Unit 26
MIGRATION

Contents

Learning Objectives

This unit will help you to explain

* what is meant by migration and various explanations on migration

* various types of migration and the factors which are involved in migration

* the streams of migration and their impact

26.1 Introduction

Human beings have tendency to move from place to place in search of better life or sometimes through compulsion. They have migrated from place to place throughout history. In this century where globalisation has made distant place more connected than ever migration has become an important feature An attempt has been made here to develop an understanding of the phenomenon of migration. It is generally believed that migration is one of the most significant factors leading to population change. Human beings are on the move, even though the population has settled down in geographical space all over the world. Historical records show that people moved away from the age-old nomadism long ago and have been moving from one place to the other for various reasons. The reasons for migration may be different and specific to individuals and families.

This Unit deals with the meaning and origin of the migration process with special reference to India. The first section deals with the concept of migration in the context of economic development. In the second section an attempt has been made to classify migration into different types. The third section deals with examples of internal and external migration. The fourth section deals with a set of factors of migration. However, the migration is induced mainly by economic opportunities available in the cities. There are several social factors, which also play a role in migration. The best example is the migration of women from their parental home to the home of their spouse after marriage. There is a demographic factor for migration. The supposedly surplus labour force in a certain age group out-migrates from the place of their residence/birth to the nearby towns or far-off cities which seem to be holding a promise for a better future. The fifth section deals with the impact of migration on the places of origin and the places of destination. These regions register the impact of migration on the population structure. The last section deals with the migration trends in the world in general with special reference to India. Statistical material is available in the census records to indicate the volume and direction of intra-state and inter-state migration.

26.2 Understanding Migration

The term migration refers to the movement of organisms like animals and birds in geographical space. It also refers to the movement of people, as individuals or groups, from one place to the other. Migration thus means a change of residence. The distance, direction and duration of migration is not important, even though any of the three factors may play a role in defining the character of migration in a country.

There are several factors, which induce people to migrate. The reasons may be economic, social or political. When people migrate within the same country it is called *internal migration*. When migration involves crossing the boundaries of a given country, it is called *international migration*. In the recent history of the world large volumes of population have migrated to long distances. For example, the Jews migrated from Germany to other parts of the world to avoid persecution under Hitler's Nazist regime. Another example of large-scale migration in the recent world history is the movement of people following the partition of British India and independence in 1947. The Hindus and the Sikhs in the newly created dominion of Pakistan migrated to India. In return the Muslims of India migrated to Pakistan. It is estimated that during the period 1947-1950 ten million people migrated from Pakistan to India and 7.5 million Muslims migrated from India to Pakistan

As is generally known a census of population is taken every ten years. It is a convention followed by all countries of the world. In India a census of population has been conducted on a decennial basis since the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. The latest census was conducted in 2001. According to the census definition, a migrant is one who at a given census was enumerated at a place other than his/her place of birth. His/her stay at the present place of residence may be of any duration – short or long. Demographers generally refer to inward migration as *immigration*, and outward migration as *emigration*. It is obvious that migration is an important factor of change in the characteristics of population as distributed in geographical space.

As stated earlier most governments in the world conduct a census of population after every ten years. The data are collected on aspects, such as the place of birth, and the place of enumeration at a certain census. It is vital information for the study of migration within the country or outside. A migrant is a person who has crossed a certain boundary, be it a *mauza* [revenue village], a municipal boundary, a tehsil, a district, a state, or a country. The distance covered and a certain length of time spent across that boundary in a new area of residence, away from the place of birth, are important factors in defining the characteristics of the migrants.

26.3 Explanations of Migration

Sociologists, demographers and geographers have focussed their attention on the study of migration in order to understand the implications of a certain type of the movement of people from one place to the other. Migration results in multi-dimensional changes in the population composition - ethnic, ethno-lingual, religious, demographic, cultural and economic. The structural contexts of migrants itself has bearing in migration and what it means to be a migrant.

Most of the explanations on migration have concentrated heavily on demographic aspects. And have tended to explain migration in terms of push and pull factors. Ashish Bose for instance explains Migration in India from rural to Urban from a demographic perspective. The push factors which operate in places of origin, in this case the rural areas, is lack of resources, unemployment, overpopulation, drought or floods or such other natural calamities, essentially all such factors which makes a decent living standards impossible. The pull

factors of cities are many- employment opportunities, entertainment , education facilities, trade centres, institutional set ups, availability of opportunities , secular environment etc. Ashish Bose, argues that the push and pull factors should be interpreted in overall demographic contexts. Under conditions of high natural increase in population, not only in rural areas but in the urban areas as well (as a result of high urban birth rates and rapidly declining death rates), the push factor operates (Bose, 1963). He calls it as 'push back' factor. He showed that for every 100 persons who migrate to urban areas for better employment, 254 persons come in search of employment. Another type of urban push, which has been pointed out by Bose is the absence of social security in urban areas.

