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Challenging the Status Quo: The Case of Morbid Migrants

By

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A thesis

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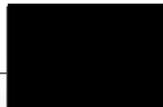
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Dedication

To my inner child for having have gone through hell and back. It's time to let it all go.

Acknowledgement

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ABSTRACT

When human rights and the wellbeing, security, and safety of populations come into play, scholars need accord the matter adequate attention. It is surprising, to say the least, that in a time governed by technology and globalization many individuals have become *lost in migration*. Indeed, subsets of niche migrants, whether forced or otherwise, have long gone unrecognized. Not only has research been mainly driven and dominated by economic factors, compiled data regarding migration is too often skewed or incomplete. Based on this, the thesis seeks to address the question of how morbid migrants challenge the status quo of the state of the field of migration studies when it comes to lack of accountability of their presence and the repercussions such shortcomings can and will have on the migration field as a whole. To achieve this goal the thesis analyzes case studies of groups that fall within this new subset of forced migrants while taking into consideration social, cultural, and personal drivers that might propel or halt their movements. The purpose is to show that there is a vast conceptual shortcoming that need be addressed within this domain if the literature, research, and socio-political apparatus are to be truly representative of all those otherwise deemed lost in migration.

Keywords: Theories of Migration, Types of Migrants, Drivers, Forced Migration, Literature Gap, Morbid Migrants, Women, Vrindavan, Addis Ababa.

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List of Abbreviations

HFE	Hamlin Fistula Ethiopia
IDP	Internationally Displaced Person
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
RSC	Refugee Study Center
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations Commissioner for Refugees
WHO	World Health Organization

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

When human rights and the wellbeing, security, and safety of populations come into play agencies, state factors, and even scholars need accord the matter adequate attention. It is surprising, to say the least, that in a time governed by technology and globalization many individuals have become *lost in migration*. Indeed, subsets of niche migrants, whether forced or otherwise, have long gone unrecognized.

This seemingly unproblematic oversight is anything but, not only has research been mainly driven and dominated by economic factors, compiled data regarding migration is skewed or incomplete to say the least. The ramifications of such skewed and/or incomplete data can and will have a butterfly effect that calls into question the very principles upon which the work of many NGOs, including IOM and UNHCR, is based. With this in mind, it is interesting to examine the theories, types, and sub-categories of migration/migrants and to bring to the fore any conceptual gaps whether they be research, descriptive, or analytical in nature.

Although migration has been a multi-dimensional phenomenon influenced by a plethora of disciplines including sociology, geography, management, economics, commerce, political science, demography, psychology and law, theories of migration seem to be mainly rooted in economic factors, implying that movements of migrants are predominantly financially instigated (Bhagat, 2020). It is due to this bias, as stated by Massey et al. (1993), that migration is associated with disjointed and incoherent theories with no all-inclusive mother theory at the helm of this intricate subject of study (Wimalaratana, 2016).

There are two main domains within the migration literature, internal (intra-migration) and external (inter-migration). Internal movements are predominantly divided into rural-urban, urban-rural, inter-urban, intra-urban, rural-rural, and transmigration dynamics. However, when it comes to external movements, things are not as clear cut. Different scholars have identified different subtypes of inter-migration. Jennissen (2004) put forth four main types of international migration: labor migration,

return migration, chain migration, and asylum migration. Bell, Alves, de Oliveira and Zuin (2010) identified three main types: labour migration, forced migration, and international retirement migration. While Hugo (2008), Koppenberg (2012), and Zetter (2015) divided said movements into forced and voluntary categories.

On one hand, Hagen-Zanker (2008), Kurekova (2011), and Lee (1966) have sub categorized these forced and/or voluntary movements into initiation/determinants vs. perpetuation and push vs. pull binaries. While on the other, Hammar et al. (1997) and Faist and Faist (2000) have given migration a level-based perspective that hinges on notions of the micro, meso, and macro.

Furthermore, geographical, chronological, demographic-economic, political/legal, and causal classifications have been used to differentiate between types of migration (economic, political, and environmental) and types of migrants (displaced, voluntary, and illegal) (Wimalaratana, 2016).

Notwithstanding such complex analysis, little theoretical and practical work has been done towards attempting to address and explain the dimensions of non-economic migratory movements (Bhagat, 2020). The fact still remains that non-economic drivers which propel and instigate migration, be they primitive in nature (ex: sex, love, orientation, death, and medical ailments) and/or of a more unorthodox kind (ex: witchcraft, widowery, third gender, exorcisms, and suicide) continue to be an area that has long been overlooked, understudied, and gravely underestimated. One can only assume a single and/or combination of the following elements would be to blame:

- a) *Economics*: since the overwhelming majority of theorization and research has been done specifically in regards to economic (nonviolent) factors, futile attention has been directed towards other categories that might instigate migration.
- b) *Exile*: chronically neglected within migration literature and often falling outside the analytical grids of research that center chiefly on socioeconomic analysis, this coupled with the anomic relationships that transpire between an individual and his/her respective state of origin would explain why their trajectories do not matter to society in general let alone scholarly works in specific.

- c) *Western Definitions*: descriptions used within migration studies have often been put into place by Westerners, thus many typologies fail to address and take into account the particular sociocultural aspects that dominate a non-Western migrant's life trajectories.

According to Martin (2001); “*despite the difficulty of categorizing different types of migrants, the process is more than an exercise in semantics. Countries have different responsibilities towards different types of migrants.*” This point is of crucial importance, as it stirs down the above-mentioned complexities related to migration as a whole, and forced movements more specifically, into the bare minimum requirement, that of recognition.

For without recognition there can be no protection. If certain groups remain lost within migration how can their rights be upheld and their numbers represented accurately within the literature. Specifically, taking the unorthodox into account, which I will refer to in my work as *morbid migrants*, most, if not all, theories and scholastic works have failed to address and explain the dimensions of such migratory movements, let alone recognize its existence.

1.2 Research Purpose

The thesis describes and examines how migrants are categorized and their migration explained in the migration studies literature. The thesis highlights a specific gap currently present within the literature, one that can no longer go unexamined. The main line of thought argues that the lack of adequate representation of forced migrants in general, and a new subcategory therein, can prove detrimental. On one hand, it would call into question a vast majority of theories, hypothesis, and predictions that have been made by scholars across various disciplines. While on the other, it would rock the very foundations upon which agencies like the UN, UNHCR, and IOM have based their work and policy. To achieve this goal, the paper assesses both descriptive and interpretive dimensions of migration in acute detail.

In summary, the purpose is to show that there is a significant conceptual shortcoming that need be addressed within the migration studies literature, in order to

reflect the lived realities of a significant number of those otherwise deemed *lost in migration*.

1.3 The Question

The thesis seeks to address the following questions:

Who are morbid migrants? And how do they challenge the status quo?

A *Morbid Migrant* is an individual who, due to a sequence of the most unfortunate and unusual events, political, violent, and/or economic in nature, is *forced* to migrate (a detailed description of this proposed fourth subgrouping of forced migrants will be presented within the thesis).

By asking this question I would be able to observe the true ramifications of the failure to account for all subsets of forced migrants, this thesis will pay attention specifically to migrants whose life trajectories have deemed them *morbid* in nature. One cannot help but question the sanctity of both migrant and migratory typologies that have been used within the literature thus far to explain human movement, the causality behind said actions, and their social consequences thereafter.

This research and thesis, and subsequently the findings that are relevant to it would hold certain weight on many a levels. Through disputing and demonstrating that a vast number of migrants have been left unaccounted for, practically rendering them invisible and nonexistent within literature and research alike, data of a qualitative and quantitative nature is, if anything, far from being representative in any regard. On a different level, this piece would provide a stepping stone of sorts through which the road to bridging the gap(s) currently present within the literature can be attempted or at the very least recognized.

Often overlooked, and greatly understudied, the role and effect women and girls have within migration studies needs to be given adequate attention. Not only do they account for over half the populous of migrants worldwide, woman and girls outnumber their male counterparts within all areas of forced migration. This is why their presence and numbers are particularly implicated within the proposed category of morbid migrants.

On a macro level, this paper, as an independent form of research and analysis, contributes not only to the topic of female migration, but also to the crucial study of forced migrants. Since the vast majority of migration studies has been done with economics at the helm, adding to both of these domains holds great significance this day in age when migration seems to be on the rise, hybridizing as it takes on a transnational context due to globalization and advancements in technology.

1.4 Methodology

With an explained background and an identified question and purpose, it is important to highlight the research methods this thesis relies on to provide proof in support of the rationalizations related to both the hypothesis and the research question.

This in mind, the following methodology clarifies and defines the research methods used in this paper. As previously mentioned, this thesis tackles the issue of lack of adequate representation within the scholarly works of migratory studies, specifically that of morbid migrants, a new subgroup that is proposed under the classification of forced migrants.

To ensure an appropriate delivery of evidence that supports the above mentioned hypothesis, it is crucial to state, as clearly as possible, the research methods and tools used to construct an adequate methodology.

Utilizing a mixed methods approach to research, this study combines descriptive and exploratory goals. Basic desk research is employed, the main aim of which is to investigate the reasons as to why a particular phenomenon unfolded. While the overall scope of the thesis is not concerned with resolving a specific problem within migration studies, it brings to the fore an awareness about a long overlooked predicament, which is the lack of recognition of particular migrants who account for monumental numbers within the literature.

Through in-depth research and analysis, the paper sets the tone for the possibility of further investigations and subsequent formulation of new theoretical works and groundbreaking knowledge within the field of migration, specifically in relations to dually marginalized and vulnerable groups of female morbid migrants.

Furthermore, an exploratory approach is used to study and compare women within the selected two case studies:

- Castaway widows of Vrindavan, India
- Fistula survivors of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

To provide a well rounded understanding of the topic at hand, the thesis and its mixed methods approach insures the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data and information.

1.4.1 Feminist Research Approach

Transnational feminism is a form of feminist theory that delves into matters of interest to women through the use of a global lens. When debating topics pertaining to ethnicity, culture, sex, gender, and the like, this branch of feminist study opts to consider that we do so within the context of or by referencing the specificities of fundamental social pillars that have been build on patriarchy and colonialism. Here, this divide can be explained in lament terms simply by referring to the fact that non-Western women have been, for far too long, dealt with using Western connotations, experiences, and terminology, thus often being portrayed as victims in need of saving rather than individuals holding some form of agency and will.

Unlike their Western feminist counterparts, who are occupied with finding similarities and common ground between females within a global context, transnational feminists are on a quest to unravel inequalities that women from different regions of the world face and how said differences impact specific groups. These feminists tend to support an issue when and if it is subjected to close inspection which pinpoints any global outcome it may have. That being said, the ever growing nature of transnational migration coupled with the fact that, according to Wickramasinghe (2016), female migration is a vastly under researched area, makes for an interesting challenge with which an attempt at Braithwaite et al.'s (2018) plea to 'address the gaps in the literature' becomes an absolute must, specifically within the framework of Transnational Feminist Theory.

Through a transnational feminist perspective, forced migration, and more specifically the new subcategory of morbid migrants, will both be studied in a manner

that sees migration as being a predominantly male allotted occurrence that has ensued as a result of patriarchal drivers, most of which follow an imperialistic and/or colonial premise rooted in economics and profit generation. Here, the relationship between gender and migration is brought to the fore, showcasing women who live under extreme duress as being survivors rather than victims in need of a male savior, they are their own modern day manifestations of a prince charming.

1.4.2 Quantitative Research Approach

A quantitative approach is used when collecting, analyzing, and interpreting secondary data that is statistical in nature. Important databases that are considered belong to the IOM – International Organization for Migration, UNHCR – United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees, and the RSC – Oxford Refugee Studies Center. After the secondary analysis of existing data, vital numerical statistics were presented throughout the paper to specifically highlight the growing numbers of migrants, refugees, and IDPs while also shedding light on the importance of those lost in migration by backing the presented qualitative data with the necessary numbers.

By applying said technique, the research was able to hone in on specific findings that are relevant to the hypotheses, indicating that indeed there exists a gap within the literature through which an infinite number of migrants have gone unidentified, unaccounted for, and most importantly unrecognized for years if not decades.

1.4.3 Qualitative Research Approach

A qualitative approach is utilized to focus on complex forms of secondary data sources, such as books, scholastic articles, NGO reports, and a plethora of research papers. This section mainly included an enumeration of available knowledge regarding theories of migration, types of migrations, and types of migrants so as to understand the perspectives of scholars, policy makers, and feminists alike within the frame of migration and locate the gap(s), if any, therein.

The aim was to collect as much background information as possible in order to fully grasp the true breadth and complexity of migratory theoretical works and develop a well founded comprehension of forced migrants within which the topic of political

and violence propelled female migrants are situated. Additionally, the roles of social structures, culture, and agency, have been touched on with the objective of trying to deduce what propels specific trajectories of migration and by whom they are carried out.

