

Theories of migration

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Outline

- Theory of migration
- Migration transitions
- Aspiration, desire, and drivers of migration
- Understanding immobility

Theory of migration

- Ravenstein (1885) made his observations based on migration to the United Kingdom
- His work listed laws of migration
 - Principles of migration
 - Rules of migration
- His work laid the foundation for subsequent research on migration



Ravenstein's laws of migration

1. Most migration is over short distances
2. Migration occurs in steps
3. Long-range migrants usually move to urban areas
4. Each migration produces a movement in the opposite direction
5. Rural dwellers are more migratory than urban dwellers
6. Internal migration rates are higher among females
7. Most migrants are adults
8. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase
9. Migration increases with economic development
10. Major migration flows are from rural to urban areas
11. Migration is mostly due to economic causes



Ravenstein's laws of migration

1. Most migration is over short distances
 - The majority of migrants go only a short distance
2. Migration occurs in steps
 - Migration proceeds step by step
3. Long-range migrants usually move to urban areas
 - Migrants going long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce or industry



Ravenstein's laws of migration

4. Each migration produces a movement in the opposite direction

- Each current of migration produces a compensating counter current
- Although not necessarily in the same volume

5. Rural dwellers are more migratory than urban dwellers

- The natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas



Ravenstein's laws of migration

6. Within their own country, females are more migratory than males, but males are more migratory over long distances

- Females are more migratory than males within the Kingdom of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond

7. Most migrants are adults

- Families rarely migrate out of their county of birth



Ravenstein's laws of migration

8. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase
9. Migration increases with economic development
 - Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves
10. The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centers of industry and commerce
11. Migration is mostly due to economic causes



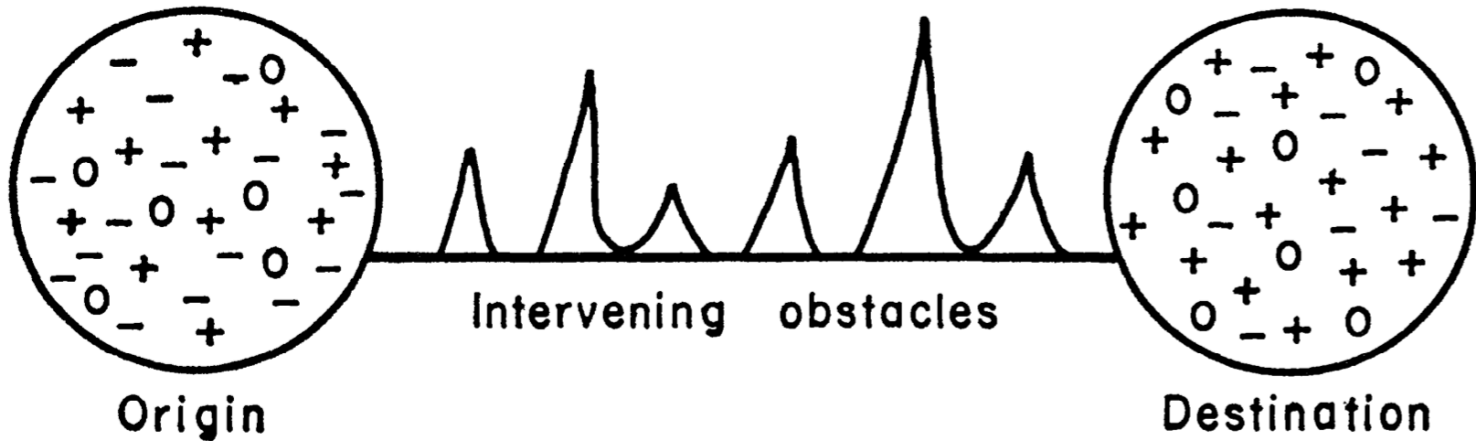
Factors in the act of migration

- Factors associated with the area of origin
- Factors associated with the area of destination
- Intervening obstacles
- Personal factors



CHART I

ORIGIN AND DESTINATION FACTORS AND INTERVENING OBSTACLES IN MIGRATION



See text for explanation



Volume of migration

- Volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory
- Volume of migration varies with the diversity of people
- Volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles
- Volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy
- Unless severe checks are imposed, both volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time
- Volume and rate of migration vary with the state of progress in a country or area

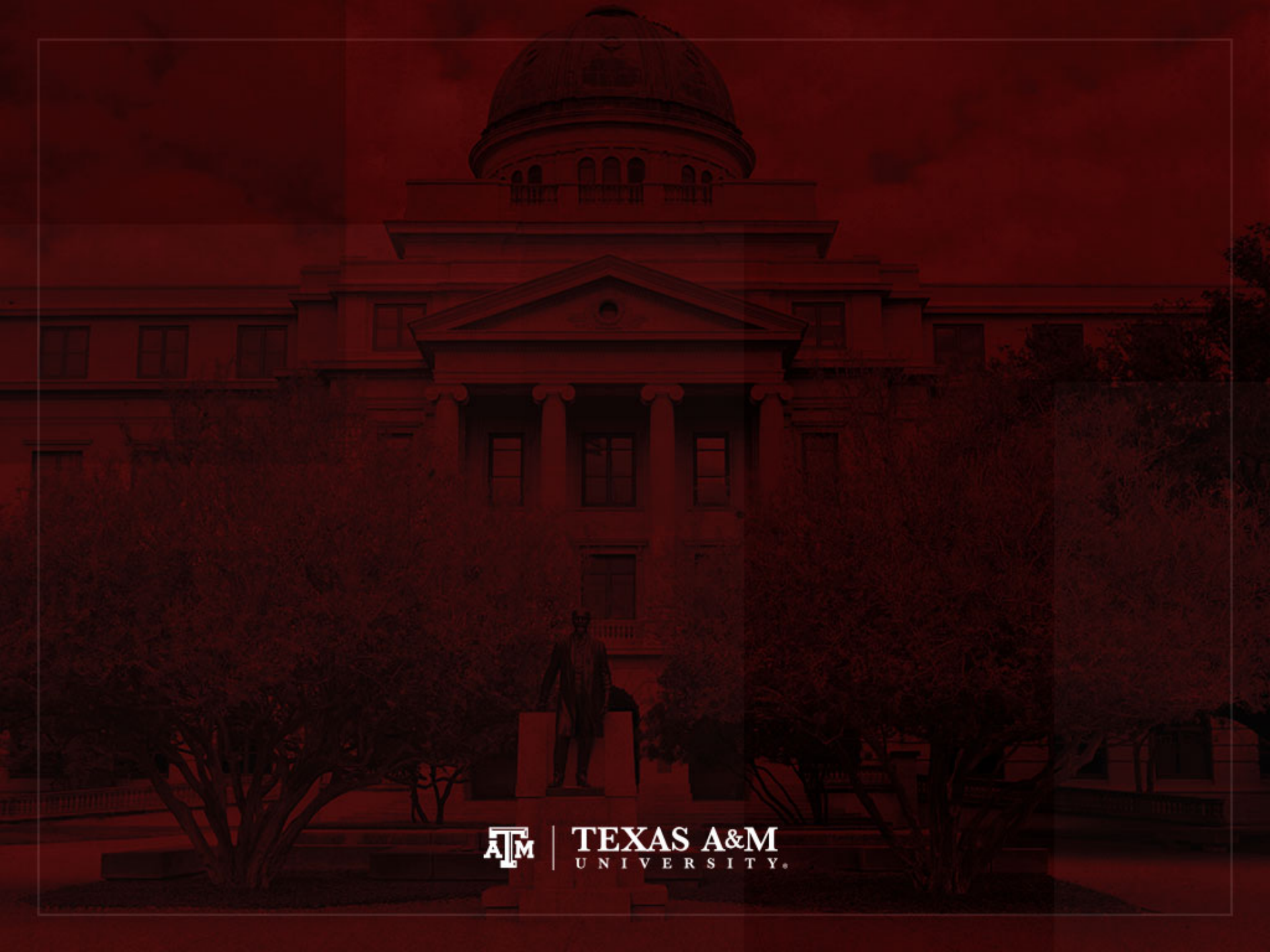


Stream and counterstream

- Migration tends to take place largely within well defined streams
- For every major migration stream, a counterstream develops
- The efficiency of the stream is high if the major factors in the development of a migration stream were negative factors at origin
- The efficiency of stream and counterstream tends to be low if origin and destination are similar
- The efficiency of migration streams will be high if the intervening obstacles are great
- The efficiency of a migration stream varies with economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and low in times of depression

Characteristics of migrants

- Migration is selective
- Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected
- Migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected
- Taking all migrants together, selection tends to be bimodal (positively and negatively selected)
- The degree of positive selection increases with the difficulty of the intervening obstacles
- The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life cycle is important in the selection of migrants
- The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of the population at origin and the population at destination



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Migration transitions

- Migration is a complex process
 - It is unrealistic that one theory can explain and predict all migration events
 - However, migration is not a chaotic or unpredictable process
- Researchers have to identify regularities
- Truisms do not contribute to a better understanding of real-world migration processes
 - E.g. “most people move out of desire to improve their wellbeing” is too universal and meaningless



Conceptual frameworks

- Goal is to find a medium level of generalization
- Theory should deal with the complexity and diversity of specific aspects of real-world migration processes
 - Without going down a sterile path of relativism and exceptionalism
- Utilize review of migration theories to elaborate coherent conceptual frameworks



Conceptual frameworks

- Suggestion is to develop a spatio-temporal and dynamic theoretical framework on migration transitions
- This framework would explain why
 - Human and economic development is generally associated to higher overall levels of migration and mobility
 - Relation between levels of development and levels of migration is fundamentally non-linear
 - Societies typically go through migration transitions, a universal sequence of macro-level migration events

Regional spatial-economic equilibrium

- The study of migration determinants dates back to classical economic development theory
 - Migration is considered to be a mechanism that establishes regional spatial-economic equilibrium (Ravenstein 1885)
- Migrants move from low income to high-income areas
 - From densely to sparsely populated areas
- Population streams are expected to occur between the poorest and wealthiest places and countries



Push-pull factors

- Migration decisions are determined by “push” and “pull” factors in areas of origin and destination (Greenwood et al. 1991; Lee 1966; Passaris 1989)
 - Intervening obstacles: distance, physical barriers, immigration laws...
 - Personal factors: age, sex, marital status, school, SES, job...
 - Economic, environmental, and demographic factors
- Although there are limitations in regards to the “push-pull” models, this concept is still popular in migration literature (de Haas 2007, 2010; McDowell and de Haan 1997)



Limitations of push-pull model

- Static model
 - It does not specify how migration affects initial structural conditions
- Essentially descriptive
 - Post-hoc device to explain migration
- Factors are generally mirrored in origin and destination areas
- Tendency to single out macro-level variables as causal migration determinants
 - But confound them with individual motives



Neo-classical migration theory

- Neo-classical economic theory sees migration primarily as a function of geographical differences in the relatively scarcity of labor
 - Rural-urban migration continues as long as expected urban income exceeds rural income (Todaro 1980)
- Migration causes labor to become less scarce at the destination and scarcer at the origin
 - This process of “factor price equalization” will result in growing convergence between wages at the sending and receiving areas



