



INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND MIGRATION THEORIES

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ABSTRACT

There is growing intellectual interest in issues associated with international migration. The literature on migration is continuously growing due to this trend. However, theorization of migration is not strong when compared to other branches of international transactions. This may be due to the complexity and diversity of the area covered by international migration. The paper mainly focuses on theoretical perspectives of international migration. In line with that, an overview of international migration is provided at the beginning. It is followed by types of international migration and migration theories. Prominence is given to theoretical perspectives of international migration and the classification of migration theories. In addition, shortcomings of migration theories are examined.

Key words: International Migration, Types of Migration, Classification of Migration Theories, International Migration Theories

INTRODUCTION

International migration as a practice has a long history with some turning points. Disintegration of the middle age societies and accompanied changes such as renaissance,

commercial revolution, colonization, agricultural revolutions, industrial revolution, emergence of free market societies, modern education, and technological advancement are some prominent factors which have contributed to the growth of international migration. In the recent past, globalization has further enhanced migration, mainly through revolutionary changes in information technology. Economic blocks like the

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European Union have opened the gates of international migration in their member countries. The initial financial cost of migration has been drastically reduced due to low transport costs, cheap accommodation facilities, online travel arrangements, and availability of reliable destinations with low cost insurance packages. Similarly, international conventions on migrants, peaceful environment in many parts of the world, encouragement of skilled and professional labour migration, and modern low cost communication facilities have become major incentives for international migration. Natural disasters and man-made disasters such as wars, conflicts and deteriorating political environments at present further contribute towards migration. The free movement of labour among countries in some parts of the world has been facilitated by the signing of bilateral and multilateral treaties (Rosen 2007). As a result of the above factors, international migration has become a popular practice throughout the world today. Along with the rising trend in international migration, intellectual interest on international migration is also growing (Chan 2012; De Haas 2010b; Faist & Fauser 2011; Skeldon 2010; Sutherland 2013). Moreover, the economic implications of international migration are widely discussed at present (Barrell FitzGerald & Riley 2010; Kerr & Kerr 2011). Adverse economic implications like Dutch disease¹ have been discussed (Beine, Coulombe & Vermeulen 2015; Chowdhury & Rabbi 2014; Edsel Jr 2010), and the association between international migration and workers' remittances analyzed (Arrehag, Sjöberg & Sjöblom 2015; Bredl 2011; Dustmann & Mestres 2010; Mamun & Nath 2010; Plaza, Navarrete & Ratha 2011; Quisumbing & McNiven 2010). Labour market implications of international migration have also been examined (Brücker & Jahn 2011; Castles 2011; Docquier, Ozden & Peri 2014; Fleischmann & Dronkers 2010). The

brain drain aspect of international migration has been highlighted from the perspective of developing countries (Agrawal, Kapur, McHale & Oettl 2011; Dustmann, Fadlon & Weiss 2011; Korale 2004; Stolz & Baten 2012).

However, there is no single theory which covers all the aspects of international migration. The focus of international migration has been influenced by a number of disciplines such as Economics, Sociology, Geography, Commerce, Management, Law, Political Science, Demography, and Psychology, rendering the theorizing of international migration a complex task. In this regard, Massey et al. (1993) state that international migration is associated with incoherent and disjointed theories, and there is no comprehensible theory related to it. However, these fragmented theories play an important role in directing this study to analyze relationships between various correlated variables in relation to international migration.

The main objective of this study is to examine international migration and migration theories. Accordingly, the paper is organized under five major sections. Section one provides an overview of international migration. Section two discusses different types of international migration. International migration theories are elaborated in section three, along with the classification and analysis of them. Section four examines major shortcomings of migration theories, while section five provides some concluding remarks.

The required information for the paper has been collected from secondary sources. Accordingly, articles, book chapters, text books, dictionaries, annual reports, and manuscripts have mainly been used. There are two main domains in migration literature, which are internal and external migration. The former focuses on intra-migration, and the latter deals with inter-migration. This

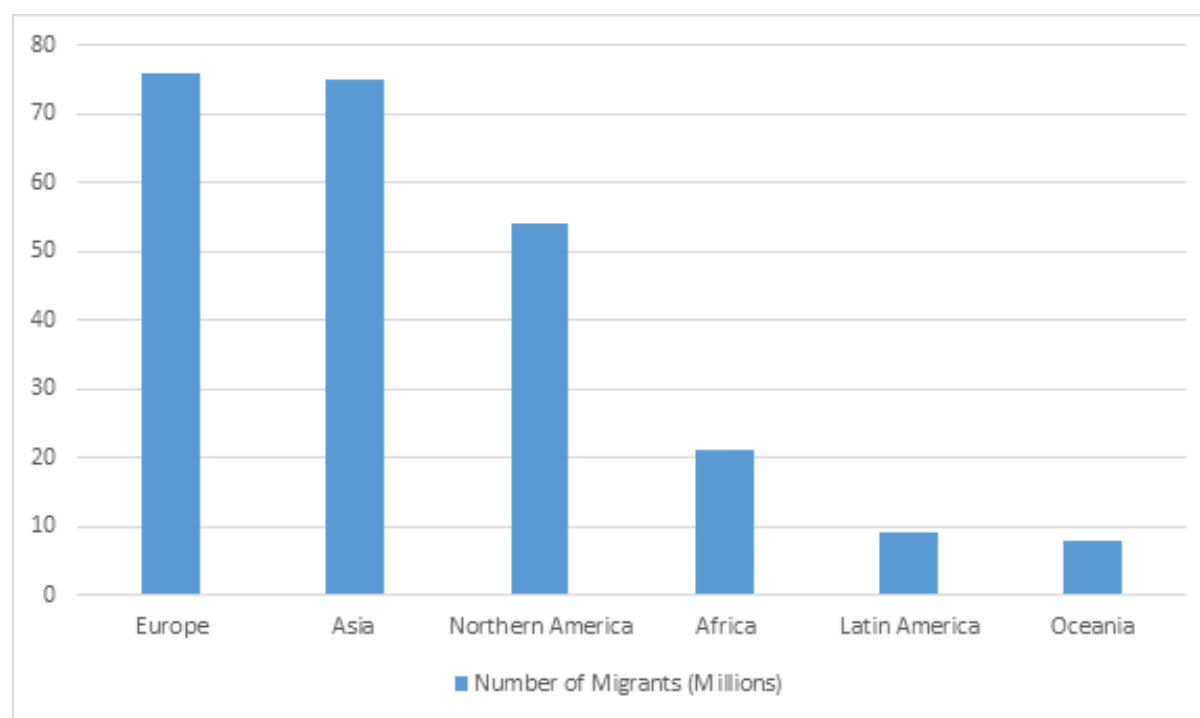
paper specifically emphasizes on the inter-migration aspect of the literature.

OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Moving people from place to place for living or working purposes is referred to as migration (Huzdik, 2014, UN 2016b). As per the UN (2016a), international migration at present has become a global phenomenon where its complexity and impacts are largely felt. When analyzed from the development perspective of a country, international migration has both its advantages and disadvantages. It is argued that migration is a positive force for development since it facilitates development for the receiving country, as the country is able to obtain the required knowledge, expertise and services of skilled and unskilled labour. However, the receiving country may also suffer due to unwelcome migrants moving into the country as refugees. On the other hand, the sending country may suffer from brain drain due to the heavy outflow of skilled labour, despite the receipt of remittances.

Economic and political factors, family reunification and natural disasters sometimes cause migration to happen. In relation to the present global setup, it can be observed that internal and external conflicts of sovereign states compel people to leave such countries. The best example would be the moving of people from Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria due to civil wars. On the other hand, poverty and lack of decent jobs have become reasons for leaving countries, which is considered as economic migration. This is often seen in inter-country migration, especially in migration from developing countries to developed countries. There is a global tendency for people of developing countries to move to developed countries in search of more comfortable lives. Further, more travel options and a speedier flow of information have made migration easier to happen around the world. Migration therefore has emerged as a major demographic force throughout the world in the past few decades, especially with globalization.

Figure 1: Number of International Migrants by Major Areas of Destination – 2015

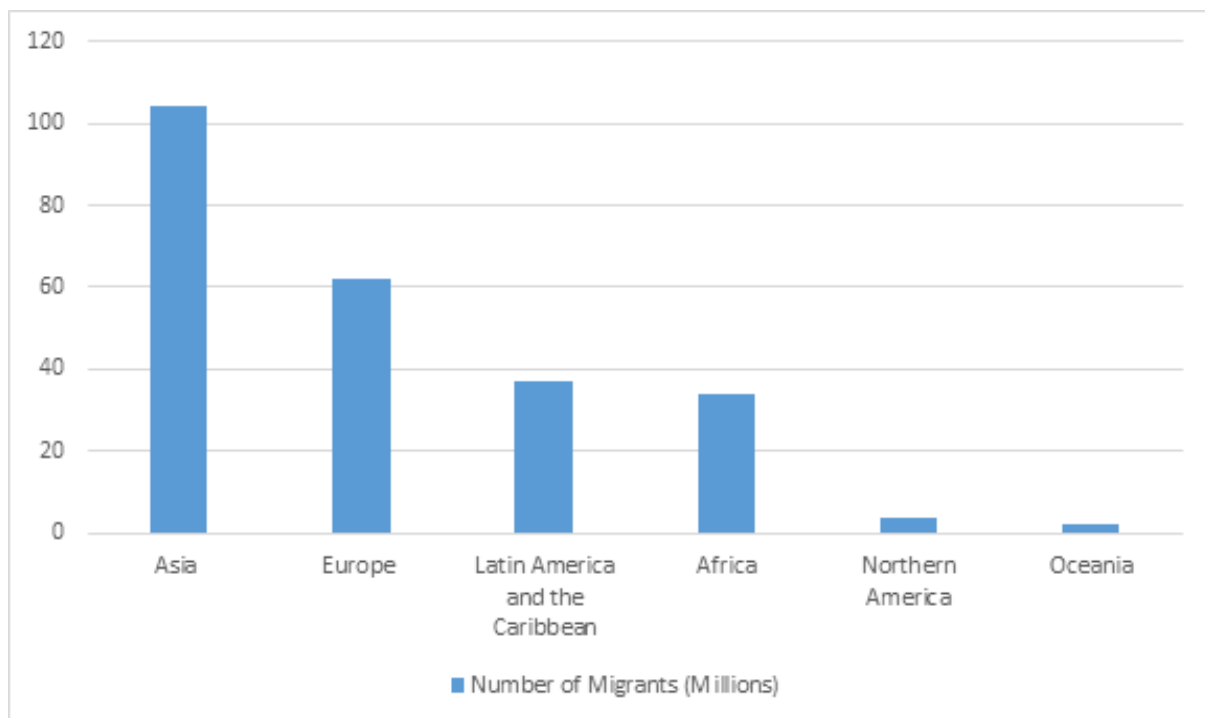


Source: UN (2016b)

It was estimated in 2015 that the total number of migrants in the world is 244 million which is 3.3 per cent of the total world population (UN, 2016b). Europe, East and West Asia stood on top as the most popular migrant destinations. In 2015, the total migrant population in Europe was estimated at 76 million and in Asia, it was 75 million (Figure 1). The United States of America hosted international migrants totaling 47 million, which was the largest number hosted by an individual country. Northern America became the country hosting the third largest number of international migrants, which amounted to 54 million (UN, 2016b).

When examining the countries of origin of international migrants, it may be observed that Asia accounted for the highest number amounting to 104 million (Figure 2), which was 43 per cent of the total international migrant population in 2015. Europe was in the second place having 62 million migrant origins, while Latin America and Caribbean were in the third place having 37 million migrant origins in 2015. India accounted for the largest diaspora² in the world amounting to 16 million, and Mexico accounted for 12 million of migrant origins (UN, 2016b).

Figure 2: Number of International Migrants by Major Area of Origin – 2015



Source: UN (2016b)

TYPES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

International migration is split into different categories based on the factors influencing migration. This section tries to briefly explain the types of international migration identified by different contributors to the literature.

