

Review Article

A Review of Theory and Research on Migration, Politics and Security

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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews and evaluates major theories and research on labour migration. It summarises the major issues often raised and analysed by scholars and researchers. Based on the summary, the ideas for expansion of labour migration studies are discussed by suggesting that it is important to consider labour migration role in political development and security issues, and vice versa. It is hoped that such an idea provides opportunity for more comprehensive study on labour migration-politics-security in relation to the emerging scholars and researchers, which have thus put us in a better position to appreciate labour migration impacts towards politics and security issues.

Key Words: *Labour Migration; Politics; Security; Theory and Research on Migration*

INTRODUCTION

The study of labour migration has been an important and the central part of the literature on political economy for several decades. Several books, articles and papers have been published on this topic. The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the literature on labour migration emphasising on analysis trends. Accordingly, the existing theories will be described briefly as to identify the missing or given less attention by scholars and researchers. This, in turn, should contribute to the improvement of labour migration studies. The concept of labour migration is examined and discussed in the following section.

The Labour Migration

The concept of migration in the anthropological sense refers to human migration or the movement of large numbers of people across borders of states or countries. From this perspective, labour

migration is defined as human movement from one physical location to another for employment purposes (Castles, 2000; Jenissen, 2007; Hugo, 2005). Labour migration flow by extension, is described by Asare (2013) as the process of shifting a work force from one area to another due to various reason such as the interest of job seekers or because of a business has instigated a move that required labours to also move in order to keep their job.

This movement process of persons from one country or locality to another can be classified into two types of migration, namely, internal labour migration and external or international labour migration. The internal or domestic labour migration is a movement to a new home within a state, country, or continent for employment (Castles, 2000; Xiang Biao, 2005). External or international labour migration, on the other hand, is a movement to a new home in a different state, country, or continent for a certain minimum period for similar reasons

(Castles, 2000; Muss, 2001; Lindquist, 2010). Both types of movement processes are primarily determined by the economic growth and development for country of origin and destination, while at the same time have an impact on political development (Moses, 2011) and the security issues in the country of destination (Crépeau, Nakache & Atak, 2007). The impact of labour migration on political development and national security or state sovereignty issues in community or country of destination has been the subject of continuous debate. These debates have somehow signaled the importance of understanding how exactly the labour migration affected the political development and security issues in the country of destination and origin.

Nevertheless, existing theories and research on labour migration, especially the theories and research on cross-border labour migration of neglected such fact as the theorists and researchers have often focused on the issues that they are interested in. Thus, it is neither desirable nor feasible at this point in the development of labour migration studies to attempt to resolve the limitation. Whenever feasible, research on the interrelationship between cross-border labour migration, politics and security issues should be designed to provide opportunity for expansion of migration theory. For this reason, understanding the existing theories and research on labour migration is vital as to ensure the relevance of such an idea. Before examining the existing theories and research on labour migration, it is important to decide what exactly the type of labour migration that this paper intended to focus with. Such move is necessary as to avoid confusion, thereby avoiding further limitations.

Many scholars on labour migration often suggests that one should analyze both internal and international labour migrations because they are part of the same process (Castles, 2000; Skeldon, 1997). However, Castles (2000) argues that analysing internal and international labour migration together

often viewed by the social scientists as problematic. The problems arise are not only because of differences in statistical categories but such differences have also reflected the variations in the context of social meaning of labour migration. He also argues that rigid distinction can be misleading because international migration may involve movement of people over short distances while internal labour migration can span great distance and bring together very different people. In addition, most of the border crossing labour migrants has no intention of staying long. This implies that it is necessary to focus on only one type of labour migration as to minimise or subtracting the limitations in order to study labour migration. For this reason, this paper is, thus, focusing only on cross-border or international labour migration. This is due to international migration as an integral part of globalisation. As a rapidly increasing phenomenon, it is generally seen as among the key factors that have made a significant influence over political development and potential threats to national sovereignty of the country of destination that have resulted in many governments and political movement seeking to restrict those (Castles, 2000). International labour migration has also often referred to as a major cause of population growth in the receiving country (Voicu, 2009) and it has become one of the central issues of our time (Pecoud & Guchteneire, 2006).