Analysis of migration decision

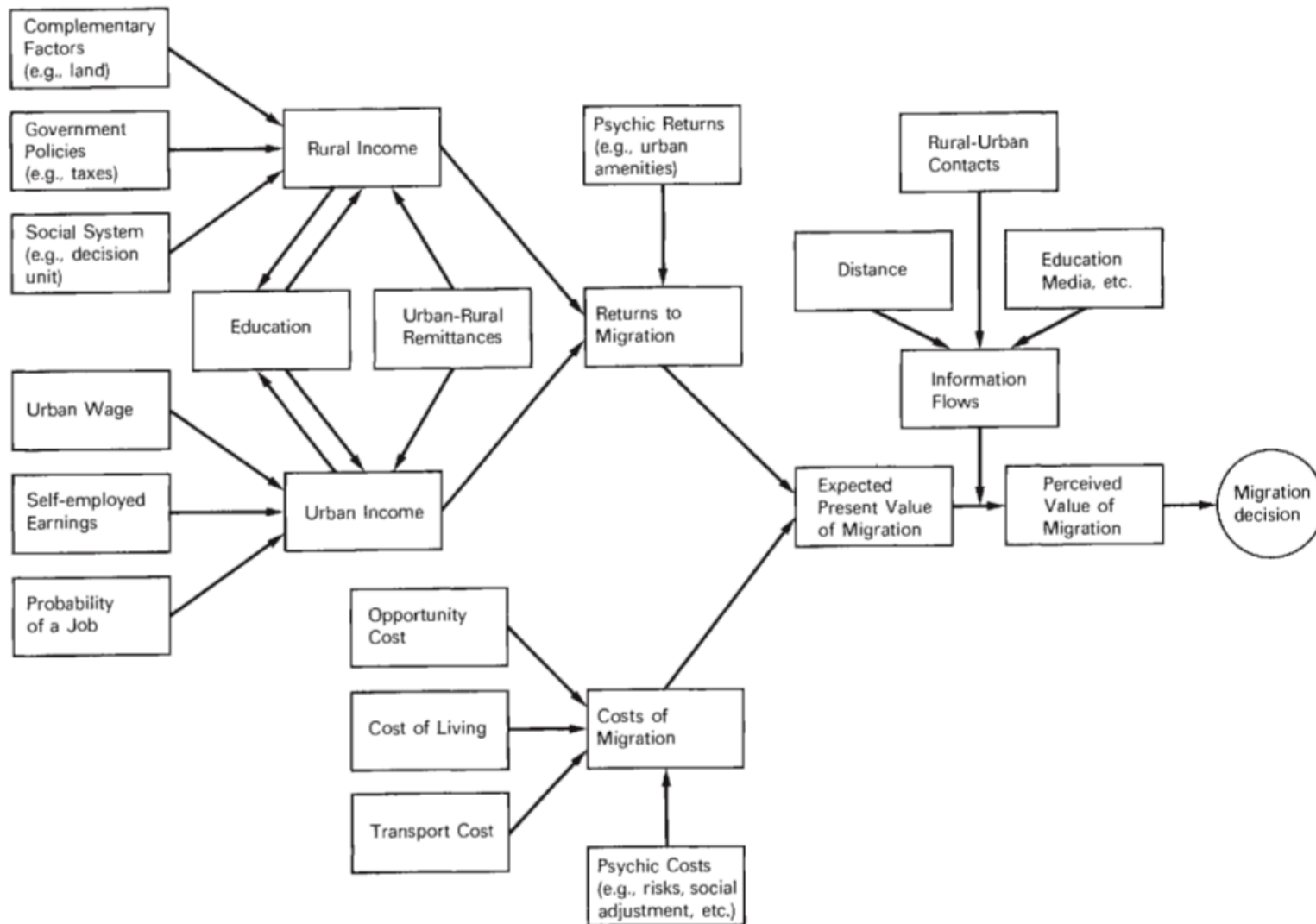


Fig. 6.1

A framework for the analysis of the migration decision.



Structure and agency

- **Structure** is a pattern of social relations, which tend to severely constrain the individuals' action
 - But neo-classical and push-pull theories see structure as the simple aggregate of individual behaviors
- **Agency** is the ability of social actors to make independent choices and to impose those on the world
 - But neo-classical and push-pull theories reduce individuals to atoms passively reacting to macro push-pull forces



New economics of labor migration

- NELM argues that most migration in developing countries can only be understood as a **household** rather than individual decision
 - Migration decision generates income diversification (e.g., remittances) rather than maximization
 - It is a conscious attempt to overcome (**agency**) failing markets and socio-economic inequalities (**structure**)
- NELM is a **micro-level** theory applied to particular forms of migration
 - It is not able to explain long-term global migration patterns and trends and how these are connected to broader development processes



Spatio-temporal migration theories

- Spatio-temporal transition migration theories define migration as a constituent part of broader development processes
- These processes are associated with
 - Modernization
 - Capitalist economic development
 - Urbanization
 - Demographic transitions

Temporal and spatial models

Table 1. The conceptual links between temporal and spatial migration models

THE TEMPORAL DIMENSION DEMOGRAPHIC AND VITAL TRANSITIONS			THE SPATIAL DIMENSION REGIONALISATION	
<i>Stages of the demographic transition model</i>	<i>Vital transition (Zelinsky)</i>	<i>Mobility transition (Zelinsky)</i>	<i>World systems theory</i>	<i>Development tiers (Skeldon)</i>
High stationary (high fertility and mortality, roughly in balance, little natural increase if any.)	Pre-modern traditional society (pre-industrial)	Mobility mainly limited to circular migration	External areas (e.g., many sub-Saharan African countries, parts of central Asia and Latin America)	Resource niche , with variable, often weaker forms of migration.
Early expanding (Rapid decline in mortality due to improvements in food supply, sanitation and health care and education; but no corresponding fall in birth rates leading to major population growth)	Early transitional society (urbanising / industrialising developing country)	All forms of mobility (circular, rural colonisation frontiers, internal rural-urban, international) increase	Periphery (e.g., Morocco, Egypt, Mexico)	Labour frontier , dominated by emigration and internal centralisation
Late expanding (major decline in fertility due to access to contraception, economic growth, wage increases, urbanization, increase in the status and education of women, increases in investment in childrens' education, value change and other social changes → Population growth begins to level off, significant but decelerating natural increase)	Late transitional society (mature industrial country)	International migration decreases, rural-to-urban internal migration stagnates but remains at high levels, circular movements increase and grow in structural complexity, towards the end of phase the 'rural exodus' decreases	Semi-periphery (e.g., eastern China, South-Africa, eastern Europe, Turkey)	Expanding core , co-existence of immigration and emigration and internal centralisation (i.e., urbanisation and rural-to-urban migration);
Low stationary (fertility and mortality stabilised at low levels, slight population increase if any)	Advanced society (post-industrial society)	Residential mobility, urban-to-urban and circular migration increase, transformation from emigration to net immigration countries immigration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers	Core areas (e.g., Western Europe, North America, Japan, NICs)	Old and new core countries characterised by immigration and internal decentralisation;
Declining? (continuing low fertility and mortality; birth rates may drop below replacement level leading to shrinking population)	A future " superadvanced " society	Most internal migration is urban-urban and residential, immigration of labourers continues.	? (Core)	Old/Declining core (?)



Migration hump and transition

- **Migration hump** theory refers to more **short-term** increases in migration in the wake of trade reforms and policy-induced contextual changes
- **Migration transition** applies for **long-term** changes in migration trends in response to more structural development trends

Functionalist and structuralism

- Structuralism (neo-Marxist, center-periphery) criticizes functionalist theory (neo-classical, push-pull)
 - Functionalist assumes socioeconomic forces tend towards equilibrium through migration
 - Structuralism sees a general pattern of disruptions, dislocations, and migrations intrinsic to capitalism
- However, they share these assumptions
 - More development leads to less emigration
 - Higher development differences across areas (spatial disequilibrium) leads to more migration

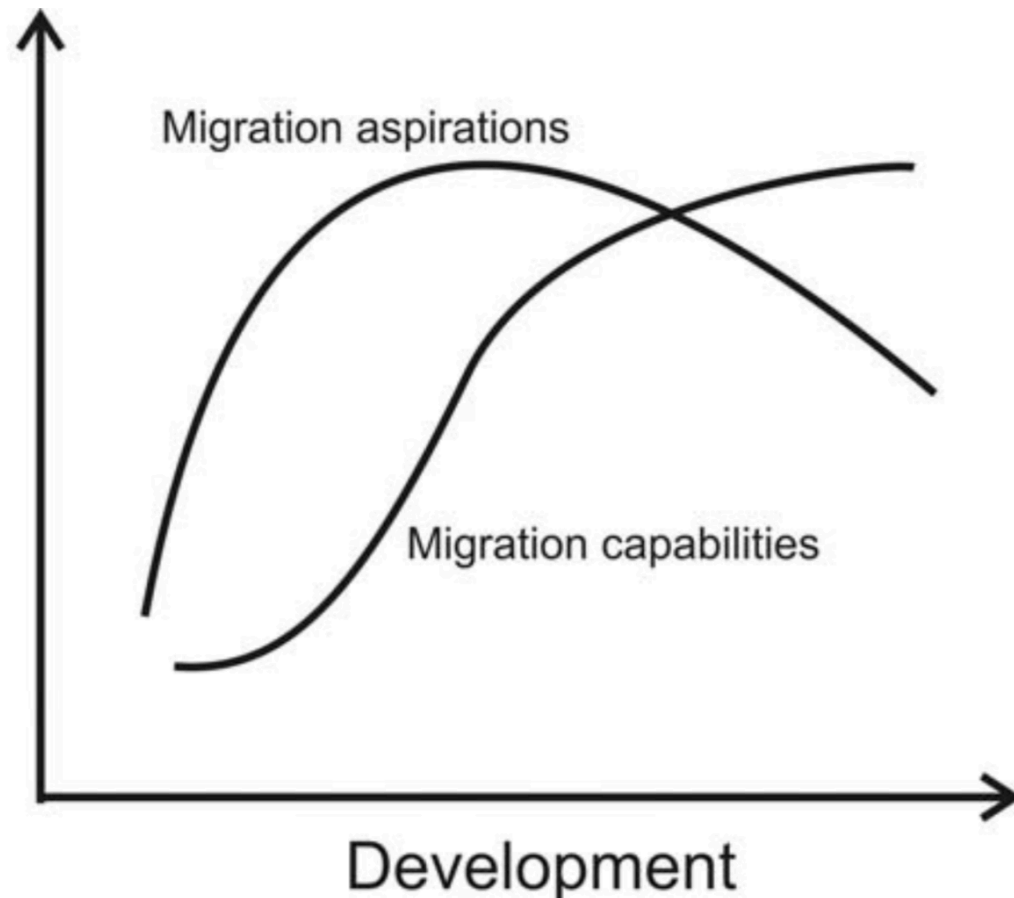


Capabilities and aspirations

- Migration theory should include structural constraints and independent choices (agency)
- We can incorporate notions of structure and agency in migration theory by conceptualizing migration at the micro-level as a function of...
 - **Migration capabilities**: individuals mobilize human, social, and material capital in order to migrate
 - **Migration aspirations** for personal, social, economic, and political opportunities, which vary for different people, based on their education, information, and social networks



Hypothesized effect of human development on migration capabilities and aspirations

