

Factors influencing migration: Reviews and empirical research

SUVENDU BARIK¹ AND MIRZA ALLIM BAIG*²

¹Ph.D. Student and ²Associate Professor

Department of Economics, Jamia Millia Islamia (Central University)
Jamia Nagar, New Delhi (India)

ABSTRACT

The objective of the paper is to understand the factors responsible for migration. We review both theoretical and empirical literature on migration. The factors like lack of job, better economic opportunities, structural and nominal tensions, rural economic inequalities, demographic behavior, industrialization, globalization, etc. are found to be important factors for migration from the theoretical literature. However, empirical literature finds that factors of migration vary from case to case. In order to understand the factors responsible for migration in the lower segment of the society, the present study also conducts a case study on migrants of Cuttack city slum dwellers. The study finds that the lack of job, marriage and better employment, non-profitable agricultural earnings, joint family problem, family burden, natural disaster, overloaded employment, etc. are emerging as the important factors of migration.

Key Words : Regional migration, Theories of migration, Reasons for migration

INTRODUCTION

Migration is a vital component of struggle for survival by the poor and hence is very important for economic development. It has potentially growth enhancing impacts, which can be increased through suitable policies and supportive interventions by government. The existing migration theories explain the nature and causes of migration, but there is no general agreement among researchers on the causes of migration. The earlier theories connect the reasons for migration to 'push-pull' factors (e.g., Adam Smith, 1776; Ravenstein, 1885; Lee, 1966; Todaro, 1969; Harris and Todaro 1970). The recent theories of migration add several other factors like social factors, institutional factors, behavioural factors, social networking, etc. as important determinants of migration (e.g., Wolpert, 1965; Mabogunje, 1970; Wallerstein, 1974; Hoffmann-Novotny, 1981; Hugo, 1981; Kwok and Leland, 1982; Taylor, 1986; Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Hagen-Zanker, 2009; de Haas, 2010; Kurekova, 2011). On the other hand, empirical studies find that the reasons for migration varies across different geographical regions, time and classes or groups.

With this backdrop, the present study attempts to find out the different reasons for migration from the reviews of both theoretical and empirical literature. The study also conducts a case study on slum dwellers to identify the reasons for migration at the level of lower segment of the society.

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The rest of the paper is organized as follows. The section 2 conducts a detailed survey on the theoretical review of literature on migration. The empirical literature on different level of migration across different regions are reviewed briefly and presented in section 3. A case study on slum dwellers of Cuttack city of Odisha is conducted and provided in section 4. Finally, section 5 draws broad conclusions.

Theories of migration:

There is no single theory widely accepted by social scientists when it comes to migration phenomenon as research of migration is intrinsically interdisciplinary (Brettell and Hollifield, 2000). The understanding of migration phenomenon goes back to the writings of Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (1776), though he has never used the term migration. According to Smith, labour mobility is the result of the imbalance in the labour market at different location. Smith considered poverty and unemployment as push factors for migration and wages high enough to provide for a worker and his family as a pull factor (Rauhut, 2010). ‘The laws of migration’ of Ravenstein (1885) is regarded as one of the earliest theoretical writing on migration. He assumed that migration is closely connected with ‘push-pull’ factors.

The present paper begins the review of the literature from neoclassical theory as it is considered as the dominant theory in explaining causes of migration. Following Hagen-Zanker (2008), we have classified the theories of migration at three levels, namely, macro, micro and meso. The macro-level theories focus on the aggregate migration trends, micro-level theories explain about the individual migration decisions, and the meso-level discusses about the causes and perpetuation of migration of the household or family or community.

Macro theories of migration:

The *neoclassical macro migration theory* viewed that the migration is the part of the economic development. The internal migration occurs due to the existence of the geographical differences in the demand for and the supply of labour which is in the line of classical economist, Adam Smith. The first theoretical explanation on rural-urban migration is the Lewis (1954) model of development, which tries to explain the transition from a stagnating economy based on a traditional rural sector to a growing economy driven by the development of a modern urban sector. But, the urban sector is also suffering from a labour shortage. In the course of development, the industrial sector is expanding and it requires more and more labour while the agricultural sector is stagnant with a labour surplus. Under these circumstances, the labour surplus in rural areas will supplement the labour shortage in urban areas, and in this way the rural-urban migration begins (Lewis, 1954; and Ranis and Fie, 1961). In Lewis model, internal migration removed surplus labour force from rural areas and enabled the transition to a modern economy.