Charts are used to give a clear picture of what goes into migration and its many parts therein. In tandem to this, diagrams highlight the magnitude of different aspects of migration and this specific subset of migrants. Through this, the gap that is relevant to the hypothesis is pointed out – *morbid migrants* and their lack of recognition challenges the very essence of migratory literature, and thus calls into question theories, protection mandates, and statistical data compiled within this specific field of study. It is through providing a fresh understanding of previously published scholastic works and the extensive review of literature that the research was able to put forth a new subcategory of forced migrants backed by valid arguments, case studies, and a basic theory of analysis.

1.5 The Topic at Hand

This thesis is about those who have been lost in migration, men and woman of all ages that have gone unaccounted for, undocumented, and unrecognized. People in dire need of help, security, and assistance who have been discriminated against, ostracized, and abandoned by a plethora of people and within different societies. How and why many have been rendered practically invisible is beyond the scope of this work, what is of necessity is to highlight the gap(s) present within the literature and to put forth a proposed solution of sorts, a small step in the right direction.

1.6 Mapping out the Thesis

The thesis starts with a general description of the identified gaps in the migration literature and an introduction of the concept of ‘morbid migrants’. In this first chapter, the main research questions as well as the methodology are also discussed. Chapter Two moves to an examination of the migration studies literature, this is followed by a brief background regarding drivers of migration and the role of social structures, culture, and

agency therein. Two case studies (castaway widows of Vrindavan India and the fistula victims of Addis Ababa Ethiopia) are presented to further highlight the concept gap within forced migration and cement the need for revising the category and/or the introduction of a new subgroup – morbid migrants. The thesis concludes with summarizing the discussion and the case studies while making sure that the main research questions have been addressed. In addition, the thesis will argue again that too many individuals are being forced to move and are in need of refugee status, yet due to the current definitions of migratory categories, they remain unrecognized and thus unprotected.

Chapter Two

In recent years migration has become ever more complex, regular, and of a global character. This vast area of study involves a number of disciplines including the likes of geography, economics, law, sociology, and political science. Despite the fact that a plethora of researchers and scholars, within their respected fields of engagement, have attempted to explain movements in terms of cause, development, and application, the resultant theories lack a well rounded all inclusive approach to migration which would enable a clearer analysis and deeper understanding of the issue.

Although rarely the case, the literature seems to agree on one thing and that is that there are two main domains within the migration literature, *internal* (intra-migration) and *external* (inter-migration), the former being the initial driver behind the study of migration while the later taking over in popularity due to globalization, developments in technology, and transnational ties (King, 2012). According to Bhagat (2020), it is worth noting, there are no separate explanatory theories regarding these two domains of movement. With this in mind, attempting to understand the migration phenomenon should be based on objective criteria and subjective motivations, a *descriptive vs. interpretative* organization of all things migration ensues.

2.1 Migration Classifications – Descriptive

At face value, migratory trajectories seem to be simplistic in nature moving along rigid binaric dualities or dichotomies such as *internal vs. external*, *permanent vs. temporary*, *regular vs. irregular*, and *voluntary vs. forced* (Cohen 1996) and (King 2002). However, when trying to gain a deeper understanding of both the intra and the inter movements, things pick up in complexity and become rather challenging to decipher. To begin with, based on factors influencing migration, scholars have not only identified different categories of this phenomenon but have also prioritized their importance according to their respected disciplines (King 2013). For example; Jennissen (2004) put forth four main types of international migration; *labor migration*: moving in search of employment involving high, semi, and unskilled migrants. *Return*

migration: returning to place of origin and staying for at least a year. *Chain migration*: moving due to family reunification and/or formation. *Asylum migration*: seeking refugee status in a foreign country. Bell, Alves, de Oliveira and Zuin (2010) identified three main types; *labor migration*: involving the migration of high, unskilled, and temporary labor. *Forced migration*: refugees and asylum seekers moving due to conflict and political uncertainties, and those displaced due to natural disasters and construction projects. *International retirement migration*: those retired purchasing properties abroad.

Hugo (2008), Koppenberg (2012), and Zetter (2015) divided said movements into two specific categories; *forced migrants*: those who move as asylum seekers, refugees, and internally displaced people because they have no other option, and *voluntary migrants*: people who move for different purposes in search of personal gain. Furthermore, Hagen-Zanker (2008), Kurekova (2011), and Lee (1966) sub categorized these forced and/or voluntary movements into *initiation/determinants vs. perpetuation* and *push vs. pull* binaries. While Hammar et al. (1997) and Faist and Faist (2000) have given migration a level-based perspective that hinges on notions of the *micro*, *meso*, and *macro*. Additionally, geographical, chronological, demographic-economic, political/legal, and causal classifications have been used to differentiate between types of migration (economic, political, and environmental) and types of migrants (displaced, voluntary, and illegal) (Wimalaratana, 2016). Various terms have been used to define different types of migration, *economic (traditional labor) migration*: moving in efforts of improving one's standard of living through better paid jobs and/or facilities. *Political migration*: moving due to war and political unrest. *Environmental migration*: moving due to environmental distress like drought, rising sea levels, and bush fires.

To truly get a clear understanding of just how diverse, complex, and ever-growing the descriptive classifications of migration are, one need look no further than the work of Fabio Baggio. He stresses the importance of considering both objective criteria and subjective motivations whilst categorizing migrants and their movements into five classifications – geographical, chronological, demographic-economic, political-legal, and causal.

Based on distance covered in terms of human geography, namely the administrative and political organization of a territory (region, state, municipality,

province, etc.) and the population distribution therein (citizen, national, resident, etc.), *geographical* classifications are divided into internal and external (international) migrations, each with several concurrent subdivisions.

a) *Internal Migration – movement within a state, region, or area:*

- Rural – Urban: from country side to city.
- Interurban: from one city to another.
- Urban – Rural: from city to the countryside.
- Interrural: from one countryside to another.
- Nomadism: continuous movement within a specific territory.
- Transhumance: displacement from mountains to plane due to sheepherding.
- Intermunicipal: from one municipality to another.
- Interprovincial: from one province to another.
- Interregional: from one region to another.

b) *External (international) migration – movements that cross one or more borders:*

- Transoceanic: crossing one or more oceans.
- Transcontinental: from one continent to another.
- Border: between two border locations.
- Neighbor: between two neighboring countries.
- Regional: within a region.

If the direction of movement comes into play, a further subcategorization within the geographical nature of movement need be addressed:

c) *Direction of migration:*

- Emigration: action of leaving a country (place of origin).
- Immigration: action of entering a country (place of destination).
- Transit: movement across a country without intent to settle with the sole intention of getting to another country.
- Circular: departs from place of origin, reaches place of destination, then returns to the same place of origin within a specific timeframe.
- Return (re-migration): from place of destination back to place of origin.

When accounting for *length*, migration can be further divided into subjective (intentional duration) or objective (effective duration) formalities.

a) *Intentional Duration* – period of time a person/group intend to stay outside place of origin:

- Temporary: time spent away has limited duration.
- Permanent: time spent away has no limited duration.
- Undetermined: no specific time allocated.

b) *Effective Duration* – period of time a person/group remains outside place of origin within a limited timeframe:

- Contract: temporary labor migration regulated by employment contract.
- Seasonal: length of stay less than one year and is repeated over time.
- Pendular: length of stay is less than twenty-four hours and is repeated daily.
- Permanent: length of stay does not have a limited duration.

From the perspective of *demographic* and *economic* factors that affect a migrant, the phenomenon is divided into characteristics and kind of work performed by those who migrate:

a) *Subjects of migration* – characteristics of those who move:

- Individual: subject is an individual.
- Family: subject is a family.
- Massive (exodus): large number of people.
- Male/female: criterion is gender based.
- Child/adult/elderly: criterion is age based.
- First/second/third generation: criterion is generation based (those who initially move, or their children, or grandchildren).
- Migration flow: number of people moving during a specific time period (depending on directionality it is either emigration or immigration).
- Migration stock: number of foreigners residing in a country at a certain moment in time.
- Migrant population: assembly of foreigners and their descendants in a country at a certain moment in time (depending on the context they are considered to be a foreign community, ethnic community, foreign minority, diaspora, etc.)

- Migrant human-power: those of working age.

b) *Employment – kind of work performed by those who move:*

- Migration depending on sector: rural, industrial, service, etc.
- Highly skilled: employed in a job requiring high degrees of professionalism.
- Skilled: holding professional jobs.
- Unskilled: whose jobs do not require any professional qualifications.
- Brain drain: high scale international movement of those with high qualifications who do not wish to return to their country of origin.
- Technology: migration of individuals who are highly skilled in the technological sector.
- Independent/autonomous work: work on their own accord as individuals or as a company.
- Dependent/subordinate: employed under a labor contract.

Legally and politically speaking, the categories are as diverse as the systems and policies themselves. Nevertheless, referring to migration policies and administrative legalities of both sending and receiving states, the following categories can be identified:

- a) *Free*: migration that is not controlled, blocked, or limited by sending and/or receiving states, it occurs in response to the needs of the labor market and free will of employers and workers.
- b) *Managed (controlled)*: migration that is assisted, organized, limited, or regulated by sending and/or receiving states.
- c) *Regular (authorized)*: migration that is free or managed which respects emigration/immigration rules set by sending and/or receiving states.
- d) *Irregular (unauthorized)*: migration that breaks one or more emigration/immigration rules set by sending and/or receiving states.

Finally, when referencing reasons and motivating factors that activate migratory movement, there exists a *voluntariness* to the classification of human mobility, this includes:

a) *Free (spontaneous) human mobility – based on free choice and agency:*

- Labour: motivation is economic in nature.
- Health: realizing medical treatment, therapy, and/or surgery.
- Study: pursuing education.
- Tourism: visiting new destinations.
- Pilgrimage: religious visit to sacred place.
- Business: conducting commerce.

b) *Forced migration:*

- Refugee: person recognized as a victim of forced migration in a host country under the mandates set by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).
- Asylum seeker: a victim of forced migration who has filed an application for asylum and is awaiting a final decision.
- Displaced person (IDP): victim of forced migration who moves within a national territory.
- Exile: forced by the government of his/her country to leave the territory and seek refuge abroad.
- Deported: forced to leave a foreign country.

2.2 Types of Migrants

There exists not an umbrella term under which a common lay understanding of what characteristics one needs to abide by to be labeled as a migrant. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines a migrant as a person who has or is moving within a state and/or is crossing an international border away from his/her original place of habitual residence regardless of legal status, the nature of movement (voluntary/involuntary), cause of movement, and length of stay.

In tandem with the above mentioned descriptive migratory classifications, this roughly translates into three subgroups of migrants:

a) *Displaced persons:*

- Refugee.
- Asylum seeker.
- Internally Displaced Person (IDP).

b) *Voluntary migrants:*

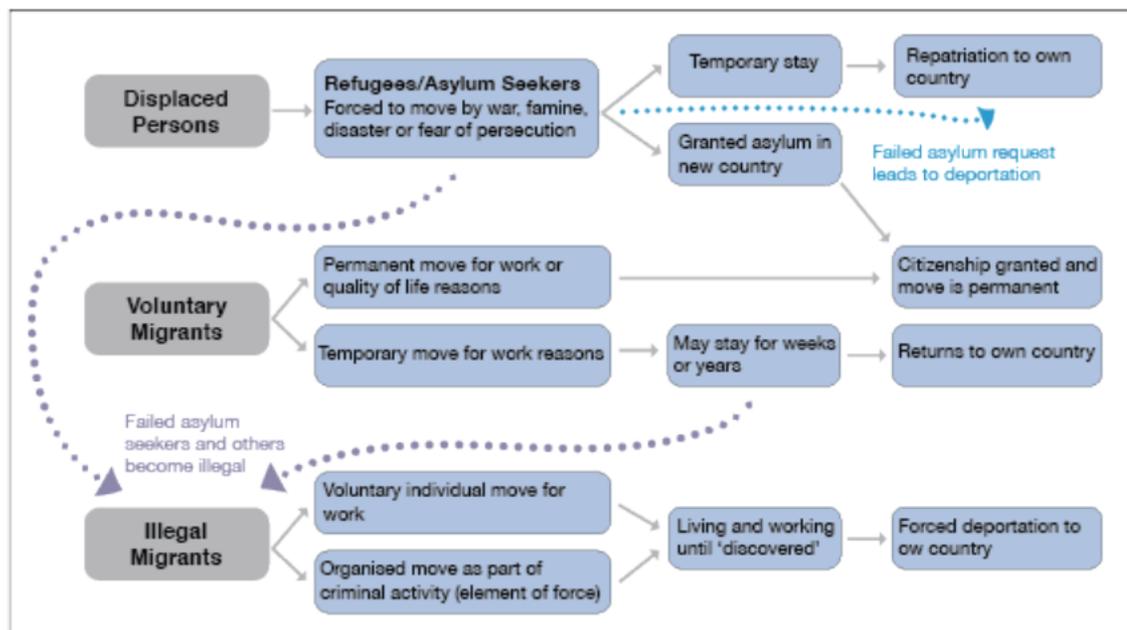
- Permanent.
- Temporary.

c) *Illegal migrants:*

- Voluntary.
- Forced (as part of criminal activity).
- Failed asylum seekers.

