Migration Theories, Realities and Myths

Dušan DRBOHLAV

drbohlav@natur.cuni.cz

www.geomigrace.cz

Charles University in Prague,
Faculty of Science,
Department of Social Geography and Regional Development
Selected important books and articles relevant to the topic:


Structure of the presentation

- Goals
- Main used terms
- Migration and its myths
- Migration and its specificities
- Role of human needs and information
- Migration theories and their shortcomings
- Micro versus macro approach
- Selected current migratory trends
- Economic theoretical perspective
- Historical-structural perspective
Structure of the presentation

- Systems approach
- Theory of societal systems
- Value expectancy model
Main goal of this presentation

To contribute to combating the following myths:

1) There is no need to work with migration theories

2) There is one „general“ theory through which one can explain international migration process

3) Theories as such are taboos, one should use them as they were originally designed and proposed
Key terms

Myth

1) a traditional sacred story, typically revolving around the activities of gods and heroes, which purports to explain a natural phenomenon or cultural practice ...

2) ...

3) ...

N) an unproved or false collective belief
Key terms

Theory - general explanations
Key terms

**Theory** – the most developed form of a scientific knowledge … bringing a systematic, general picture of regularities and significant interconnections and contexts …

consistency, clear definition of terms, completeness,

exact data, a set of principles, postulates, axioms, logic inferences, causal links, summary of theoretical results …
A full-fledged theory should have four elements (Portes 1997):

1) a delimitation and description of some patch of reality
2) an identification and definition of a process or characteristic to be explained (the dependent variable)
3) one or more explanatory factors and their types of effects, additive or interactive
4) a logical link to at least one other similar proposition
Theory

„The biologist passess, the frog remains“. … Theories pass, the frog remains …
(J. Rostand 1894-1977; in Knowles 2007)

While theories may be discarded, the facts do not alter … (Knowles 2007)
Table 1. Schematic comparison of the theories of migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theory</th>
<th>Main proponent</th>
<th>Type of migration</th>
<th>Level of analysis</th>
<th>Unit of analysis</th>
<th>Type of constraints</th>
<th>Part of the process explained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neoclassical (1)</td>
<td>Harris-Todaro</td>
<td>Internal or international</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>Macro</td>
<td>Community or country</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neoclassical (2)</td>
<td>Harris-Todaro</td>
<td>Internal or international</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>Micro</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Costs of migration and probability of employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New economics of migration</td>
<td>Stark-Taylor</td>
<td>Internal or international</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>Micro</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Lack of adequate financial or insurance institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics of family migration</td>
<td>Mincer</td>
<td>Internal or international</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>Micro</td>
<td>Family/couple</td>
<td>Migration to the same destination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segmented labour market</td>
<td>Piore</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>Macro</td>
<td>Community or country</td>
<td>Structural constraints at destination reduce social mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World systems</td>
<td>Wallerstein</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>Macro</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Constraints imposed by position in the capitalist system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociological</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Push/pull</td>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>Internal or international</td>
<td>All types</td>
<td>Micro</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Some constraints may be interpreted as push factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networks</td>
<td>Various authors</td>
<td>Internal or international</td>
<td>All types</td>
<td>Micro/ macro</td>
<td>Individual/family</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobility transition</td>
<td>Zelinsky</td>
<td>Internal and international</td>
<td>All types excluding forced</td>
<td>Macro</td>
<td>Countries</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political science</td>
<td>Zolberg</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>All types including forced</td>
<td>Macro/ micro</td>
<td>State in relation to individual</td>
<td>Those imposed by States of origin and destination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systems approach</td>
<td>Kritz et al.</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>All types</td>
<td>Macro/ micro</td>
<td>State, community and individual</td>
<td>Those imposed by States of origin and destination, by the structure of production and by institutions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Research Question(s)</th>
<th>Levels/Units of Analysis</th>
<th>Dominant Theories</th>
<th>Sample Hypothesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>How does migration affect cultural change and affect ethnic identity?</td>
<td>More micro/individuals, households, groups</td>
<td>Relational or structuralist and transnational</td>
<td>Social networks help maintain cultural difference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demography</td>
<td>How does migration affect population change?</td>
<td>More macro/populations</td>
<td>Rationalist (borrows heavily from economics)</td>
<td>Immigration increases the birth rate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>How do we understand the immigrant experience?</td>
<td>More micro/individuals and groups</td>
<td>Eschews theory and hypothesis testing</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>How does the law influence migration?</td>
<td>Macro and micro/the political and legal system</td>
<td>Institutionalist and rationalist (borrows from all the social sciences)</td>
<td>Rights create incentive structures for migrants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>Why do states have difficulty controlling migration?</td>
<td>More macro/political and international systems</td>
<td>Institutionalist and rationalist</td>
<td>States are often captured by proimmigrant interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>What explains immigrant incorporation?</td>
<td>More macro/ethnic groups and social class</td>
<td>Structuralist and/or functionalist</td>
<td>Immigrant incorporation is dependent on social capital.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1. Selected migration theories offered by various disciplines of science