However, in the late 1960s, the Lewis model receives challenges as urban areas experienced high levels of unemployment which discourages rural-urban migration. The *Todaro (1969)* and *Harris-Todaro (1970) models* also considered the role of internal migration in a dual economy in which the urban sector draws labour force from the rural sector. In Todarian models, the focus is explaining the existence of unemployment in urban areas and its link with internal migration. According to Todaro, individual migration decisions are based on the difference between the discounted expected income streams in urban and rural areas net of migration costs. In his model, urban job seeker evaluates his discounted expected income stream in the city taking into account the endogenous probability of being employed. Thus, the main contribution of this model is to link urban employment

and migrants flow.

The *migration system model* developed by Mabogunje (1970) considered migration as a dynamic spatial process, also explained about the rural-urban migration process for less developed countries. The starting point of the migration process is the pool of rural potential migrants who are basically attracted by the various factors. This is an open and dynamic model because it explains the changing system of the environment and subsystems as a result of the migration flows. Here, the sub-systems and the background environment are playing a crucial role in affecting the migration flows and these are the rural- control subsystem (e.g. family or community), urban-control subsystem (e.g. employment agencies), and the background-environment subsystems (e.g. social and economic conditions, government policies, transportation and communication, infrastructure, etc.).

The *mobility transition theory* (Zelinsky, 1971), viewed that in the process of modernisation migration is the part of the economic and social changes. According to this theory, the stage of modernization (industrializations) and the demographic factors (high birth rates) are closely influencing the process of migration (patterns and the rate of migration). Thus, this theory emphasized on the preferences for more personal freedom which is the part of the process of the modernization in the industrialized nations and, it has failed to consider the individual migration decisions and the types of migration going on in the under-developed or developing countries.

The *world system theory* (Wallerstein, 1974) gives importance to the structural factors. According to this theory, the structural factors are increasing due to the expansion of the capitalist's mode of production, culture and transportation, communication, military links, land consolidation, new capitalist's farming methods, manufacturing plants, etc. And these are the major factors of rising uprooted population with a weak attachment to their land for which they are more prone to migrate. The theory views that the migration is a dynamic of the market creation and global economy structure rather than the individual motivations. Thus, in the process of globalisation this theory could not be able to clear the picture of the exact mechanisms of the migration and the migration process.

The argument on the causes of rural-urban migration throughout the developing world experienced that the rates of rural-urban migration continue to exceed the rates of job creation and to surpass greatly the capacity of both industry and urban social services to absorb this labor effectively (Todaro, 1976). Furthermore, according to the model by Todaro (1976), high levels of rural-urban migration can continue even when urban unemployment rates are high and are known to potential migrants. He suggests that a migrant will move even if he ends up being unemployed or receives a lower urban wage than the rural wage. This happens because the migrants expect that they will end up with some kinds of job that gives them a good compensation, and therefore they are willing to be unemployed or underpaid and to wait for a better job opportunity in the future. This argument explains the high flow of migrants from rural to urban areas but end up with unemployed.

The Todaro (1976) model is criticized on the ground that the internal migration can be harmful, which is exacerbated. The model fails to account the dynamic phenomenon of migration. Other important missing aspects are heterogeneity of migrants, the possibility of return migration, the existence of rural unemployment, etc. The assumption they have made on workers either employed in the manufacturing sector or unemployed has been criticized stating that unemployment could also be interpreted as underemployment in the informal sector. Furthermore, the assumption of migration led by expected income may overlook that migration can occur even when the urban expected income is below the rural income.

The *dual labour market theory* (Piore, 1979) does not agree with the Harris and Todaro's

views of the increasing migration due to increase in the urban wages even if the increasing rate of the urban unemployment. In dual labour market theory, there are also two sectors, the primary sector which provides well-paid job and a secondary sector which provides the job for the unskilled labourers. The theory tells that the reason for migration is the result of the temporary pull factor due to the strong structural labour demand in the developed countries. The migration has not only the economic approach but also the economic dualism in the labour market in which wages are also reflecting the status and prestige of the labourers. However, this model also failed to explain the other pull factors of migration and their decision making.

In support of the migration system theory, Kritz and Zlotnik (1992) emphasized on the interdependent dynamic system, own but interlinked system for sending and receiving countries through the process of feedback and adjustment which are coming from the migration process itself. Similarly, the political factor is also playing an important structural factor in the decision making of the migrants, according to the argument of the Zolberg (1981) and Hollifield (2000). This is because the laws of the different nations and states are the result of the relative power of the different interest groups and they are always influencing the migration flows by their profits, identity, national security, existence of the multiculturalism, rights, existing institutions, etc.

