flows (Hopkins *et al*., 2016; Martin, 2015; Hagen-Zanker and Himmelstine, 2012, 2013; Babajanian, 2012).

An evaluation of the Ethiopia Productive Safety Net Programme (Slater et al., 2006) found that it helped households improve and maintain food consumption and build productive assets, contributing to avoid distress migration. Stecklov et al (2005) found that Mexico's *Progresa* programme's conditional transfers reduced the flow of rural migrants to the USA but did not alter the scale of domestic migration. The OECD (2017) notes that while social protection programmes may reduce forced migration, allowing more choice in the decision to migrate, these programmes tend to reduce migrant outfows.

The effects of social protection on migration are thus of different kinds and depend on the specificities of the programme and the context. For example, the amount and the timeliness of the cash transfer were found to be important factors in the effectiveness of the incentive to migrate or not.

Natural hazards and climate change

Migration due to natural-hazard and climate related disasters is estimated at 26.4 million persons per year (for the period 2008 to 2015), and the trend is rising. Some 19 million persons were displaced internally due to natural disasters (FAO, 2016). Climate change is a threat-multiplier to conflicts, violence and natural disasters that cause migration of agriculture-dependent populations (FAO 2017). Sea-level rise caused by climate change is expected to erode agricultural land in coastal areas, increase salinization of freshwater resources and loss of agricultural productivity, contributing to a longer term and significant impact on migration (*ibid.*). Coastal land tenure security will be thus affected.

Conflict

Conflict, unrest and persecution are important causes of migration. In 2015, 65.3 million persons around the world were forcibly displaced, including more than 40 million internally displaced persons (IDP), over 21 million refugees and 3 million asylum seekers (FAO, 2016).

Protracted crisis are associated with hunger, extreme poverty and livelihood deterioration, direct determinants of out-migration. Currently there are over 20 countries affected by protracted crisis, mostly in Africa, with an estimated population of almost half a billion people. Hunger rates in protracted crisis situations are three times higher than in other developing country contexts (FAO 2016a). In these conditions, migration can hardly be an informed choice. However, it is estimated that in conflict situations, 87% of those affected do not migrate (FAO 2016a).

Numerous studies have shown that long-term instability and violence produce significant displacement both within and across national borders (e.g. Jampaklay et al. 2017; Bohra-Mishra and Massey 2011). However violence-related migration occurs after a context-specific threshold of actual or perceived level of violence is reached. Based on data from a household probability survey conducted in three provinces of Thailand, Jampaklay et al. find that the trigger for migration occurs when unrest is perceived to affect the overall life of the household (rather than "somewhat" or "moderately"). Anglewicz and Myroniuk find that the number of shocks undergone by a household is a determinant of migration in Malawi with those experiencing two or more having a statistically significant probability to migrate, while those having undergone only one shock do not (Anglewicz and Myroniuk, 2018). Bohra-Mishra and Massey's study of decisions to migrate during civil conflict in Nepal finds that the effect of violence on migration is

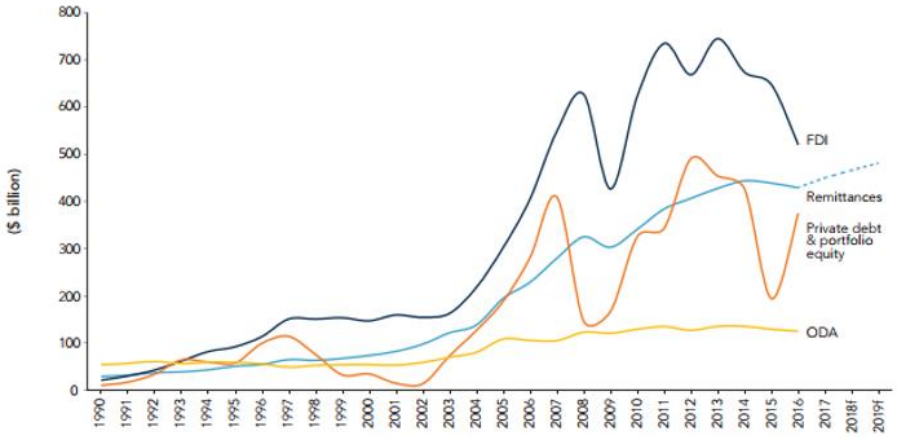
nonlinear, with low to moderate levels reducing the probability of migration, while high levels significantly increase the odds (Bohra-Mishra and Massey, 2011).