This three-way division of migrants (displaced persons, voluntary migrants, and Illegal migrants), their subcategories, and respected descriptive classifications of possible movement patterns is summarized in the following diagram:

Figure 1: Types of Migrants



Source: Rose, 2016

Despite these intricate divisions of migration and migrant categorizations that highlight the sensitivity of and need for descriptive specificities, one need take into consideration the fact that types of movement(s), and movers within themselves, seem to be in a constant state of flux as new categories emerge based on new socioeconomic and geopolitical drivers (Wimalaratana, 2016). Said categories might get *lost within migration* and go unaccounted for, proving problematic, not only for migrants, but also for scholars, researchers, policy makers, and various players within the vast migration field.

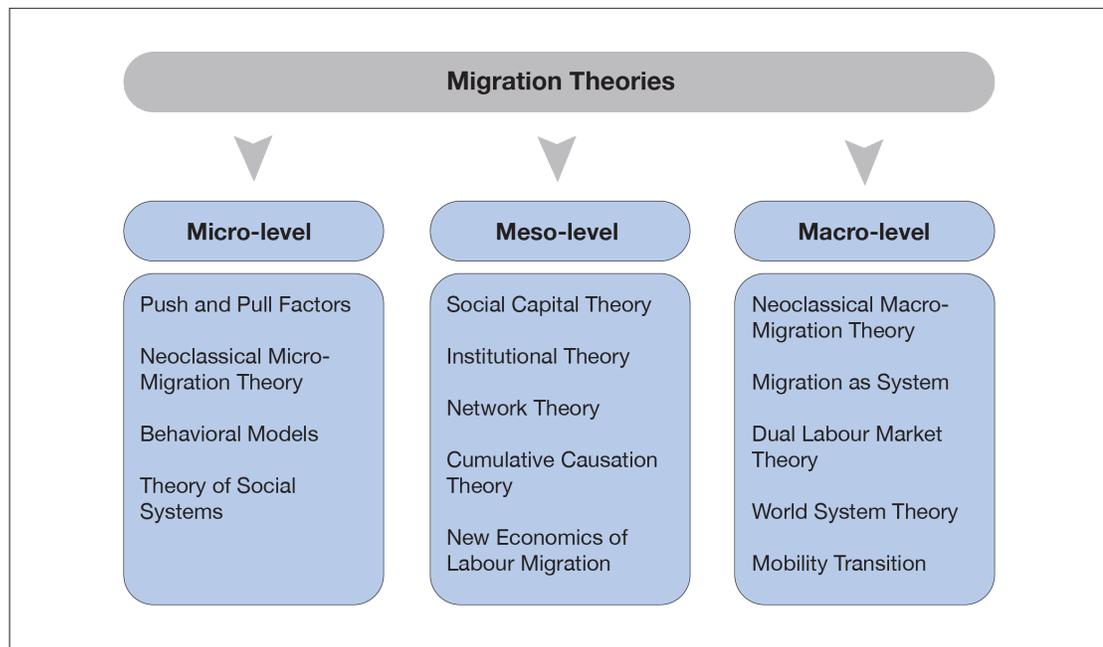
2.3 Theories of Migration – Interpretative

There is no shortage when it comes to theories of migration, scholars and researchers have attempted to classify these concepts in accordance with a plethora of factors including migratory patterns, relevant disciplines, origin of theories, and application. Contributors to the literature have tried to amalgamate certain theories under different headings, the most popular of which are discussed herein.

a) *Level Based Analysis:*

Hammar et al. (1997) and Faist and Faist (2000) put forth a *level-based* classification of migration which revolves around three main categories – the micro, macro, and meso. Micro-level theories consider an individual’s perspective (desires and expectations), macro-level theories take into account a more comprehensive point of view (social and economic structures), and meso-level is a middle ground between the two aforementioned levels (family and social networks). Figure 2 divides the most popular theories of migration accordingly:

Figure 2: Migration Theories Level Based Analysis

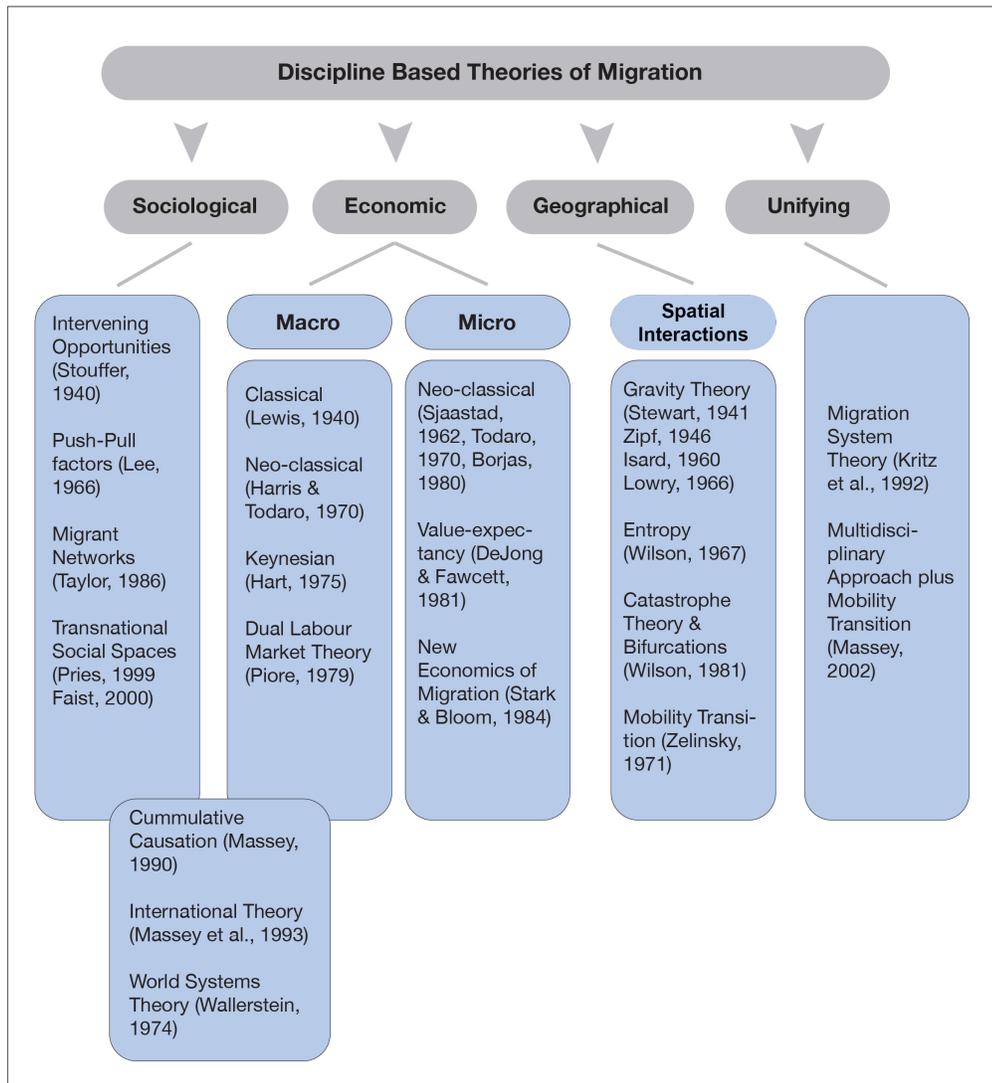


Source: Wickramasinghe, 2016

b) *Discipline Based Analysis:*

Several migration theories have been developed in certain academic domains placing emphases on specific *disciplines* within which research has been conducted. According to Prakash (2009), each theory is dominated by a specific focus, be it economic, sociological, cultural, geographical, and/or demographic in nature. Figure 3 details both the source and structure of said theories which are found in the migration literature.

Figure 3: Discipline Based Theories of Migration

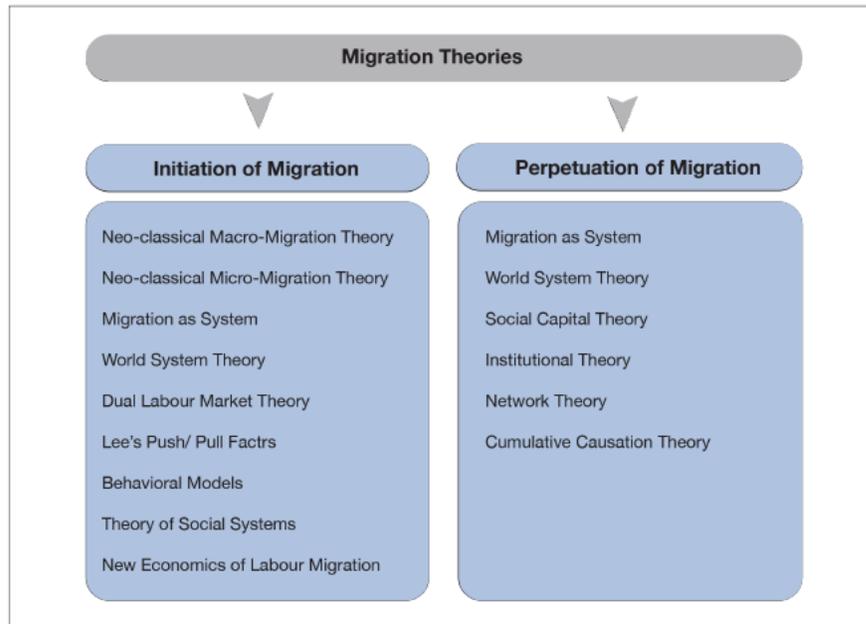


Source: Bijak, 2006.

c) *Initiation and Perpetuation Analysis:*

With theories analyzed by Massey et al. (1993) and Arango (2000) in mind, Hagen-Zanker (2008) has sub-divided migration theories into two categories, *initiation* (causes) and *perpetuation* (continuity) of migration. Similarly, Kurekova (2011) parallels this approach by dividing migration theories into *determinants* and *perpetuation* of migration. Such classifications bring the subject of analysis to the fore, Figure 4 divides various theories of migration accordingly:

Figure 4: Initiation and Perpetuation Theories of Migration

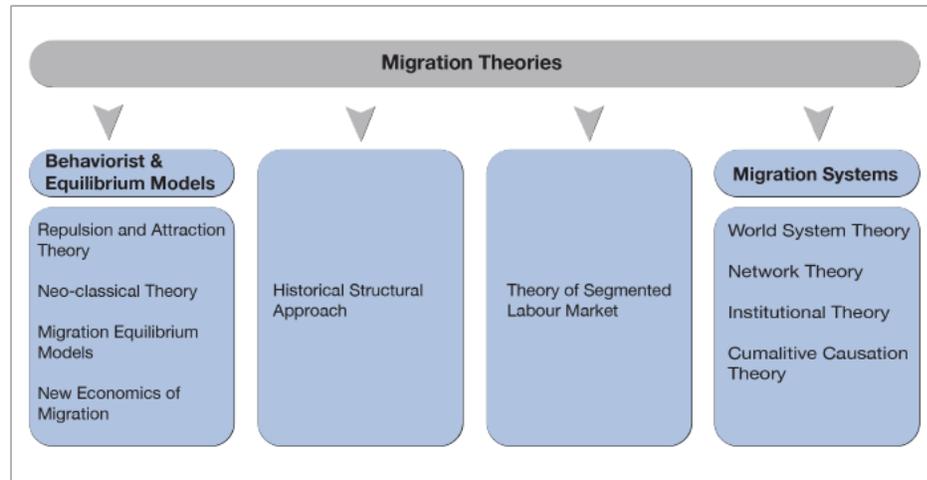


Source: Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Massey et al., 1993)

d) *21st Century Analysis:*

Huzdik (2014) allocates particular attention to theories that explain the *21st century* migratory process. His four categories (behaviorist and equilibrium tradition, historical structural approach, theory of segmented labor market, and migration systems) are instigated by drivers such as past trends, economic culture, demand/supply of labor, market imbalance, globalization, institutions that assist in migration, and individual factors, this is summarized in Figure 5:

Figure 5: Theories Explaining Migration in the 21st Century



Source: Huzdik (2014)

What is evident from the above models is that prominent contributors to the literature have divided the same set of theories into different categories based on their own disciplinary agendas, each highlighting specific research objectives, interests, analysis, hypothesis, and assumptions. The problem with this is twofold, firstly, theories, frameworks, and models developed mostly in isolation of one another remain largely unconnected (De Haas, 2010). Secondly, for Arango (2020), there is yet to come into existence an overarching comprehensive migration theory that explains the phenomenon through and through.