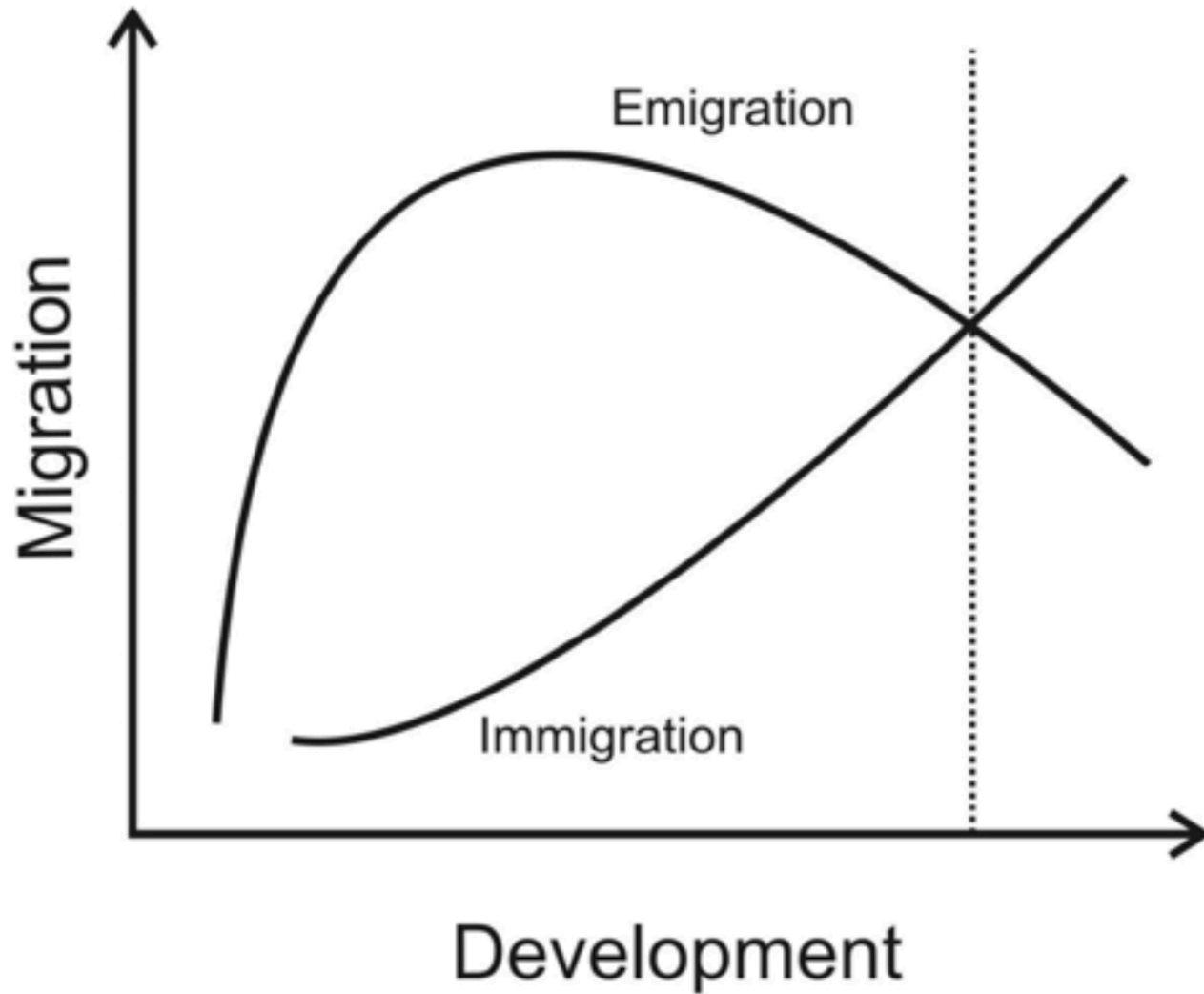


Development and migration

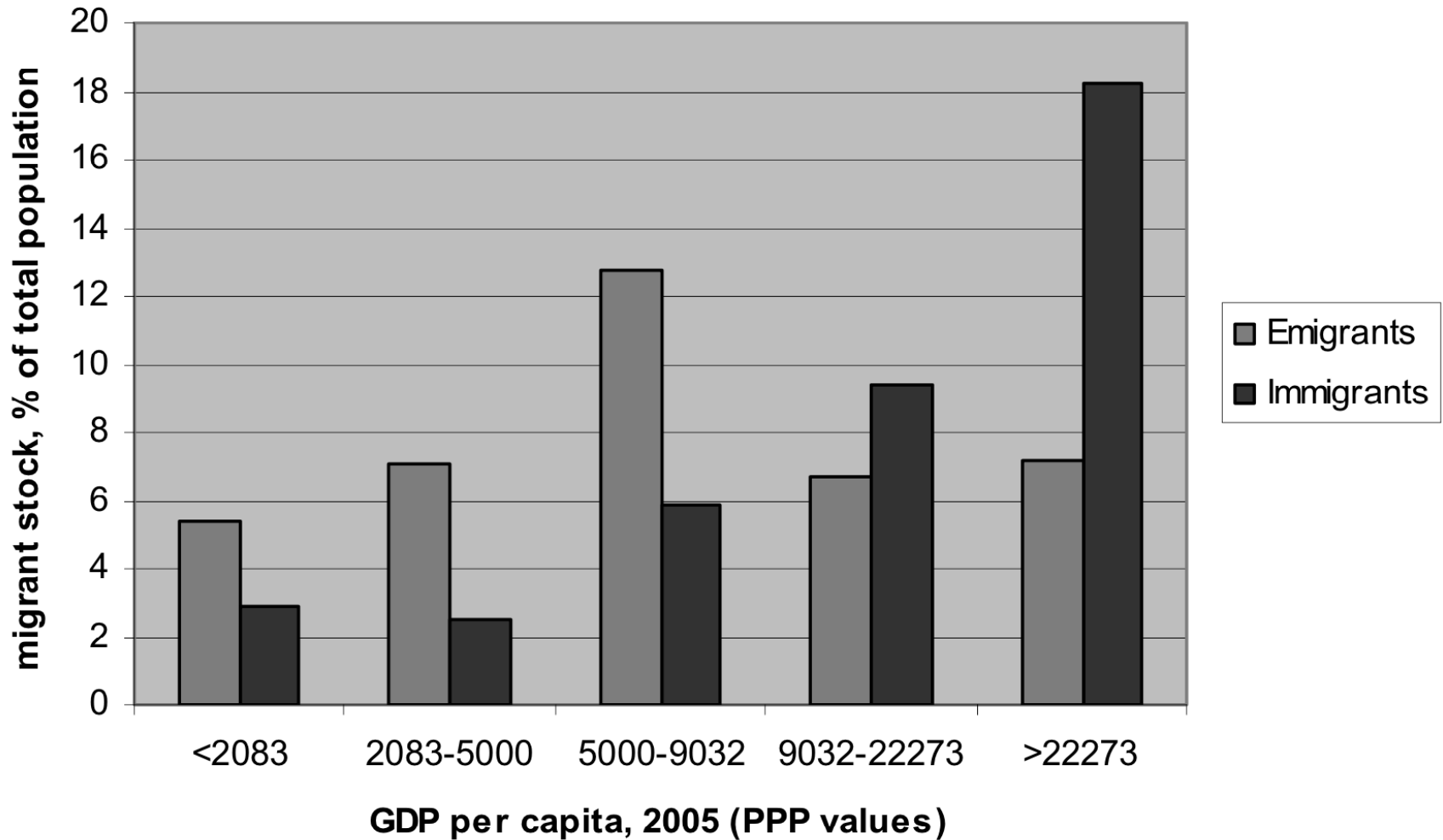
- Development processes tend to coincide with generally increased levels of migration and overall mobility
- As they develop, societies typically go through migration transitions
 - Pattern of initially increasing and subsequently decreasing emigration
 - Gradual transformation from net emigration to net immigration countries