Theories of migration

**Sociological**
- Intervening opportunities (Stouffer, 1940)
- Push-pull factors (Lee, 1966)
- Migrant networks (Taylor, 1986)
- Transnational social spaces (Pries, 1999; Feast, 2000)

**Economic**
- **Macro**
  - Classical (Lewis, 1940)
  - Neo-classical (Harris and Todaro, 1970)
  - Keynesian (Hart, 1975)
  - Dual labour market theory (Piore, 1979)
- **Micro**
  - Neo-classical (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1970; Borjas, 1980)
  - Value-expectancy (DeJong and Fawcett, 1981)
  - New economics of migration (Stark and Bloom, 1984)
  - including: relative deprivation (Stark and Taylor, 1989), migration without wage differentials (Stark, 2003)

**Geographical**
- **Spatial interactions**
  - Gravity theory (Stewart, 1941; Zipf, 1946; Isard, 1960; Lowry, 1966)
  - Entropy (Wilson, 1967)
  - Catastrophe theory and bifurcations (Wilson, 1981)

**Unifying**
- Migration systems theory (Kritz et al., 1992)
- Multidisciplinary approach plus mobility transition (Massey, 2002)
- Cumulative causation (Massey, 1990)
- Institutional theory (Massey et al., 1993)
- World systems theory (Wallerstein, 1974)

Source: own elaboration, corroborating on Zlotnik (1998) and Kupiszewski (2002b)
Myth I

• International migration is an easy topic that can be tackled and dealt with by anybody

• Migration is a complex (interdisciplinary) issue that is influenced/conditioned by various - mostly external - factors … it makes any analyses very difficult
Myth II

• International migration can be managed well in a sense that even inflows can be stopped in harmony with our needs

• Many realities of the current world go against this proclamation: globalization, integration of the world economy, cheap international travel, information revolution, “western liberal doctrine” spread throughout the third-world countries …
Myth III

• International migration is „either – or“ matter

International migration is not a „black and white story“ ... there are different patterns involved, both winners and losers etc. ...

The short answer to the question as to whether I am for or against immigration is: “Yes!” (Chiswick 2009)
Myth III cont.

- International migration is not only a settlement migration or a circular labour migration …

  - the whole picture is very diversified
  - new migratory types …
  - e.g. the „fluid migration“ (IDEA project, Okolski´s team)
Myth III cont.

- Regarding economic impacts:
  "In broad terms, the economic impact of migration is positive for the destination country; but the size of the impact is not great, and there are distributional consequences to consider" (Kleinman 2003).
Myth IV

• We can successfully combat illegal/irregular international migration

• No, we cannot since:
  
  • There is an intense and permanent **DEMAND** for undocumented foreign workforce, specifically from a number of employers in developed countries who are always willing to hire this cheap, flexible, and productive workforce in spite of the various risks involved
  
  • The phenomenon is often “quietly” tolerated by political representations and officials
    – One of the structural components of modern capitalism (e.g. Pallidda 2005).

• In addition, in the post-communist world - degraded morale that allowed many informal activities to become a generally tolerated reality
Myth V

• Illegal/irregular migration brings no positive effects for immigration countries

• There are some positive impacts: Filling unappealing and low-paid work positions, a cheap and flexible workforce, the development of certain economic entities and branches. Also, individual households benefit from the presence of illegal/irregular workers (cheaper home services, construction, reconstruction, etc.), prices of some goods and services decrease …

• Illegal/irregular economic migration - a dangerous phenomenon. As illegal/irregular migrants do not comply with the law and legislation, they contribute towards undermining democratic systems, which are built on adherence to legal principles. In principle, this migration is also inequitable/unfair.
Myths VI

• International migration (immigrants) may eliminate expected population ageing in developed immigration countries

• The Report by the UN Population Division: „Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to a Declining and Ageing Population (2000, 2001)“ clearly answers no: it is not possible. The migration flows needed to keep the potential support ratio (workers to non-workers) constant are unprecedentedly high, see e.g.:
  - the EU 13.5 million a year,
  - Korea – more than 5 billion …!
Myths

The main goal of this presentation is to contribute to combating the following myths:

1) There is no need to work with migration theories
2) There is one „general“ theory through which one can explain international migration process
3) Theories as such are taboos, one should use them as they were originally designed and proposed
Migration and its specificity

International migration is a very complex phenomenon. Not only migration itself but also its consequences are complex …

… external heterogeneous factors behind …
A conceptual framework for migration studies should take social transformation as its central category, in order to facilitate understanding of the complexity, interconnectedness, variability, contextuality and multi-level mediations of migratory processes in the context of rapid global change. This would mean examining the links between social transformation and human mobility across a range of sociospatial levels, while always seeking to understand how human agency can condition responses to structural factors“ (Castles 2010).
Complexity of various specific migratory features