Understanding the Existing Literature on International Labour Migration

There are numbers of literatures on the reasons and impacts of international labour migration. Most economic, cultural and political perspectives on the issue recognise that international labour migration flow is a transnational process that usually involve at least two states, namely, the origin and destination. It also involves not just states but above all, human beings.

From the economic perspective, cross-border migration for economic purposes or migration for work is a popular

way for individuals to obtain enough income for survival. Also, some of their incomes are generally sent home to family members that has become an economic staple in developing countries. The economic perspective has further insisted that there are two main factors causing cross-borders migrations such as pushing factors and pull factors (Djafar, 2012; Parkins, 2010; Evert, 1966). The push factor refers to the things that are deemed unfavorable due to the shortages in their home country such as lack of job opportunities and political instability. In contrast, pull factors are the things that attract someone to move into other countries such as job opportunities and political stability at the destination.

Most of the economic theories such as neoclassical economic theory, dual labour market theory, relative deprivation theory, and world system theory explain that labour migration occurred due to the insistence in increasing economic status or financial for family needs. Specifically, neoclassical economic theory, a theory claimed by Massey, Juaquin, Hugo, Kanouchi, Pelegrino and Taylor as “probably the oldest and best-known theory of international migration” (1993, p. 433) explains that the main reason for labour migration is the wage difference between the country of origin and the destination (Castles, 2000; Boustan, Fishback & Kantor, 2010; DuMond, Hirsch & Macperson, 1999). Dual labour market theory explains that labour migration is mainly instigated by pull factors in the destination country and based on the assumption that the labour markets are attractive (Azzopardi, 2012; Jennissen, 2007). Piore (1979) is a main proponent of this approach. While, relative deprivation theory suggests that the cognizance of the income difference between neighbours in the migrant-sending community is the main labour migration factor (Jennissen, 2007). The world system theory states that interaction between different societies could lead to labour force movement due to the assumption that business activity with one

country may cause economic decline in another. This phenomenon is therefore can be regarded as an incentive to migrate to a country with more vibrant economy. Furthermore, this theory considers migration as the outcome of globalisation, a natural expression of movement across borders (Azzopardi, 2012; Jennissen, 2007).

Researchers from the economic perspective often analyse labour migration as closely associated with economic aspects, ‘economically deterministic’, ‘methodological individualist’ and ‘dreadfully antiquated’ (Samers, 2010). An example of this approach is the study of Borjas (1989), Todaro (1969), and Lewis (1954) in which labour migration is identified as an individual decision for economic maximization. In a similar perspective, Martin (2003) and Piore (1979) argue that the decision to migrate is not only determined by individual, but also a family and organizational decision. Piore gives a possible explanation for the demand of foreign workers, namely, the labour shortage. The result of the labour shortages compelled to recruit foreign workers. This may imply that labour migration process from economic perspectives is primarily determined by economic growth and development. However, the current economic downturn as well as the economic downturn in the past, have led to a question over the economic issues as the major migration factor and its impacts towards the economic development process of the host country.

Recently, de Hass (2010) in his research on migration and development found that “the present re-discovery of the migration-development nexus tends to go along with a certain neglect of the insights that have emerged from decades of prior research and policy experience” (p. 228). He clearly stated in the research-based report that there has been a tendency to study the causes and impacts of migration separately. This means that the research on migration is no longer confined to economic

perspectives only, but an integral part of a wider social and development process.

Cultural perspective has explained that the broad cultural differences (i.e. behaviour, gesture, belief and practice) between many countries have consistently increased the flow of immigrants. Cultural perspective has also explained and analysed labour migration as a factor that could bring about national development or otherwise because immigrants are normally promoting such behaviour (Portes & Raumbut, 2006). For instance, in de Tocqueville's study of the America's national development found that the destiny of America was shaped by its Puritan culture (Kang, 2009). From another vantage point, Brimelow (1995) found that the core value of a nation, that is its culture, has usually affected its economic growth and its ability to sustain capitalism.