Remittances

Migrants send massive amounts of money to their families or communities of origin with profound implications for rural development and food security in the rural areas. In 2017 the World Bank estimated that remittances would reach $596 billion worldwide with $450 billion going to low and middle income countries. These flows to developing countries are significantly bigger than international development assistance and are more stable than private capital flows (World Bank, 2017).

Remittances provide income insurance for households of origin, act as social safety nets, relax liquidity constraints, help build resilience to shocks and foster investment in agriculture and other rural economic activities with potential for job creation (FAO 2016). They may also contribute to secure land rights. Using empirical evidence for four provinces in Guatemala, Aguilar-Stoen et al. 2016 found that remittances improve migrant families' access to agricultural land, helping secure land rights held by migrant households. Remittances may also contribute to finance out-migration from rural areas.

Remittance Flows to Developing Countries: 1990-2019




*Sources:* World Bank staff estimates; World Development Indicators. See appendix A for data and forecast methods.
*Note:* FDI = foreign direct investment; ODA = official development assistance.

GOVERNANCE – OVERARCHING OVER THE MIGRATION-TENURE RELATIONSHIP

The need to address contextual issues in the analysis of the causal factors of rural out-migration has been discussed in numerous occasions. Approaches that take into account the household and view migration as part of its livelihood strategy offer a much better understanding of the rural context of developing countries than those that focus analysis only on the individual and his/her optimization processes[1]. Although numerous, a small proportion of studies argue for the need to include contextual

[1] For example, the New Economics of Labour Mobility (NELM), launched in the 1980s and 90s, models migration as risk-sharing behavior using the family or household as unit of analysis, assuming that people, households and

factors relative to the community of origin or destination of the migrants. The literature typically identifies distance to major urban centers, presence of services at the rural location, social institutions (e.g. Massey, 1990), social capital formation, changing labour market conditions (e.g. Baizán and González-Ferrer, 2016), among others, as contextual variables with explanatory power in the decisions to migrate.

Less attention has been given to the role of governance variables as relevant factors in the migration process. However, poor governance underlies many of the factors that directly affect migration, from the socio-economic ones (rural development, agricultural productivity, land degradation, etc) to those relating to conflict and unrest. FAO (2016a) attributes migration or displacement in protracted crises to three key factors: (i) conflict; (ii) poor governance; (iii) environmental factors and natural resource constraints.

Although not frequently addressed in studies of migration[2], governance factors including the strength of institutions, the adequacy of policy, the ability of all people to participate and to influence policy processes, and transparency and accountability of government contribute to shaping the factors that will directly influence the decision to migrate. The same governance factors are essential to ensure secure land tenure rights for rural populations.

## RELATIONS BETWEEN MIGRATION AND SECURITY OF LAND TENURE

As the previous discussion shows, migration is highly complex and context dependent, with a myriad of factors affecting the decision to migrate or not, the type and duration of migration, etc. A framework to understand rural out-migration and in particular to understand the possible relations with land tenure and the consequent policy/programme implications requires a *contextualized hierarchy of factors*. A first element is the actual room for decision, i.e. if the migration is forced or voluntary. Conflict, protracted conflict, persecution and natural disasters leave people very little choice and are considered factors of forced migration. However, even in the most extreme conditions, not all people migrate. It is thus important to identify and determine context-specific types and levels of thresholds. These will depend on household and community resilience.