- Specificity in time and space,
- growing interdependence and international linkages of various migration flows in line with increasing political, economic and social interdependence among nation states,
- multicausality of migration motivation,
- qualitatively and quantitatively different types of migration flows at various hierarchical levels.
Typology of migration

Geography and Migration Studies: Retrospect and Prospect

Table 1. A typology of migration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Geographical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intercontinental</td>
<td>rural–urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international, within a continental region</td>
<td>urban–rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal, interregional</td>
<td>rural–rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local</td>
<td>inter-urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>intra-urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permanent</td>
<td>Timing/ sequencing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporary</td>
<td>first-time migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circulation – seasonal or shuttle migration</td>
<td>return migration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stage in life cycle

- baby/ young child
- youth
- adult
- elderly
- corpse (where is the migrant buried?)
- mass migration/ displacement

Family/ gender

- individual male
- individual female
- household/ family
- group male
- group female
- transnationalism
Wide area and causality of migration

"Migration analysis is the attempt to explain the decision-making mechanism (individual, household, or village) and human behaviour for persons (with different personality traits and sociocultural backgrounds) interacting with and reacting to (at different levels) the general environment (socioeconomic, ecological, and political stimuli) over time (short- and long-run situations) in order to achieve (maximize, minimize, or satisfy) certain objectives (personal or otherwise, economic and noneconomic) with certain consequences (on the migrant and others in the sending and receiving points)"

- Chang (1981)
Interdisciplinary approach

When researching into migration issues – the interdisciplinary approach is necessary

geography, sociology, economy, demography, ethnology, anthropology, political science, history, psychology, law, planning …

- Interdisciplinary view is to develop „a more satisfactory theoretical approach“ (Hammar 1992)
Human needs as a key trigger of migration movements

Individual’s ambitions of permanently increasing and differentiating her/his needs – a primary cause of a migration process (see e.g. „pleonexie“ - Korčák 1973);

in line with secondary human needs:
Human needs as a key and natural trigger of migration movements -

Secondary human needs:

1) Acquisition – need to gain possessions and property
2) Achievement - need to overcome obstacles, exercise power and try to do a difficult task well and quickly
3) Dominance – need to influence or control others
4) Autonomy - need to resist influence or coercion
5) Aggression – need to assault or harm another
6) Affiliation – need to form friendship and associations
7) Nurturance – need to nourish, aid, or protect helpless people
8) Succourance – need to seek help, protection, or sympathy
9) Cognizance – need to inquire, explore, seek knowledge, and satisfy curiosity

These needs include, in fact, psychological, economic, social and political aspects as well; especially needs no. 1, 2, 4, and 9, can trigger and propel movements and be quite relevant to international migration.

Migration – inherent law of a human existence (not an aberrant or even „perverse“ behaviour)
Information as a very important aspect behind migration movements

The role of information in the migration context is quite crucial …

… the current era of globalization and information revolution contributes to intensity of migratory movements

The Pred´s matrix from which it is possible to infer a probability of moving according to a quality and quantity of information available to a person as well as to her/his ability to make use of this information …
Paradoxes I

Migration is typical of ambiguities, contradictions and paradoxes …

1) The heart of the matter lies in the migration process itself and its mutual interrelations with a socioeconomic sphere –

- the contradiction between the short-term and long-term effects of economic development upon the propensities for emigration …
Paradoxes II

2) Problems stemming from a different attitude of scholars towards the object of the study … (there is also a danger that perhaps a „firm faith“ rather than an objective reasoning comes into the play).

For example: „In the developmental approach, there are differences in interpretation of benefits and costs, depending on what is thought to constitute development. Those inclined to think of growth and development as a matter of capital accumulation and industrialization, view migration as drawing off surplus labour, causing wage increase and stimulating technological change …those that have primary concern for distribution, local development and social problems are quick to point out the cost-sectoral and regional imbalances, decline in production (and possibly productivity) in certain sectors, conspicuous consumption and so on …“ (Swamy 1985)

Important philosophic-methodological aspects within interpretations!
3) Paradoxes tied to a policy

- The right to emigrate (established in the UN Declaration of Human Rights) has no counterpart with regard to the right to immigrate

- The developed countries have been proclaiming and willing to support politically and economically the development of the Third World, their real economic policy directly or indirectly restrain these efforts

- On one hand, developed immigration countries proclaim combatting undocumented migration, on the other hand, they often tolerate irregular/undocumenting migrants on their labour markets
Contradictions in scholars’ opinions

„Push-pull“ concept ...