Micro theories of migration:

The micro theory of migration was developed in contrast to a macroeconomic model where emphasis is on the decision of a rational individual to migrate primarily based on cost-benefit calculation. The contribution of Sjaastad (1962) to *neoclassical micro migration theory* is based on human capital approach. According to this approach, migration is an individual investment decision for increasing his human productivity. That is, the migration decision of an individual depends on the expected returns, a cost-benefit analysis of the expected discounted returns of migration over the future time periods, should be positive. However, it is very difficult to test the theory empirically as it involves many structural and personal factors to be considered.

The stress threshold model of migration given by Wolpert (1965) is also based on cost-benefit analysis. This is a behavioural model of internal migration. The model estimates the stress-threshold level of utility of the individual on the migration decision. The theory considers place utility are of two types; i) place utilities for the current position depends upon past and future rewards, and ii) the place utilities for the possible destinations depends upon the anticipated rewards.

The '*push-pull framework*' of micro theory of migration was developed by Lee (1966). The theory categorises the push and pull factors of migration. Both the factors play role in the individual's decision making process of migration. The theory does not consider the exact casual mechanisms of migration.

The other behavioural model of migration is the '*value expectancy model*' given by Crawford (1973). This is a cognitive model which deals with the question whether migrants are able to make a conscious decision to migrate or not. The migration decision of an individual depends on both the values of the migration outcomes and expectations. The values of the migration outcomes depend on the specific goals (e.g. wealth, autonomy, etc.) and the expectation depends on the personal, education and the societal norms.

The '*adjustment-to-stress-approach*' of Ritchey (1976) and the '*individual behavioural decision making models*' of De Jong and Fawcett (1981) are also the micro based models of the migration theory. The behavioural approach considers the non-economic and the societal factors in the analysis of migration. However, the assumption of 'rational decision-making process' of migration

remains a big questions in these theories.

The '*social system theory*' may be considered as a complementary to the dual labour market theory of migration, was developed by Hoffmann-Novotny (1981). The theory considers structural tensions (e.g. power) and the nominal tensions (e.g. prestige) are the basic reasons for migration. The success and failure of the migration depends on the 'status line' and the 'under-casting' system of the country which are different for the different countries. The theory includes both the push factors and the structural factors of migration.

The '*asymmetric migration theory*' was first developed by Kwok and Leland (1982). The main feature of the labour employment and the worker-firm relationship is the asymmetric information (Hall and Lazear, 1984). The general pattern of the labour migration is different under the asymmetric migration theory (Katz and Stark, 1984 and 1987). According to this theory, initially both the employers and the migrant workers are unable to know about their specific requirements and the skills due to lack of time and policy tools. The low skilled workers and some of the semi-skilled workers are forced to return back to their place of origin due to imposition of the screening out policy system applied by the employers. But, some of the semiskilled workers are able to settle down at the place of destination due to the states of information and the changes in their human capital. However, skilled workers get better facilities and wages.

Meso theories of migration:

In between micro and macro theories of migration, there is meso theory of migration which focuses on the household or family or community level rather than the aggregate or individual level study. The causes of migration are collective decision-making processes depending on social networks, social ties and the collective decisions of the household or family of a migrant.

The *family decision making theory* of Harbison (1981) explained that the decision of migrant can be influenced by the families through the demographic structure, gender perspectives and the social constraints. According to this theory, whole family will migrate completely depends upon the family decision; if the net gain is positive, if one partner is getting a better job, and if the gain of one family member is adjusted by the losses of another family member of the household or family (Sandell, 1977; Mincer, 1978). Similarly, the household decision to migrate (as a whole) from rural to urban or urban to rural areas depends upon the marginal products of the combined wages as viewed by the Bigsten (1998). The family structure can easily be influencing the decision about the migration of a woman Harbison (1981) and Morokvasic (1984).

The '*household livelihood strategy*' theory of migration is defined as 'a strategic or deliberate choice of a combination of activities by households and their individual members to maintain, secure, and improve their livelihoods' (De Haas, 2010). Even the decision of migration is in itself recognized as the main elements of the strategy for diversifying, securing, durably improving their livelihoods, and also the agricultural intensification and local non-farming activities are recognized as the part of the strategy of the migrant and the migrant's family (McDowell and De Haan, 1997; Carney, 1998; Ellis, 1998; Bebbington, 1999; De Haas, 2010). It is recognized that migration is also a short-term survival strategy, a deliberate decision for improving the livelihoods and to reduce the fluctuations in the family income and consumption (McDowell and De Haan, 1997; Bebbington, 1999; De Haan *et al*, 2000; Ellis, 2000; De Haas, 2010). This theory however fails to explain the reasons for migration both at the place of origin and destination.