Life-threatening situations and the consequent result of forced migration constitute a first filter in the hierarchy: in the presence of these, other factors become secondary. The security or insecurity of tenure of land lose significance and deterministic power for migration outcomes under these conditions.

In a second hierarchical order are socio-economic and demographic factors. Regarding the socio-economic ones, the security of the tenure of land is associated with food security, agricultural productivity and land degradation, the argument goes, as secure tenure would provide a strong incentive to invest in land, increase soil quality and productivity. However, the literature on this relationship is inconclusive and varies widely between and within regions.

---

families pursue not only the maximization of income, but the spread of risk. Households are better able to diversify resources such as labour, Migration, both internal and international, can then be perceived as a household response to income risk, as migrant remittances provide income insurance for households of origin (De Haan, 2011)

[2] There is however, a substantial literature of the governance of migration, referring to how migration flows could or should be governed.

Fenske (2011) states that in spite of the clear theoretical reasons why more complete land rights can be expected to enhance investment, empirical evidence is mixed. He cites four commonly cited avenues through which tenure security would increase investment: land rights strengthen claims to the fruits of investment, they can increase access to capital, allow for gains from trade and provide incentives for innovation. In contrast, he identifies several factors that make the empirical link weak: indigenous tenure systems may provide enough security to motivate investment and the risk of expropriation may be low or perceived to be low; in spite of insecurity of land rights, investment may still be attractive; credit markets in Africa may be too thin to support a link, often with unsurmountable transaction costs or unavailability of credit for smallholders; investment itself may strengthen land rights; the land titling system has failed in actually securing tenure, with many States having little capacity to enforce rights; difficulties in measuring both investments and tenure rights, as for example choosing which kinds of investment to study (e.g. short-term such as fertilizer and long-term such as conservation terraces) and which kinds of rights, such as *de jure* or *de facto*. Fenske uses evidence from nine countries in West Africa and finds a significant impact of tenure rights on investments only for leaving fallow a plot (hence increasing productivity) and tree planting, and a less robust one for investment in other inputs such as manure or chemical fertilizer.

In other regions, the evidence seems to be more conclusive, with clear positive investment impacts of land titling in Latin America and Asia (Holden and Ghebru, 2016).

The link between food insecurity and rural out-migration has been amply discussed in the literature in a variety of contexts (FAO and IFPRI, 2017; Lacroix, nd). Many studies provide evidence of food insecurity being among the most powerful reasons for this kind of migration (Tegenge and Penker, 2016). The nature of the relationship between security of tenure and migration with food security as an intermediate variable, depends thus on the robustness of the relationship between security of tenure and investment determined by the context and local conditions.

(+) Security of tenure ➔(+) investment ➔(+) food security ➔(-) migration

Other socio-economic intermediate variables in the Tenure/Migration relationship are agricultural productivity (depending on factors such as availability of credit, services, technology), soil quality. These also are highly dependent on investment, i.e. on the robustness of the links between security of tenure and investments. All of these also affect food security.

(+) Security of tenure ➔ (+) investment ➔ (+) agricultural productivity/soil quality ➔ (-) migration

Therefore, the relationship between security of tenure and migration depends on the existence and degree of robustness of the causal links between security of tenure and investment, which are contingent on types of tenure and types of investment, with major regional variations.

Regarding the demographic factors that mediate the relationship between security of tenure and migration, while there is a substantial body of literature that provides evidence for the population growth/pressure/density effect on rural out-migration, the actual links between tenure security and demographic variables are as yet understudied. Lack of security has been linked to higher fertility rates, for example in the Mexican Ejido system given that restricted rights (inability to sell, lease or mortgage,

loss of use rights when land is not cultivated during two consecutive years) would create a pro-natalist incentive to increase family labour and secure old-age wellbeing (DeVany and Sánchez, 1981).