The influx of immigrants, however, will lead to the weakening of the destination country's norms as well as its culture. A study by Portes and Raumbut (2006) supports this claim through the discovery that immigrants normally promote such behaviour which will eventually weaken the destination country's culture (i.e. dropping out of school, drug addiction, and teenage pregnancy). In a similar perspective, Huntington (2004) has also discovered that culture as well as norms could lead to misunderstanding and distrust between groups that adhere to different values.

No less interesting is that the culturally situated emotional is also instrumental in the increase of immigrant population in the receiving country. In 'Singapore's borderlands', Lindquist (2010) has argued that the culturally situated emotion appeared to be a straightforward case of economic migration rather than economic 'push-pull' factors. He portrayed this emotional economy around three Indonesian concepts, namely, *merantau* (circular migration), *malu* (shame) and *liar* (wild). One tends to *merantau* or leave home and travel elsewhere hoping to make big monetary gain before returning home. When they arrived at the receiving country,

they mired with spaces and people categorized them as *liar* (i.e. squatter settlements, unmarried households, and freelance prostitute) as most of them found it difficult to secure a job in the multinational's flagship. As a result, *malu* keeps them on the move from their home because Lindquist (2010) suggests that the immigrant is ashamed of being a failure in making big monetary gains. As a result, this has led to the increase of the immigrant population in the receiving country.

Furthermore, the recent debates have shifted towards more specific questions of special admission claim and constrains on the state discretion (Baubock, 2011). Because the central focus has been on the impact of labour migration towards special admission and constrains on the state discretion, the political-sociology perspective has explained the term labour migration as an interplay in the political arena as well as a main factor which leads to either strengthening of national policy or otherwise.

This perspective insists that the decision makers are obliged to carefully consider the labour migration as part of policy formation. As according to Pecoud and Guchteneire (2006), immigration is a matter that the decision makers must be considered within the context of the sovereign right of each nation for determining their policy. Pecoud and Guchteneire (2006) argue that immigration policies are important because they reflect the manner and spirit of the people and have implications on social cohesion, economic wealth, security and border governance.

In the very early research study using political-sociology perspective, researchers tend to overlook the importance of examining the politicians 'puzzle' as well as 'power' has its relations to the migration policy (Balch, 2010; Helco, 1974). Balch argues that the migration generally tempting material for political scientists to instrumentally import broader contemporary dilemmas such as state-sovereignty in the globalization era, which is likely to ignore

the ideas of migration controls. Whereas the ideas of migration control are a symbol of politics of nationhood, embedded liberal principles and institutionalism-path dependencies (Hansen, 2002).

This approach tends to link immigration policies with such ideas as well as neo-Marxist ideas about capital relations. However, Balch (2010) has clearly stated that this approach has incorporated politics and the states into understanding the labour migration and concluded that the legitimacy of the capitalist state is based on the ideas of nationhood and citizenship. Even so, Freeman (2006) argues that the importation of foreign labour into labour markets has generally been a function of economic and interplay of interests in the political arena. Moreover, the presence of migrants is described as a threat to the citizens if the immigrants acquired the benefits from social contract such as welfare services or social benefits.

In a similar vein, Xiang Biao (2005) in his book titled 'Transcending boundaries' suggests that continuing waves of migration are related to administrative ambiguity and officially registered residents in a transnational area between the city and countryside. The concepts of *guanxi*^[1] and *xi*^[2] led him to draw attention to the fact that migrants generally take advantage of the administrative confusion and characterised the areas in developing their trading networks. He argues that the migrant workers and traders who have transcended the geographical, social, administrative and ideological boundaries played a key role in maintaining social order in contemporary China (Xiang Biao, 2005). The arrival of migrant workers may bring about spectacular economic development in Beijing's Zhejiangcun village. However, once migrants outnumbered the officially registered local residents, the relations between local authorities and the migrants have changed. The increase in the number of immigrant population led to the emergence of conflict within migrant communities. Thus, the authority launched

the cleansing (*qingli*) campaign annually. This 'political typhoon' then had hardly affected the production and distribution of goods by migrants. In this case, his works show that migration serves as an economic function and interplay of interests in the political arena. At the same time, the increase in the number of the population may be able to threaten the harmonious life in the receiving state/country.