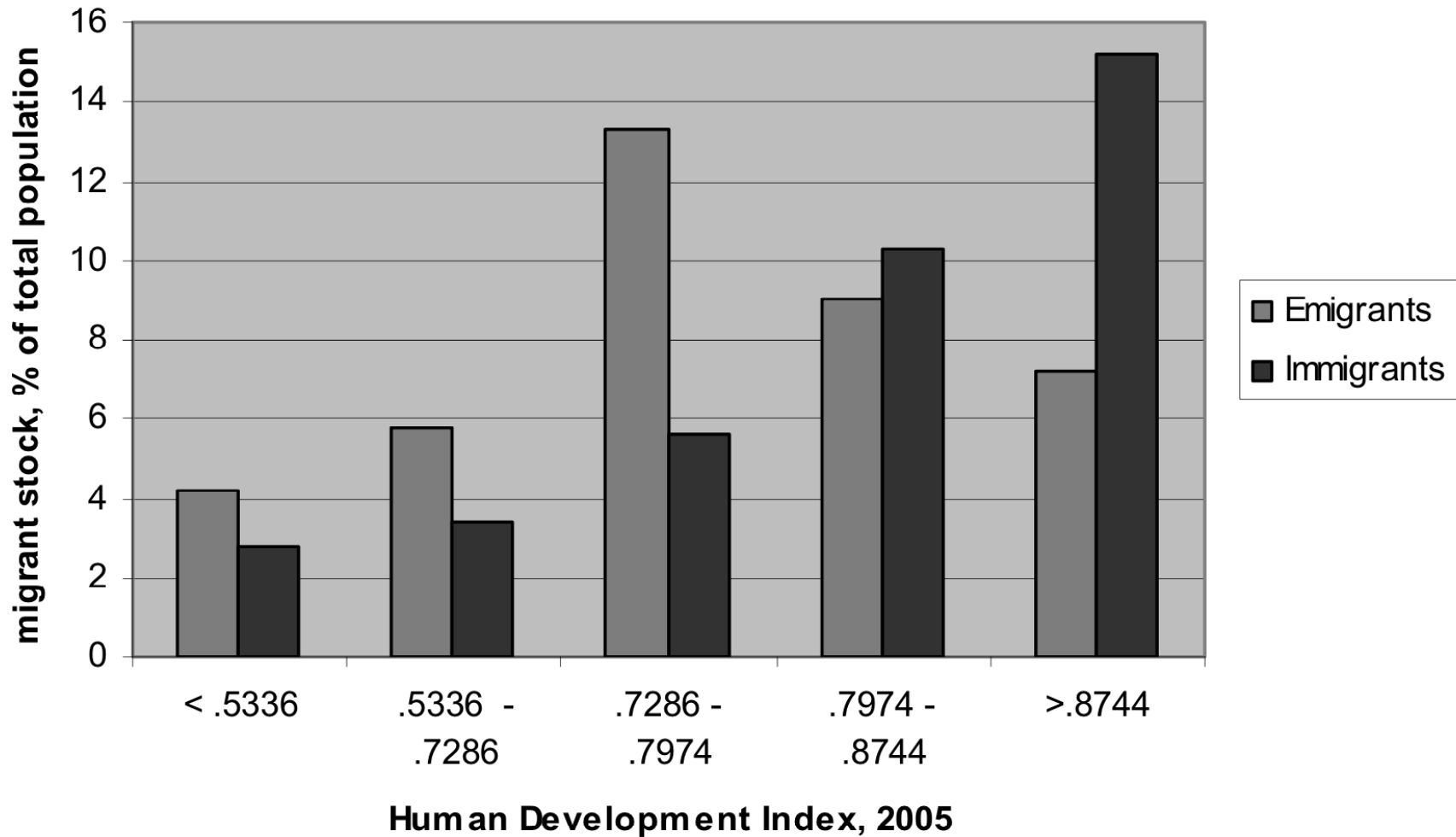
Migration transition theory



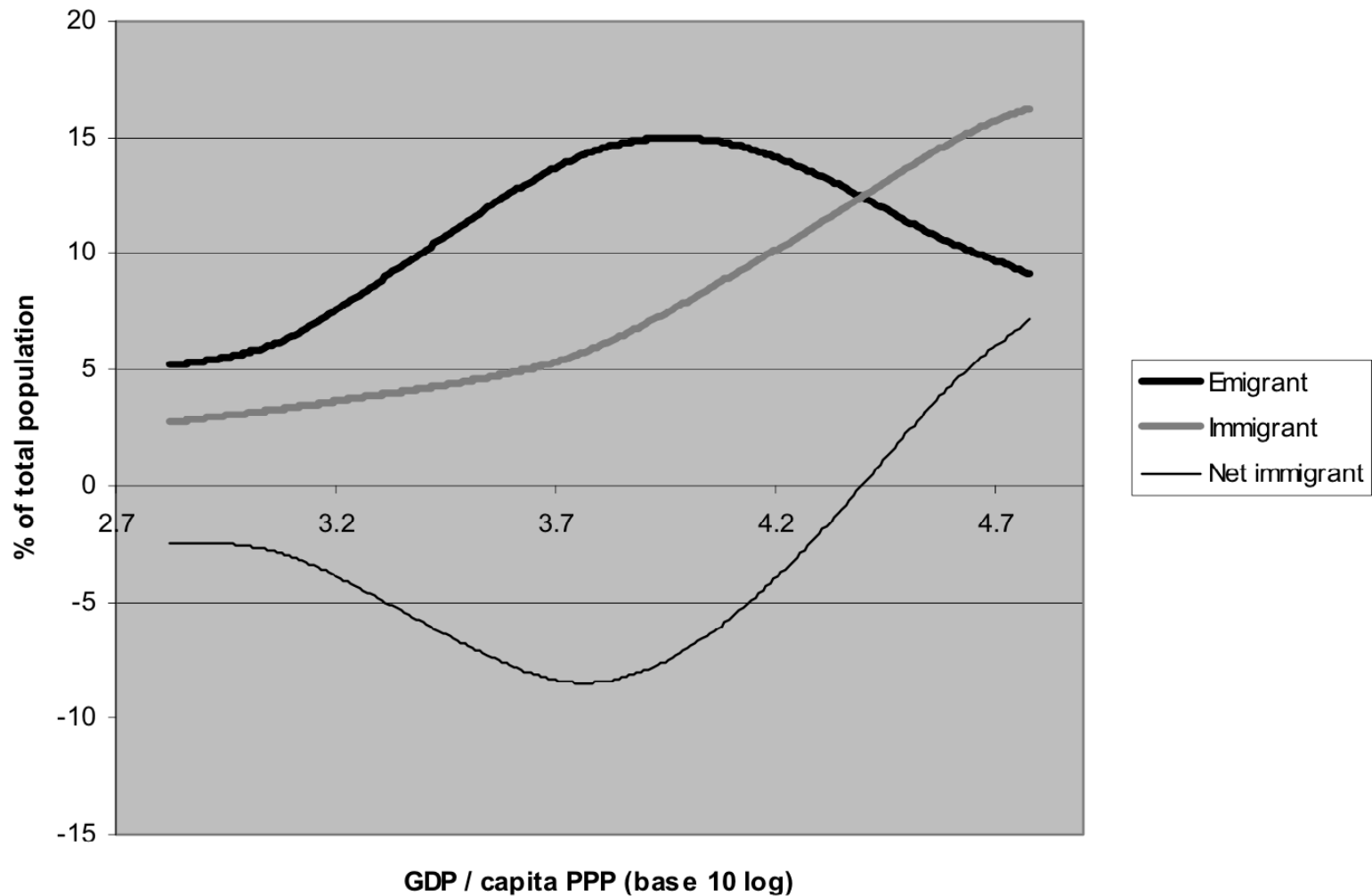
Migrant stock by GDP per capita



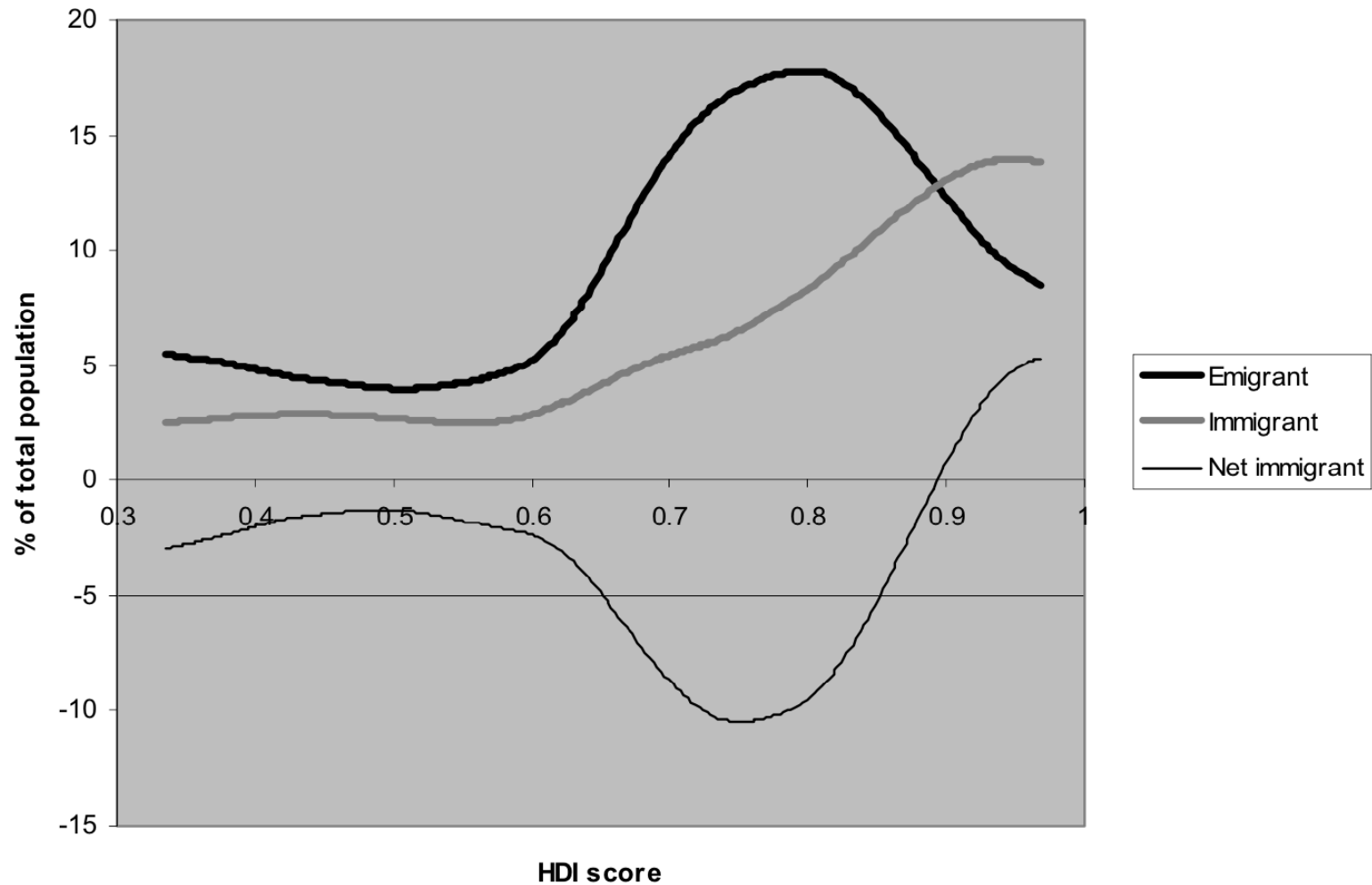
Migrant stock by HDI scores



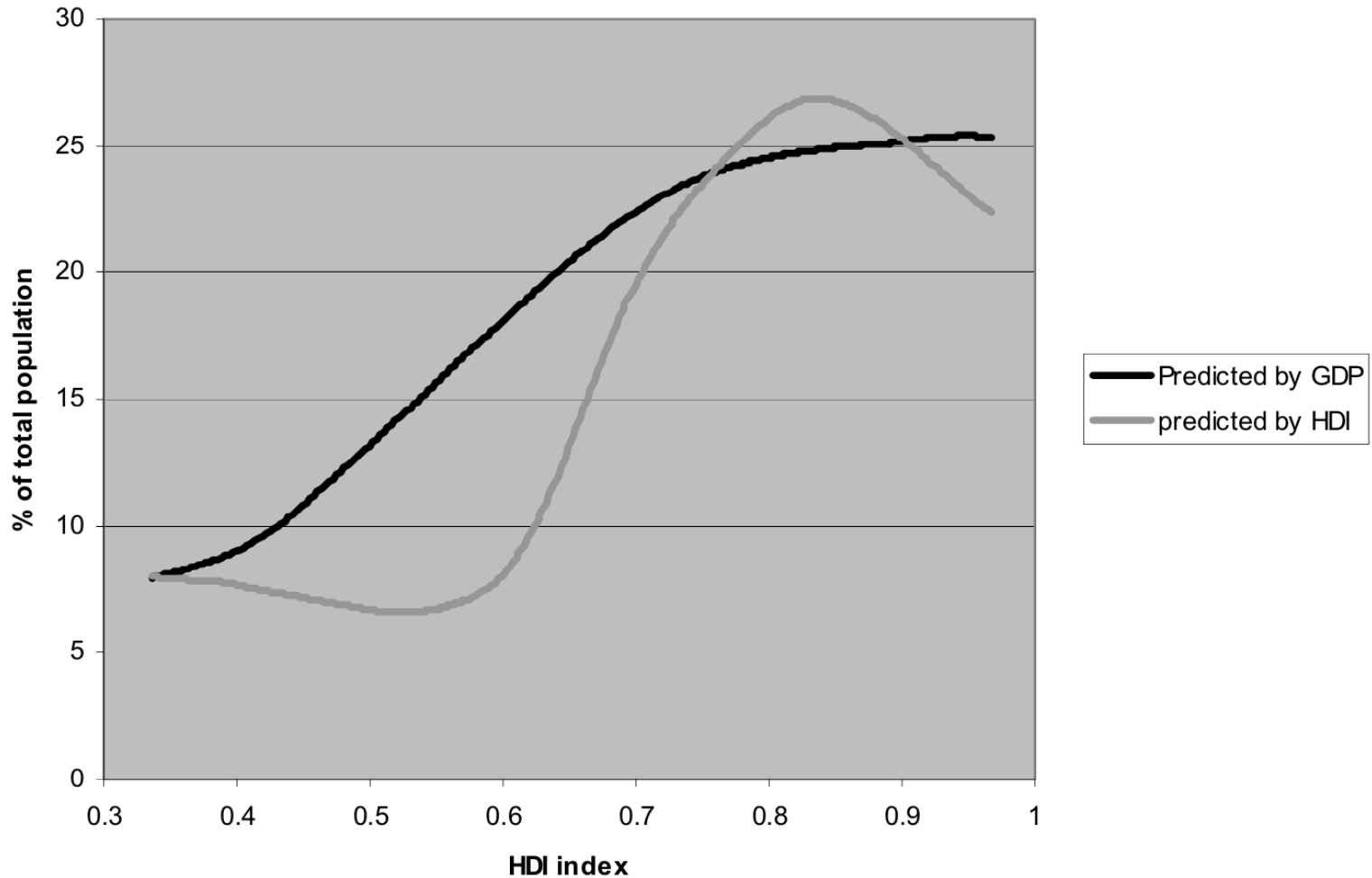
Non-parametric estimates of migration and GDP