Golledge, Stimson (1987) argue that the push-pull model can be perhaps used more at the micro-level, Bogue (1977) points out that „the traditional push-pull framework has limited utility for a microlevel approach“
Migration theories and related shortcomings

Very often we rather speak about „pragmatic“ or „ad hoc“ attitudes

- Some of the so called „theories“ are actually nothing more than concepts, frameworks, perspectives, attitudes, or rather primitively summarized experience …

- Very limited attempts to establish a theory about simultaneous interaction of the factors and almost no attempt is made to formulate general causal models in which listed factors appear as aspects of the casual mechanisms …
Theories and related shortcomings

There are hardly any exactly ascertained facts followed with principles, laws, axioms and postulates describing the object of study … lack of logical methods of infering, of proof and lastly of a summary of theoretical knowledge.

As a corollary, … hardly any systematic, general picture about regularities and fundamental continuities in the given field …
Theories and related shortcomings

A close connection between a final theory and empirical facts

"The use of theories is constrained by the availability of data, whereas interpretation of data depends on available theories" (de Beer 1990)

Generally, international migration statistics suffer from many shortcomings, too!

Thus, the vicious circle comes to the play …

Real value of international migration research?: a good theory has the best practical use … ???!!!
Theories and related shortcomings

There is no one general theory of migration … „It is unlikely that any one general theory could encompass all specific empirical foci“ (Richmond 1984), … grand theory of migration is impossible to design (Portes 1997) - The reason is that the different areas that compose the field of migration studies are too disparate to be unified in any meaningful way… such a theory would necessarily be too generic and abstract to the point of being useless for empirical analysis, researchers or policy makers (Portes 1997, Triandafyllidou, Blair 2008)

Too complex – it is beyond our grasp …

It should encompass aspects like: Who are migrants? Why do they move, stay or return? Why and where do they move? When do they move? What are the effects of such action on migrants and on others? etc… (see Chang 1981)
Theories and related shortcomings

- Theories mostly focus upon labour migration movements
- Theorizing concentrated mostly upon immigration countries
- Small attention in migration theories devoted to females (gender dimension)
- „Ignoring“ political considerations/aspects when working on migration theories
Theories and related shortcomings

- When establishing theories – delaying in following actual features of the objective reality

- The role of frontiers is not adequately taken into account in migration theories
  - Applying „experience“ accepted in internal to international migration and vice versa without any corrections, improvements and sometimes even references …!!!
Internal versus international migration - common features and differences

Common features:
1) Similar analytical frameworks (methods of analysis)
2) Common social and economic roots
3) Similar determinants and consequences
4) „Structural similarities“ – namely, migrants tend to be young
5) Places boasting a high standard of living (in a complex view) serve as migratory magnets
6) Movements which begin as short term (or circulatory) may often change into long-term and permanent ones
7) A close relationship between geographical and social mobility
**Internal versus international migration - common features and differences**

**Differences:**

1) International movements are much more susceptible to political and administrative control

2) Reasons for international migration are more complex. In the broadest sense of the word, this migration is much more strongly influenced by political factors and social networks

3) The distance factor carries a different weighting in the different types of migration
Theory and epistemological basis

Objectivity versus social construction
(the dual character of societies)

**Positivists** believe that there is a single objective truth or reality that can be found in studying social institutions or practices (E. Durkheim and his „social facts as things“ … take on an objective and hence measurable character)

For positivists – social science is a matter of improving research methods to the point at which they can accurately describe and measure social facts. Positivists believe in objectivity … quantitative research approaches …..(see more in Castles 2012 in Vargas-Silva 2012)
Theory and epistemological basis

**Interpretative sociology** ... the observer has to try to understand the meaning of social action and institutions for the people involved, leading to the idea of „interpretative sociology“. ... reduction to empirical laws is meaningless – M. Weber ... social and cultural knowledge was always conditioned through „evaluative ideas“ ... the object of cognition is the subjective-meaning complex of action ... the principle that knowledge about social relationships and practices is constantly being created, modified and related through processes of social interaction. People in society perceive social phenomena as a reality that is independent of their own volition, even though these social phenomena are constructed by human beings and can therefore be changed by them. Judgements on reality are socially relative.

For constructivists – social sciences have to interpret the social meanings that they find, and may actually influence these in the process ... There is no single truth in social phenomena (complexity of social situations, no possibility to include all possible factors into models ... qualitative research approaches ......(see more in Castles 2012 in Vargas-Silva 2012)
Theory and scales

…a key dimension of migration theory lies in conceptualizing the way social transformation processes act at different spatial levels (local, regional, national and global – Pries 2007, Castles 2012)

… migration theory needs to be historically and culturally sited, and to relate structure and action … Castles 2012, Giddens 1984
Micro versus macro approaches

In line with philosophic and methodological differences …

Macro-tradition – mainly the Marxist/conflict/historical-structural perspective

Micro approaches – functionalist, equilibrium, classical/neo-classical perspective (e.g. push-pull, cost-benefit, human capital models) or a behavioural perspective …
The microlevel perspective – stress on an individual, family, household – their behaviour and processes tied to this microsocial milieu …

The macrolevel perspective emphasizes economic, social, and political circumstances the context of which is an actual area for a behaviour of individual migrants …

A must to take into account macro as well as micro approaches within any meaningful touching the international migration issue …

Both perspectives – significant and complementary to one another …
"Microlevel study must take into account at all steps the influence of macrofactors, the social and institutional, the economic and the geographic context within which the individual exists. On the other hand, macrolevel studies of migration that do not include a consideration of the decision-making process may very easily miss some important factors and aspects of migration" (Gardner 1981)

To overcome the problems???