Most sociological studies on migration have analysed the related aspect of migration and how migration affects the geographical spaces and how it brings about transformation in social structures. Studies in India have been largely around the issues of identity transformation for immigrants , most of these studies are concentrated on the Indian Diaspora which moved across continents. As for internal migration, which has largely been rural to urban, the studies have dealt with issues that are the larger theoretical issues of whether there is continuity between social structures of rural India with Urban India or whether there are changes. Thus, Scholars such as David Peacock have argued that there is no dichotomy between urban and rural social structures. Reacting to this thesis, M.S.A. Rao argues that this "is an over simplification of the similarities between the village and the traditional city. The city in the past, he asserts provided the ground for maximum caste activity. Whereas Pocock was right in pointing out that urbanization is not co-terminus with westernization, he , however, oversimplified the similarity between the village and the traditional city. Although, religion, caste and kinship are the bases of social organization in both village and towns, there are significant difference in the working of these in the two contexts. For instance, while *jajmani* (hereditary services) relations were pronounced in villages, the *mahajan* or guild organizations were prominent in cities. In the traditional urban context, the institutional framework and the constraints in which religion , caste and kinship operated are not he same in villages.

Most scholars look at migration as essentially as a male dominated phenomena and so there have been very few studies, which look at migration from a gender perspective. Meenakshi Thapan in her recent book *Transnational Migration and Politics of Identity*, argues that 'any theory on migration…for a holitstic perspective…must account for it in terms of race, religion, nationality and on gender, which much of early literature on migration is silent. She asserts "that structural ramifications of women's migration extend beyond the lives of migrant women themselves, insofar as the labour of such women is an important factor in shaping gender relations found in societies of both , the immigrants and their hosts, thereby suggesting new ways of looking at issues such as gender equality, household division of labour and at the state policies regarding welfare positions"(Thapan, 2005:17).

These are some of the main approaches that we have discussed above, which discuss various aspects related to migration, In our next secion we will look at various types of migration.

26.4 Types of Migration

Migration is of different types. However, there is no consensus among the scholars about the typology of migration. These types can be ordinarily defined as cyclical or circulatory, forced, impelled, internal/external, early/primitive, seasonal or periodic. Trewartha has quoted Peterson who had suggested five general classes of migration. They were: primitive, forced, impelled, free and

mass (Trewartha, 1969, p. 144).

Cyclic or Circulatory Migration

Movements of individuals that involve only a temporary change of residence are generally not considered as migration. This type of movement is known as nomadism or pastoral nomadism. If this movement of the people is along with their animal stock – sheep, goats and cattle between two fixed points it is called *transhumance*. For example, Gujjar Bakarwals in Jammu and Kashmir move towards the foothills in winters and the highland pastures in summers. When the winter approaches they return to their settlements in the foothills. The movement of farm workers is also a kind of cyclical migration because they follow the growing season. Tourism and commutation are not generally considered as migration.

Some migrations are *cyclic* in nature, which means that they are like oscillations/circuits (Box 3). People migrate between two fixed points. It is an annual cycle, to be completed within the same year. Pastoral nomads move with their animal stock in a circulatory way: winters in the foothills and summers in the highland pastures. The routes and the destination sites are well defined. Here one can cite the examples of Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir and the Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh. Similar types of migration are common in the mountainous regions of central Asia, Africa and South America. These nomads have grazing rights on a certain aspect of the mountain range, even though they do not own the land. Governments protect their movement and grazing rights.

Migrations differ in terms of direction, distance, duration and purpose/motive behind the movement. Migration may be classified as *free* or *voluntary* as opposed to *forced* or *impelled*. Some migrations are due to *push factors*, while others are in response to *pull factors*. In extra-ordinary situations people are forced to migrate. For example, natural hazards, such as floods, drought, forest fires, avalanches in mountainous areas and earthquakes force people to run away from their homes to safer places to save their lives. In other cases, labour force moves out of the home villages to a neighbouring town or city. These are typical push factors. The assumption is that the local rural labour force is in excess of the demand. As a consequence the eligible workers move out of the village. Ingrained in these examples is the role of the so-called pull factors. When the unemployed or partially employed village-folks, do not perceive any chance of improving their daily-wage incomes in the home villages, they move out to far-off cities, such as Mumbai, Delhi, Chennai or Kolkata. These cities act as magnets. We can define these movements as a response to pull factors. Many a time push and pull factors operate together.