Non-parametric estimates of migration and HDI



Non-parametric estimates of total mobility with GDP and HDI



Regression: emigrant stocks

Dependent variable: Emigrant stock in % of origin country population

Independent variables	1	2	3	4	5
	Beta	Beta	Beta	Beta	Beta
(Constant)	62.41***	-85.02	-17.39	-20.05	53.75***
Ln GDP/cap(PPP)	0.61	35.20***	27.24**	30.15***	
Ln GDP/cap(PPP)SQ		-2.02***	-1.77***	-1.93***	
GDP growth (20 years)			0.48	0.49	0.34
HDI					115.50***
HDI Squared					-94.20***
Fertility			-2.15**	-1.40	-2.11**
Literacy			0.03	-0.52*	
Literacy SQ				0.00*	
Ln Population	-2.48***	-2.22***	-3.18***	-2.94***	-3.25***
Ln Land surface	-1.42**	-1.51**	-1.23*	-1.42**	-1.09*
Lack of political rights	-0.52	-0.78	-0.67	-0.70	-0.56
N	195	195	179	179	176
R ² adjusted	0.375	0.407	0.433	0.441	0.417

*** significant at 1 percent, ** significant at 5 percent, * significant at 10 percent.



Regression: immigrant stocks

Dependent variable: Immigrant stock in % of receiving country population

Independent variables	1	2	3	4	5
	Beta	Beta	Beta	Beta	Beta
(Constant)	-20.60**	173.11***	66.45*	76.82**	29.71**
Ln GDP/cap(PPP)	5.90***	-39.54***	-24.14***	-19.36**	
Ln GDP/cap(PPP)SQ		2.65***	1.89***	1.42***	
GDP growth (20 years)			-1.13***	-0.88***	-0.75**
HDI					-93.21***
HDI Squared					92.80***
Fertility			2.32***	1.20	0.71
Literacy			0.04	-0.38*	
Literacy SQ				0.00*	
Ln Population	-1.12	-1.45**	-0.17	0.12	-0.20
Ln Land surface	-1.03*	-0.91*	-0.91*	-1.06**	-0.87**
Lack of political rights	1.90***	2.25***	1.85***	1.20***	1.20***
Petrol state				22.50***	25.04***
N	195	195	179	179	176
Adjusted R ²	0.336	0.407	0.427	0.530	0.498

*** significant at 1 percent, ** significant at 5 percent, * significant at 10 percent.



Regression: net immigrant stocks

Dependent variable: Net migrant stock in % of country population
(emigrant-immigrant stock)

Independent variables	1	2	3	4	5
	Beta	Beta	Beta	Beta	Beta
(Constant)	-83.01***	258.13***	83.84	94.83	-23.41
Ln GDP/cap(PPP)	5.29***	-74.73***	-51.38***	-49.95***	
Ln GDP/cap(PPP)SQ		4.67***	3.66***	3.41***	
GDP growth (20 years)			-1.61***	-1.41***	-1.08**
HDI					-207.53***
HDI Squared					185.04***
Fertility			4.47***	2.87**	2.71**
Literacy			0.01	0.15	
Literacy SQ				0.00	
Ln Population	1.36	0.78	3.00***	3.04***	3.07***
Ln Land surface	0.39	0.60	0.32	0.36	0.21
Lack of political rights	2.42***	3.03***	2.51***	2.00***	1.73***
Petrol state				18.77***	26.32***
N	195	195	179	179	176
Adjusted R ²	0.138	0.258	0.450	0.473	0.421

*** significant at 1 percent, ** significant at 5 percent, * significant at 10 percent.

Regression: total mobility

Dependent variable: Total mobile population in % of country population
(emigrant + immigrant stock)

Independent variables	1	2	3	4	5
	Beta	Beta	Beta	Beta	Beta
(Constant)	41.81***	88.09	40.19	56.22**	57.42***
Ln GDP/cap(PPP)	6.52***	-4.34	5.24***	5.26***	
Ln GDP/cap(PPP)SQ		0.63			
GDP growth (20 years)			-0.68	-0.61	-0.60
HDI					47.10***
Fertility			0.16	1.49	0.56
Literacy			0.07	-0.87**	
Literacy SQ				0.01**	
Ln Population	-3.59***	-3.67***	-3.34***	-2.97***	-3.68***
Ln Land surface	-2.45***	-2.42***	-2.14***	-2.45***	-1.85**
Lack of political rights	1.38**	1.46**	1.16*	1.14*	1.21*
N	195	195	179	179	176
Adjusted R ²	0.492	0.491	0.419	0.434	0.469

*** significant at 1 percent, ** significant at 5 percent, * significant at 10 percent.

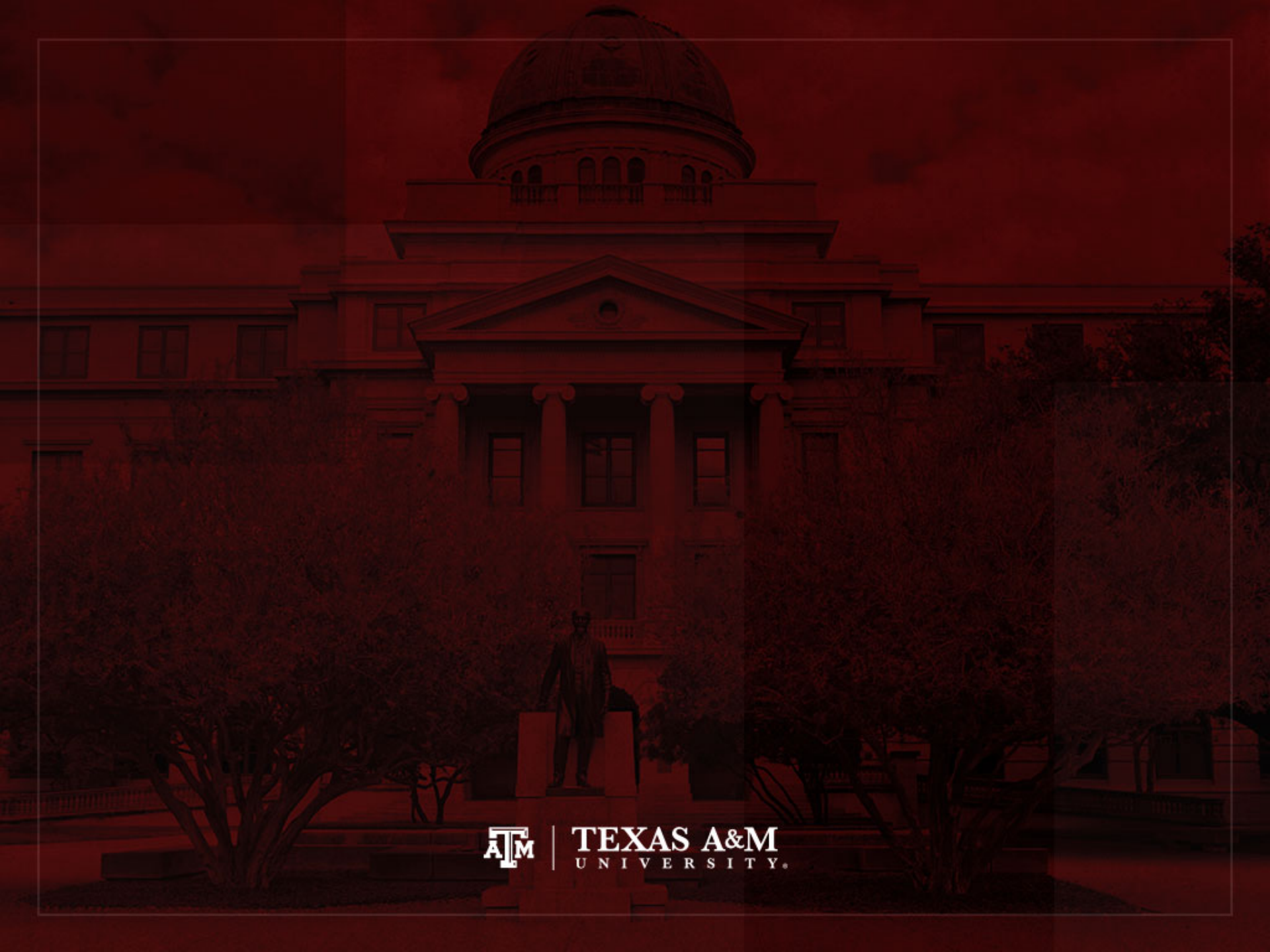


Standardized beta coefficients

Independent variables	Standardized Beta					
	Emigrant stock	Emigrant stock	Immigrant stock	Immigrant stock	Net immigrant stock	Net immigrant stock
Log GDP/cap(PPP)	2.42**		-2.02**		-3.36***	
Log GDP/cap(PPP)SQ	-2.68***		2.56***		3.96***	
GDP growth (20 years)	0.07	0.05	-0.17***	-0.15**	-0.18***	-0.14**
HDI		1.36***		-1.42***		-2.04***
HDI squared		-1.53***		1.93***		2.50***
Fertility	-0.19	-0.28**	0.21	0.12	0.32**	0.30**
Literacy	-0.73		-0.68*		0.17	
Literacy SQ	0.85*		0.80*		-0.19	
Inpop2000	-0.39***	-0.43***	0.02	-0.03	0.33***	0.34***
Inland	-0.23**	-0.18*	-0.22**	-0.18**	0.05	0.03**
Lack of political rights	-0.10	-0.08	0.23***	0.23***	0.25***	0.21***
Petrol state			0.39***	0.44***	0.21***	0.30***
Adjusted R ²	0.441	0.417	0.530	0.498	0.473	0.421

*** significant at 1 percent, ** significant at 5 percent, * significant at 10 percent.





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Aspiration, desire, and drivers of migration

- Collection of articles that seeks to contribute to migration theory by considering concepts of aspiration, desire, and drivers of migration
- Influential developments in migration studies
 - Transnationalism, feminist approaches, emotions, temporalities
- Aspiration and desire in migration theory
- Drivers of migration: replacing causes and determinants as an analytical concept



Table 1. Overview of articles in the special issue.