The *New Economics of Labour Migration* (NELM) is a theoretical model that has arisen in response to the neoclassical theory (Stark and Bloom, 1985). According to this theory, the household

members together make the migration decisions of a family member for the wellbeing of the family as a whole. The whole household does not migrate. This theory is fundamentally different theory which interlinks the migration decision to the impact of migration at the place of destinations to the impact of migration with the remittances at the place of origin (Taylor and Fletcher, 2001). The theory asserts that the joint decision of the family maximizes the joint income and status; and minimizes the financial risks.

The NELM models of internal migration adopt a complete change in the perspective rural-urban as presented by Harris-Todaro (Katz and Stark, 1986). Migration takes place in a world of imperfect information that can account for the sorting of migrants according to their skills. The key assumption is that information about skills does not flow freely across labour markets. Sometimes, the employer in the origin can have better information on workers' productivity than employers' in the destination. In this situation, skilled workers may not find it beneficial to migrate. This is because skilled workers would be paid a lower wage in the destination than in the origin, where their skills are recognized. Again, simple expected income differentials between rural and urban areas is criticised by NELM theory that the 'status' of the migrants has not only the intrinsic value, but also it can transform into the monetary benefits to induce migration.

The NELM theory recognizes that the capital market failures are the main reason for increasing the risks factors of the migrants rather than the labour market failures in the source areas, and thus migration is the way to overcome from these market failures (Dercon, 2005). The insurance/credit markets may be found ineffective to counter the risks factors of the migrants in the less or under developed countries, the household or family members have to solve the problems internally (by diversifying its income portfolio techniques (Stark and Levhari, 1982).

The neoclassical theory predicts a correlation between the migratory behaviors as a joint decision-making process of the household members but did not mention about the existence or the importance of the social capital or network effects. Loury (1977) introduced the '*social capital theory*' of migration. According to him migration is defined as a set of intangible resources in families and communities that will help to the young people in promoting the social development. The interpersonal networks, the social institutions, siblings in the family, and the resources of information or assistance are the main source of the social capital theory of migration (Bourdieu, 1986; Taylor, 1986; Massey *et al.*, 1987; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000; Palloni *et al.*, 2001; Garip, 2008). The network effects not only pertain within the households, but also within the communities, confirm the prediction through a social capital framework (Palloni *et al.*, 2001).

The international migration recognises the role of social networks as an important force in explaining the perpetuity of international migration (Massey, 1987; Massey *et al.*, 1993, 1994; Portes, 1995). The '*network theory of migration*' links the kinship, friendship, family relations and the shared community at origin to the destination. Once the migrants reach a critical threshold, the expansion of networks declines the costs and risks of the movement of migrants, which further causes the probability of migration to rise. And in this way over the time, the migratory behavior spreads outwards to encompass the broader segments of the sending society (Hugo, 1981a & b; Taylor, 1986; Massey *et al.*, 1994; Ishida and Hassan, 2000; Woodcock and Narayan, 2000; Palloni *et al.*, 2001; Fussell and Massey, 2004; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2007; De Haas, 2010; and Kurekova, 2011). Thus, this theory explained that the social, cultural, economic, and institutional conditions operates to form the entire development within which the process of migration continues at both the place of origin and destination (De Haas, 2007b).

In the '*institutional theories of migration*' the institutions (e.g. private institutions, government agencies, voluntary and profit-making organizations) play a vital role in the case of both national and international migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Hagen-Zanker, 2009; De Haas, 2010; Kurekova, 2011). Generally, this imbalance between the receiving and sending areas both in regional or international level are created by some of the barriers due to some references, skills, documents, visas and passports which are creating a special importance for these entrepreneurs and institutions. On the other hand, the humanitarian groups and the government agencies are also facilitating various services like- the legal counseling and advices, social services, shelter and even the insulation from migration law enforcement officers (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

The '*cumulative causation theory*' of migration was first placed by Myrdal (1957), and then it was extended by Massey (1990), Massey *et al.* (1994), Massey and Zenteno (1999), and Fussell and Massey (2004). According to them, the cumulative causation theory of migration is the tendency of migration to perpetuate itself over time regardless of the conditions that originally caused it (Massey *et al.*, 1994 and Fussell and Massey, 2004). In other words, the process of migration starts at once this will continue over time due to the presence of social networks which lowers the costs and the risks and the social support networks working at the destination area in finding work and shelter. However, this theory has also an important place in the social capital and the perpetuation theory of migration, but it is not supporting to the migrants of the rural areas, according to the primary findings of the Fussell and Massey (2004).

The '*perpetuation theories of migration*' says 'factors that influence to migrate could be different from the conditions that make migration continue' Massey (1990). According to Hagen-Zanker (2008), there are different aspects of the migration perpetuation e.g., the social networks, migration institutions, and the cumulative causations. The recent theories like social capital theory, network theory, institutional theory, and cumulative causation theory are perpetuation theories of migration.