The strength of these theoretical perspectives is that the explanation on reasons that has made international labour migration continues to occur regardless of different reactions from various government and people of the world. However, the main problems are due to profound dependent on cost and benefits, and cause and effect of international labour migration. While these works lay an important foundation to understanding labour migration and its impacts on economic, cultural and political aspects, they are not directly applicable to question related to the interrelationship between labour migrations, political development and national security or state sovereignty in a developing country, especially in Malaysia. The profound arguments rooted in the current literature are based on developed countries and its society. This may imply that there is a clear need for an approach to understanding the reality of the interrelationship between labour migrations, political development and security threats in a developing country, especially Malaysia.

The attempts to link labour migration and political process are initially society-centered^[3] and state-centered perspectives. The key argument of the *society-centered* perspective is that the economy is endemically prone to crisis and the state is interpreted as a crucial actor that helps to secure social cohesion and political stability so that the economic crisis does not lead to the collapse of capitalist economic (Purcell & Nevins, 2005).

The society-centered perspective is seen in the work of Shughart, Tollison and Kimenyi (1986) and Freeman (1995).

Garcés-Mascareñas (2012), Shughart, Tollison and Kimenyi (1986) in their study on 'the political economy of immigration restriction', has identified three key interest groups in the political competition to formulate immigration policy, while, local workers would struggle to limit the supply of labours, capitalists would favour expanding to reduce wages and keep labour market flexible, and landowners would join them in this effort as a means of increasing their rent revenues. In these regards, Freeman (1995) argues that the migration policymaking process is primarily determined by those groups that champion a liberal immigration policy (employers and immigrant group) and, to a lesser degree, by those who oppose it (the local workforce and people living in the neighbourhoods where immigrants settle).

From the state-centered perspective, immigration policies have been explained as a state-engendered product (Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012). The key argument of the state-centered perspective is that the state may act in the interests of capitalist, but not always at their command. The states controlled by bureaucratic mediates between the competing interests of three propertied class (metropolitan bourgeoisie, indigenous bourgeoisie, and landed class), while at the same time acting on behalf of them all to preserve the social order in which their interests are embedded (institution of private property and the capitalist mode of production). The state-centered perspective emphasises that the state is relatively autonomous of the dominant coalition constituted by capitalist, landlords and professionals, and the state remains a prominent actor which exercises its control over a 'choice in goal formulation, agenda setting and policy execution' (Bardhan, 1986).

Accordingly, Garcés-Mascareñas (2012) argue that the conclusions from these perspectives were not significantly different. In both perspectives, the state has basically been presented as responding to economic imperatives or, in more straightforward

terms, as existing 'to serve the needs of capital' (Purcell & Nevins, 2005; Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012). As such, Garcés-Mascareñas criticisms or argument based on 'the teleological fallacy of deducing purpose or cause directly from outcome' presented by Calavita (1989) in her article titled 'Recent works on immigration policymaking: A review of essay and agenda for the future' are twofold. First, the fact that outcomes end up responding to the 'needs of capital' does not necessarily mean that this was the intention of policies. Second, the empirical evidence does not always correspond with such conclusion. In this context, Garcés-Mascareñas (2012) emphasises that if states always served the demand of capital, it might be argued that there would be no need for restrictive migration policies.

Drawing from these perspectives, Garcés-Mascareñas postulates her generalisation about labour migration and political process as well as a dilemma between markets, citizenship and rights. In her book titled 'Labour migration in Malaysia and Spain (2012)', she highlights the interrelationship between labour migration, citizenship and rights. She emphasises that the state regulation of labour migration is confronted with two dilemmas; (1) while markets require a policy of open borders to provide as many foreign workers as employers demand, citizenship requires some degree of closure to the outside; and (2) while the exclusive character of citizenship demands closed membership, civil and human rights would seem to undermine the state capacity to exclude foreigner once they're in the country (Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012). She further suggests that rather than two separate dilemmas, the different factors involved shape a dilemma between markets, citizenship and rights. Interestingly, this generalising statement echoes Eilenberg's works on the interrelationship between state institutions, border elite and local community.