2.4 Analysis of Migration Theories

With the aim of understanding the movement of people, both internally and externally, in a wider context and in relations to a variation of drivers, one needs to refer to the theories of migration which highlight specific and systematic regularities and prominent relationships that cultivate amongst migrants and migration. As such, it is necessary to briefly analyze the most popular of theories under which the concepts presented in the models above can be subsumed.

a) Neo-Classical Theory:

The oldest of the theories explains the impact of labor migration on economic development according to which the sole cause of migration is the geographical

imbalance between supply and demand of labor (Massey et al., 1993). Remittance generation has been a favorable result of this trend and has become a powerful incentive for labor-sending states to encourage out-migration while fostering production in receiving states (Prakash, 2009).

As per Harris and Todaro (1970), it is worth noting there is an underlying belief that the eventual elimination of wage differential between sending and receiving states would end labor induced migration. Additionally, Massey et al. (1993) assume the international flow of labor primarily happens in labor markets and that other markets do not have a role to play when it comes to migration. Furthermore, Constant and Massey (2002) believe that as long as a migrant benefits from wages, education, and prestige in the host country he/she will not return to their country of origin. With the work of Massey, Durand, and Malone (2005) in mind, it is additionally assumed that labor market rules do to some effect regulate migration in both sending and receiving states.

Important to note however is the fact that in most developing countries the first migrations are often involuntary in nature and are driven by poverty, restraining state policies, and civil warfare (UNESCAP, 2007). Moreover, some would be migrants opt to remain at home and/or engage in internal movements due to socio-cultural reasons such as hierarchal power relations of families, kinship, and gender.

b) The New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM):

A recently developed theory that aims to challenge the Neo-classical perception of migration, NELM explains migration through micro (individual) and meso (unit) levels indicating that the decision to migrate is not purely an individualistic one, rather collective cultural units come into play with the aim of both increasing income and diversifying risk by utilizing labor resources in a variety of ways (Stark, 1984). This theory challenges the Neo-classical approach by paying attention to the structural conditions affecting the individual, and not just the labor market, by focusing on labor as a pooled household resource vis-a-vie remittances rather than it being an individual based role played by a migrant (Lucas & Stark, 1985).

c) Dual Labor Market Theory:

Developed in 1979 by Michael J. Poire who argues that migration is the result of permeant labor demands from industrialized and developed nations in efforts of propelling their propaganda agendas. Meaning, migrants are *pulled* to receiving industrialized countries rather than being *pushed* by sending states. It is this demand driven nature of the theory that puts it in contradiction with both the Neo-classical and NELM approaches, here, the structural needs of the economy generate the need for migrant workers rather than them being propelled by wage differentials and/or the desires of their families.

d) Network Theory:

A contemporary concept based on social ties that connect migrants with relatives, friends, and fellow countryfolk at home which allows for the exchange of information, support formation, and financial backup. These networks reduce both the cost and risk of movement while simultaneously increasing expected net returns, thus positively affecting future decision-making processes of migrants (Massey et al. 1993). To Dustmann and Glitz (2005), not only are transnational communities a form of social capital that grant unbridled access to employment opportunities abroad, as a diaspora, they also influence migrants when selecting their final destinations of choice. Within themselves, these enclaves foster ever-growing social, political, cultural, and economic ties. (Prakash, 2009).

e) Migration System Theory:

This theory assumes that migration contributes to changing the social, cultural, economic, and institutional conditions in sending and receiving countries on both a micro and macro level (Fawcett & Arnold, 1987). De Haas (2010) identified a close affiliation between the Network Theory and the Migration System Theory, emphasizing a mutual link between migration and socio-economic development.

f) Institutional Theory:

A number of institutions and organizations (profit and non-profit) have been set up to capitalize on the imbalance between potential migrants of labor sending states and employers of labor receiving countries. Most non-profit organizations are concerned with the humanitarian aspects of migration, while profit seeking establishments often

engage in illegal behavior by offering a migrant the option of border crossing, counterfeit travel documents, arranged marriages with citizens of a specific state, and facilitated credit options in exchange for specific exorbitant fees (Massey et al., 1993).

g) Cumulative Causation Theory:

Initially developed in 1956 by Gunnar Myrdal, the theory explains why migration flows begin and continue to grow, i.e. why the number of migrants increase over time. Since primary migrants provide social capital to those at the country of origin, which in retrospect encourages and facilitates the process of them finding jobs under minimum risk in destination countries, it can be said that such a situation positively influences the likelihood of future migration. As such, this theory can be subsumed under either the Network or System Theories.

2.5 Major Shortcomings of Migration Theories

Many have criticized the Neo-Classical Theory, Van Naerssen et al. (2008) challenged the theory for the lack of attention it attributes to both cultural and sociological factors and their effect on migration. Kurekova (2011) adds that the theory diminishes the importance of the determinants of migration, ignores market imperfections, and standardizes migrants and their subsequent societies. Furthermore, he insinuates that the theory not only ignores the impact of migration on both sending and receiving states, but also the importance of policy formation regarding the process as a whole. Prakash (2009) adds that it is too economic in nature leaving out important social, cultural, and political dimensions of migration. This overall dissatisfaction with the Neo-classical approach explains the emergence of new theoretical perspectives as per Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, and Pellegrino (1999).

Regarding the New Economics of Migration Theory, Arango (2000) highlights its failure to include other non-economic forms of migration, such as forced migration and illegal migration, whose very existence challenges the assumption on which the theory is based. Kurekova (2011) stresses that the theory is biased towards sending countries, while Faist & Faist (2000) point out that NELM is predominantly future oriented and falls short when it comes to addressing gender matters.

As for the Dual Labor Market Theory, Prakash (2009) clarifies that the theory fails to sufficiently explain the causes of migratory movements as it mostly emphasizes the importance of structural demands for foreign laborer's in receiving states. Furthermore, Arango (2000) highlights the theories exclusion of push factors that might induce migration, opting instead to focus on economic pull factors as propellers of movement. Thus, migrant agency and personal desires, which do not revolve around matters of employment and that often induce migration, are absent when it comes to this theory.

Commenting on the weakness of the Migration Network Theory, Portes and Landolt (1996) suggest that when strong networks form among certain individuals, said networks inadvertently stunt the entry of outside individuals. Furthermore, the importance of the theory has become indirectly proportional to technological developments, that is according to Ullah (2016). Adding to the listed shortcomings, Drbohlav (2011) states that certain theories are illogical for being mere concepts, perceptions, and frameworks. He goes on to suggest that many theories focus on receiving states and do so in a purely outdated male based economical fashion. Neither an individual's agency nor any political aspects are accounted for.

Although migration has been a multi-dimensional phenomenon influenced by a plethora of disciplines including sociology, geography, management, economics, commerce, political science, demography, psychology and law, theories of migration seem to be mainly rooted in economic factors, implying that movements of migrants are predominantly financially instigated (Bhagat, 2020). It is due to this bias, as stated by Massey et al. (1993), that migration is associated with disjointed and incoherent theories with no all-inclusive mother theory at the helm of this intricate subject of study (Wimalaratana, 2016).

Little theoretical and practical work has been done towards attempting to address and explain the dimensions of non-economic migratory movements (Bhagat, 2020). The fact still remains that non-economic drivers which propel and instigate migration, be they primitive in nature (ex: sex, love, orientation, medical ailments, death) and/or of a more unorthodox kind (ex: witchcraft, widowery, third genders,

exorcisms, and suicide) continue to be an area that has long been overlooked, understudied, and gravely underestimated.

According to Martin (2001); categorizing different types of migrants might prove challenging, however, one need always remember that the process is more than an ‘exercise in semantics’ and that countries have distinctive responsibilities towards distinct types of migrants. This point is well worth noting, it strips down the complexities related to migration as a whole, and forced movements particularly, into a singular bare minimum requirement, that of recognition. Taking the unorthodox into account, most, if not all, theories and scholastic works have failed to address and explain the dimensions of these niche migrant clusters, let alone acknowledge their existence.

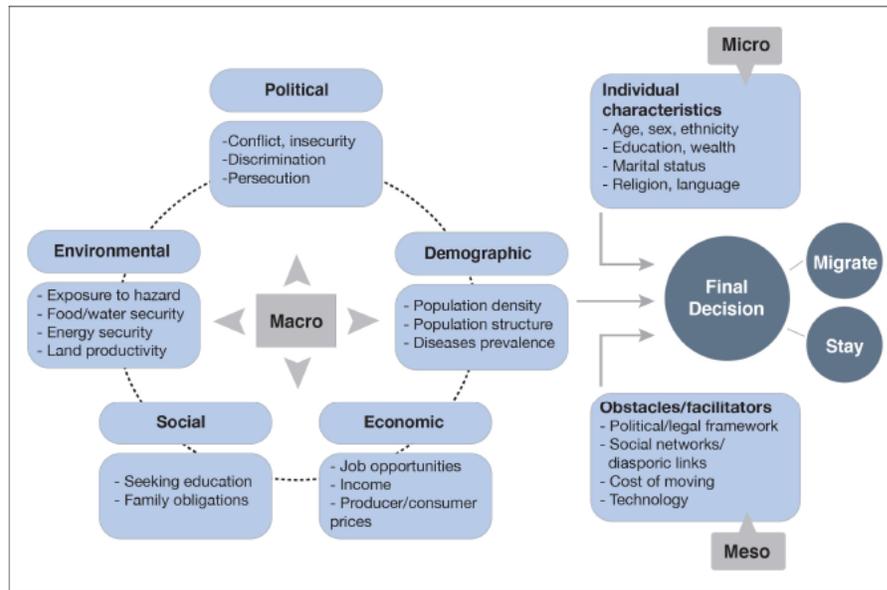
2.6 Drivers of Migration

Since the beginning of time, people have always been on the move in search of better living conditions and/or in efforts of escaping volatile situations and lack of fundamental human rights in their homelands (Castelli, 2018). Drivers can be seen as forces that lead to the inception of migration and the perpetuation of movement thereafter (Van Hear et al., 2018). Although Ravenstein first addressed such factors in 1885, it was Lee’s groundbreaking work that sought to identify such a complex phenomenon using a modern and scientific approach. These two major drivers of migration formed the fundamentals upon which his rudimentary *push/pull* theory was firstly introduced in 1966. The theory ascribed economic, social, environmental, and political elements as *push* factors that prompted an individual’s departure from the homeland whilst *pulling* him/her towards the allure of a receiving country.

Acknowledging the multifaceted ever complex reality of the world we live in, one need recognize the factors that come together and determine the final decision(s) of an individual regarding whether or not to migrate. Drivers can be subdivided into *micro-elements* (personal attitudes and characteristics) such as age, sex, wealth, education, religion, and sexual orientation, *meso-elements* (closely related to the individual but not completely under his/her control) such as communication technology, diasporic links, cost of moving, and social networks, and *macro-elements*

(independent from the individual) which include economic, social, demographic political, and environmental factors. The relationship between micro, meso, and macro factors and a migrant’s decision to migrate is illustrated in Figure 6. These drivers often function in a plethora of combinations, referred to as *driver complexes*, which interact with each other across contexts to shape the ever-changing structural space in which individuals make and take mobility decisions (Van Hear et al., 2018).

Figure 6: Micro, Meso, and Macro Drivers of Migration



Source: Castelli, 2018

Here, it is important to note that, conditions which prompt movement may differ from those that perpetuate it across time and space. Scholars have long debated these dynamics, Richmond (1994), for example, used *proactive* and *reactive* connotations to describe factors that enable or constrain migration through the identification of what he termed ‘*predisposing factors, structural constraints, enabling circumstances, and precipitating events.*’ Van Hear (1998) modified this approach, suggesting that *proximate, predisposing, precipitating, and intervening* factors were responsible for shaping what he dubbed ‘*migration orders*’. Taking this notion further, Van Hear et al., (2018) proposed viewing factors as having a range of functions which drive the migratory process rather than them having fixed roles, thus, factors should be seen as conditions that may shape migration and *drivers* as activated factors. This *Push-Pull Plus Theory* accounts for *predisposing, proximate, precipitating, and mediating* drivers of migration.

- a) *Predisposing drivers*: these drivers contribute to the creation of a context within which migration becomes more likely, they manifest in structural disparities between countries of origin and final destination, and can be:
- Economic: earnings, living standards, and livelihoods.
 - Political: conflict, persecution, and human rights infringements.
 - Environmental: fertility of soil, water availability, and forest cover.
 - Geographic: proximity to borders and/or reviving states.
- b) *Proximate drivers*: have a more direct bearing on migration and are resultant from the above-mentioned structural features.
- Country of origin: business or economic downturns, violations of human rights, large scale development projects that involve displacement, security issues, and the effects of climate change.
 - Place of destination: economic upturn, new employment prospects, business development, new education opportunities.
- * Predisposing drivers can become proximate in nature if they become more acute.
- c) *Precipitating drivers*: trigger departure and are usually tied to an identifiable event. Typically occurring in the places of origin, they may come about in countries of destination too.
- Economic: financial crisis, unemployment, and factory closures.
 - Political: escalation of conflict, persecution, invasion, and outbreak of war.
 - Environmental: earthquakes, floods, and hurricanes.
- d) *Mediating drivers*: this *migration infrastructure* plays a major part in the production of *would-be migrants* (Xiang & Lindquits, 2014), they enable, facilitate, accelerate, consolidate, diminish or constrain migration.
- Facilitate: availability of transportation, communication, information, policy, practices, and resources.
 - Constrain: lack of the aforementioned.
- * Migrant networks as well as the mushrooming smuggling industry may also play an important mediating role (Bakewell et al., 2016).