… a close co-operation and acceptance of objective results among supporters of different perspectives …
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MACRO-LEVEL: STRUCTURAL</th>
<th>MESO-LEVEL: RELATIONAL</th>
<th>MICRO-LEVEL: INDIVIDUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>opportunity structures</td>
<td>collectives and social networks</td>
<td>values, expectancies and resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(political-economic-cultural structure)</td>
<td>(social relations)</td>
<td>(degrees of freedom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economics:</td>
<td>social ties:</td>
<td>individual values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- income and unemployment differentials; access to capital</td>
<td>- strong ties: families and households;</td>
<td>(goals, preferences and expectancies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politics:</td>
<td>- weak ties: networks of potential movers, brokers and stayers;</td>
<td>- improving and securing survival, wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation and morality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- regulation of spatial mobility (nation-states and international regimes);</td>
<td>- symbolic ties: ethnic and religious organisations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- political repression, ethnic and religious conflicts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- interdependence in international system of states</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultural setting:</td>
<td>social capital:</td>
<td>individual resources:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- dominant norms and discourses</td>
<td>resources available to potential movers and stayers by participation in networks and collectives through weak, strong and symbolic social ties</td>
<td>- financial capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demography and ecology:</td>
<td></td>
<td>- human capital:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- population growth;</td>
<td></td>
<td>educational credentials;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- availability of arable land</td>
<td></td>
<td>professional skills;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- level of technology</td>
<td></td>
<td>cultural capital:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>common worldviews, forecasts, memories, symbols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- political capital: voice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1 Three levels of migration analysis.*
Migration research – historical patterns


Ravenstein's laws of migration

Table 3. Ravenstein's laws of migration.

- The majority of migrants only move a short distance.
- Migration proceeds step by step.
- Most long-distance migration is to the major industrial and commercial centres.
- The main direction of migration is from agricultural to industrial areas.
- The natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas.
- Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase.
- The volume of migration increases with the development of industries, commerce, and transport.
- Each migration stream has a counter-stream.
- Most migrants are adults; families rarely migrate long distances.
- Women are more migratory than men 'within the Kingdom of their birth', but men comprise a majority of international migrants.
- The major causes of migration are economic.
Table 4. Zelinsky’s model of the migration transition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - pre-modern traditional society</td>
<td>little true migration, except for limited moves related to traditional practices, for example, land use, commerce, social visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - early transitional society</td>
<td>mass migration from rural areas to cities, colonising movement of people to frontier land within country, emigration to attractive foreign destinations, small, but significant, immigration of specialised workers, growth in various kinds of circulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - late transitional society</td>
<td>continuing, but slackening, rural-urban migration, colonising movement to frontier land declines, emigration declines, further growth in circulation, which also becomes more complex in its types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - advanced society</td>
<td>rural-urban migration declines further, vigorous movement of migrants between cities and within urban agglomerations, mass immigration of unskilled and less-skilled workers from less developed countries, significant international migration or circulation of skilled migrants and professionals, intense internal circulation, both economic and pleasure oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - superadvanced society</td>
<td>better communication and delivery systems may lead to decline in residential migration and in some forms of circulation, most internal migration is inter-urban or intra-urban, some further immigration of unskilled labour from less developed countries, acceleration in some forms of circulation, including new forms, strict political control of immigration may be imposed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
W. Zelinski
(1971)
Current trends - “S curve“ versus transnationalism

• In fact, the two concepts need not to be in opposition … a transnational system can also be created by migrants who settle abroad but sustain significant ties with their place of origin …
Circular labour migration and its transformation into permanent immigration and settlement (Martin, Taylor 1995)
Individual stages of this transformation

"Stage 1: temporary labour migration of young workers, remittance of earnings and continued orientation to the homeland;

Stage 2: prolonging of stay and the development of social networks based on kinship or common area of origin and the need for mutual help in the new environment;

Stage 3: family reunion, growing consciousness of long-term settlement, increasing orientation towards the receiving country, and emergence of ethnic communities with their own institutions (associations, shops, cafes, agencies, professions);