Review of select empirical studies:

The review of literature emphasizes on the factors crucial for migration in general. A brief survey of earlier studies on migration may be found in Baig and Baig (2009).

Despite the growing linkages between the urban and rural labour markets, the markets are not generalized but instead segmented in various ways. The policies designed to raise modern-sector, changes in the system of urban governance, land management practices as well as attempts at commercialisation of infrastructure, globalization, trade liberalisation and basic services has generally increased the volume of work and the wages above the competitive level are the major causes of labor inflow into urban areas of the less developed countries (Todaro, 1980; Kundu, 1997; Florez, 2003, Harris, 2005; Ramaswamy, 2013; Mitra and Singh, 2016).

The urban and rural informal labour markets are increasingly linked through horizontal circulation as migrants may move from one place to the other in search of jobs (Gill, 1998; Chopra, 1995). The horizontal stratifications are generally preserved as workers move from rural to urban milieus for the migrants (Banerjee, 1983; and Mitra and Tsujita, 2006). According to Das (1994), the entry into the labour market through chain migration also has the impact of fragmenting the market along ethnic and regional lines. Again, the reasons for migration from rural to urban are different for male and female. Generally, men move for employment or for better job opportunities whereas women follow them, but in most of the cases it is reported that the household head is a man (Bhagat, 2017). The long distance rural to urban and urban to urban streams are likely to emerge as the dominant

migration streams for the future (Lusome and Bhagat, 2006; Kundu and Sarangi, 2007).

The empirical study of Chen *et al.* (2008) finds that employment earning is the main reason for migration for five developing countries. On the other hand, schooling and resources act as two important barriers in the poorer social groups obtaining on-job training and skills (Banerjee, 1983; Das, 1994; Meher, 1994; Breman, 1996; and Mitra and Tsujita, 2006). The urban area attracts numerous migrants from the rural areas in the hope of the better life and the life style (Shonchoy, 2012).

Some of the micro studies suggest that an increase in labour mobility happens through seasonal migration and commuting. In the source areas, increased labour mobility has contributed to breaking down the isolated nature of rural labour markets and a greater integration between rural and urban labour markets. These apparently contrasting outcomes in the source and destination areas are the result of a single capitalist dynamic which has been reinforced by state policy (Srivastava, 2005; Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003; Kundu and Sarangi, 2007).

The study by Rafique and Rogaly (2003) finds that seasonal migration occurs in the West Bengal. The seasonal labour migration is irreversibly part of the lives and livelihoods of many of the poorest sections of rural India. However, economic deprivation is not the most critical factor for migration decisions, even for seasonal migrants. According to Sharif (2000), the reasons for migration of the poor are the result of an adverse economic condition, the absence of trade unions, minimum wage legislation, unemployment and welfare benefits.

Some of the research experienced that the migration affects the economic well-being not only of migrants themselves but also of those who left behind in sending communities, indigenous population and earlier arrivals at destination. To provide an overview of these effects, the arguments and evidence are organized for the important role of the social networks in the dynamics of the migration process (Lucas, 2003; Tilly 2007). Martin and Taylor (2003) find that there is a circular correlation between the farm employment and the immigration which was associated with a significant decrease in the number of people in impoverished U.S. households sector.

The cheap labour in the third world creates cheap labour in the first world and the wage rates are depressed all over the world. This makes greater profitability to the capitalists and mobility to the labour force (Chaganti, 2004). On the other hand, the poor economic opportunities, rural inequality, demographic behaviour, etc. are the main determinants of migration from rural to urban areas in the Pakistani society (Farooq *et al.*, 2005).

Waters (1997) experienced the complex patterns of agricultural restructuring, changing international trade, land ownership, and evolving class structures which are forcing the rural households to develop complex survival strategies that often bring them into close contact with urban centres. Bhattacharya (1998) relate rural-urban migration in India to some of the broad economic changes in the country during the 1970s at the time of occupational shift out of agriculture and observed a declining trend of employment in the agricultural sector and increasing trend of employment in the non-agricultural sector is the reason for migration.

According to Gill (1998), India experienced a late arrival of capitalism and have a colonial past, which have own form of capitalist growth and it stimulates the migration process from rural to urban sector that is from village and agricultural sector to mining, plantation and manufacturing factories. Whereas, Kohli and Kothari (1998) finds that the reasons for the movement of migrants from one place to another place are the economic, socio- political and natural. The social and economic implications of migrant people are the main reason for the migration in the country like India (e.g., Upadhya and Rutten, 2012; Jayaraj, 2013).