In the study of Jennissen (2004), four main types of migration are identified, namely: 1) Labour migration; 2) Return migration; 3) Chain migration; and 4) Asylum migration. Labour migration is defined as cross-border movement for employment in another country. It involves high-skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled migrants. If international migrants

intend to return to their country of citizenship after living as international migrants in a foreign country, and stay in their own country for at least a year, they are called as return migrants. Individuals who are moving from one country to another for family re-unification and family formation are considered as chain migrants. Asylum seekers who visit a foreign country seeking refugee status are considered as asylum migrants.

Bell, Alves, de Oliveira and Zuin (2010) identify three main types of international migration, namely: 1) Labour migration; 2) Forced migration; and 3) International retirement migration. Labour migration involves the migration of high-skilled, unskilled low wage, and temporary labour. Forced migration includes refugees and asylum seekers who cross borders due to conflicts and political uncertainties, and the displaced who have lost their settlements due to natural disasters and construction projects (Bell et al., 2010; Castles, 2003). International retirement migration is when the retired purchase property abroad for their residence (Bell et al., 2010).

The other common categorization in the literature is Forced and Voluntary migration (Hugo, 2008; Koppenberg, 2012; Zetter, 2015). People who move from one country to another as asylum seekers, refugees and internally displaced persons are considered as forced migrants, while others who move for different purposes, including those who supply labour are considered as voluntary migrants. The former group has no other option than migrating to a different country due to the struggles they face in their home country, but the latter voluntarily migrate in search of personal gains.

In addition to the above, different terms are used to identify different types of migration. The most popular term is economic migration. It is defined as the decision to move from one country to another in order to improve one's

living standard through better paid jobs and better facilities. This is very much similar to the concept of traditional labour migration. In economic migration, priority is given to economic benefits. The other term found in the literature is political migrants, who are the people moving from one country to another due to civil wars and political discrimination in their home countries. At present, environmental migration has also become a popular term in the migration literature (Laczko & Aghazarm, 2009). Environmental migrants are the ones who move out from their home country due to environmental conditions like desertification, rise in sea levels, and droughts. In view of the above, it may be observed that types of international migration are continuously changing over time. The reason is that researchers identify new categories of migration based on emerging push and pull factors. Therefore, it appears that migration is a subject which continuously changes along with changing socioeconomic and geopolitical conditions.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION THEORIES

There are a number of theories in the literature related to international migration. Therefore, researchers tend to classify migration theories according to various factors such as the origin of such theories, migration patterns, relevant disciplines, and application of such theories in the present context. This section examines such classifications, along with the nature of individual theories applicable to international migration.

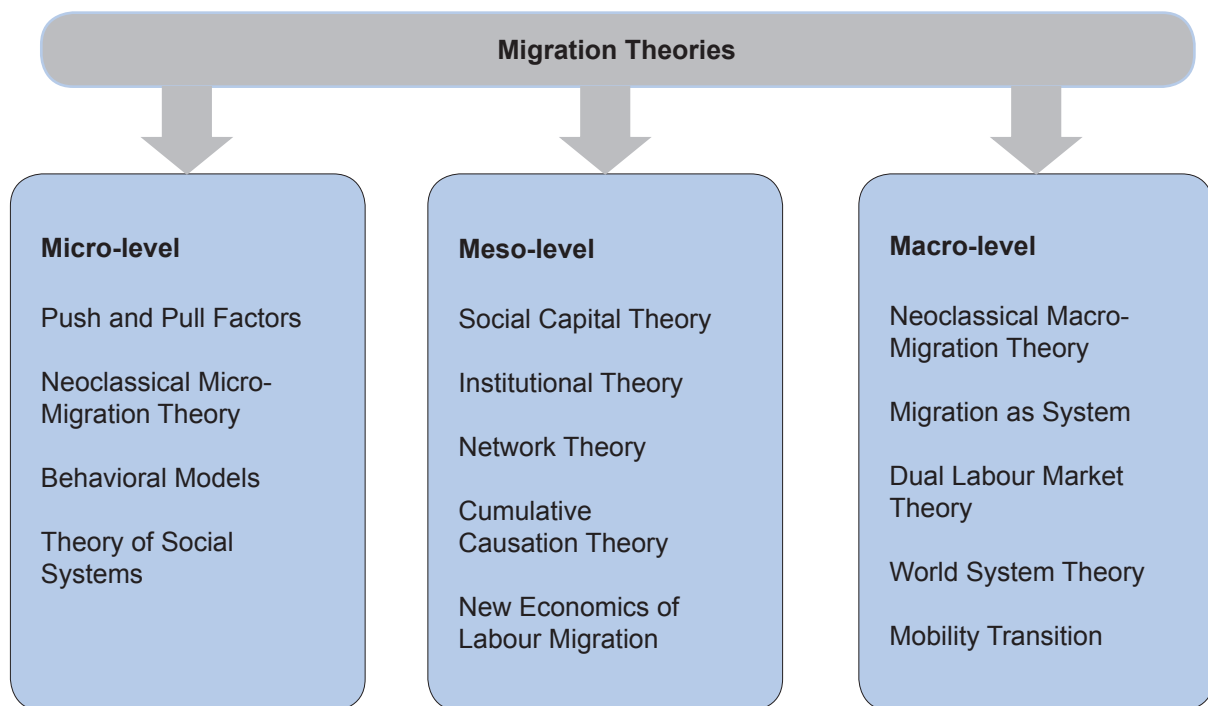
Classification of Migration Theories

Migration theories are classified based on different perspectives as mentioned above. Many contributors to the literature have made attempts to classify the theories under different headings, which are briefly discussed in this section.

Hammar, Brochmann, Tamas and Faist (1997) attempt to classify theories by using levels of migration. As per Hammar et al. (1997) and Faist and Faist (2000), migration theories are divided into three main categories as micro-level, macro-level and meso-level of migration (Figure 3). Micro-level theories consider migration decisions from an individual's perspective,

i.e. a person's desires and expectations. Macro-level theories consider migration decisions from an aggregate point of view, i.e. the economic structure of the country. Meso-level is where migration decisions lie in between the two former theories, i.e. family bonds, social networks, peer groups and isolated minority communities.