The tenure/migration relationship may also depend on specific kinds of rights, and on the factors that cause the loss of those rights, such as non-use or non-occupation[3]. Recent studies in China, where migration may result in expropriation of land, shed some light on this. Using household survey data from the provinces of Guizhou and Ningxia, Mullan, Grosjean and Kontoleon (2010), show that the existence of rental rights are important in the rural-urban migration decision. While increasing the security of land tenure in the absence of complete rental rights reduced the likelihood of migration, rental rights in combination with increased tenure security *increased* the probability of migration. The study found that other factors that influenced the migration decision were the number of children of the household (reducing propensity to migrate), and the land to labour ratio, also negatively related to the likelihood of migration.

The VGGTs

The Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forestry in the Context of National Food Security (VGGT) were approved in 2012 by the United Nations' Committee on World Food Security (CFS) after three years of consultation, drafting and negotiation between the member countries, civil society organizations and the private sector (FAO, 2012). They enjoy the recognition and legitimacy of the multistakeholder process that generated them through the only UN committee where non-state actors participate on an equal footing with the state actors.

The VGGTs, now implemented in over 60 countries, have contributed to improve land policy and laws in many of them and, through their process of implementation are indeed contributing to create the basis of a culture of good governance. The multi-stakeholder platforms together with accompanying institutional frameworks that recognize the legitimacy of the voice of all stakeholders in policy decisions and implementation provide the foundations of a culture of respect and shared power, where actors have the right to contribute but also clear responsibilities. The implementation of the VGGT is contributing to enshrine the principles of participation, transparency and accountability, essential pillars of good governance (Villarreal, 2017).

An emerging literature on the VGGT asserts their capacity to contribute to the resolution of post-conflict land related issues, tackling corruption in land governance, and addressing land legacy issues in agribusiness investments among others. Numerous guides and technical resources that enable the use of the VGGTs to address conflict have been developed[4] and are being applied in post-conflict situations such as Sierra Leone and Colombia.

The VGGT establish two sets of principles: five general (recognition and respect of all legitimate tenure right holders; safeguard legitimate tenure rights against threats and infringements; promote and facilitate enjoyment of legitimate tenure rights; provide access to justice to address the infringement of

[3] Fenske (2011), for example, claims that the supposed security of African tenure systems is often contingent on occupation.

[4] For example: e-learning courses on "Addressing disputes and conflicts over the tenure of natural resources" http://www.fao.org/elearning/#/elc/en/course/VG7; "Addressing corruption in the tenure of land, fisheries and forests" http://www.fao.org/elearning/#/elc/en/course/VG6 ; "Safeguarding land tenure rights in the context of agricultural investments", http://www.fao.org/elearning/#/elc/en/Course/AGINV

these rights; prevent tenure disputes, violent conflicts and corruption) and ten implementation principles (human dignity; non-discrimination; equity and justice; gender equality; holistic and sustainable approach; consultation and participation; rule of law; transparency; accountability; and continuous improvement).

## POLICY RESPONSES

As has been described, the intuitively plausible hypothesis that states that increased security of land tenure would result in a lower propensity to migrate out of rural areas, has, at most, a small empirical base to support it and several counter examples that disprove it. Given the high complexity and context-dependency of the relationship and of its intermediate variables, tailored and context-specific policy responses are necessary.

The contextualized hierarchy of factors that this article proposes to gain better understanding of the relationship is also valid for policy and programmatic purposes. In situations where migration is forced, focusing attention on securing land tenure rights may not be relevant, except when the conflicts causing eviction or displacement arise from tenure problems.

In all cases, whether migration is forced or voluntary, a good understanding of the specific thresholds that trigger migration, which will vary in different contexts, is essential for effective policy.

Poor governance is behind many conflict situations, as well as of many of the root causes of rural out-migration in peace situations. Efforts to improve governance, based on consultation and participation, the rule of law, transparency, accountability and ensuring representation of all voices, will help create the conditions for a migration process that is beneficial for both communities of origin and of destination.