Author(s)	Title	Empirical foundations or illustrations	Theoretical thrust
Nicholas Van Hear, Oliver Bakewell and Katy Long	Push–pull plus: reconsidering the drivers of migration	Afghan migration to Iran and Pakistan; Somali migration to southern Africa	Generating a framework labelled ‘push–pull plus’ that is founded on the distinction between four types of drivers of migration
Jørgen Carling and Kerilyn Schewel	Revisiting aspiration and ability in international migration	Diverse case studies: global country-level data	Examining extensions and implications of the aspiration/ability model of migration and identifying ‘two-step’ approaches’ as an analytical class in migration theory
Francis Collins	Desire as a theory for migration studies: temporality, assemblage and becoming in the narratives of migrants	Migration from South East Asia to South Korea	Exploiting the analytical potential of ‘desire’ to examine the temporalities, assemblages and transformative potential of migration experience
Marta Bivand Erdal and Ceri Oeppen	Forced to leave? The discursive and analytical significance of describing migration as forced and voluntary	Afghan and Pakistani migration to Europe	Unsettling the forced–voluntary dichotomy through analysing stages of the migration process: leaving, journeying, arriving, settling and returning
Elisabeth Scheibelhofer	Shifting migration aspirations in second modernity	Austrian migrants in the United States	Using the concept of ‘second modernity’ to contextualise the changing meaning and content of aspirations within migratory projects
Peidong Yang	Desiring ‘foreign talent’: lack and Lacan in anti-immigrant sentiments in Singapore	High-skilled immigration to Singapore, especially from China	Drawing on the notion of desire in Lacanian psychoanalysis to examine immigration policy and discourse
Frank Meyer	Navigating aspirations and expectations: adolescents’ considerations of outmigration from rural eastern Germany	Outmigration of adolescents from rural eastern Germany	Locating adolescents’ migratory decision-making between a contested field of expectations and personal attempts of becoming



Concerns of migration theory

- Real-world dynamics of migration encompass several facets with substantial complexity
 - Why people migrate?
 - Where they choose to go?
 - How migration flows increase or disappear?
 - Interplay between agency and structure
 - Models based on rational choice



Fragmented migration studies

- Study of migration remains fragmented and compartmentalized
 - Quantitative vs. qualitative research
 - Different geographical contexts
 - Forms or types of migration
 - Specific theoretical influences
- It is important to consider crosscutting themes related to aspiration, desire, and drivers of migration



Limitation of economic migration

- The notion that individualized rational action is the basis to migration choices has become unquestionable
 - Not challenging the assessment that economic rationality drives migration have perpetuated the foundation of common misunderstandings
- Critical scholars know that economic approach reveals little about migration's complexity
 - Social relations, world imaginations, economic settings, opportunities, political controls



Unrealistic assumptions

- Researchers in economic migration know about their limitations, but don't challenge their ideas
 - De Haas (2011) affirms that economic theories based on individualized rational actions have not been fundamentally challenged
- It is unrealistic to assume that people are
 - Free from constraints
 - Enjoy full access to information
 - Make migration decisions with the aim of maximizing their utility



Scientific and political attempt

- When we assume that individuals are driven solely by rational actions
 - We reproduce stereotypes of migrants as individual and collective subjects
 - We support repressive government approaches to policing movement
- Migration scholarship cannot only be seen as a scientific endeavor
 - It must critically engage with its own place in the politics of mobility



Need to develop migration theory

- We have not established migration theories that go beyond economic rationality and involuntary displacement
- Migration theory needs to account for other complex components
 - Imaginative geographies
 - Emotional behaviors
 - Social relations and obligations
 - Politics and power relations



Migration theory improvements

- Important developments in the study of migration over the last three decades
 1. Transnationalism
 2. Feminist critiques and analyses of gender
 3. Emotions and migration
 4. Timing of migration
 5. Explore infrastructures that support migration



1. Transnationalism

- We need to examine transnational dimensions of migration
 - Transnationalism is a marker of cross-border migration, social, cultural, and economic processes
- Migration cannot be understood as a single linear movement from origin to destination
 - Migrants incorporate themselves to new contexts and maintain connections to homeland
 - Migrant is not an agent located in one place
 - Migrants are situated in social fields that cross borders, shaping migration processes and outcomes



2.1. Feminist critique

- Feminist scholars criticize that migration studies focused on men as primary agents in migration
 - Studies from 1990s started to emphasize gendered dimensions of migration
 - Discussion of how migration is entangled in social, cultural, and power relations
 - More attention is given to subjectivity, identity, aspirations, social norms, expectations



2.2. Feminist critique

- Migrant is not only an autonomous self
 - Migrants are constituted through intersecting and competing forces and processes
 - Migration is negotiated through gendered roles of care and obligation
- These studies established the value of methods to capture migrants' stories about themselves
- Migration is less viewed in a deterministic approach and more understood as immersed in power relations and politics



3.1. Emotions and migration

- Rethinking migration drivers requires renouncing primacy of economic rationality, which had a central place in migration theories
 - Actually, economic studies of migration are socially constructed and relate to subjectivities and feelings
- We need to emphasize that emotions are involved in people's plans to migrate
 - Interactions with people met through migration
 - Attachments to homeland
 - Sense of belonging and feelings in new environments

3.2. Emotions and migration

- Emphasizing emotions is critical to humanizing migration
 - It allows us to better comprehend specificities of different types of migration
- We should investigate the subjectivity and identity of migrants as a continuous process
 - Rather than predetermined by place of origin and mode of arrival



4.1. Timing of migration

- In traditional migration studies, time is often interpreted as linear and compartmentalized
 - Pre-migration, migration, settlement, return
 - Emphasis on what are “normal” temporal practices
 - Codification of standardized patterns of when migration occurs
 - Assumption that individual migrants have complete control over their migration decisions
 - Migrants foresee future trajectories and assemble their present migration strategies accordingly



4.2. Timing of migration

- Traditional use of time does not capture uncertain experiences of time
 - Scholars monitoring individual narratives of migration observe these specificities
- Economic theory views migrant decision as happening at a defined period before departure
 - Migrants gather information and make decisions with objective assessments



4.3. Timing of migration

- New studies present migration in a way that is much more temporally distributed
 - Aspiration is socially situated and future-oriented
 - Migration is viewed as an on-going process
 - Migration is a process of spatio-temporal differentiation rather than a univalent and knowable phenomenon



5. Migration infrastructures

- Migration must address the system of interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors (agents, brokers) that facilitate and shape mobility
 - Need to consider infrastructures (commercial, regulatory, technological, humanitarian, social) that support migration
 - Then, we would understand economic, social, and political drivers of migration
 - We would also capture how these drivers articulate with individual's will and capacity to migrate



Aspiration and desire

- Aspiration and desire are often accepted as shorthand for ‘what migrants want’
- If we consider migration as a question of human subjects’ actual or potential mobility, aspiration and desire are relevant to three types of relations
 - A subject’s relation to migration possibilities
 - A subject’s relation to potential transformations in the context of migration
 - An other’s relation to mobile or potentially mobile subjects



Aspiration and desire

- Migration aspirations
 - A subject's relation to migration possibilities
 - The most established term for describing the conviction that migrating would be better than staying
 - Manifestation of thoughts and feelings about potential migration
- Migration desires, wishes, and preferences
 - Used less consistently and in synonymous ways
 - May be included in “migration aspirations” as a generic term



Social grounding

- Social grounding of aspiration and desire
 - Individual attitudes towards migration are connected to those of the social context
 - An aspiration to migrate implies that it is viewed positively by the migrant and institutions
- Migration aspirations reflect socially sanctioned behavior and social mechanisms of diffusion
 - People observe migratory achievements of peers
 - See migration as a realistic prospect
 - Develop migration aspirations



Potentiality in migration

- Aspiration and desire are part of a semantic field which relates the present (actual) with the future (potential)
 - Migration has been coupled with a range of terms within this field, including hope, risk and waiting
- The terms provide the contours of a thematic sphere in migration research that is not bound together by a unified approach or theoretical foundation



Table 2. Selected terms applied to analysis of potentiality in migration.

Term	Selected references
Aspiration	Carling and Schewel (2018), Meyer (2018), Scheibelhofer (2018)
Desire	Collins (2018), Hindman and Oppenheim (2014), Papadopoulos and Tsianos (2007)
Dream	Cairns et al. (2017)
Expectation	Benson and O'Reilly (2009), De Jong (2000), Meyer (2018)
Hope	Kleist (2016), Kleist and Thorsen (2016), Mar (2005)
Imaginaries	Fortier (2012), Salazar (2014)
Imagining	Koikkalainen and Kyle (2016), Thompson (2016), Vigh (2009)
Intention	De Jong et al. (1986)
Limbo	Brun and Fabos (2015), Richter (2016)
Prospects	Czaika (2015)
Risk	Hernandez-Carretero and Carling (2012), Williams and Baláž (2012)
Stuckness	Khan (2013), Stock (2012)
Uncertainty	Horst and Grabska (2015), Williams and Baláž (2012)
Waiting	Conlon (2011), Kwon (2015), Turner (2015)
Yearning	Bal (2014), Burman (2010)



Drivers of migration

- Aspiration and desire require identifying with actors
- Drivers of migration reflects analysis by an outside observer
 - Ravenstein's laws of migration (1885)
 - Lee's model of migration (1966)
 - Demand for knowledge about the factors that shape migration flows and might be influenced by policy measures



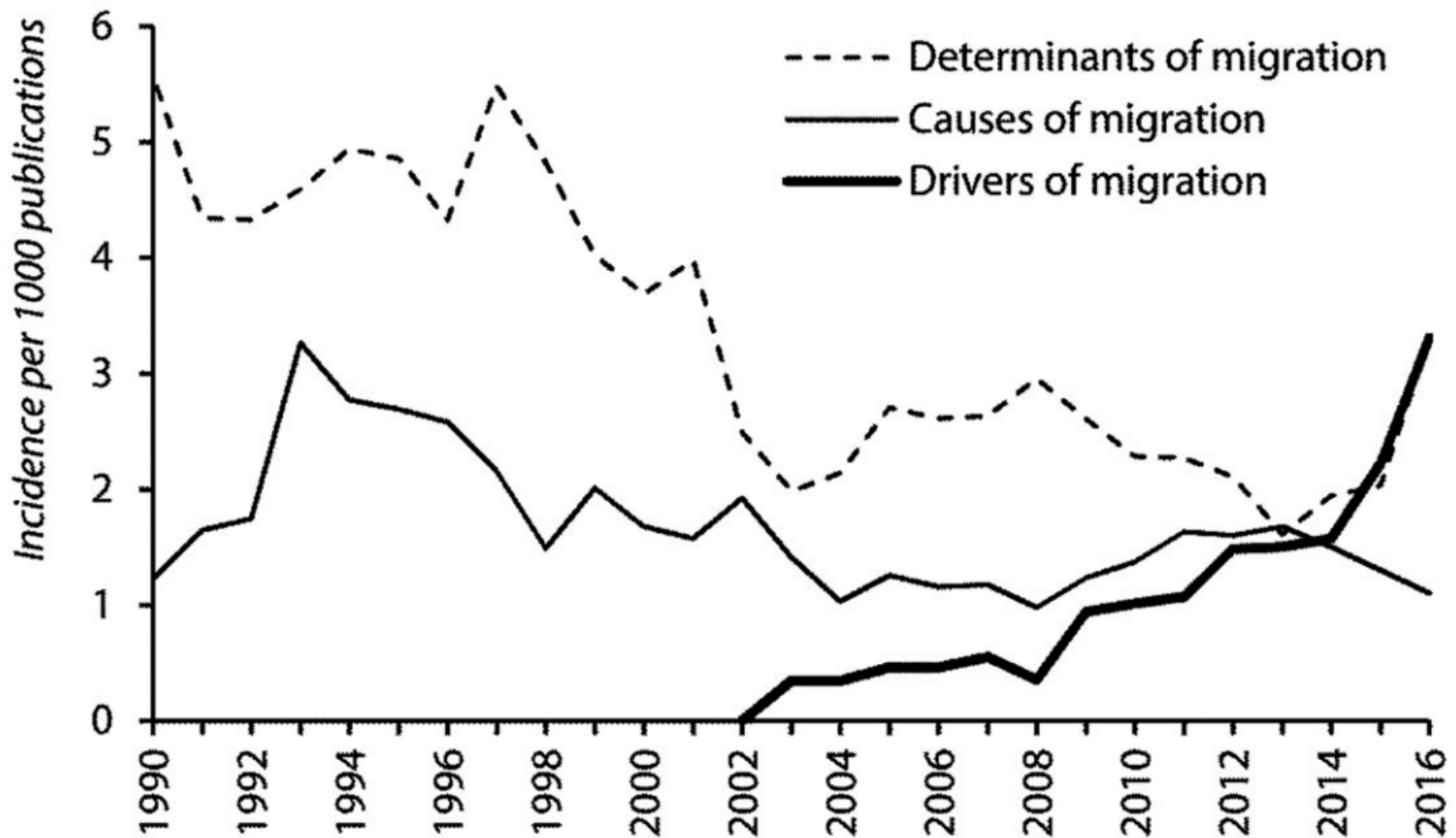


Figure 1. Frequency of selected analytical terms in academic publications on migration. Source: Scopus.