Collectively, various drivers of migration create structural conditions within which individuals make decisions about whether or not to move. On its own however, a structural account cannot fully explain migratory activities, the choices and actions of people and communities affected need be accounted for. How *agency* is exercised in processing social experiences and devising ways of coping with life, even under extreme coercion, cannot be overlooked (Long, 2001). The extent to which agency is exerted reflects capabilities, both on an individualistic and collective level, such capabilities are shaped by matters pertaining to gender, class, and ethnicity, among other social cleavages, all of which are central in shaping a migrant's aspirations and desires (Sen, 1999).

Furthermore, drivers may be interpreted as being associated with particular social domains (cultural, economic, political, historic, geographic, demographic, and environmental), such a narrowed focus does not permit for an understanding of how they operate, for that, their dimensions have to come into focus, them being:

- a) *Locality*: some drivers are strongly associated with places of origin (such as environmental pressures), while others center around areas of destination (such as migration policy), others help in shaping a migrant's journey (such as geographical proximity), and some operate on a more transnational front (such as labor markets).
- b) *Scale*: on one hand *spatial* scales are of concern (local, national, regional, and global) while on the other, *social* scales (individual, family, household, community, and the wider society) are of importance.
- c) *Selectivity*: the extent to which a driver covers and affects members of a certain social group based on various characteristics (class, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, language, and so on).
- d) *Duration*: drivers can operate over different time frames, be they acute or chronic in nature, and can result in a one off and/or an ongoing exodus of people.
- e) *Tractability*: drivers can either operate on the surface of society or be more deeply embedded therein, such as those based on longstanding cultural traditions and norms.

To reiterate, drivers of migration work in combination within complexes to shape specific forms and structures of movement, they may cluster operating as more than the sum of the single drivers that constitute them. Moreover, several driver complexes may themselves interconnect within one migratory flow, thus resulting in shaping the direction and nature of a groups movement(s) (Van Heart et al., 2018).

2.7 Forced Migration

As a phenomenon, forced migration has been defined by IOM as being a *‘migratory movement which, although the drivers can be diverse, involves force, compulsion, or coercion.’* However, it is well worth noting that this definition is not recognized as an international legal concept, rather, it has served as a popular term used to describe movements of refugees, displaced persons, and some victims of trafficking. Furthermore, it has come into question for falling under the voluntary/forced dichotomy rather than recognizing a migrant’s continuum of agency (IOM Glossary on Migration, 2019). This umbrella term houses three specific categories of people, and they are:

- a) *Refugees*: the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol define a refugee as being a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence, has a *‘well-founded fear’* of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, and/or political opinion, and is unable/unwilling to return to his/her country of origin due to said fear.
- b) *Asylum Seekers*: according to the UNHCR, an asylum seeker is an individual who has sought international protection and whose claim for refugee status has not yet been determined.
- c) *Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)*: the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998) define an IDP as being an individual who has been forced/ obliged to flee or leave his/her home and place of habitual residence resulting from/or in avoidance of armed conflict, generalized violence, human rights violations, and natural/human made disasters, and who, in doing so, has not crossed an internationally recognized state border.

According to the UNHCR, the number of those forcibly displaced, both within countries (IDPs) and without (refugees and asylum seekers), has nearly doubled in the last 10 years going from 41,000,000 in 2010 to 78,500,000 by the end of 2020. From these, 48,000,000 were internally displaced persons making up 61% of forcibly displaced individuals (UNHCR, 2020). Such numbers highlight the importance of accounting for IDPs when analyzing movements that have been instigated by conflict, generalized violence, persecution, and/or human rights violations. If anything, IDPs vastly outnumber refugees and asylum seekers yet remain overshadowed by both categories within literature, research, and policy (IDMC, 2021).

Often, it has been assumed that refugees and IDPs are two points on the same line of forced migration/displacement, separated only by the fact that one crosses an internationally recognized border while the other moves within one. However, rather than being a standardized occurrence with an either/or binaric outcome, one need note that dire circumstances can affect differently situated people within a society in a variety of ways which later manifests itself in a particular pattern of migration. For example; within a specific context and area, the majority of IDPs seem to come from poor and uneducated backgrounds, while their refugee counterparts are frequently of a higher social standing for having had better access to employment and educational opportunities prior to their flight, such factors undoubtedly affect the trajectories of movement. Furthermore, IDPs are particularly likely to have had a direct face to face experience with violence prior to their departure (Cantor & Apollo, 2020).

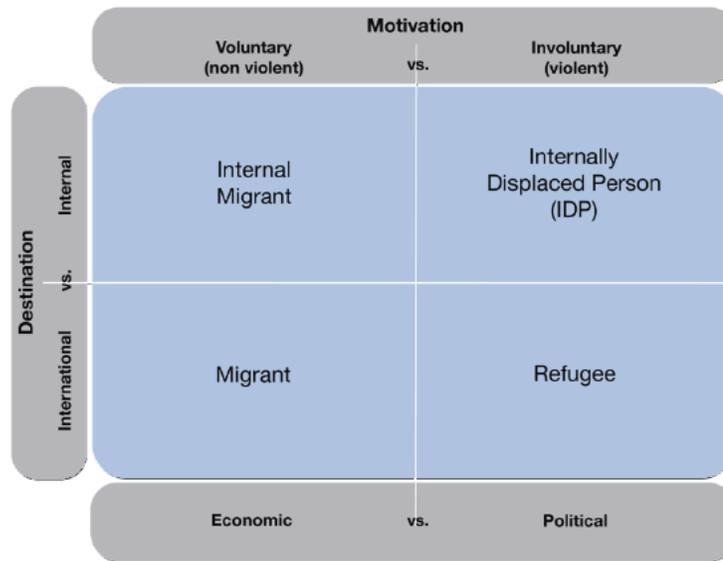
Moreover, Steele (2019) proposes that the processes which explain displacement also explain where and how persons resettle. Varying based on whether or not those displaced cluster together and whether they relocate within or without their home countries, the author introduces a new conceptual typology with four predominant patterns: segregation, expulsion, integration, and dispersion. *Segregation* and *expulsion* reflect clustered displacement both within and outside of a country's territory. *Integration* and *dispersion* reveal situations in which those displaced wish to blend in with local and/or international communities rather than cluster amongst themselves. Steele goes on to suggest a theory that would explain types of forced movements based on the form of displacement (cleansing or not) and the perpetrators in charge of instigating these movements (state or not).

According to Hayden (2006), an uber interesting aspect of migration as a whole, and specifically its forced subclass, is the distinctions between *economics* and *politics* in defining what it means to be human in Western cultures, a consequence of which has been the limited understanding and recognition of structural violence within the current classifications of migration. It is this model of the individual in the West that underwrites how rights are conceived, thus dictating or rather negating who falls under which subclass of forced migration (refugee, asylum seeker, and IDP).

Of equal significance is the fact that the *pull* towards another country is deemed of less importance when compared to *push* drivers which activate forced migration(s). Refugees, asylum seekers, and IDPs are repeatedly defined in terms of their overwhelming reasons to leave. This bias is reflected within academia through the strong contrast between approaches and issues related to forced migrants in specific, and migration studies in general.

Whether driven by micro, meso, and/or macro factors, the role of volition, with respect to determinants of migratory movements, should not be understated. Its dichotomous nature is threefold, initially presenting itself as *voluntary vs. involuntary*, it can take on an *economic vs. political* binary since voluntary reasons for moving have many a times been understood in terms of economics, whilst those of an involuntary nature have been ascertained to politics. Furthermore, although the 1951 UNHCR Refugee Convention does not include *violence* within its definition of refugeehood, it is what most consider to be a predominant political motivator of flight. This highlights a third binary used to differentiate between refugees (forced) and other types of migrants, that of *violent vs. nonviolent* societies of origin (Hayden, 2006). This either/or nature of motivation and destination can be summarized in the following diagram:

Figure 7: Migration Binaries and Types of Migrants



Source: modified from Heslin et. al, 2019

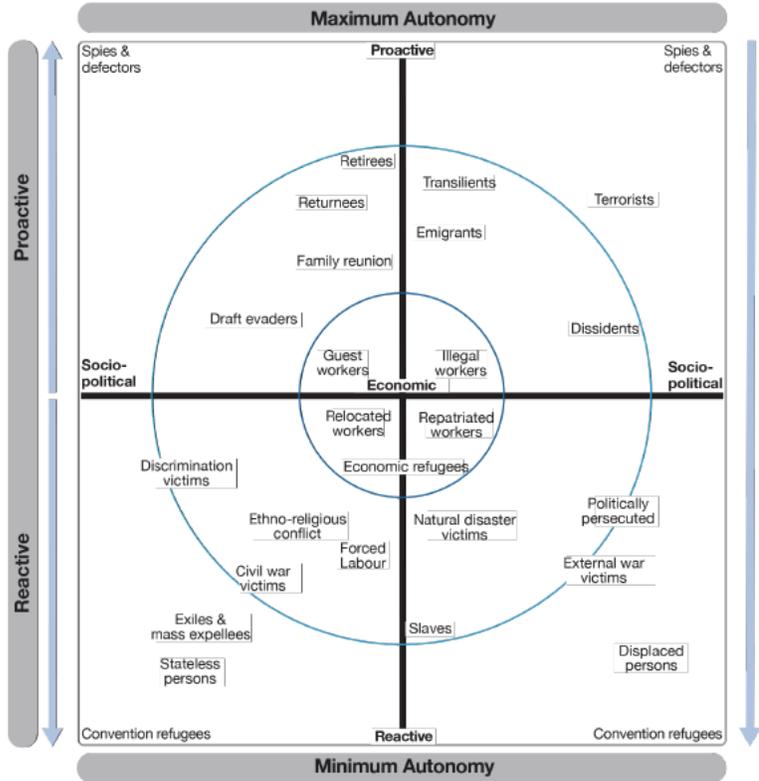
Moreover, there is an overarching problem regarding typology wherein some forms of migration are equated unequivocally with *agency* while others with *structural* factors, not accounting for the likelihood of a nexus between the two. Giddens (1984) defined agency as being an individual’s power to freely make choices and take action, while structure as being a system of resources and rules that negate the extent to which such choices and actions can be made. The interplay between agency and structure is highlighted by Sewell (1992) who stresses that agency arises from structure and that structure is reinforced as a consequence of said agency. That being said, Bakewell (2010) argued that almost all research conducted within the field of migration studies has adopted an either/or approach failing to examine the intricate relationship between these two social pillars. Thus, this area of study needs to account for the preferences, decisions, and actions of migrants (agency) while also taking into consideration accessible resources and constraints (structural factors) which they many face resulting in a more accurate representation of migrants and their migratory journeys.

Instead of movements being binaric in nature, it would be much more appropriate to recognize a continuum, at one end of which migrants would be considered as being *proactive* while at the other *reactive*. At one extreme, decisions to move would be made after due consideration of all necessary information aiming to maximize net outcome (economic drivers), while on the other decisions would be taken

under situations of extreme crisis, leaving little to no room for alternatives to be considered. Between these two poles, would be migrants make informative choices regarding whether or not to move based on an infinite combination of economic and political factors as a response to a social systems failure to meet their fundamental economic, biological, and social needs.

All in all, an individual's autonomy is 'relative to opportunity structures which are themselves determined by social forces' (Richmond, 1988), this is diagrammatically denoted in the below matrix. Decision making is represented as a continuum from maximum to minimum autonomy on the vertical axis, while the horizontal axis represents the interaction of economic and sociopolitical drivers that come full circle as internal and external state powers converge. The nearer the category falls to the horizontal periphery the more important the political determinants, while those closer to the vertical axis are more in the economic domain. It should be noted that no clear-cut boundary between these drivers can be drawn.

Figure 8: Paradigm of International Population Movements



Source: Richmond, 1987

In the face of contemporary demographic realities, the present UN definition of who constitutes as being a ‘conventional refugee’ is rather futile. Even if a new subgroup were to be introduced to include those who do not meet the de jure requirements, it would still not do justice to the complexity and scale of individuals who fall within the definition of reactive migrants. Attention need be given to a reformulation of the concept which would account for a plethora of unconventional crisis and disaster generated situations (Richmond, 1988).