Poverty is the most dominant causes of migration for both the under developed and developing countries in the world (Chand *et al.*, 1998; Mahapatra, 1998; Prakash, 1998; Jha, 2005; Kundu and Sarangi 2007; Sainath, 2009; Chen and Vanek, 2013; Srinivas, 2015). Some empirical research has also emphasized on the push factors like unemployment and poverty which are playing a dominant role in inducing migration from the rural and the backward areas of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Odisha. The most of migrants in sugar mills have been educationally poor as compared to the local workers but they expected a rise in their status and economic conditions as a result of employment (Chand *et al.*, 1998; Kumar *et al.*, 1998; Jha, 2005; and Sainath, 2009).

Chen *et al.* (2008) find out that the heterogeneous social interactions affect the peer effect in the rural-urban migration decision in China. The majority of informal workers are poor, and the majority of working poor are informally employed across the developing world due to the Great Recession on employment and the global crisis of the youth unemployment (Chen and Vanek, 2013).

The lack of employment, low wages, drought, famine, family problem, high cost of living, prospect of enjoying a high standard of living at the place of destination, etc. are considered as the important push factor; whereas, better working conditions, higher demand for construction workers, higher wages, proximity to hometown, etc. are the pull factors of migration (e.g., Noronha, 1998; Baig and Baig, 2009; Jayaraj, 2013). Samal and Mishra (1998) conclude that the pull factors are more important than push factors in inducing migration in the informal sector workers in Goa.

The structural shift in employment away from agricultural sector towards the non-manufacturing sector during the first decade of the 21st century is the basic reason for migration in India due to a sharp decline in the agricultural employment and mechanisation of the agricultural sector. The shift in the share of output and employment from primary sectors to secondary and tertiary sectors is a phenomenon which has been witnessed in most parts of the developing world (Mehrotra *et al.*, 2014; Jatav and Sen, 2013; Shaw, 2013; Srija and Shirke, 2014; ILO, 2016). The factors like the poor industrial development, inadequate infrastructure and a limited market are accounted for the increasing flow of migrants from rural to urban areas in India (Santhapparaj, 1998). Similarly, the farm size and the migration facilities are significant variables in abating the outflow of rural workers behind the migration in the 25 districts of north-western Uttar Pradesh (Singh and Aggarwal, 1998).

According to Mahapatra (1998), the prevailing socioeconomic conditions of the households, patterns of employment and availability of various employment opportunity, prevalence of assured irrigation and adoption of modern technology are the main determinants for the outmigration of labour households, in an agrarian economy. But, Giri *et al.* (2008/09) has observed that due to inadequate food security, lack of local work, low and late payment of wages, landlessness and displacement, deforestation, poor agricultural production, lack of irrigation and drought, indebtedness are the important interrelated factors for their involuntary survival tactic in a tribal dominated district-Koraput, Odisha.

Brusle (2008) focuses on male migrants who are part-time peasants in Nepal and part-time workers of northern India, Uttarakhand. The study finds that the factors such as the availability of work, networks, proximity etc. influence the migration. The analysis of the district level rural to urban migration rates among males and females based on the 2001 Census data, states that the prospects for better job opportunities is a major determinant of male migration. The low castes and minority groups tend to pull migration through network effects (Mitra and Murayama, 2008).

The politicization of migration is blamed for economic and social problems in East Asia in the period of Financial Crisis of 1997-99 (Castles, 2000). The remittances also play central role in the