Figure 3: Migration Theories: Level Based Analysis



Source: Faist & Faist, 2000; Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Hammar et al., 1997

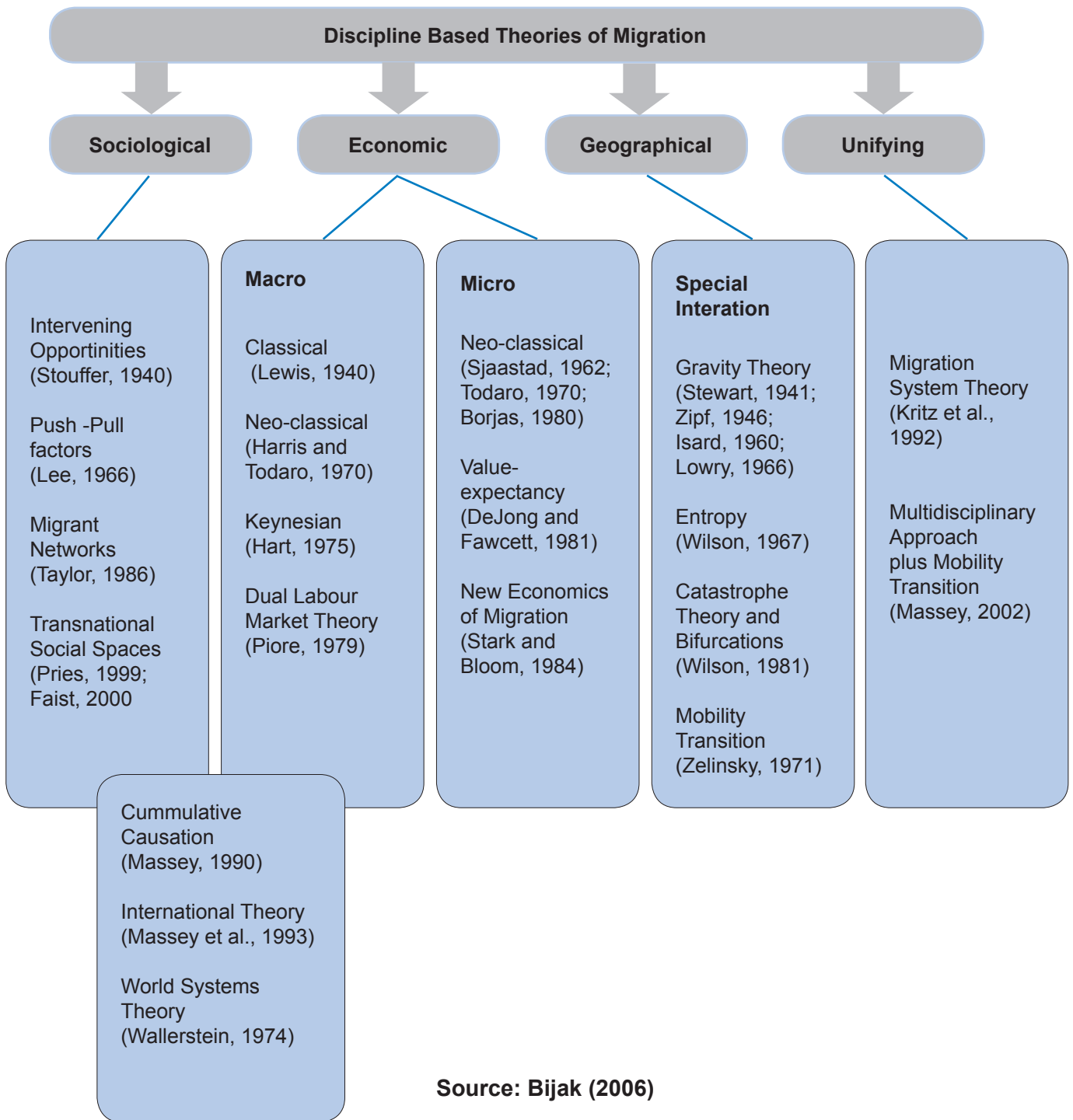
Researches related to migration have been conducted by the academia in various disciplines such as Economics, Sociology, Geography, and Demography with the aim of theorizing the causes and effects of migration (Prakash, 2009). Accordingly, several migration theories have been developed with special focus on economic, sociological, cultural, and geographical factors. Figure 4 provides the structure and sources of such migration theories found in the literature.

Hagen-Zanker (2008) has categorized migration theories into two sub-divisions as

'initiation of migration' and 'perpetuation of migration', in relation to theories analyzed by Massey et al. (1993) (Figure 5). Theories related to the first type are based on causes of migration while the second type is based on the continuity or universality of migration.

Kurekova (2011) follows a similar approach. By analyzing previous migration studies of eminent researchers such as Massey et al. (1993) and Arango (2000), Kurekova classifies migration theories into two divisions, namely, 'determinants of migration' and 'perpetuation of migration'. In short, this classification is