Stage 4: permanent settlement which, depending on the policies of the government and the behaviour of the population of the receiving country, leads either to secure legal status and eventual citizenship, or to political exclusion, socio-economic marginalisation and the formation of permanent ethnic minorities” (Castles-Miller 1993).
Current trends - transnationalism

• … „The creation of a transnational community linking immigrant groups in the advanced countries with their respective sending nations and hometowns … This field is composed of a growing number of people who live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through regular contact across national borders. Activities within the transnational field are comprised of a whole gamut of economic, political and social initiatives ranging from informal import-export business, to the rise of a class of binational professionals, to the campaigns of native politicians among their expatriates“ (Portes, Guarnizo, Landolt 1999)
## Transnationalism and its types

**(Portes, Guarnizo, Landolt 1999)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of institutionalization</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Socio-cultural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Informal cross-country traders</td>
<td>Home town civic committees created by immigrants</td>
<td>Amateur cross-country sport matches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small businesses created by returned immigrants in home country</td>
<td>Alliances of immigrant committee with home country political associations</td>
<td>Folk music groups making presentations in immigrant centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long-distance circular labour migration</td>
<td>Fund raisers for home country electoral candidates</td>
<td>Priests from home town visit and organize their parishioners abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Multinational investments in Third World countries</td>
<td>Consular officials and representatives of national political parties abroad</td>
<td>International expositions of national arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Development for tourist market of locations abroad</td>
<td>Dual nationality granted by home country governments</td>
<td>Home country major artists perform abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agencies of home country banks in immigrant centres</td>
<td>Immigrants elected to home country legislatures</td>
<td>Regular cultural events organized by foreign embassies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
New migratory forms/types – „liquid migration“

The concept of liquid migration is inspired by Zygmunt Bauman’s work (1999; 2005) on liquid modernity (Engbersen et al. 2009).

Central to the notion of liquidity is the idea that ‘thick’ and stable social institutions (class, family, labour, community, neighbourhood and nation state) are fading away and being replaced by flexible, ‘thin’ institutions (see also Zijderveld 2000).

Migration has always been strongly embedded in patterns of family, community, local labour markets, and the nation-state (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Portes 1995). The transformation of these institutions, together with ever more advanced communication technologies and the disappearance of internal borders following EU enlargement, has changed migration patterns in post-industrial societies and has made migration trends less predictable.

Liquid migration has six dominant characteristics:
‟Liquid migration‟ (Engbersen)

1 Settlement: temporality of migration and stay:
   - Temporary migration
   - Temporary settlement; semi-integration in destination country

2 Type of migration: Labour and student migration:
   - Labour migrants
   - Student migrants
   - ‘Economic’ asylum seekers and refugees

3 Status: legal residential status:
   - Regular migration
   - Temporary work permit holders (Romania and Bulgaria)

4 Destination: No predetermined receiving country:
   - Multiple receiving countries
   - New receiving countries

5 Family: individualised life strategy:
   - Individualised forms of migration
   - First generation pattern

6 Migratory habitus: intentional unpredictability
   - No definite migration aspirations
   - Open options
IDEA conceptual framework
Okolski, Arango, Fassmann … (Okolski ed. 2012)

• Concept of the European ‘migration cycle’
• Based on an assumption that all European nation states proceed from net emigration to net immigration countries
• In the course of the change countries experience specific migration stages: preliminary, take off, expansion and maturity
• In the preliminary stage - masses of rural population are pushed out and compelled to migration due to a fast growth of productivity coupled with a high rate of natural increase leading to large emigration
• On the contrary, the mature stage involves a steady and sizable presence of immigrants (or their descendants) and a continuous but strictly regulated inflow of foreigners in accordance with the needs of economy
• The stage of maturity emerges from two intermediate stages (take-off and expansion) and it develops with declining natural increase, ageing of population and growing labour demand

• Hence, main drivers of the country’s change from emigration to immigration country relate to the demographic and economic developments together with paradigms of migration and control policies

• The main goal was to juxtapose migration situation of CEE countries to the ‘migration cycle’ concept
Most of alternative approaches derived from the push-pull and human capital models (e.g. Sjaastad 1962, Todaro 1969)

The push-pull model springs generally from a principle that migration is a consequence of a socioeconomic disequilibrium among regions when some factors operate primarily either as „pushing“ a man out of a given place or, on the contrary, as „pulling“ him/her to another one … additional variables (intervening opportunities and barriers – Stouffer 1940, Lee 1966)

The migration was seen as a stream of manpower to regions with a lack of capital and a surplus of manpower to regions with a lack of manpower and a surplus of capital where the salaries and wages are higher … there is to be the redistribution of the human capital, migration is the „development fostering process“ … According to this theory, workers do not migrate if there are no differences in the earnings or employment rates between countries…
Economic theoretical perspective and migration (neoclassical economic approach)