It is common knowledge that the major cities of India, industrial and business centres, attract people. The urban nodes have derived their working class from the so-called out-migrating regions, such as eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand. The first generation in-migrants to the big cities become role models for the younger generation. Its demonstration effect induces them to migrate to the same urban place where their predecessors have already established their roots (Pathak, P., 1995, p. 30).

Internal and External (International) Migration

Migration is also classified as *internal* and *external*. When people migrate within the country of their birth/residence/domicile, it is called *internal migration*. The word internal here means movement within the bounds of the home country. When people move from one country to another, it is called *international migration*. Such migrations involve crossing the borders of the countries. Sometimes the driving force is a push factor. When people move

out they have a perception of relative advantages and disadvantages between the alternative places they want to migrate.

Sometimes migration is a well-considered step and there is a lot of planning behind it. For example, highly skilled engineers, including software engineers, medical doctors, nurses and paramedical personnel move out of India in search of better employment opportunities abroad. The idea is to earn more. While the home country does not have any scope for higher income, the country of destination attracts them and induces them to migrate. However, such migrations may prove to be a drain of the qualified personnel in the countries of origin. Thus their home country suffers a loss. On the other hand, the destination country is the gainer. The Gulf countries need qualified personnel, without spending money on their education and improvement of skills. It has been observed that the qualified/skilled personnel migrate on a contractual basis.

Primitive or Early Migration

Distinction has often been made between *Early/Primitive migration* and *forced/ impelled migration*. Early migrations, particularly in the prehistoric and early historic times, were a sort of random movement and not a planned migration. People were moving out as a result of a kind of human wandering lust. But they were responsible for the peopling of the continents all over the world. These movements have also contributed to the process of inter-mixing of civilisations and cultures.

Forced or Impelled Migration

When individuals or groups decide to leave their home country in order to avoid devastation caused by drought, famine, epidemics, war, civil strife, or terrorising dictatorial regimes, it is called *forced migration*. A recent example of forced migration is the exodus of Afghans from Afghanistan to neighbouring Pakistan, Iran and India during the US-UK military operations including carpet-bombing in Afghanistan. Similarly, people migrated in large numbers to avoid persecution by the Nazist regime in Germany under Hitler before the Second World War. A comparable example of the forced migration is of the Irish people who fled away from Ireland to avoid starvation and death caused by the famine conditions during 1856-85. These migrations are described as forced because there is no choice before the migrants but to run away. When a state/country forces a section of its population to move out of the country, as they are not desirable, we call it *forced* or *impelled migration*.

In certain situations migration can be massive just as the migration of millions of people from India to Pakistan and from Pakistan to India immediately after independence in 1947. There are other examples of forced migration, such as deportation of criminals, political dissidents, and religious minorities. During the days of slave trade about twenty million black Africans were taken to America forcefully to work as labourers on the plantation estates in the United States of America (USA). It is estimated that about eight million people of European origin were pushed out of Europe under the forced labour policy of the Nazist regime before and during the Second World War.

Refugee Movements

What happened in history is not always old. In the world of today people are found leaving their homes and hearths, fleeing from one country to the other to avoid persecution and imminent death. They often take refuge in the neighbouring countries. In fact, refugee movements are so common these days that the United Nations (UN) has created a special fund for the rehabilitation of the refugees. These refugees are homeless and jobless. They

have lost all means of livelihood, which sustained them before migration. The UN Commission on Refugees helps them monetarily and pleads with the governments of receiving countries to find a place for them. Unfortunately, they are rehabilitated in impromptu shelters/camps. The so-called Bihari Muslims who migrated to East Pakistan immediately after the partition of British India in 1947 are still living in camps, even though fifty-seven years have passed.