Figure 4: Theories of Migration: Discipline Based Analysis



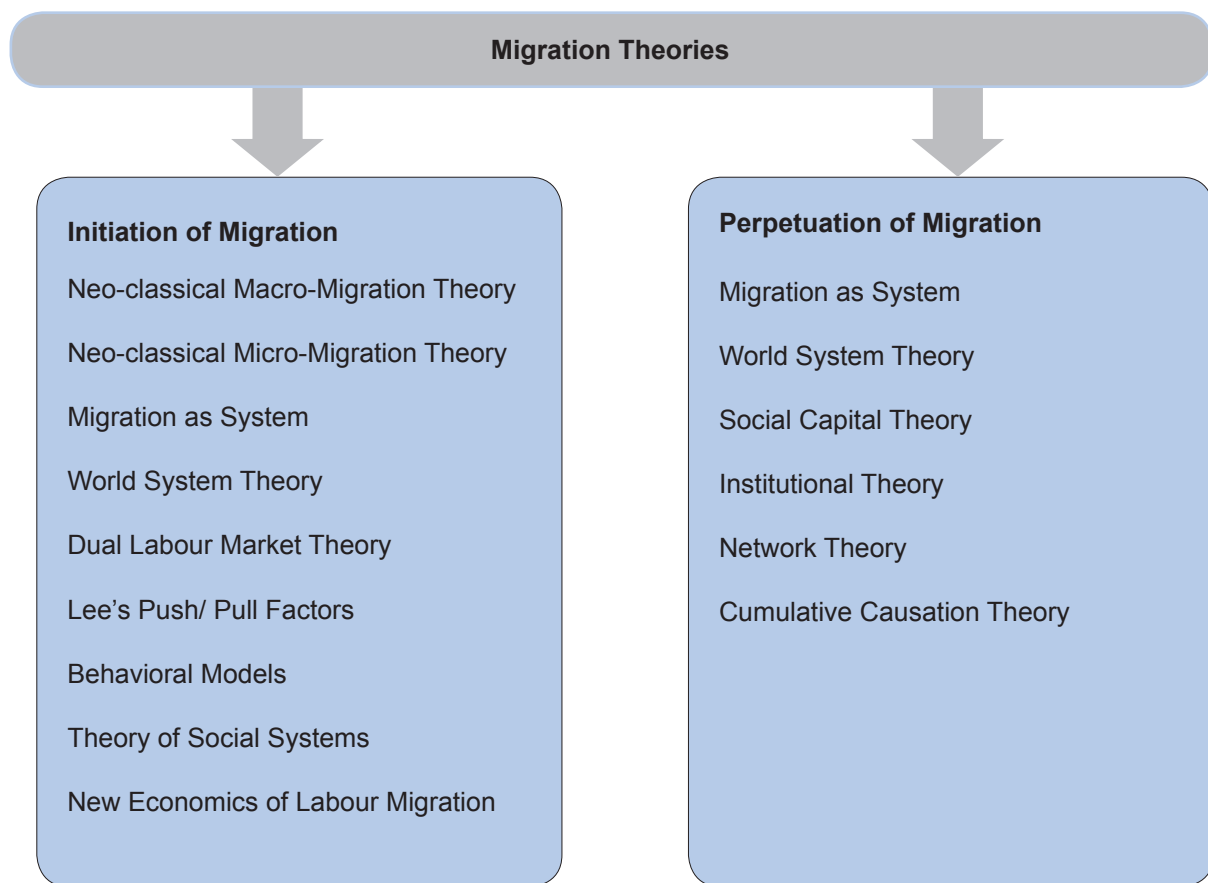
Source: Bijak (2006)

based on the subject of analysis. Theories such as Neo-classical Theory, Human Capital Theory, New Economics Theory, World System Theory and Dual Labour Market theory are categorized under determinants of migration, while Network Theory, Migration System Theory and Transnational Migration

are considered under perpetuation of migration.

Huzdik (2014) pays special attention to theories which explain the migration process in the 21st century. He divides such theories into four categories namely, 1) Behaviorist and Equilibrium Tradition, 2) Historical Structural

Figure 5: Theories of Migration: Initiation and Perpetuation

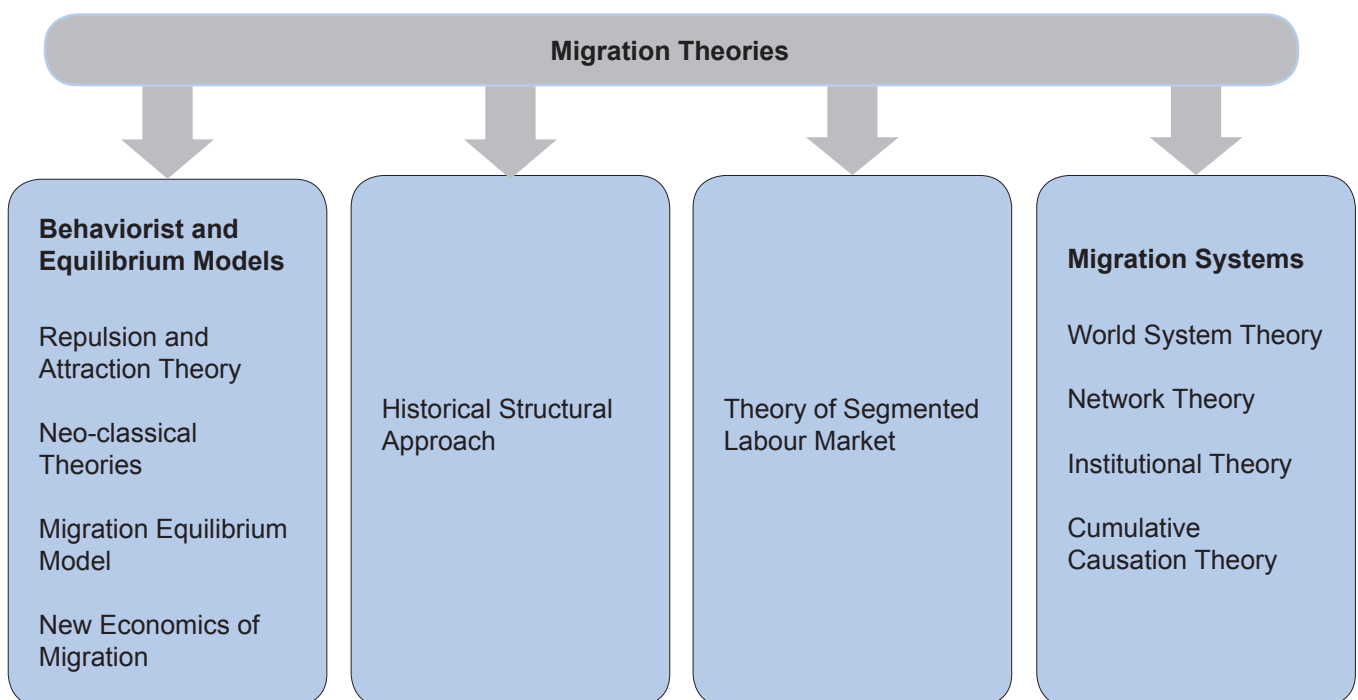


Source: Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Massey et al., 1993

Approach, 3) Theory of Segmented Labour Market and 4) Migration Systems (Figure 6). These are driven by factors such as wage differences, labour market imbalances, regional differences in the demand and supply of labour, economic culture, past trends, development of institutions to assist migration, economic globalization, and individual factors.