Sjaastad (1962) in his human capital model as the first realized and suggested that the individual migrates in the expectation of being better off … and individual moves if she/he believes that the benefits will exceed the costs

- time aspect and expected rather than actual earnings taken into account

Todaro (1969) particularly included for a migrant the possibility of being unemployed … the individual must balance this risk against a positive real income …

Variations of the basic models – „simultaneous-equation model, sequential decision-making framework etc. …
Economic theoretical perspective and migration (neoclassical economic approach)

The common element of the mentioned models (applied to micro level) is the feature of individual activity involved …

- **Shortcomings of this perspective:**
- Questionable use in terms of hierarchical levels (regional and „structural“) …
- When using microdata - neglect of areal characteristics
- A danger of generalizing from aggregated data analyses to individual-level phenomena
- So many genuine assumptions coming to the models like – homogeneity, substitutability, rationality, maximization of a profit, minimalization of a discomfort, perfect information, flexibility of prices, equilibrity of a market
- „All is based“ on two variables: effects of income and unemployment
- The models deal only with labour migration – they omit encompassing social and political structures, overlook nonmonetary costs generally, nothing about assimilation of information, values and preferences …, only the capitalist historical period is taken into account
Economic theoretical perspective and migration (neoclassical economic approach)

- Economic models – either too simple and static or methodologically sophisticated but theoretically primitive, in sum – confused

- Scarcity of empirical testing

- The labour market theories do not explain a start and ending of movements, they are not able to catch specific conditions within given countries … why the movements do not involve all of people, why labour migration does exist also among countries being at the relatively same high stage of development (including the brain exchange phenomenon etc.)?
Economic theoretical perspective and migration (neoclassical economic approach)

Advantages:
- Explanatory models in nature
- Some researchers expand the human capital model to also include noneconomic variables (.. Da Vanzo)
Historical-structural (conflict, Marxist, neo-Marxist) perspective and migration

To certain extent, response to the individualistic neoclassical economic approach … many concepts/subconcepts – „world system theory“, „dependency theory“, „internal colonialism“, „centre-periphery“ framework or „global accumulation“ concept

It follows Marx´s ideas and work of the historical materialism with a fundamental postulate that classes are defined by social relations of production …

The perspective „treats development and underdevelopment as parts of a single integral totality (the world capitalist economy) which simultaneously depends on, and re-creates conditions for worldwide economic inequality (Papademetriou 1988); „These theories emphasize the peripheral status of poor countries in an international system in which the rich countries are at the centre. The rich central countries serve as a vacuum drawing wealth out of the periphery to such an extent that the periphery is impoverished“ (Stahl 1988) … capital, commodities and labour move across national boundaries as part of a developing process that creates complex inescapable ties of interdependence between countries… labour migration is explained by the economies over the peripheral and the specific effects of difference in the real and social wage levels in the core and the periphery which leads to recruitment across national boundaries from what is, in effect, an international pool of reserve labour …
Focus on migrants’ exploitation in rich destination countries … and their exposition to various constraints, limits and barriers …

- migrants are mere agents of social change, carrying the necessary attributes of labour to satisfy the abstract requirements of the general law of capitalist accumulation

- Decreasing or freezing wages and prices
- Selectivity in choosing only young and healthy workers
- Inaccessibility to many of social achievements
- Vague legal status, limited geographical and social mobility
- Regional and areal concentration of immigrants („ghettoization“)

Distinct and quite unambiguous unit of observing – a migration stream as a whole
Historical-structural (conflict, Marxist, neo-Marxist) perspective and migration

• „The world systems theory emphasises structural factors that contribute to the uneven development of sending and receiving countries and the structural disparities and dependence between these economies. However, it also indirectly recognises the role of individuals and families as agents of migration as they point to the function of ideological and cultural links between developing and advanced countries“ (Triandafyllidou, Blair)

• Many queries in the play:
  – People only as a passive element … behaviour can be explained by the individual’s location within the larger system …
  – The theory deals only with labour migration movements
  – Ideology comes into the play
  – No specific economic/social/political climate in various nations/states is being taken into account …
  – No possibility of improving social status for immigrants in host societies, immigrants seen permanently excluded from the benefits of being incorporated into a host society, having a citizenship rights and taking a welfare state benefits, immigrants enter the labour market at the lowest levels of socioeconomic status…
  – „Injuriousness“ of labour emigration …
These statements often in contradiction with reality …
Historical-structural (conflict, Marxist, neo-Marxist) perspective and migration

- Overestimation of macrostructural forces, ignoring individual activity and abilities

- „How would world system advocates explain the famine-induced Irish emigration to the United States in the 1840s, the migration which resulted from political and religions persecution of the past several centuries, or the forced migration of Africans to North America? Alternatively, how can we explain the variations of significant emigration flows from countries that are similarly incorporated into the world capitalist economy“ (Papademetriou 1988)?
Based on Mabogunje (1970) who applied General Systems Theory to the rural-urban migration in Africa.