The implementation of the VGGTs, whose process contributes to create a culture of good governance will contribute to address conflict, in particular conflict arising from land issues, and to improve the enabling environment necessary for agricultural and rural development.

According to FAO (2016), safe, orderly and regular migration contributes to sustainable development, economic growth and food security, and should be a choice, not a necessity. Investing in sustainable rural development, climate change adaptation and resilient rural livelihoods should be an important part of the global response to migration.

At the same time, agricultural and rural development can contribute to address the root causes of migration and build resilience. For this, FAO proposes the development of public policies targeting smallholder family farmers promoting the adoption of sustainable agricultural practices; diversification to off-farm activities, effective rural services and investments in sustainable value chains; rural education and vocational training that match labour market needs; sustainable agricultural practices to limit the impact of climate change; promotion of sound natural resource management; inclusive social protection systems for rural populations and financial inclusion in rural areas, especially for women and youth.

These measures will contribute to increase agricultural productivity and reduce land degradation, which are found to be important in the land tenure/migration relationship.

The possibility of making investments (either short or long term) was found to be a significant factor mediating the land tenure security/migration. Creating enabling environments for effective investments, whether enhancing productivity or security of tenure are important contribution to making migration a choice rather than a necessity. In particular, attention should be given to an enabling environment for remittances to be effectively used in investments. These enabling environments need adequate Institutions, policies and capacities. These, in turn, contribute to enhancing resilience.

## CONCLUSIONS

Existing literature only partially supports the hypothesis that increased tenure security would be associated to reduced migration through a weakening of push factors while tenure insecurity would constitute an important push factor and hence increase migration. There is not enough evidence to claim the opposite either, that more security of tenure increases migration. There are several examples to illustrate both possibilities reported in different settings. While many factors are found to be significant intermediate variables, such as investment, agricultural productivity, land degradation and population pressure, the relationship will depend on contextual issues as well as on the tenure system, the specific kinds of tenure rights and the type of migration. There are also contextually determined thresholds over and above which a certain condition triggers migration, but under which it does not. These need to be studied for each context.

Good governance will however improve both security of tenure and the possibility of making migration a choice rather than a need, thus contributing to agricultural and rural development. The implementation of the VGGTs contributes to securing tenure rights as well as to creating a culture of good governance and should be used as an effective tool in agricultural and rural development interventions as well as those that wish to harness the potential of migration to contribute to economic growth in the rural areas. The multistakeholder platforms that the implementation process requires provide an opportunity to assemble governments, civil society and the private sector in order to make policy decisions effective.

Whereas this paper pointed out some of the complexities influencing the relationship between land tenure and migration, there are many more that need to be taken into consideration, and that require significant additional research. The need to take into consideration the kind of tenure system in order to understand its relationship with migration has already been pointed out. However, within each tenure system, the question of which specific tenure rights is also relevant, as in the case of China, where rental rights were significant in the decision to migrate or not to. In addition, the question of who holds the rights needs to be addressed. For example, in customary systems where women's rights to land depend on marriage, will improving security of tenure for the household affect women's propensity to migrate more than men's?

Part of the paucity of research on land tenure and migration can be attributed to scarcity of data. The implementation of the SDG agenda and its monitoring process brings significant opportunity to intensify research efforts. Countries will be constructing data bases and reporting on a set of indicators on land among many others. In particular, SDG indicator 1.4.2 measures "the proportion of total adult population with secure tenure rights to land, with legally recognized documentation and who perceive their rights to land as secure, by sex and type of tenure". Land indicators under goal 5, 5.a.1 (a)

Proportion of total agricultural population with ownership or secure rights over agricultural land, by sex; and (b) share of women among owners or rights-bearers of agricultural land, by type of tenure and 5.a.2, Proportion of countries where the legal framework (including customary law) guarantees women's equal rights to land ownership and/or control, offer major opportunities. Regarding migration indicators, however, the Agenda may be less useful. Target 10.7 "Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of well-planned and well-managed migration policies", will be measured only through recruitment costs and number of countries with adequate policies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Anglewicz, P. and T. Myroniuk, 2018, "Shocks and migration in Malawi", *Demographic Research*, Vol. 38, Article 14, pp 321-334, published January 24 2018

Anriquez, G., 2007, Long-Term Rural Demographic Trends, ESA Working Papers, FAO Rome.