As evidenced from Figures 3-6, the authors have divided the same set of theories into different categories based on their level of analysis, their disciplines and relevant factors under consideration (i.e. economic, sociological, cultural, geographical and unifying), and initiation, perpetuation and application of the theories.

It has to be noted that various models developed by the above contributors to the literature reflect different research objectives, focuses, interests, decomposition of analysis, assumptions and hypotheses. The end results therefore are generally unconnected theories, models or frameworks which are developed largely in isolation of each other (De Haas, 2010b; Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, it requires a sophisticated theory on migration which incorporates these various perspectives to build a single comprehensive, over-arching theory on migration. However, Arango (2000) argues that a general theory that rests on a sound conceptual framework, backed by empirical evidence is yet to come into existence.

Figure 5: Theories explaining migration in the 21st century

Source: Huzdik (2014)

The next section of the paper analyzes some of the theories popularly used in migration literature.

Analysis of Migration Theories

Migration theories are useful as they provide theoretical guidance to understand the movement of people in a wider perspective. This may be related to economic, social, legal, political, cultural, ethnic or other phenomena. Theories on international migration provide scientific knowledge on international migration, and bring to light systematic and specific regularities related to migration and the relationships between them. Therefore, it is deemed useful to briefly analyze popular theories on international migration under which the above mentioned theories can be subsumed.

Neo-classical Theory

The oldest and best known theory of international migration is Neo-classical

Theory. It explains the impact of labour migration on economic development (Arango, 2000; Lewis, 1954; Todaro, 1976; van Naerssen, Spaan, & Zoomers, 2008). According to this theory and its extensions, the cause for international migration is the geographical imbalance between demand and supply of labour. In regions where the supply of labour is elastic, but the labour is paid low wages and their marginal productivity is low, workers tend to migrate to a high-wage country (Massey et al., 1993). As a result of this trend, remittances generation has become a powerful incentive for labour-sending countries to encourage out-migration. In addition, migration contributes to the labour-receiving country's economy by fostering production, and the remittances-receiving country could ideally reduce its income inequality and wage differentials (Prakash, 2009).

However, the implicit idea behind this theory is that the elimination of wage differentials

would end labour movements and labour migration would reach its minimum. Harris and Todaro (1970) have pointed out facts which are supportive of this argument. They emphasize that the decision to migrate is heavily influenced by job opportunities available to the migrant at the initial stage and expected income differentials.

Another major assumption made under the Neo-classical explanation is that the international flow of labour primarily happens in labour markets and that other markets do not have a key role to play with regard to international migration (Massey et al., 1993). When these assumptions are considered, it could be argued that the Neo-classical approach is optimistic about the impacts of migration on labour-sending countries due to high expectations of reduced poverty, unemployment and overpopulation. Further, Constant and Massey (2002) have fostered an assumption of Neo-classical perspective where the immigrant would not return to the home country as long as h/she benefits from wages, education and prestige in the host country. This would typically lead to wages of the unskilled labour force being reduced in the host country due to migration, and producers there would employ more unskilled labour than skilled labour, and capital intensive production. Then again, this depends on the scale of migration and minimum wage regulations. According to empirical evidence, there is not much proof that there is a significant decline in local employment along with a considerable reduction in wages as a result of migration. If anything, the human capital of migrants is the deciding factor that contributes to the growth of migrants (Friedburg and Hunt 1995).

According to the Neo-classical Theory, it is further assumed that labour market rules and controls could regulate international migration of both sending and receiving countries (Massey, Durand, & Malone,

2005). This assumption appears to be true in the present context, since many regulations are in place that effectively control the export of labour. One of the best examples is the restriction imposed by the government of Sri Lanka on mothers who have children below the age of 5 years to accept overseas jobs in the capacity of housemaids.

In most developing countries, the first migration is not necessarily voluntary. Many factors like poverty, civil conflicts, and restraining state policies play an important role (UNESCAP, 2007). Thus, the assumptions of the Neo-classical approach could be challenged particularly in the context of developing countries. Though the household conditions are not very favourable and greener pastures available abroad, non-migrants may sometimes stay at home for socio-cultural reasons such as hierarchical power relations within the family, kinship systems, and gender. Females may stay at home because gender norms prescribe that leaving the family behind is inappropriate, while males may be forced to stay behind to fulfill a perceived security function in the household. Also, parents might decide against out-migration in the interest of their children's education, security, mental health, etc.

The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)

New Economics of Labour Migration has been developed recently with the purpose of challenging the assumptions and conclusions of Neo-classical Theory. NELM focuses on migration from the micro individual level to meso units such as families, households or other culturally defined units. In other words, a key insight of this new approach is that the decision to migrate is not merely an individual decision, but is a collective decision of households or families where their aim is not only to increase income, but is also a risk management strategy in

the context of market failures, in addition to failures in the labour market (Stark, 1984, 1991; Stark & Levhari, 1982; (Massey et al., 1993; Taylor, 1999). However, the theory suggests not to ignore individual behavior, but to study it in the context of a group (Stark, 1991). When a group is considered, households are in a position to diversify risks of economic well-being by utilizing labour resources in different ways. Massey et al. (1993) argue that family members could be made to earn an income in order to minimize risks of job insecurity and income fluctuations by assigning them economic activities both in the country of origin and in the hosting country. Through this, deterioration of local income could be compensated by migrant remittances and vice versa. Furthering the argument, Cassarino (2004) opines that the return of migrants to the country of origin after achieving such targets as savings, insurance, household needs, acquisition of investment capital and skills is logical.