2.8 Morbid Migrants

Often disregarded, there lay another dimension to forced migration – exile. According to (Ibid, 1995), the definition of *exile* encompasses a spectrum of differing historical and political causes and involves individuals who, although collectively displaced, may find themselves in qualitatively divergent situations and circumstances. Associated with stigma and expulsion, and connected to feelings of loneliness and spirituality, Hackl (2017) emphasizes how this conceptual category, that includes a multitude of socioeconomic, psychological, historical, and biological realities, has been ‘chronically neglected’. Nuselovici (2013) concurs, stating that contemporary migratory experiences highlight specific concepts such as ‘migrant’ and ‘refugee’ completely disregarding the ‘exiled’. Of particular importance is the fact that he emphasizes how the diverse and numerous panoramas of exile have fallen outside the analytical grids of migration as a field of study.

Building atop of his reservations, I believe that there are those whose mobilities, identity (re)configurations, and hybridizations have gotten *lost within migration* in the sense that they have been rendered nonexistent, for lack of a better word, due to shortcomings within the prevalent migration discourse and/or disjointed typologies. Whether such shortcomings can be attributed to a gargantuan failure or a simple oversight on behalf of scholars and policy makers alike remains unclear, the details of which are beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, it is due time we shed light on this special type of migrant.

The *Morbid Migrant* is an individual who, due to a sequence of the most unfortunate and unusual events, political and/or economic in nature, is labeled as being

‘socially dead’ and is thus *forced* to migrate. The adjective morbid has been used as the definitive term for this new subcategory of forced migration due to the very definition of the word:

Morbid

/ˈmɔːbɪd/

adjective

characterized by an abnormal and unhealthy interest in *disturbing* and *unpleasant* subjects, especially *death* and *disease*.

These people execute some form of minute agency, though often abysmal, in deciding whether or not to move in response to bouts of violence, misfortune, disaster, marginalization, segregation, ostracization, torture, abuse, and death. Their anomic circumstances can be attributed to one or a combination of determinants (social, cultural, economic, biological, political, etc.) and can fall within micro, meso, and/or macro subdivisions therein. Said individuals find themselves in extreme peril and are in dire need of protection and/or aid, both of which cannot be secured at their points of origin. Morbid migrants can move within a state’s territory (like IDPs), cross internationally recognized borders (like refugees and asylum seekers), or undergo a combination of both movements (internal-internal, internal-external, external-external, external-internal). Often these movements are of a permanent nature, but for some they are short lived, this can only be determined on a case by case basis. All in all, we can define this new grouping as follows:

Morbid Migrant: a person or a group of persons who have been forced to flee or leave their original place(s) of habitual residence, within or without their country of origin, as a result of a form of ‘social death’ despite themselves being physically alive.

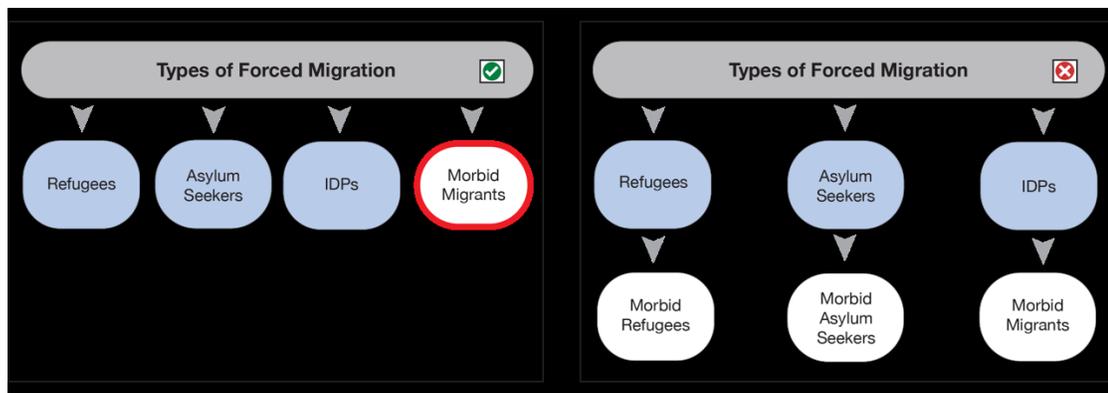
(Social death can result from violence, misfortune, disaster, marginalization, segregation, ostracization, torture, abuse, and/or physical death.)

Two things should be noted about the definition provided; firstly, it is purposefully broad and semi specific to ensure the inclusion of as many cases, that are applicable, as possible. This loosely defined description allows the category as a whole to be malleable in the face of an everchanging global reality. Future scholars,

researchers, and policy makers can add or deduct specificities/groupings that are either no longer valid or have shown to be concurrent with the dynamic(s) of their times, be they economic, political, or sociocultural in nature. It is imperative that we limit the numbers of those who have, for far too long, been lost in migration and start accounting for the vast majority of forced migrants from here on out.

Secondly, I have proposed the introduction of a new subcategory under *forced migration* and not a subclass of its already established groupings (refugees, Asylum seekers, and/or IDPs), i.e. (morbid refugees, morbid asylum seekers, and/or morbid IDPs). This difference is fundamental to realize as there cannot be an interchanging use of terminology within and between these classes, they each hold specific characterizations and definitions, the use of which describes different types of migrants and migratory movements. Diagram 9 summarizes the aforementioned:

Diagram 9: Correct placement of the Morbid Migrants



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The introduction of a new theory of migration, i.e. *Theory of Morbid Migration* was not suggested as such a monumental task falls outside the scope of this thesis, perhaps it will be attempted in pursuit of my doctorate degree in the near future.

The following is a sample list of people whose most basic of human rights have been violated to the umpteenth degree, these individuals would fall under the definition of morbid migrants if the proposed classification was to be implemented within the migration literature:

- a) Hijras of India.
- b) Japans Suicide Forest Victims.
- c) Fistula Survivors of Addis Ababa.

- d) Witch Children of Nigeria.
- e) Castaway Widows of Vrindavan.
- f) Possessed Patients of the Vatican.
- g) Acid Attacked School Girls of Afghanistan.

Chapter Three

For far too long women have remained invisible within studies pertaining to migration (Houston et. al, 1984; Pedraza, 1991; UN World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, 2005), their socioeconomic contributions and unique life trajectories thus rendered null and void. Not only has most of the available migration literature centered predominantly around notions of economics (as discussed in the previous chapter), it has vastly been gender bias, centering focus on the male migrant. Analytical frameworks either ignored female participation in and contribution to migration, or simply assumed that the causes and consequences of movement were concomitant regardless of sex.

Contrary to these beliefs, women presently represent around half the number of international migrants worldwide. According to UN Women (2016), 50% of the world's refugee population is made up of women and girls and out of the 40,000,000 internally displaced persons worldwide, women not only outnumber men, but also face greater hardships compounded over time. These and other related issues call for a more detailed description and analysis of the drivers that push/pull women to move and their ensuing patterns of migration. Generally, long overdue attention need be allocated towards the feminization of migration (Piché, 2013; Premi, 1980). Adopting a more feminist based approach regarding migration studies could prove groundbreaking in the sense that this landscape has remained largely at the margins of migration studies.

With this in mind, I have opted to put forth two women-based case studies in an attempt to shed light on the importance of, not only morbid migrants in general, but migrant women in specific. The aim is to bring to the fore the often neglected role of women in migration by focusing on the female migrant and striving to contribute to a gendered understanding of the sociocultural process of migration.

Important to note is the fact that to be labeled as a morbid migrant an individual can be of any sex (female, male, or other). This new fourth subcategory under types of forced migrants is not to be mistakenly assumed to be only female in nature, it is not. However, women do seem to represent an overwhelming majority of this category, specifically if we account for the fact that out of the 79,500,000 people who have been

forcibly displaced (refugees, Asylum seekers, and IDPs), over half are women and girls, and that women do outnumber men within IDP populations as per Women for Women (2021) and Benjamin (1998).

Unraveling knowledge about women's narratives, gendered norms/traditions/beliefs/stereotypes, sexist societal stratification, and their effects on women-based migration is of huge importance at a day in age when globalization and advancements in technology have vastly facilitated such movements. Through the use of extensive secondary research and readings I have selected two groups, one from Asia, the other Africa, to illustrate how morbid migrants are indeed a global phenomenon and not simply an occurrence particular to a specific continent. These examples are not only of relevance due to their gendered aspects, rather, they should be given credence due to the number of individuals they encompass. With thousands upon thousands of people being affected by such morbid realities, I hope to show that these migrants can no longer remain unaccounted for, ignored, and/or neglected within the literature, at the very least they need be recognized.

The widows of Vrindavan India and the Fistula child brides of Addis Ababa Ethiopia have been chosen as the two case studies for this thesis to highlight the fact that morbid migrants are a global phenomenon that affects and includes members of any sex, age, nationality, and/or creed. Despite the presence of complex individual subjectivities, similarities do exist between the two groups, specifically with reference to objective migratory classifications. With regards to geographical categorizations, the cases cover internal movements of a rural to rural and rural to urban nature. Chronologically speaking, most are of a permanent nature. When accounting for demographic and economic classifications, movements are conducted by individuals, often members of first generations, and not in search of economical wellbeing. These migratory movements are forced and are instigated by various forms of, what has been referred to within the definition of morbid migrants as, 'social death'.

3.1 Case One: India – The Widows of Vrindavan

“I had to sleep on the street as even my family abandoned me after my husband’s death. I was married off to him when I was 11 years old and he was 40. My daughter died of malnutrition as I could not give her food since nobody wanted to help a widow. After her death, I decided to come to Vrindavan. A woman should die before her husband’s death so that she doesn’t have to live through hell like this.” – Gosh, AlJazeera (2017).

The Global Widows Report (2015) estimates that the world is home to over 258,481,056 widows, as such widowhood can be seen as being a global phenomenon, ever-present regardless of time and space (cultural and geographic boundaries). India holds the largest widow population on the planet, it is estimated that there are well over 50,000,000 widows within the subcontinent today, this accounts for 10% of the country’s female population (Kama Foundation, 2021). To put it into perspective, the number of widows in India is almost the same as the entire population of countries like South Africa and Tanzania, and exceeds the populace of countries like Myanmar. Ambedkar (1979) has contributed the large number of widows to the substantial average age differences between Indian husbands and wives, which inevitably results in the untimely and early demise of male spouses in comparison to their female counterparts.

Within the Indian context, the experience of members of this particularly vulnerable Hindu community is one of social exclusion and extreme ostracism. A widow, who *ipos facto* finds herself in a perilous position, simply due to the unfavorable socio-economic and cultural ramifications of being a member of the ‘weaker’ sex, is twice marginalized due to India’s long-standing barbaric patriarchal and caste systems (Priyadarshini & Pande, 2021).

According to Ambedkar (1979), the ‘surplus woman’ left behind after the passing of her husband poses a threat to the caste hierarchy since her sexuality makes her susceptible to the potential of a new sexual union with a man of a different caste, such a union is worrisome for fear of polluting the stratification of the caste structure (a strict hierarchical social system based on notions of purity). Within the Indian culture, those in ‘surplus’ have been dealt with in two ways; either through the now abolished practice of *Sati* (the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband), or by extreme practices of enforced celibacy (Chakravarti & Gill, 2001). The rules of

widowhood celibacy found within the religious *Manusmriti* Hindu texts highlight the extreme austerity to which millions of women need succumb:

‘When her husband is dead she may fast as much as she likes, (living) on auspicious flowers, roots and fruits, but she should not even mention the name of another man, She should be long suffering until death, self-restrained and chaste, striving (to fulfill) the unsurpassed duty of women who have one husband.’ (Chakravarti & Gill, 2001).

Strictures of Hindu widowhood celibacy are not only pertaining to all things sex, rather, they govern a widow’s diet, models of dress, and behavioral conduct. For example, a widow is allowed to consume food twice daily, before sunset, and is expected to adhere to a vegan diet void of anything that may generate heat in her body and awaken her sexual urges. Appropriate dress codes permit the use of only white garments, color is forbidden, so is jewelry, engaging in any form of beautification, and wearing any markers indicative of a married Indian woman. Sexual abstinence, whether in action or thought, is forbidden as both are seen to diminish lifelong loyalty dedicated towards the deceased husband. These uber violent acts of celibacy are intended to insure the tenacious and steady eradication of the Hindu widow. This ‘social death’ translates into a loss of identity, socio-economic and cultural capital, access to basic resources, and social networks (Kralova, 2015). Emaciated, desexualized, humiliated, and socially excluded, the once auspicious *she* becomes an othered *it*, the mere sight of which is the epitome of bad luck and misfortune.