Notes: Numbers refer to publications that use the respective term in their title, abstract or keywords. The denominator is the total number of publications that refer to migration. All numbers are restricted to publications in the social sciences. Graphs are based on sliding averages.

Increase of term “drivers”

- Five drivers of migration: economic, political, demographic, social, and environmental (Black et al. 2011)
 - Emergence of “drivers of migration” has been boosted by the growing interest in environmental influences on migration
 - Given complex interactions, it seemed crude to claim that climate change is a determinant of migration
- Increase in use of the term “drivers” might also be due to concerns about reverse causality
 - Complex dynamics shape migration



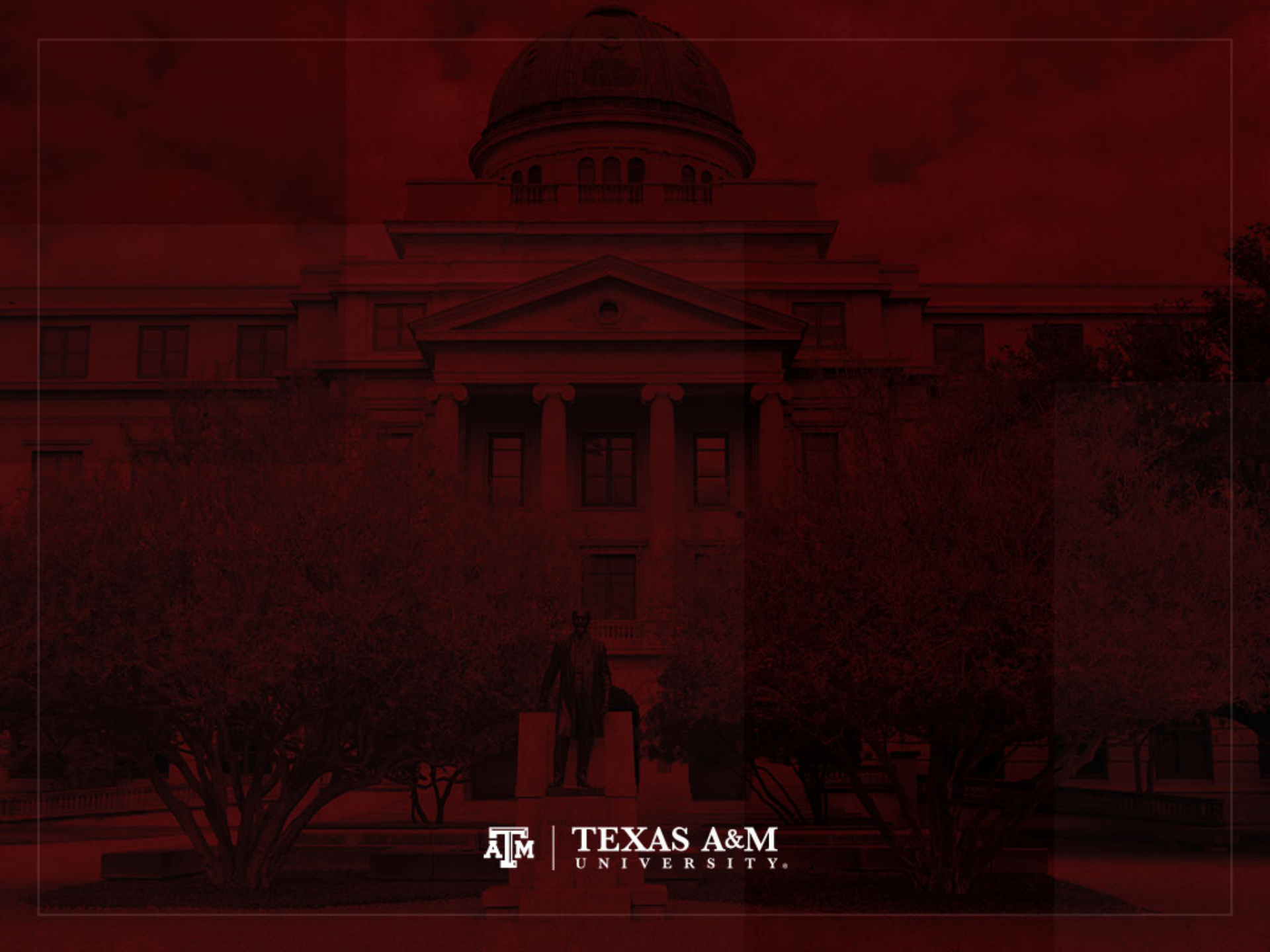
Push-pull plus framework

- Differentiation between predisposing, proximate, precipitating, and mediating drivers (Van Hear, Bakewell, Long 2018)
 - The proposed framework off “push–pull plus” recognizes analytical contributions of previous scholars
- However, other researchers have been invoking push-pull only as a crude counterpart
 - Then, they propose more sophisticated models



Table 1. Comparison of Afghan and Somali case studies.

Driver complex	Afghan Migration to Pakistan and Iran	South-central Somali migration to southern Africa
Outward migration	<p>Political economy of conflict</p> <p>Migration culturally embedded as livelihood strategy, earlier refugee waves (predisposing)</p> <p>Long-running conflict and continuing insecurity (proximate > predisposing)</p> <p>Economic, demographic and environmental stress (proximate > precipitating)</p>	<p>Political economy of conflict</p> <p>Migration culturally embedded as livelihood strategy (predisposing)</p> <p>Long-running conflict and continuing insecurity (proximate > predisposing)</p> <p>Economic, demographic and environmental stress (proximate > precipitating)</p>
Inward migration	<p>Political economy of opportunity</p> <p>Marked income inequality (2× GDP/capita Pakistan, 9× Iran) (predisposing)</p> <p>Structural dependence on cheap labour (predisposing)</p> <p>Cultural ties (including strong Afghan control of some sectors of labour market) (proximate > predisposing)</p> <p>Geographic proximity (precipitating)</p> <p>Socio-economic status (mediating)</p>	<p>Political economy of opportunity</p> <p>Marked income inequality (3× GDP/capita Kenya, 13× RSA) (predisposing)</p> <p>RSA protection of capitalist market economy (predisposing > proximate)</p> <p>Cultural value of trade and entrepreneurship, diaspora networks (proximate > predisposing)</p> <p>Kenyan hostility and policies of encampment/return (proximate > precipitating)</p> <p>Socio-economic status (mediating)</p>
The journey	<p>Socio-economic status (mediating)</p> <p>Infrastructure and presence of roads/taxis networks (mediating)</p> <p>Smuggling networks (proximate > predisposing)</p> <p>Iranian and Pakistani refugee and migration policy (mediating)</p> <p>Smuggling networks (proximate > predisposing)</p>	<p>Socio-economic status (mediating)</p> <p>Kenyan hostility and policies of encampment/return (mediating)</p> <p>Diaspora presence and strength of clan ties (predisposing)</p> <p>Smuggling networks (proximate > predisposing)</p> <p>International refugee and migration policy (mediating)</p>



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Understanding immobility

- By focusing on drivers of migration
 - Migration theories neglect the countervailing structural and personal forces that restrict or resist these drivers and lead to different immobility outcomes
- Immobility may be defined as continuity in an individual's place of residence over a period of time



Differentiating immobility

- Immobility may be distinguished by continuity in a place of residence, relative to spatial and temporal frames
 - Spatial frame designates the boundaries within which an individual may be deemed immobile
 - Temporal frame designates the period of time within which the researcher wishes to assess immobility
 - Immobility can refer to periods of spatial continuity across the life course, life-time staying behavior, or immobility across generations