A number of improvements in NELM could be observed in comparison to the Neo-classical Theory. The emphasis on wage differentials in the Neo-classical approach is outperformed by the group role of households in NELM, challenging the assumptions of the former. However, it should be noted that wage differentials and household decision-making are not mutually exclusive or antagonistic categories. Families are very likely to consider wage differentials to be a strong, though definitely not the only factor, when choosing a work destination for their family member abroad. Therefore, it can be said that NELM challenges the Neo-classical approach only to the extent that it pays attention to the structural conditions of the individual, and not just the labour market. The conceptual framework built around the role of families and households under NELM has highlighted that remittances act as part of a mutually beneficial arrangement between the migrant and the migrant's family (Lucas

& Stark, 1985). Therefore, NELM's focus on labour as a pooled resource of a household has become a vital criterion when compared to the individual role played by the migrant in the Neo-classical explanation.

Dual Labour Market Theory

In 1979, Michael J. Piore introduced the Dual Labour Market Theory which is a divergence from micro-level models. The model shies away from viewing migration as a consequence of decisions made by individuals, and argues that international migration is the result of intrinsic labour demands of industrialized societies at present (Massey et al., 1993). Michael (1979) points out the permanent demand from industrialized and developed nations at present to facilitate their development propagandas as the cause of international migration. In other words, international migration happens not due to push factors seen in sending-countries, but due to pull factors seen in receiving-countries. According to Michael, push factors are low wages and high unemployment, while pull factors are essential and unavoidable needs expected to be fulfilled by foreign workers in receiving-countries. Further, this theory emphasizes on four core features of industrialized countries that explicate the pulling of labour from other countries, namely structural inflation, motivational problems, economic dualism and the demography of the labour supply (Massey et al., 1993).

The Dual Labour Market Theory suggests certain implications which are in contrast to macro level models, even though it does not clash with Neo-classical Economics in its basic concepts (Massey et al., 1993). One such implication in contrast to the Neo-classical and NELM approaches is the demand-driven nature of international labour migration. The theory says that the demand for migrant workers is generated from structural needs of the economy, rather than

by wage differentials or wishes of households or families.

Network Theory

Labour migration can happen for various reasons. Some of them are: a desire for high individual income, an attempt for risk diversification of household income, an international displacement with a market penetration strategy, and as a programme of recruitment to satisfy employer demands for low-wage workers (Massey et al., 1993). Even if several reasons could be observed as above, they alone cannot explain actual migration patterns. Other factors like geographical proximity to nation states, availability of social networks, institutions, and cultural and historical factors should therefore be focused on (De Haas, 2010b). Migration network is a contemporary concept linked to the concept of social capital. Arango (2000) defines migration network as a “set of interpersonal ties that connects migrants with relatives, friends or fellow countrymen at home who convey information, provide financial backups, and facilitate employment opportunities and accommodation in various supportive ways”. These networks reduce the costs and risks of movement of people, and increase the expected net returns of migration (Massey et al. 1993). As a result of these networks, subsequent migrations have positively contributed to enhance opportunities for other migrants in their decision making process. Further, Vertovec (2002), and Dustmann and Glitz (2005) state that the diaspora and other networks have the ability to influence migrants when the latter select their destinations. It is revealed that network connections are a form of social capital which grants wide access to employment abroad (Massey et al., 1993).

Correspondingly, positive effects from the network migration mechanism have influenced the development aspect of the sending-country, while generating considerable levels

of legal, political and financial obstacles on immigration related matters in the receiving-country. Van Naerssen et al. (2008) have identified “transnational communities as mechanisms which reproduce their own sociocultural practices abroad, forming an extended national market; penetrating the development of migrant businesses in both origin and host countries”. Therefore, these multinational or transnational businesses have created a variety of commodities, capital, ideas and skill, thus contributing to the fostering of social, political, and cultural ties in addition to economic ones (Prakash, 2009).

Migration System Theory

The core assumption behind this theory is that migration contributes to change the economic, social, cultural and institutional conditions in both the receiving and sending country. De Haas (2010a) has identified that the Network Theory is closely affiliated to the Migration System Theory. Further, the focus of the System approach is both on the macro and micro linkages of places linked to the migration process (Fawcett & Arnold, 1987; Kritiz, Lim, & Zlotnik, 1992). Micro level factors include kinship and friendship systems, while macro level factors focus on economy, dominance, political systems, national policies of immigration, and cultural and social systems. Unlike other models, the Migration System Theory emphasizes on the mutual link between migration and development (De Haas, 2010a). Therefore, this theory is relevant for developing a theoretical framework that considers migration in a broader development perspective. Not only economic development, but migration also supports social development. For instance, remittances sent back to family members could alter the social and economic context of labour-sending countries. Hence, it could be argued that migration has the ability to influence socio-economic development of the

country of origin and encourage subsequent migration both at macro and micro levels.

Institutional Theory

With the origin of international migration, a number of institutions and organizations were set up to capitalize on the imbalance between the employers of labour-receiving countries and potential migrants of labour-sending countries. There is a considerable mismatch between the large number of people seeking employment opportunities in industrialized countries and the limited immigrant visas available in these countries (Massey et al., 1993). As a result, many profit-seeking as well as not-for-profit organizations have been established in order to address issues of migrants and employers. Most not-for-profit organizations place emphasis on the humanitarian aspect of the migrants, while profit-seeking organizations along with private entrepreneurs facilitate the crossing of borders, counterfeiting legal and travel documents, arranging marriages between migrants and legal residents/ citizens of the destination country, and providing credit facilities at high rates in exchange for fees (Massey et al., 1993). As profit-seeking organizations often engage in illegal behavior, most not-for-profit organizations provide relief to the affected migrants by means of counseling, social services, legal advice, awareness on immigration laws etc. The Institutional Theory is important especially in today's context in order to create a more favorable and a strong policy framework for both labour-sending and receiving countries.

Cumulative Causation Theory

The Cumulative Causation Theory was developed by Gunnar Myrdal in 1956. It was further developed by Douglas Massey and his colleagues (Massey, 1990; Massey, Goldring, & Durand, 1994). The theory explains as to why a migration flow begins and continues to grow (Fussell & Massey,

2004). In short, it describes how the number of outgoing migrants increases over time, since the first migrant provides social capital to relatives, friends and others in the country of origin, which ultimately encourages them to find jobs easily and face minimum risk in destination countries (Jennissen, 2004). This situation stimulates and influences people to migrate more and more. The Cumulative Causation Theory could be subsumed under the System Theory and/or Network Theory.