Thus, these women face a borage of human rights violations (push factors), including but not limited to, violence, abuse, property theft, enslavement, poverty, lack of access to medical care, and ostracization. The matrix of oppression, in tandem with what is expected of a devout Hindu widow, propel women to migrate. Many are forced and have no choice, while others exercise some form of agency, all be it often attributed to divine intervention, in seeking refuge by moving to Vrindavan due to its association with Krishna, a prominent Hindu deity. There, a life of devout religiosity offers itself as a feasible refuge in escaping from adversities and diverse marginalities, widows envision a life of dignity and security (pull factors), void of the hardships of violence, poverty, forced labor, and negligence. The allure of places like Vrindavan is further

perpetuated by migratory networks through which would be migrants are informed by spiritual teachers, random people, neighbors, friends, and other widows about the possibility of a dignified and holy life. Ironically, one of the core causes of a widow's misfortune and oppression, religion, somehow becomes her prime form of solace while navigating the experiences of widowhood in Vrindavan (Priyadarshini & Pande, 2021).

Not accounting for other such sights, Vrindavan alone is home to more than 20,000 widows that come from all around India, including the states of West Bengal, Assam, and Odisha. It is worth noting that women account for more than 70% of rural to rural migration within India, yet despite this fact, not much is known about the patterns and reasons that put these movements into motion. Rather than being solely explained in terms of marriage, Premi (1980) calls for a more detailed investigation and analysis of female migration, insisting that broken marriages, widowhood, destitution, and desertion are all initiators of migration. Shandilya (2017) describes a widowed woman as being highly contested, subsumed by discourses pertaining to 'imperial legal structures' and 'Brahmanical scriptural readings.' Furthermore, despite the gargantuan number of widows, outlining a systematic history of widowhood in India remains as sporadic as it is incomplete (Priyadarshini & Pande, 2021). Very little is known about the lives of these ostracized, abandoned, or disowned women and their journeys towards holy cities like Vrindavan, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura, Puri, and Varanasi (Bhattacharyya & Singh, 2017).

Taking into account that India is home to over 50,000,000 widows, even if only 1% of these women migrated it would still mean at least 500,000 individuals have gone unaccounted for within the literature and research. Not knowing the extent of this discrepancy is beyond problematic for a variety of reasons, on one end it is a mass oversight on behalf of human rights organizations and policy makers, while on the other, it would mean that a large set of scholastic work regarding female migration, its causes, numbers, patterns, and outcomes is substantially skewed and unrepresentative of the very gender it has attempted to bring to the fore. How many in need of protection, security, safety, and help have slipped through the cracks? How many lives lost? Situations that could have otherwise been avoided if the right typologies were set in

place? This field of study is of utmost sensitivity because the painstaking work of scholars and researchers has a butterfly effect on the ground.

3.2 Case Two: Ethiopia – The Fistula and the Child Brides of Addis Ababa

“In an unequal world, these women are the most unequal among unequal”– WHO (2006)

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that globally more than 500,000 young women die from pregnancy and child birth complications (infertility, uterine prolapse, severe anemia, and fistulas) each year, while over 300,000,000 girls and women currently suffer from short and long term complications with around 20,000,000 new cases arising annually, most of which occur in developing countries. Throughout the world, obstructed labor strikes an estimated 5% of pregnancies and accounts for 8% of maternal deaths, for each such death around 20 women suffer from a long term debilitating condition.

Out of all age groups, adolescent girls are most vulnerable, this is due to the state of their underdeveloped pelvises. Worldwide, but predominantly in areas of sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, more than 2,000,000 young women live with untreated fistulas and an additional 50,000 – 100,000 become affected every year. For Nigeria it is projected that up to 1,000,000 suffer from untreated fistulas and the social consequences thereafter, for Bangladesh the number is at around 70,000, it is further expected that between 1 – 10 per 1000 births in West Africa and Ethiopia result in incidents of fistulae. These are conservative estimates to say the least, as it has been near impossible to determine the true burden of suffering to date (World Health Organization, 2006).

Though a clearly global phenomena, within the scope of this paper the situation in Ethiopia is given preference. Whilst the country is home to the African Union and has one of Africa’s fastest growing economies, the majority of its population live in poverty, struggling with lack of access to health services and infrastructure. For its populace of over 90 million, the country has less than 250 gynecologists/obstetricians within its territories, most of whom practice in Addis Ababa with almost none in Gambella, Benshangoul-Guzum, and Afar, resulting in uneven coverage across the

country. Furthermore, there are less than 7,000 trained midwives working in Ethiopia, as such, less than 15% of Ethiopian women are tended to by a professional when giving birth. The lack of adequate healthcare services directly impacts women of the nation with roughly 9,000 dying due to obstructed labor each year and another 9,000 surviving with obstructed fistulas (Hamlin Fistula Ethiopia, 2021).

An obstetric fistula (vaginal fistula), almost unheard of in the modern world, is a medical condition in which a fistula (hole) develops between the bladder and vagina (vesicovaginal fistula) and/or the rectum and vagina (rectovaginal fistula) due to prolonged and obscured childbirth void of adequate medical care which leads to urinary and/or fecal incontinence. It is worth noting that in rural areas of Ethiopia, most births take place in villages, are usually supervised by the pregnant woman's mother in law, and occur in the squatting position over a period of 1 – 8 days, the average duration of which being 3 (Williams, 2007).

Due to their smell, and perception of uncleanness, sufferers become the subject of severe social stigma. Often, these women are divorced by their husbands, abandoned by their families, and ostracized by the community at large. Shunned and blamed by society and unable to earn money, they usually live in abject poverty. Adding to their plight, most deliver stillborns. These women juggle depression, pain, and suffering while trying to maneuver the landscape of being suddenly condemned to a life of solitude. Their misery further compounded by having to deal with infertility, recurring infections, damage to their vaginal tissue which makes sexual activity impossible, and paralysis.

The response to this bane went largely neglected until the early 1970s when Dr. Catherine and her husband Dr. Reginald Hamlin established the Addis Ababa Fistula Hospital. Now known as the Hamlin Fistula Ethiopia – HFE, this charitable organization has grown significantly over the years with substantial domestic and international support. Not only does it accord primary and urgently needed treatment to patients, it also addresses prevention and rehabilitation issues that are of tantamount importance. However, due to the lack of transportation infrastructure and dire financial circumstances, many patients still cannot access Addis Ababa for treatment at the hospital. For this reason, in 2003, HFE underwent an expansion where it established

five regional facilities that focused on fistula repair, community mobilization, and prevention. These centers can be found in Mekele and Bahir Dar in the north, Yirgalem in the south, Harar in the east, and Metu in the southwest. Furthermore, in 2007, Hamlin Fistula Ethiopia opened a first of its kind private midwifery training college in Ethiopia (AusAID HRF, 2013).

At the Addis Ababa Fistula Hospital around 53% of women have been abandoned by their husbands, and 1 in every 5 said they have had to beg for food to survive. These hardships, coupled with a plethora of abysmal economic, socio-cultural, and familial factors *push* and *force* these women, with whatever little agency they have, to migrate in search of medical help. Secluded and living under duress, sadness, anger, and shame, stigmatized fistula survivors often seek refuge (pull factors) at the HFE. To get to the hospital is an ordeal within itself, many lack the financial capabilities necessary to pay for their journeys, others resort to selling whatever scarce belongings they have, including cattle and livestock, to be able to afford the excursion. Risking ridicule and humiliation, those who are fortunate complete their flight within a few days' time, others, however, set off on a month's long journey with 25% of patients taking over a year to reach their final destination. It is not surprising, therefore, that some women opt for suicide instead (Williams, 2007).

According to Gebresilase (2014), believing that they have been cursed, these young women who start out as victims of cultural practices and traditional norms, move from having no decisional power (a common experience in both their childhoods and marital lives) and expressing feelings of sadness, shame, confusion, and defeat, to gaining a sense of belonging, relief, happiness, and security. This is not only due to the surgical repair they all undergo, but rather can be attributed to the rehabilitation techniques provided at and by the hospital through capacity building strategies, educational opportunities, and basic training. With access to physical, psychological, and emotional care, many patients opt to stay in this safe haven rather than reintegrate into their local communities and families for fear of being subjugated to social rejection, discrimination, and humiliation yet again.

Reliable data on obstetric fistulas has proven hard to come by due to the stigma associated with the condition. That being said, research on this matter has been

conducted for over 40 years, however, it has mainly focused on the problem's etiology and the availability, accessibility, and utilization of medical services (Gebresilase, 2014). Limited attention has been paid to the sociocultural and economic factors associated with this phenomenon, none has been allocated specifically to the study of its generated migratory movements and patterns. This neglect is evident in the scarcity of current information regarding the true breadth of the fistula problem, its underlying causes (individual, family, societal, and environmental factors), and qualitative survivor experiences, to say the least.

3.3 Key Elements of Case Studies

The aim of the case studies is to highlight key elements vis-à-vis morbid migration, ones that not only affect a migrant on a micro level, but carry substantial social ramifications on a macro one. To begin with, while existing scholarship pertaining to forced migration has uncovered many important aspects to this phenomenon, the literature is still relatively new (Braithwaite et. Al, 2018). This, coupled with two important facts, the first of which is that there still remains no overarching unified theory which explains migration across disciplines, and the second being that scholars have tended to tackle the study of migration individually with respect to their specific fields of study, has resulted in isolated evaluations, definitions, and findings (Wimalaratana, 2016).

This in mind, it becomes relevant to assume that many migrants have gone unaccounted for, unidentified, and most importantly unrecognized. From a literary standpoint, this would mean that scholarly works, research, and reports are grossly unrepresentative of what is actually taking place on the ground. In regards to policy, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, it would imply that immeasurable numbers of those in dire need of security, protection, and safety have somehow been lost in migration. The ramifications of the admittance of such a shortcoming would be gargantuan to say the least.

Most importantly, the cases have been specifically selected with the aim of being as representative as possible of those that are to be included within the proposed new fourth subcategory under forced migration. By touching on the agency of the

individuals involved, and accounting for their unique life trajectories, the cases highlight the necessity of viewing forced migration as a more inclusive continuum rather than a rigid binary. Those forced into migration cannot and should not be dually forced into unrepresentative categorizations.

Furthermore, with the various descriptive classification of migration in mind, I have tried to represent as many of these elements as possible within my choice of selected case studies. Geographic, chronological, demographic, political/legal, and causal classifications have all been accounted for.

One thing remains, the necessity of adopting this new subcategory is solidified by highlighting the scope and size of this phenomenon. The case studies indicate that the numbers of migrants involved is in the thousands if not millions, they also show that both men and women fall under this categorization (although for the purpose of this thesis, and in efforts of complying with the requirements of a feminist approach, female migrants and their movements were highlighted). Additionally, to show that morbid migration is not an age specific occurrence, each case focused predominantly on members of a particular generation (case one on older women and case two on young adolescents).

These cases gave me an idea, instead of looking at migrants as being of a violent vs. nonviolent nature and/or falling on a continuum of sorts, perhaps there exist a new approach which could prove instrumental within both scholarly and practical fields. Such an apparatus could prove paramount in making the works of researchers, scholars, policy makers, international organizations, and non-governmental agencies both relevant and representative of migrants in general and forced individuals in specific. The recognition of gaps that have been ever present within the literature, alongside the introduction of the morbid migrant's subgroup, would help towards attempting to reach a consensus regarding theories and definitions pertaining to migration studies across various disciplines, resulting in a more efficient and effective dynamic.

Chapter Four

4.1 Conclusion

Migration might be a well respected field of study, however, to date, no one has been able to put forth a theory that is a true summation of all its parts. Its complex internal dynamics have been tackled by many a scholar, yet due to their chosen specializations and respected areas of expertise, the outcome of their work has been an ever more divided dimensionality of this phenomena. Rather than seeking a convergence of sorts, different specializations have resultant in a more divergent set of theories that have set off on their own tangents due to the scholarly works being predominantly driven by the educational background of those in charge. When one observes the various fields within which academics have attempted to explain movement in terms of cause, development, and application, a multitude of theories that describe various aspects of migration come to the fore, none of which offer a clearer more rounded comprehension of the issue at hand. Indeed, migration might be caused by an amalgamation of factors pertaining to sociology, economics, culture, religion, international law, political science, policy, psychology, and the like, however it is those same fields that need come together if a single overarching theory of migration is to ever be reached.

This thesis has tried to offer an in depth analyses of the core elements that go into migration including, theories of migration, types of migration, types of migrants, and drivers. A balanced assessment of this phenomena has been attempted through respecting both objective criteria and subjective motivators. By addressing geographical, chronological, demographic, economic, political/legal, and causal classifications, in tandem with a plethora of specialty specific theorizations, it becomes evident that there is still much to be done in the name of understanding migration.

Whether related to theories of migration, types of movements, migrant characteristics, typologies, and inducing factors, no two scholars concur on any description and/or definition therein. This becomes rather troublesome when attempting to dissect and explain the different subgroups and classifications that go into migratory

movements. How can such a multifaceted field of study be explored if no one can seem to agree on the makeup of its basic infrastructure?