Eilenberg (2007) emphasises the interrelations between state institution, border elite, and local communities provide clues to how everyday processes of state formation are constituted along the border in his book titled 'At the edges of states' highlights the interrelationship between state institutions, border elite and local community'. He suggests that the borderlands symbolises the state sovereignty and have become a place where state authorities and specifically the border elites [4] are often eager to govern and exercise power while at the same time maintaining their roots within their birth communities. The border elites are actively involved in shaping their borderland milieu whereas this border milieu has a crucial impact on the processes of state formation (Eilenberg, 2007). However, the state authority in the borderlands has never been absolute and the state rules or laws are always depending largely on local interpretation. Likewise, he illustrated that the border communities have multiple loyalties that transcend state borders and contradict to the imaginations of the state as guardian of national sovereignty and citizenship. In this regard, the state formation process is likely confronted with two dilemmas. First, while the process of state's formation requires loyalty from the citizens in the borderlands, the borderlands community often have multiple loyalties due to the social or kinship relations and network of trade. Second, while the central state authorities such as the small border elite are eager to govern the borderlands, their present has never been absolute and that the rules or laws are depending on the local interpretation.

The strength of these works is that it highlights the interrelationship between some key issues in migration study as well as the interrelationship between labour migration, citizenship and rights or the interrelationship between state institutions, border elite and local community. These works have attempted to distil the main approaches to theorising the

interrelationship between some key issues relating to labour migration. It has been demonstrated that, despite the relatively long tradition of study on labour migration, there is no single theory that captures the full complexity of interrelationship between labour migration, political development and security threats. However, Garcés-Mascreñas (2012) and Eilenberg's (2007) key ideas seemed useful in understanding the interrelationship between labour migration, political development and security threats in developing country. The arguments contained within these works can serve as promising guidelines to understand the interrelationship between Indonesian labour migration, political development and security threats in Sabah, Malaysia. Moreover, they allow the study of labour migration to be more valuable if the other important elements related to this issue such as the political development and security threats that may exist due to the movement of people across borders to be considered

Nevertheless, in contrast, there is a little work has been done on the interrelationship between labour migration, political development and security threats or state's sovereignty. In this view, the thesis aims to convince the present and future researchers of the need for more awareness of the interrelationship between labour migration, political development and security threats. The gap in the literature thus led us to doubt the existence of interrelationship between labour migration, political development and security threats as well as the dilemma between these factors.

Accordingly, Moses (2011) in his book titled 'Emigration and political development' has convinced me that labour migration affects the political development in both sending and receiving countries. He argues that there are three types of reasons why we might expect migration to affect political development. The first is grounded in the role that migration has played in studies of economic migration; the second derives from an established literature that links economic and political development;

and the third is evident in a couple of well-known historical event. He emphasises that the economists have long been aware that migration can play an important role in economic development and in more broad-based approach to development. In this regard, he argues that migration can play (and has played) a role in affecting the relative costs of the relevant factors of production. These relative costs have important political corollaries (Moses, 2011). He further argues that the political-economists provide the grounds for expecting a more direct link between migration and political development that can be seen in the works of Tiebout (1956) and Hirschman (1970). Tiebout examines the way in which individuals (or consumer-voters) signal their political preferences by choosing to move from one political jurisdiction to another. Hirschman's works, on the other hand, focused on firms and political parties explaining how organisation can obtain important information necessary to stave off eventual deterioration. Moses concluded that both types of analysis can be extended to the study of international migration. In addition, Moses argues that the links between migration and political development can be seen in the lesson generated from a few different historical examples; (1) the birth of American Republic (the new state under construction at the end of 18th century could not draw on traditional bonds but migration; (2) the recognition of natural right was used to meet the needs of the new country); and (3) the fall of East Germany (majority of the East Germans escaped to the West with a desired significant political reforms instrumental in the fall of Berlin Wall in November 9, 1989).