The next section focuses on the shortcomings associated with the above migration theories. Individual limitations as well as general limitations of the theories are discussed.

MAJOR SHORT COMINGS OF MIGRATION THEORIES

The Neo-classical Theory has been subjected to many criticisms in the literature. Van Naerssen et al. (2008) state that the assumptions of the theory are challenged in the context of developing countries due to the lack of attention it pays to sociological and cultural factors which directly affect migration. Analyzing the shortcomings of this theory, Kurekova (2011) states that it ignores market imperfections, reduces the determinants of migration, and standardizes migrants and migrant societies. He further points out that in general, Neo-classical Theory ignores the impacts of migration on sending and receiving countries, and ignores the importance of politics and policies for the process. Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, and Pellegrino (1999) state that widespread dissatisfaction with the Neo-classical approach explains the emergence of new theoretical perspectives.

Moreover, it is assumed that migrants are fully aware of the main facts relevant to their job opportunities and wages. However in reality, there is imperfect information available to migrants on job opportunities in foreign countries as the former is manipulated by

intermediaries (Van Naerssen et al., 2008). It is noted in prior researches that brokers, recruitment agencies, rural agents, smuggling networks, and unstructured institutions heavily influence the international migration industry, and the latter is manipulated for their own benefit due to the lack of a proper regulatory framework. Therefore, it can be argued that the Neo-classical Theory emphasizes on economic matters and excludes the social, cultural and political dimensions of migration. In this regard, Prakash (2009) states that the theory is too economic in nature and it leaves out other important aspects that can potentially affect the movement of people. Further, the Neo-classical explanation has been developed by considering facts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe. Skeldon (2014) therefore criticizes Neo-classical Theory as a more historical and Eurocentric analysis.

Arango (2000) states that the main limitation of NELM is its exclusion of other major forms of international migration like illegal migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and families, which in turn challenge the assumptions of the model. Further, NELM ignores household concerns like the role of gender, and is predominantly future-oriented (Faist & Faist, 2000). Similarly, Kurekova (2011) points out certain shortcomings of this theory such as being biased towards the sending-country, and its limited applicability in practice due to difficulties in separating issues related to market imperfections.

Commenting on the weaknesses of the Dual Labour Market Theory, Prakash (2009) says that the theory does not sufficiently explain the causes of international migration. It mostly emphasizes on the importance of structural demand for foreign labour in host countries, and only briefly touches upon unfavorable conditions in the worker's home country. As per Arango (2000), the theory excludes push factors like low wages

and high unemployment in labour-sending countries, and explains only pull factors in labour-receiving countries. This sheds light on the fact that the Dual Labour Market Theory neglects many migrants who move out from a country based on their own personal desires, rather than to merely benefit from employment abroad. Kurekova (2011) states that the theory excludes labour-sending countries and is biased towards formal recruitment. According to him, the theory does not consider various immigration rates in countries where similar economic structures are observed. Additionally, this theory portrays developed countries as consistent and willing recipients of skilled labour, whereas the domination of the economy by immigrants becomes a serious issue for the host government. A telling example is Singapore, whose unrestricted access grants to individuals eventually led to acute fears of declining job opportunities for the locals, and serious demographic revisions, among other things.

The downside of the Migration Network Theory is also an important segment to be investigated. According to Portes and Landolt (1996), strong networks among a certain group of individuals exclude the entry of outside members to that particular network. According to Ullah (2016), the importance of Network Theory has declined over the years since people have better access to perfect information on labour market requirements and recruitment procedures with the development of technology.

Further to above, Drbohlav (2011) identifies many general shortcomings associated with migration theories which are summarized as follows. Drbohlav states that certain migration theories are merely concepts, frameworks, perspectives or attitudes which results in migration theories being illogical. According to Drbohlav, many theories of migration focus on immigrating countries,

and specifically on labour migration. In his opinion, political aspects or an individual's will are not considered important in most of these theories. Further, female migration may be pointed out as an under-researched area in the migration knowledge corpus.

It appears that all theories related to international migration have certain shortcomings. This may be due to the complex nature of the concept of migration. On the other hand, migration is a mixed phenomenon and it encompasses many different fields such as Economics, Sociology, Geography, Culture, Religion, Law, Political Science, Demography and Psychology. Therefore, it is clear that scholars who founded these theories focused on migration within the framework of their respective fields. What is required now may be a holistic approach to migration that affords a nuanced understanding of this global phenomenon.

CONCLUSION

International migration is a multi-disciplinary concept and it encompasses a number of disciplines such as Economics, Sociology, Geography, Culture, Law, Political Science, International Relations, Demography and Psychology. It has therefore become impossible to identify a single unique theory on international migration.

This paper has focused on theoretical perspectives of international migration. It has provided an overview of international migration, followed by types of international migration and migration theories. By critically reflecting on these theories, it has also attempted to identify the strengths and weaknesses of some of the overarching explanations of international migration.

The paper has shown that migration has become an area of popular research among a wide range of researchers consequent to the migration process becoming more complex, regular, and acquiring a more

global character. Various researchers have attempted to explain migration in terms of cause, development, and application. This has led, the paper has argued, to the emergence of a multitude of theories on migration that explain various dimensions of the phenomenon in detail, and yet lacks a holistic approach to migration that would enable clearer comprehension of the issue.

NOTES

1. Dutch disease is an economic phenomenon where negative economic implications such as deindustrialization and declining of exports are experienced by a country as a result of the local currency largely appreciating. The latter is due to the inflow of foreign currencies owing to foreign aid, foreign investments, export of local natural resources, remittances etc.
2. People who settle permanently in a foreign land away from their original homelands are considered as Diaspora. The notion of Diaspora encompasses a broader population including all persons who maintain ties of some kind with the country of their origin. Members of a Diaspora can be migrants themselves as well as their offspring (OECD, 2012).

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