Thus, the thesis sought to focus in on a subgroup of migrants, that of forced migrants, and attempted to highlight a gross shortcoming within the literature – specifically, a gap I have termed, the *morbid migrants*. I argue in the thesis that the individuals included in this category have been overlooked and are not, to date, seen as migrants. This undoubtedly has severe ramifications in relations to academia, research, policy formation, report writing, and human rights violations, but most importantly holds perilous consequences that affect migrants directly on the ground. The new concept of *morbid migrants* has been proposed to account for this conceptual shortcoming, by adding a fourth subcategory of forced migrants and thus allowing for the inclusion, and more importantly the recognition, of thousands if not millions of previously undocumented individuals who have, for far too long, gone lost in migration. This new definition is malleable, those forced to move need not fit into rigid outdated binaries, rather, their agency and personal life trajectories would be accounted for, specifically within quantitative and qualitative future research and scholastic works.

Since female movement has been generally under researched within the migration corpus, a feminist approach was taken in the selection and analysis of the presented case studies. The realities of the forgotten widows of Vrindavan and the fistula survivors of Addis Ababa were described and analyzed through various secondary data sources to cement the necessity, introduction, and implementation of the new subcategory of morbid migrants under the forced migrant umbrella. One cannot stress enough the importance of coming to this realization, because such individuals have been practically rendered nonexistent and have gone unaccounted for as vast discrepancies/gaps seem to exist, not only within the migratory literature, but also in regards to research, organizational reports, and policy formation. Such inconsistencies have surely affected the lives of millions around the globe, and if not addressed, will do so for decades to come.

4.2 Yet It Hasn't Been Enough

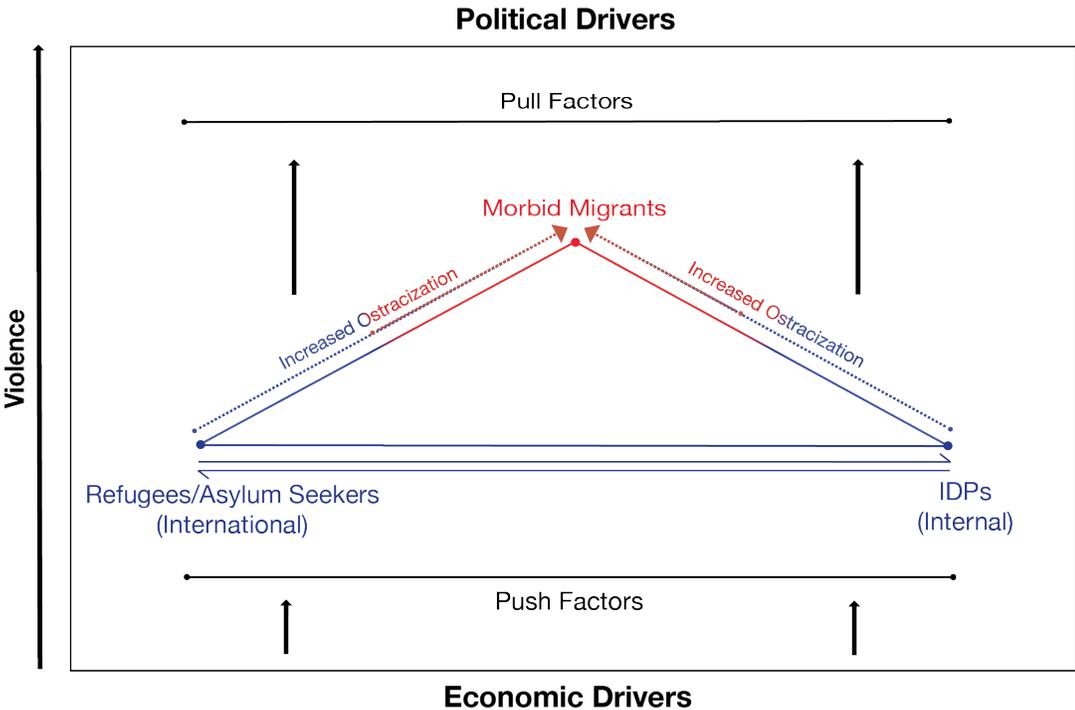
There has not been enough research or scholarly work pertaining to this category of peoples to understand the reason(s) as to why this type of migrant has been overlooked. One can only assume a single and/or combination of the following predictions would be to blame:

- a) *Economics*: since the overwhelming majority of theorization and research has been done specifically in regards to economic (nonviolent) factors, their determinants, and effect on income and production in sending and receiving states, futile attention has been directed towards other categories that might instigate migration. Only recently have areas that fall under political and violent factors been addressed, those are not limited to but would include all aspects of forced migration, including the mobilities of morbid migrants.
- b) *Exile*: chronically neglected within migration literature and often falling outside the analytical grids of research that center chiefly on socioeconomic analysis, this overlooked and underestimated dimension of migration could account for the reason morbid migrants and other such groups remain unrepresented within this field of study. The anomic relationships that transpire between an individual and his/her respective state of origin would explain why their trajectories do not matter to society in general let alone scholarly works specifically, perhaps their realities are rendered insignificant.
- c) *Western Definitions*: descriptions used within migration studies have often been put into place by Westerners, thus many typologies fail to address or take into account the specific sociocultural aspects that dominate a migrant's life trajectories. Due to such strict definitions of forced migration subcategories, many individuals fail to meet the characteristics required to be labeled as a refugee or IDP, for example. This same concept could explain why definitions in rotation today have not encompassed the realities of many migrants, leaving them lost within migration.

4.3 An Isosceles Endeavor

If the movement of people is to be placed on a continuum, as suggested by various scholars including Madic (2021), with one end signifying limited choice and mobility while at the other movement is rendered free and unguarded, then why not look at forced migration and its subcategories as a triangular pendulum of sorts. Introducing morbid migrants into the mix would mean that the once linear format of forced migration (refugees/asylum seekers on one extreme and IDPs on the other) would take on a new dimensional formation. I have put together a diagram to aid in the explanation of my proposed idea:

Figure 10: The Triangle (Isosceles) Pendulum



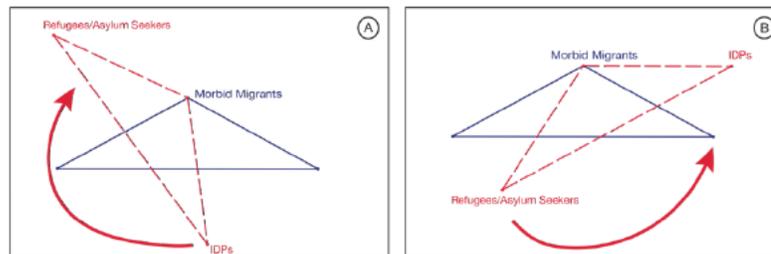
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Using an isosceles triangle, I attempt to put forth a well rounded articulation of forced migration and its *four* subcategories. The base of the triangle depicts the ‘line’ upon which the original three subgroupings of forced migration have been placed, at one end we have refugees/asylum seeker who represent international forms of migration, while on the other we have their internal counterparts, the IDPs. When we factor in situations that increase the propensity of exile on either end of the spectrum,

we notice that the peak of the tringle (morbid migrants) starts to form. The status of an individual as being a morbid migrant is directly proportional to this increase in ostracization, the harsher it is the more a migrant moves from being considered a refugee/asylum seeker or IDP to being labeled a morbid migrant. I have also addressed the misconception that all movement is instigated by push factors, at the bottom of the diagram these factors are given due respect, however pull factors are also given credence at the top of this formation, this is also why a triangle was used instead of a spectrum as the base for this theory. Morbid migrants usually have some sort of pull that propels their movements, specifically when being compared to their refugee/asylum seeker and IDP counterparts. The arrow to the side of the diagram indicates that the further up one goes within this complex the more violent his/her circumstances tend to be, hence we have economics (nonviolent) drivers at the bottom of the diagram while political drivers at the very top.

Since I agree with other scholars that migrants and migration should both be viewed on a continuum of sorts rather than a rigid binary, individuals within this triangle formation can fall on its extreme points or within the ranges of any of its sides, depending on a person's unique set of circumstances and life trajectories. Finally, to account for some unique occurrences in which a migrant can be a refugee/asylum seeker yet be subjected to severe form violence, the triangle (isosceles) pendulum, with the morbid migrants point acting as its base, can swing to the left in proportion to the severity of violence experienced, here the angle of sway illustrates the level of violence. Similarly, if an IDP encountered stark forms of violence yet has not been fully exiled, the triangle pendulum would swing to the right with respect to the severity of violence incurred. The following diagrams simulate these pendulum swings:

Figure 11: The Triangle Pendulum in Swing



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Perhaps this simple yet inclusive representation of forced migration might help in taking the right steps towards bridging the gaps currently prevalent within the literature and research, this will undoubtedly have an effect on policy creation on both an organizational and state level. More importantly, reports across the board would surely increase in accuracy and be more indicative of what is truly happening on the ground. Rather than being a creation of Western dynamics, the inclusion of morbid migrants within the typology of forced migration ensures that this category not only accounts for the sociocultural aspects of other communities, but also a migrant's agency and unique life contexts, whilst studying who goes where, for what reason, and propelled by what purpose.

4.4 Limitations

Although this thesis was meticulously researched and prepared in order to find an answer to the research question and hypothesis, the scope of the content was still restricted with shortcomings due to a handful of unavoidable factors and limitations.

Firstly, although the amount of literature regarding migration theories is ample, it is biased towards economic (nonviolent) drivers as there seems to be less scholarly work that addresses and specifically examines political drivers of migration and their consequences regarding the forced migrant population. More so, literature on morbid migrants is practically nonexistent.

Regarding the use of secondary data that has been previously compiled from other sources, limitations faced can be attributed to the lack of familiarity with the data collection methods as well as with the methodologies used in gathering said data.

I have aimed to ground the thesis within a feminist research methodology to further support the need for change regarding inequality amongst the sexes by bringing to the fore the experiences of women. One limitation faced has been the fact that most of the qualitative and quantitative works referenced have been conducted by men within a patriarchal existence, thus reducing the effectiveness of a truly feminist form of research and analysis that has been done by a woman specifically targeting women and their forms of migratory movements. Furthermore, said research has been conducted

under a Westernized pretext, one that has been shown to produce limiting definitions that have been used within this particular field of study. These definitions have not taken into consideration the cultures, values, norms, and beliefs of developing countries. I have tried to make up for this particular drawback by highlighting the sociocultural aspects experienced by the women migrants referenced within the two case studies provided.

Finally, the absolute mother of all limitations has had to be the time frame within which this thesis was written. A month, give or take a few days. What can I say, I am not one to back down from a challenge, be it colossal as it may.

4.5 Final Thoughts

It is surprising, to say the least, that in a time governed by technology and globalization many individuals have gone lost in migration. When human rights and the wellbeing, security, and safety of populations come into play, scholars need accord the matter adequate attention.

If immigrants represent the economic face of migration and refugees its political configurations, who or what is accounting for those who lay in between? Many have gone unrecognized for failing to adhere to worn out binaries and rigid minimally inclusive definitions prevalent within the literature today. At face value one might wrongfully assume this concern does not mean much or that swift adjustments can be made to correct said shortcoming. However, the issue at hand runs deep, indeed, problematically so. It is one thing to point out such a gap, but if global instruments, state actors, and scholars admit to its existence it would call into question all work done previous to that specific moment in time. Everything would need to be subjected to a reevaluation of sorts. Everything. The migratory field would need a ‘time out’ to reconfigure its core and reshuffle main theories and typologies in tandem.

I hope that with this thesis a faint light was shed upon this concern, one strong enough to entice interest and propel further investigation into the possibility of it being an actuality. This dilemma is not about who is right or wrong, rather, it is about making sure everyone is accounted for and recognized, especially within such a sensitive and evolving field of study and work.

Migrants in general face a handful of challenges and obstacles once they have taken the decision to move, let alone those who, through no fault of their own, find themselves in absolute peril, extreme duress, and infinite bouts of violence. Ironically, it is the latter that have been understudied at the expense of analyzing all that is economic and profitable. Even when long founded instruments of security and safety are put into play, many forced migrants do not meet the requirements needed to fit into and under the refugee vs. IDP binary. Said individuals become lost in migration, practically invisible with no one or place to turn to for the most basic of needs – recognition.

One need always remember that migration and its many branches have great ramifications in a plethora of subsequent fields. A sense of humanity is thus essential, whilst being humane is of utmost urgency when lives are at stake. Often migrants are looked at as redundant numbers on a page, their individuality, agency, and personal life trajectories ignored as they are mechanically put into a complex hierarchy of categories within an endless loop of definitions and terminology that are as detached from one another as they are from the actual realities faced by those who move. It is therefore crucial to look at migration and migrants through a continuum of sorts rather than a dualistic lens, as such I hope my proposed *isosceles pendulum* will help in future research and inquiry into the field of forced migration insuring the adequate representation and recognition of those who need it the most – the *morbid migrants*.

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