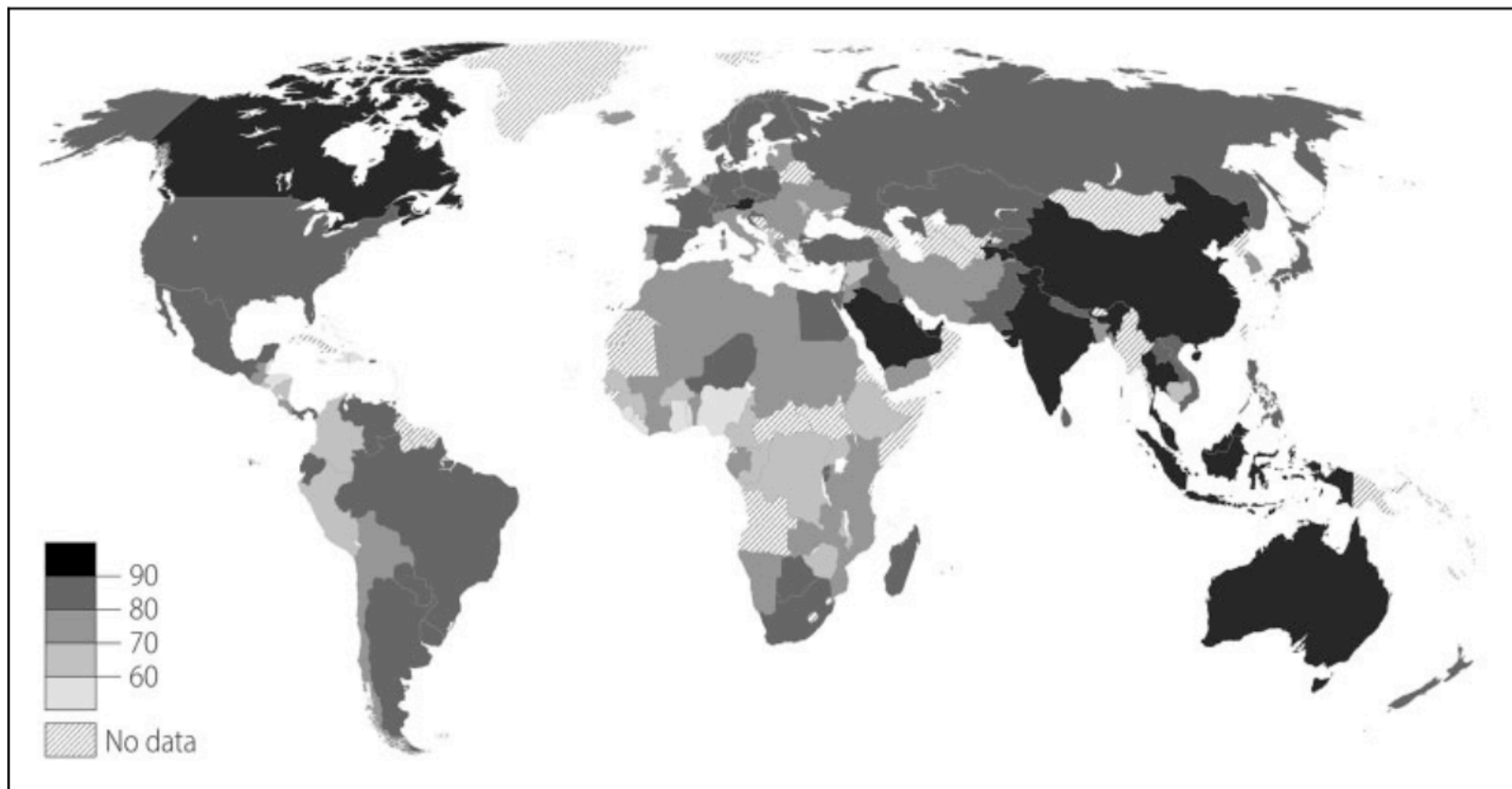


Figure I. Mapping the preference to stay.

Note: The proportion of Gallup World Poll respondents who expressed the preference to stay in response to the question: “Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country, or would you prefer to continue living in this country?”

Source: Based on data reported in OECD (2015) for the period 2007–2013. Map by Jørgen Carling.

Aspiration-capability framework

- The aspiration-capability framework relates to a two-step approach (Carling, Schewel 2018)
 1. Evaluation of migration as a potential course of action
 - Aspiration refers to the conviction that migration is preferable to non-migration
 2. Achievement of actual mobility or immobility at a given moment
 - Capability refers to the freedom and resources people have to fulfill a migration aspiration



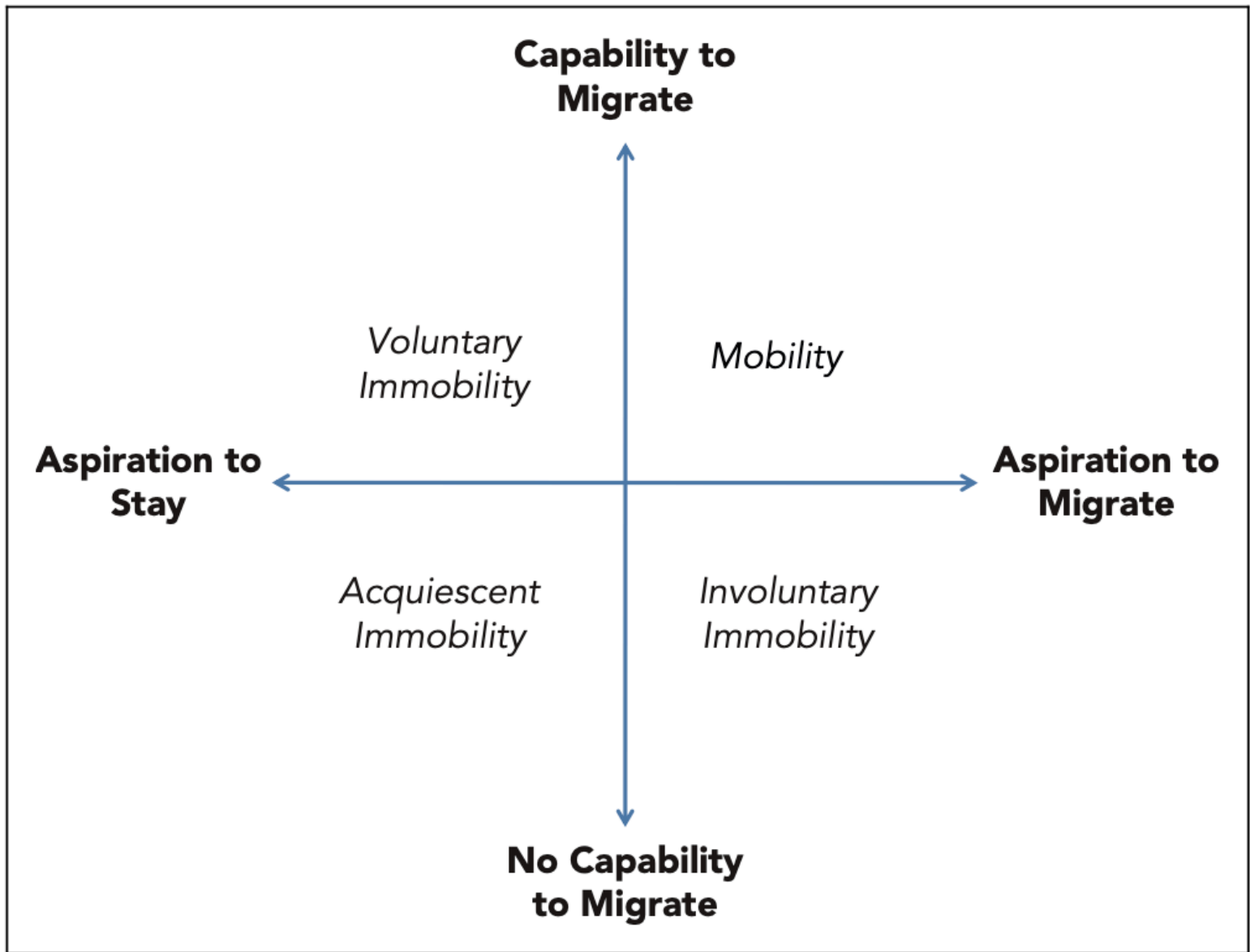


Figure 2. (Im)mobility categories suggested by the aspiration-capability framework.

Variations

- Migration aspirations and capabilities change over time
- They are impacted by development processes
- They can vary by individual characteristics
 - Gender
 - Education
 - Wealth
 - Social networks
 - Social norms



Internal and international

- Growing number of surveys ask about international migration aspirations
- Choice to move within one's country is often a more viable alternative
- Future surveys should examine immobility aspirations relative to both internal and international boundaries



Further research

- Researchers often assume that everyone engages in migration decision-making
 - But not everyone meaningfully considers migration as a part of their imagined futures
- How do we understand immobility when people never really weigh migration costs and benefits?
- Is there a culture of staying, similar to a culture of migrating?
- Is immobility a learned social behavior? Do people learn to stay and to desire to stay?



Development and immobility

- How development processes affect aspirations and capabilities to stay?
- Most research on migration and development focuses on how development shapes aspiration and capability to migrate
- Examining drivers of immobility is an opportunity to understand migration and development processes in a novel way



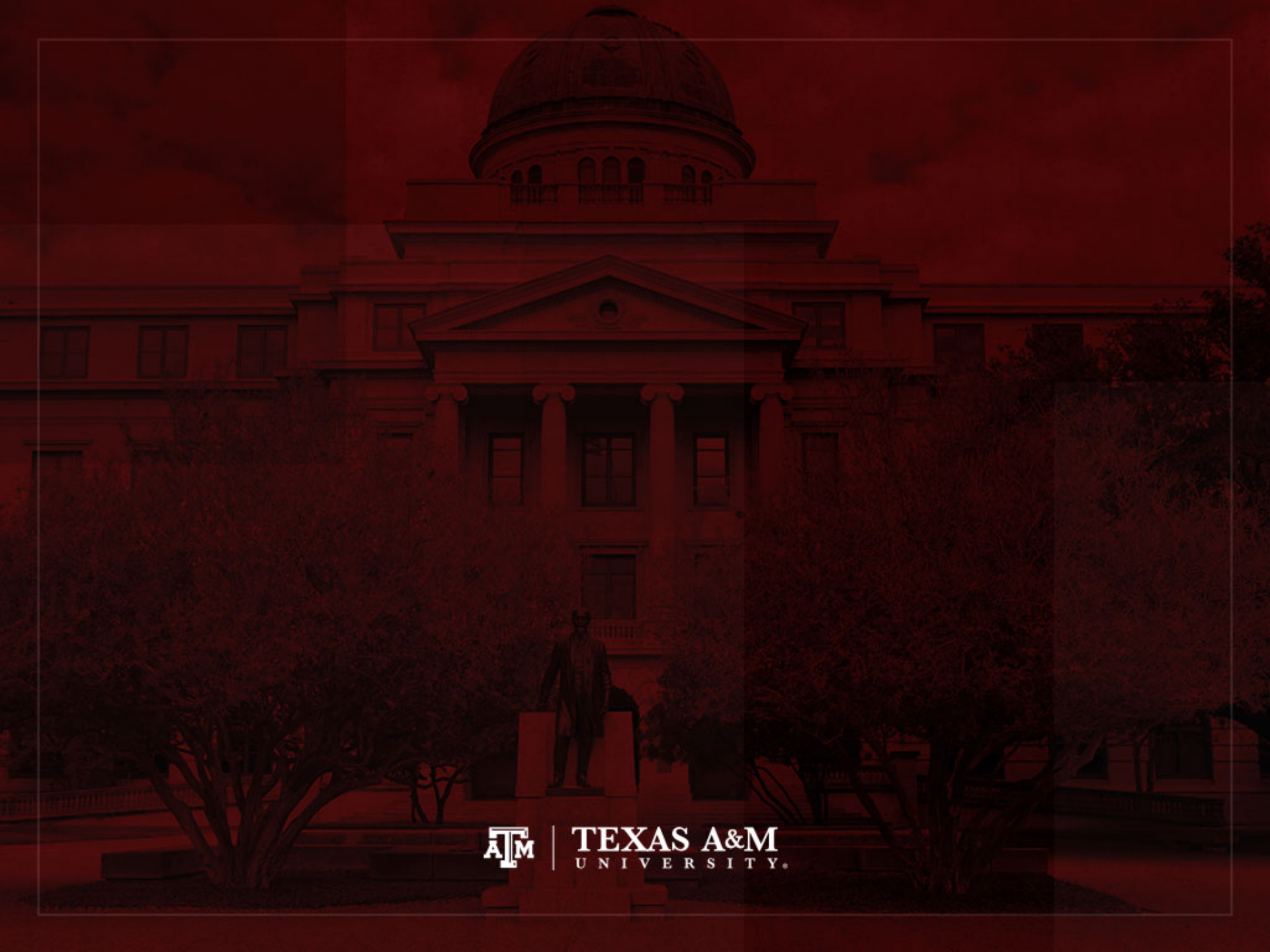
Possible data sources

- Assessing actual immobility behavior is easiest over shorter time frames
 - American Housing Survey
- Alternatives to track long-term immobility
 - Longitudinal data, such as Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID)
 - Population registration data, such as the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) county-to-county migration (Hauer, Byars 2019)
 - Life-history surveys



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