Avis, W. (2016). Scoping Study on Defining and Measuring Distress Migration (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report). Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.

Babajanian, B., 2012. Social Protection and its Contribution to Social Cohesion and State-Building. GIZ, Berlin. https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/7759.pdf

Baizán, P. and A. González-Ferrer, 2016, "What drives Senegalese migration to Europe? The role of economic restructuring, labour demand, and the multiplier effect of networks", *Demographic Research,* Vol. 35, article 13 pp 339-380.

Bezu, S. and S.T. Holden, 2014, Are rural youth in Ethiopia abandoning agriculture? *World Development,* 64, 259-272.

Bohra-Mishra, P. and D. Massey, 2011, "Individual Decisions to Migrate During Civil Conflict", https://www.researchgate.net/publication/51097593_Individual_Decisions_to_Migrate_During_Civil Conflict

Bohra-Mishra, P. and D. Massey, 2011a, Environmental Degradation and Out-Migration: New Evidence from Nepal, In book: Migration and Climate Change, Publisher: Cambridge University Press

Bravo-Ureta B.E., R.E. Quiroga and J.A. Brea, 1996, "Migration decisions, agrarian structure, and gender: the case of Ecuador", Journal of Developing Areas Jul;30(4):463-76.

Clark, C. 1998, "The Delegitimation of Land Tenure in Tropical Petén, Guatemala", University of New Mexico.

Curran, S. and T. Agardy, 2002, "Common Property Systems, Migration, and Coastal Ecosystems", volume 31, number 4. Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. http://www.ambio.kva.se

De Haas, H. 2010, Migration and Development, a theoretical perspective" in Journal of International Migration Review, March, 44(1): 227-264.

DeVany, A. and N. Sanchez, 1981, "Land Tenure Structures and Fertility in Mexico," in Schutjer, Stokes and Cornwell, "Relationships among Land, Tenancy and Fertility: A Study of Philippine Barios", p. 85.

Jampaklay A., K. Ford and A. Chamratrithirong: "How does unrest affect migration? Evidence from the three southernmost provinces of Thailand" 2017, *Demographic Research*, Vol. 37, article 3, pp 25-52.

Jayne, T.S., J. Chamberlin and D.D. Headey, 2014, "Land pressures, the evolution of farming systems, and development strategies in Africa: A synthesis", *Food Policy* 48, 1–17.

FAO, 2012, The Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forestry in the Context of National Food Security http://www.fao.org/docrep/016/i2801e/i2801e.pdf

FAO 2017: Migration, agriculture and climate change: Reducing vulnerabilities and enhancing resilience. http://www.fao.org/3/i8297en/I8297EN.pdf

FAO, 2016, Migration, Agriculture and Rural Development: Addressing the root causes of migration and harnessing its potential for development. Rome http://www.fao.org/3/a-i6064e.pdf

FAO 2016a Migration and protracted crisis: Addressing the root causes and building resilient agricultural livelihoods http://www.fao.org/3/a-i6101e.pdf

FAO. 2016b. *The future of food and agriculture – trends and challenges.* Rome. (also available at www.fao.org/publications/fofa/en))

FAO and IFPRI, 2017, Conflict, Migration and Food Security: The role of agriculture and rural development, FAO-IFPRI joint brief. http://www.fao.org/3/a-i7896e.pdf

Fenske, J., 2011, Land tenure and investment incentives: Evidence from West Africa, Journal of Development Economics, Volume 95, Issue 2, July 2011, Pages 137-156 https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S030438781000043X?via%3Dihub

Holden, S.T. and H. Ghebru, 2016, “Land tenure reforms, tenure security and food security in poor agrarian economies: Causal linkages and research gaps”, *Global Food Security*, Elsevir.