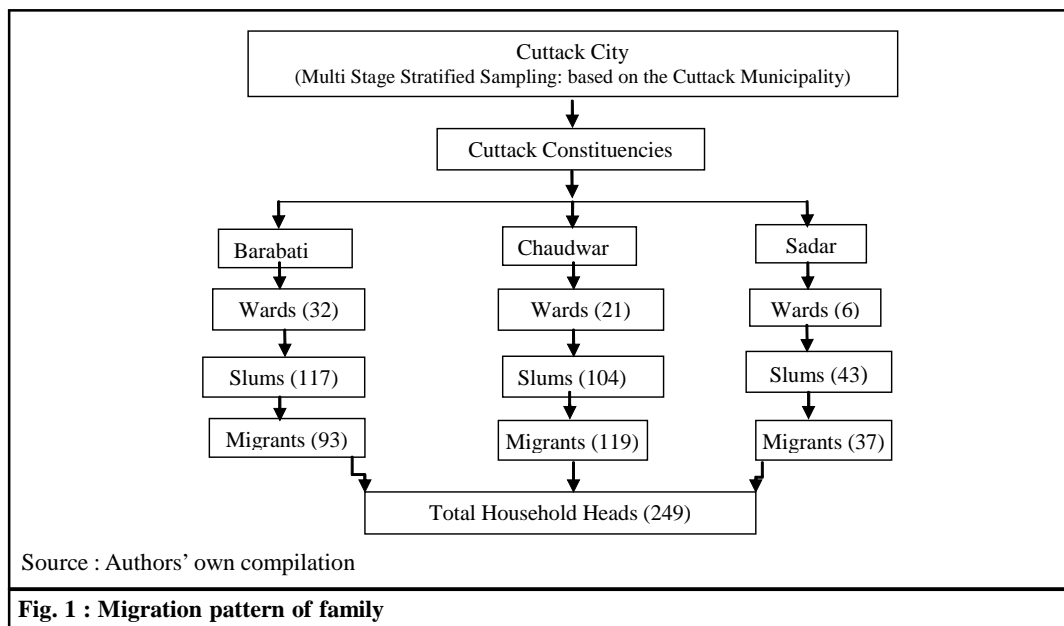
economies of many labour-sending regions (Puri and Ritzema, 1999). According to Kurian (1979), emigration from Kerala to foreign countries has been playing a vital role in certain regions by a significant effect on local economic conditions.

Though there are many empirical studies available in migration, we have reviewed selected papers which fairly gives us the idea about the important reasons for migration. To sum up, the reasons for migration varies from case to case.

METHODOLOGY

Reasons for internal migration: A case study :

The literature finds that the reason for migration varies from case to case. The present study attempts to find the reasons for migration based on the primary survey. The primary data is collected from 249 migrated household heads who live in slums of Cuttack city, Odisha. The information is collected through a structured schedule. The Cuttack city has been classified by the political constituencies and there are three constituencies in CMC, *i.e.* CTC Sadar, Chaudwar and Barabati. There are 59 wards and 264 slums which fall under the supervision of CMC. The details could be seen from the following Fig. 1.



RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The study attempts to find out the reasons for migration across different levels, *i.e.*, gender, social groups, religion, types of employment, and educational background of the respondents. This is presented in Table 1. The reasons for migration of our case study is summarized and presented in Fig. 2.

In Table 1, the values in the parenthesis are the absolute number of households. From the Table 1, we could see that our sample has approximately 88 per cent male and 22 per cent female migrants. On social category, our sample represents a little more for the General category (includes

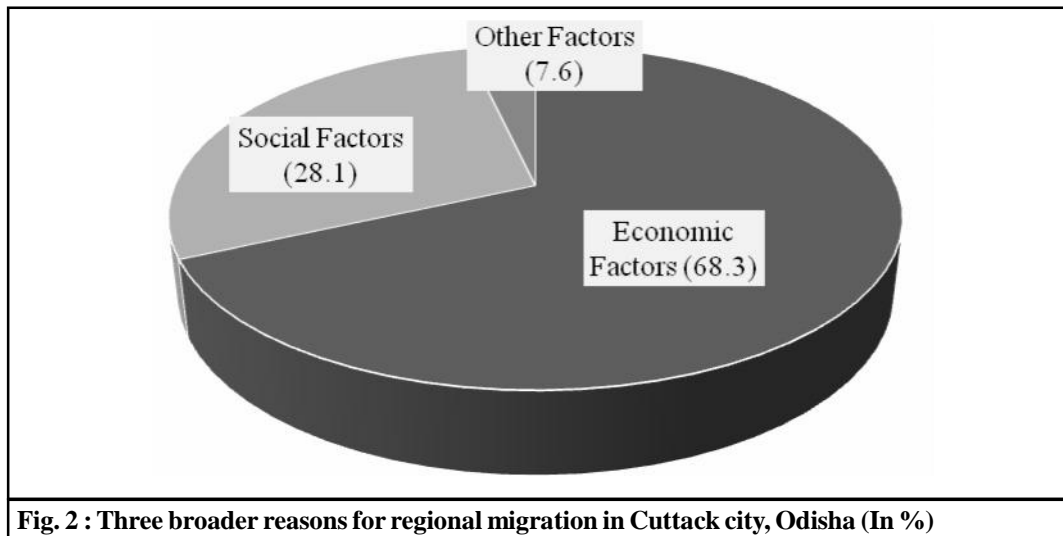
Table 1 : Reasons for Migration of the Respondents of Slums of Cuttack City, Odisha (In %)												
Reasons for Migration Category	Economic Factor						Social Factor				Other Factor	Total
	Lack of Job	Better Employment	Business	Lack of land & non-profitable Ag.	Earning with Learning	More Workers in Same profession	Socio-Cultural Problems	Joint Family Problem	Marriage			
Gender												
Male	25.3	14.1	4.8	12	3.6	0.8	2	2	10.4	6.4	77.9	
Female	2.8	2.4	0.4	0.8	0.8	0.4	0	0	13.7	1.2	22.1	
Social Group												
SC & ST	10.8	5.2	0	1.6	2	0.8	0.4	0.8	9.6	3.2	32.9	
General & OBC	17.3	11.2	5.2	11.2	2.4	0.4	1.6	1.2	14.5	4.4	67.1	
Religion												
Hindu	26.1	15.3	4.4	10.4	4	1.2	1.6	2	19.3	6.8	87.1	
Muslim	2	1.2	0.8	2.4	0.4	0	0.4	0	4.8	0.8	12.9	
Type of Employment												
Self Employed	4.8	4	4.8	4.8	1.2	0.8	1.2	0	5.6	3.2	27.7	
Casual	15.7	9.2	0	4	2.4	0.4	0.8	1.2	7.6	3.6	43.4	
Regular	6.4	3.2	0.4	3.6	0.8	0	0	0.8	9.6	0.8	26.1	
Contract	1.2	0	0	0.4	0	0	0	0	0.8	0	2.4	
Unpaid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.4	0	0.4	
Education Level												
Illiterate	9.2	4.4	0.8	2.8	2.4	0	0	0	9.2	2.4	29.3	
Elementary	10.4	6.8	1.6	4.8	0.8	0.8	1.2	2	8.8	2.8	38.6	
Secondary	6.8	4.8	2.4	4	1.2	0.4	0.8	0	4.8	2.4	26.9	
Higher	1.2	0.4	0	0.8	0	0	0	0	0.8	0	3.6	
Secondary												
Graduate and Above	0.4	0	0.4	0.4	0	0	0	0	0.4	0	1.6	
Total	28.1	16.5	5.2	12.9	4.4	1.2	2.0	2.0	24.1	7.6	100	
	(70)	(41)	(13)	(32)	(11)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(60)	(19)	(249)	