In other words, labour migration can be better understood within the context of political development as the effects of colonialisation and decolonisation on economy (Adepoju, 1998). The Political development is traditionally defined as moving forward to be a more liberal democratic system based on free and fair

election, and the protection of citizens' civil rights or the process of evolution to a political system (Lefers, 2004). From Malaysians' point of view, the political development refers to the process of the evolution to a system, the establishment of institutions, procedures and mechanisms that facilitate the allocation of resources and values in such manner with common interests and are associated with the development of a nation (Baharudin, 2007). This implies that labour migration flows should not be considered as cross-sectional, but historically over time.

As the intention behind this paper is to expand the study of cross-border labour migration by considering its effect on political development and security concern, and vice versa, the work of Dannreuther (2007), and Huysman and Squire (2009) have very much provided a convincing view that security lens is likely to promote the effective responses to the present international labour migration crisis that is unprecedented 'age of migration' (Dannreuther, 2007; Castles & Miller, 2003). It is also impossible to make sense of world politics without reference to it; it plays a vital role in deciding who gets what, when, and how in world politics (Williams, 2012). In addition to this, the study of security with regards to the movement of people across-borders is needed as it has been largely excluded from mainstream academic discourse (Dupont, 2001).

In 'International security', Dannreuther (2007) suggests that migration must be properly considered as a security threat as it is closely connected to global demographic trends (global population explosion). He asserts that fast population growth in the receiving country will lead to a situation where the rich will have to fight and the poor will have to die if mass migration overwhelms the local population. The fast population growth with regards to the increase in the number of immigrants can increase the competition for career and employment opportunities which will, eventually, increase poverty. As such,

security is generally related to the struggle over the allocation of resources and it is supposed to be about alleviating the most serious and immediate threats that preventing people from pursuing their cherished values (Williams, 2012). As a result of this, the competition for career and employment opportunities motivate skilled locals to migrate. This migration can result in 'brain drain' [5] that will cripple the delivery of key services such as in education and health care. He also argues that in terms of domestic politics, excessive immigration can threaten social and national integrity by the growing salience of ethnic, religious and national cleavages.

In 'Migration and security', Huysman and Squire (2009) suggest that there are two key ways in which strategic analysis could draw attention to the relevance of migration for security studies. First, the migration bears upon national security questions ranging from refugees turning to violent political actors, and the effects of migration on social cohesion and the availability of a sufficient workforce. Second, the security concern has an impact on a state's migration policies, primarily because migration is often defined as threatening national security. For these reasons, Huysman and Squire (2009) assert that international labour migration flows is strongly related to national security or state sovereignty in receiving country.

Therefore, to put it in the rather challenging task, it is crucial to be clear about the referent object of the analysis. In describing labour migration through security lens as well as political development, the question arises on whose security and what exactly is the security issue the research is referring to. With this in mind, the work of Williams (2012) helped in discussing and describing whose security the research is concerned with. In 'security studies', Williams (2012) suggests that a study of security shall be more accurate if its reference objects are the state and human. He argues that military threat is the dominant answer to 'state security'. While,

the non-military threats are the dominant answer to the 'human security' but the human dignity such as the tension of ethnicity, religious belief, nationality, sex, gender and age. From this point, the state and human in the receiving country shall be the referent objects of this study primarily because humans and the state are interrelated and interdependent. On the other hand, human is the agent of the state (Ford & Lyons, 2011) and the state is a political unit consisting of people sharing a common culture, history and language (Guibernau, 2004; Gans, 2003).

In discussing and describing what exactly is the security issue, the work of Brauch (2011) is a valuable reference. Drawing from the social constructivist perspective, in 'Concept of security threat, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks', Brauch (2011) argues that with regards to the international labour migration flows, the receiving country's territory can be threatened by military threats (seizure of territory, invasion, occupation) and non-military threats [economic threats (career and employment competition, employment manipulation, price manipulations, default of debts, currency controls, domestic disability), physical threats (damaging public facilities, damaging personal belongingness), political threats (manipulation of policy, change of government) and social threats (damage to social value and social norm)] which can come from either within or outside the state.