Lacroix, T. (n.d.), Migration, rural development, poverty and food security: a comparative perspective, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford. Commissioned by FAO

Massey, D.S., 1990, Social structure, household strategies, and the cumulative causation of migration. Population Index 56(1): 3–26

McLeman, R., 2017, “Migration and land degradation: Recent experience and future trends”, Global land Outlook Working Paper, U.N. Convention to Combat Desertification

Mullan, K., P. Grosjean and A. Kontoleon, 2010, “Land Tenure Arrangements and Rural–Urban Migration in China”, *World Development* vol. 39, no. 1, pp 123-133.

Muyanga, M. and T.S. Jayne, 2014, “Effects of rising rural population density on smallholder agriculture in Kenya”, *Food Policy* 48, 98–113.

Mwesigye F., T. Matsumoto and K. Otsuka, (2014), “Population pressure, rural to rural migration and evolution of land tenure institutions: The case of Uganda”, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS) Discussion paper 14-09.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2017. Interrelations between Public Policies, Migration and Development. OECD, Paris. Retrieved from http://knowledge.unccd.int/sites/default/files/inline-files/4116181e_0.pdf

Ravenstein, Ernest George, 1885, "The Laws of Migration." en *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 48, No. 2., Londres, Junio, 1885, pp. 167-235

Slater, R. Ashley, S. Tefera, M. Buta, M., and Esubalew, D., 2006. PSNP Policy, Programme and Institutional Linkages: Final Report. ODI and the IDL Group, London. https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/3964.pdf

Stecklov, G. Winters, P. Stampini, M., and Davis, B. (2005). Do Conditional Cash Transfers Influence Migration? A Study Using Experimental Data from the Mexican PROGRESA Program. Demography, 42(4): 769–90. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1353/dem.2005.0037

Tegenge A.D. and M. Penker, 2016, “Determinants of rural out-migration in Ethiopia: Who stays and who goes?” Demographic Research, vol. 35, article 34, pp 1011-1044. http://www.demographic-research.org/Volumes/Vol35/34/

Ubink, J.M., A. L. Hoekma, and W.J. Assies, eds., 2009, Legalising Land Rights: Local Practices, State Responses and Tenure Security in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Leiden University Press, Amsterdam

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2017). Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2017 revision (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2017).

United Nations 2017a, Making migration work for all, Report of the Secretary General, Seventy-second session of the General Assembly, New York.

Villarreal, M., 2017, Towards a culture of good governance: Implementing the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure, paper presented at the World Bank Land and Poverty Conference, Washington D.C.

Villarreal, M., 2010, “El hambre en el contexto de las crisis recientes: Factores subyacentes” in *La lucha contra el hambre y la pobreza,* A.Guerra, J.F. Tezanos Vázquez (eds.), VIII Encuentro Salamanca, Editorial Sistema, Madrid.

Villarreal, M., 2008, “Desigualdades, pobreza y desafíos futuros en las migraciones internacionales” in *La inmigración y sus causas”* A.Guerra, J.F. Tezanos Vázquez (eds.), VII Encuentro Salamanca, Editorial Sistema, Madrid.

Villarreal, M., 2008a, *International Migration, Remittances and Rural Development*, 2008, co-authored with Rosemary Vargas, Guillaume Lanly and Martha Osorio. IFAD, Rome

Villarreal, M., 2006, “Changing customary land rights and gender relations in the context of HIV/AIDS in Africa”, paper presented at the Symposium At the frontier of land issues: Social embeddedness of rights and public policy 17-19 *May 2006, Montpellier, France.*

*World Bank, 2016, Migration and Remittances Factbook,* Washington D.C.

World Bank, 2017, “Migration and Remittances, Recent development and Outlook” Migration and Development Brief 28. Washington D.C.