…“contrary to a linear uni-directional, push-and-pull, cause-effect movement, it enables us consideration of a movement as a circular, independent, progressively complex, and self-modifying system in which the effect of changes in one part can be traced through the whole of the system“ (Mabogunje 1970).

He works with four components of migration environment: economic, social, technological and governmental ones; he considers, inter alia, the relationship between the social and spatial mobility; he points out a role of aspirations and the importance of information (and the feedback effect that became the core of later on developed the concept of social networks).
Other scholars highlight regional approach in defining a migration system where regional proximity is accompanied with close economic and political ties, comparable level of an economic development, similar migration behaviour, cultural background and „political proximity“ …

„Migration systems are spaces characterised by the relatively stable association of a group of receiving countries with a number of areas of origin. Such association does not only result from migration flows, but is buttressed by connections and links of a varied nature“ (Arango 2000).

In the past – the concept of social networks or global economic, structuralist – macro level looking at the reality were considered as „systems approach“

Elements that define the existence of the migration system: relative structural homogeneity, geographic contiguity or proximity, similarity of policies, and common belonging to supranational organisations (Zlotnik 1992 according to Arango 2000)…

Perhaps there might be key elements typical of the systems approach like: complexity – encompassing both the micro and macro factors, dynamism, interrelations, interactions, interlinkages, openness and flexibility
Systems approach

• What are real principles which the systems approach towards international migration is based on?

• The model „is as yet no more than a desideratum which has never been fulfilled, at least as far as international migration is concerned. It has hardly gone beyond the identification of international migration systems, at a purely descriptive level“ (Arango 2000).

• The full potential of the approach still remains at the stage of promise (Arango 2000)
Systems approach

(1) the environment, made up of four dimensions framing the 'box' containing the system through which the migrant moves – economic conditions, social and community factors, transport and communications, and government policies;
(2) the migrant, the 'energy' moving through the system;
(3) control subsystems, which determine who departs from the village, and at the urban destination, how migrants are incorporated into the town or city;
(4) adjustment mechanisms, again at both rural and urban locales, to cope with the adjustments that need to be made as a result of migrants' departure and arrival; and
(5) feedback loops, such as returning migrants' stories of success or failure – which act to maintain, increase, or depress the flow of migrants through the system according to whether the feedback is positive or negative.
Other important theories/concepts

- Network theory, Dual labour market theory, Institutional theory, New economics of migration, Cumulative causation theory, etc. …
Theory of Societal Systems

Proposed by Hoffmann-Nowotny (1983) – one of the „real“, more general and well formulated migratory theories

- It is built on General Systems Theory ground
- It integrates well known sociological, social psychological and economic concepts from the areas of startification, mobility, social change, status crystallization, symbolic interaction and marginal utility, or at least elements of them …
- There are basic terms: the „structure“ and „culture“ versus the „power“ and „prestige“ – and the status line between them …
Theory of Societal Systems

- Generally, the movement and various types of tensions spring from the discordance between the power and prestige, and consequently, the society and therefore people are, to some extent, and, in some way, on the move …

- Migration can be seen as the process of social interaction with the effect of reduction of the tension in the emigration system and, on the contrary, immigration may contribute to the building of tension in the receiving society

- In fact, the theory deals with a complicated relationship between social and spatial mobility, when stressing the system level including the hierarchical principle …
Value expectancy model

Based on work of psychologist Crawford (1973) – especially developed and cultivated by de Jong and Fawcett (e.g. 1981)

The main proposal – the action in certain ways depends on the expectancy that the act will be followed by a given consequence (or goal) and the value of that consequence (or goal) to the individual …

This model assumes that people will usually behave in a forward looking, positive way, making choices that they believe will maximise their well-being …
Value expectancy model

It is necessary to get to know personally valued goals that might be met by moving (or staying) and assess perceived linkage in terms of expectancy between migration behaviour and the outcome …

- Model deals with subjective evaluation and weighting the factors coming to play in achieving goals
- Seven main groups of values or goals based on psychological and socioeconomic elements we formulated: wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation and morality –
- these essential attributes of migration motivation are enriched by important factors describing broader socioeconomic, sociocultural and demographic environment: individual and household characteristics, societal and cultural norms, personal traits, opportunity structure between areas and information
Value expectancy model

Migration behaviour is thus hypothesized to be the result of 1) the strength of the value expectancy derived intentions to move, 2) the indirect influences of background individual and aggregate factors and 3) the potential modifying effects of often unanticipated constraints and facilitators which may intervene between intentions and behaviour …

Advantages of the model: it combines micro and macro elements of the reality – individual, household and societal-level migration determinants; it is a simple model, easy to apply

Shortcomings – the model is based on assumptions – e.g. physical and mental ability, rationality, it cannot explain forced migration …
Thank you for your attention