Arguably, some researchers in the developing countries such as Nesadurai (2006) and Salehyan (2007) argue that the labour migration flows also have a capacity to create interstate conflict, a conflict between the sending and receiving country when the immigrants launch terrorist attack and supporting the armed rebellions in their homeland. Labour migration flows also can be a source of damage to the social norms of the locals or the receiving country (Nesadurai, 2006; Salehyan, 2007). This means that security threats in the receiving country should not only refers to military

attack but does apply to a possibility of conflict between the sending and receiving country and damage to social values of a society due to the emergence or interference of such negative social values brought together by immigrants (Brauch, 2011; Droedge, 2008). In accordance, the security issues in cross-border labour migration and political development studies shall be the military and non-military threats.

It is precisely that researchers or scholars such as Nesadurai (2006), Williams (2012), Moses (2011), Brauch (2011), Huysman and Squire (2009), Droedge (2008), Salehyan (2007), Dannreuther (2007), Lefers (2004), Castles and Miller (2003), Adepoju (1998), Hirschman (1970), and Tiebout (1956) have had analysed the impacts of cross-border labour migration on political development and security concern separately although it can be analysed in tandem. Thus, it is hoped that the emerging scholars will take the opportunity to expand the discipline of labour migration studies by analysing cross-border migration impacts on both political development and security issues together, instead of analysing them separately.

Approach to the Study of Migration-Politics-Security Relationship

The analysis on the existing literature of cross-border labour migration implies that cross-border labour migration flows should not be considered as cross-sectional, but historically over time. Accordingly, the ethnohistorical approach utilisation in analysing the significance of cross-border labour migration in political development and security issues in the country of destination has been debated considering the importance of the integration between historical and ethnographic approaches. The key reason is that such analysis required effort to reconstruct the history of cross-border labour migration as well as to show how present-day cross-border labour migration is taking place.

This approach, as employed by Ationg (2018) in his study of ethnic politics in Malaysia, should allow the researcher to combine two key components of data collection. The first is mainly historical as it should consist of researching academics, historiographic and various types of mediated text such as public speeches by politicians and authorities, magazines, newspapers and interviews with key political figures. In addition, ethnohistorical approach also consists of interviews with informants.

The use of ethnohistorical approach is vital as it must be based on the concept of 'experiment of experience' put forward by Barlocco (2014). It is a concept in which the researchers are required to analyse other people's experiences, views, analogies and emotions about any issues through the sifting of various observations in the consciousness of the researcher, which constitutes the deepest and most meaningful form of knowledge. Thus, it is considered as a way of understanding other people's experiences through the will and ability to connect with them as somebody seeking the necessary knowledge about the issues under investigation. This paper would, therefore, argue that employing an ethnohistorical approach to integrate both historical and ethnographic approaches is crucial to the study of cross-border labour migration-politics-security relations.

CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed the existing literature on labour migration and discovered the need to expand such discipline by considering the importance of its impacts on political development and security in the country of origin. It is, thus, argued that emerging scholars may take this opportunity to expand the discipline of labour migration studies by analysing cross-border migration impacts on both political development and security issues in tandem. Such study, as suggested can be carried out by employing the so-called ethnohistorical

approach, an approach that integrates both historical and ethnographic.

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1. Chinese word for connection (i.e. connection-based authority of big players in the Zhejiangcun 'system'). Guanxi embodies certain special features of the everyday behavior of Chinese people. It is a discourse and a social tool to understanding and interpreting social phenomenon.
2. The basic unit through the migrants organized their everyday life and their business dealings, and where most conflicts likely generated.
3. The key ideas of society-centered perspective are that the immigration policies have been analysed as the outcome of a political process characterized by competition between different groups within the bureaucratic, legislative, judicial, and public arena (Garces-Mascarenas, 2012).
4. The term elite defined by Eilenberg (2007, p. 5-6) as a small number of people who control the key economic, symbolic, and political resources which plays a multiple role as state agents, politicians, traders, and traditional chiefs at the same time.
5. Net loss of a country's highly trained and skilled man power through migration.

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How to cite this article: Ationg R, Zulhaimi NA, Sapan NS et.al. A review of theory and research on migration, politics and security. *International Journal of Research and Review*. 2019; 6(12):413-425.