Source: Authors' compilation from the Field Survey Data

OBC) in proportion to their population in the State (Approximately 40% SC/ST and 60% General). The 33 per cent of the migrants belongs to SC/ST category, whereas it is 77 per cent for General category which includes OBCs. Though the Muslim migrants are around 13 per cent whereas Hindu migrants are 87 per cent, the population of Muslims in the State is only 2.2 per cent whereas it is 93.6 per cent for Hindu (Census, 2011). The number of casual labourer is the highest (43.4%) followed by self-employed (27.7%) and regular wage employed (26.1%). We find that 70.7 per cent of the migrants are literate, and 68.5 per cent of the total migrants are having education upto secondary level. This is not surprising that only 1.6 per cent of the migrants are having graduation and above level of education as they are slum dwellers.

From the Fig. 2, it is clear that the economic factors are dominating the reasons for migration (68.3%), whereas social factors (28.1%) are also playing crucial role in the reasons for migration for the slum-dwellers. The lack of job opportunities (28.1%) in the origin place is the most important push factor for the migration whereas better employment opportunities (16.5%), the pull factor is also playing important role in the rural to urban migration. However, the social factor is not serious

as dominating reason for the migration is being the marriage, the 24.1% out of the 28.1% share of the social factor (Table 1). So, it is an alarming situation that unemployment or lack of better job opportunities in the rural places is the single most important reason for the migration to the City and to even live in the slums. The other factors are not so important for the reasons of migration for the slum dwellers.



Conclusion:

The migration is an important issue which is getting addressed continuously both in terms of theoretical development and empirical research. The migration is so multi-facet that no single theory can encompass the scope. The neo-classical theory is credited as the dominating earliest theory in the migration literature. However, over time, different theories are developed to address different issues of migration. The recent development and innovations in the migration literature are being done under the heading of new economics of labour migration theory. The theories suggest that there are different push and pull factors under economic, social, cultural, political, educational, psychological, etc. are the reasons for migration. Again, the factors of migration keep changing, and hence giving rise to perpetuation theory of migration.

The theoretical literature provides the broad reasons for migration but it varies across different geographical regions, time and classes or groups. This is evident from our literature review of empirical research. Our case study suggests that economic factors are dominating reason for migration of the slum dwellers followed by social factors. The marriage (pull factor) is the dominating social factor for the migration. The lack of job opportunities in the rural places (push factor) and expectation of better employment opportunities (pull factor) in the city are the most dominating economic factors of migration. Therefore, in order to prevent migration from the rural places and increasing slums in the city, the government needs to focus on creation of job opportunities in the rural places and improve the living conditions of the rural population.

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