Seasonal and Periodic Migration

Migrations are sometimes *seasonal* or *periodic*. This type of migration is very common among the nomadic people living on the margins of the deserts or semi-arid zones of the world. Trewartha noted 'that some one million migrants, along with their families, make the annual pilgrimage northwards across state lines as the harvest of various crops reached the peak'. They have their origin in the southern states of the USA, such as, New Mexico, Texas, Alabama, and Georgia. A study of this migrant labour-force shows that they are mostly young people, usually less than 25 years of age, 70 per cent of them are males, and 80 per cent are Whites. The return journey is completed in the autumn when harvesting activity comes to an end. However, things have changed now and this type of migration is on the decline due to mechanisation of agriculture. There is a difference between this type of migration and the temporary traveller. The short duration movement of population is also a type of seasonal migration. There is also a diurnal movement of workers. This type of movement takes place when people move from their places of residence to their places of work. As stated earlier, this type of movement is called commutation.

Thus migrations may be periodic, annual, or diurnal. Trewartha also refers to periodic movements, which are related to vacations, fun making or business. But such trips are specifically a characteristic feature of the affluent sections of population only. The poor cannot afford such movements. In India periodic movements of millions of people are a common phenomenon. These travels are related to pilgrimage to sacred places, large fairs, such as *Kumbh Mela* and *Pushkar Mela*. Millions of people in India go on pilgrimage for a holy dip in the rivers and lakes to perform religious rites.

Another type of periodic migration is the movement of an individual from his original place of residence for a period of few years. He visits his home periodically. The main aim of this type of migration is to earn more and to send remittances to the family in the native place to establish themselves after they return to their original homes. There are millions of migrant labourers in Africa who migrate periodically. W.B. Fisher noted that 'periodic migrations are sometimes tempted to settle permanently in their place of work. However, initially their intentions were to remain there only temporarily' (Trewartha, 1969, p. 144).

Reflection and Action

If you live in a city you will find that a lot of people from all walks of life have migrated from different parts of the country.

Find out from your neighbourhood who has migrated from where and for what purposes. Also, classify them in to different types of migration patterns.

26.5 MIGRATION STREAMS

While dealing with internal migration demographers and population scientists generally recognise four streams. The criterion is the direction of movement of population from the places of origin to the places of destination. The migration within the bounds of the same country generates four main streams as given below:

a.   rural-rural migration stream;

b.   rural-urban migration stream;

c.   urban-urban migration stream;   and

d.   urban-rural migration stream.

Rural-Rural Migration Stream

In villages where economy is based on agriculture, people migrate from one village to another either for harvesting or sowing the crops or both. This is rural to rural migration. The problem is that the native village does not have a scope for work on agricultural farms. In other words, the supply of labour is more than the demand. The assumption is that the native village is over-crowded and agriculturally less productive as compared to the village of destination. In this form of migration, the migrants are mostly males. Sometimes, women also migrate along with the male members of the family. In countries like India, young women are married to a person living at a certain distance from their parental village. The reason is that the marriages cannot be contracted within a radius of 4-5 miles (6-8 kms.) This no-marriage field is treated as the taboo zone. However, this practice is a feature of North India only. There is no such practice in the south, where the girls are generally married to their paternal or maternal cousins. Thus a substantive proportion of the movement of women in North India is related to the marriage customs.

Women are often ignored in the migration studies. They are considered to be following their male counterparts in their capacity as mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives. But in recent years a change has been observed regarding the established myth about female migration. Now women move from one place to the other to seek higher education or in search of new economic opportunities. This reveals a favourable change in the pattern of female migration towards urban as well as long-distance destinations (Bhattacharya, 2003, p. 85-92; Premi, 1980; Singh, Thandani et al., 1984).

Rural-Urban Migration Stream

In the less developed countries, like India, Nepal and Bangladesh, rural to urban migration is a common phenomenon. In regions where the rural population densities are very high and the pace of urban-industrial development is fast, rural-urban stream is most common. These towns/cities attract the 'surplus labour' from nearby or far-off villages. In rural areas the burgeoning poverty, meagre employment opportunities, low and uncertain/irregular wages, lack of education and health facilities are the main push factors. These conditions induce people to migrate to the urban places. In some cases labour moves out of the village. They have no other alternative but to move out to the urban places in search of work, which can sustain them and their families. On the other hand, the pull of the urban places induces the rural population to migrate. This process is related to the expectations of the migrant labourers for better employment opportunities, regular and fixed wages and supposedly the better quality of life. But these expectations are often proved to be dreams only. A related problem is the out-migration of the educated youth for whom employment opportunities are rarely available in the native villages/ towns. This forces them to migrate to the urban places. Such unguided migration to the city leads to the problems of housing in the towns/cities. The rural poor find a place in *bustees* and squatter colonies called slums in the city. For such migrants, habitat changes, but not the quality of life.

Box 26.1 The Plight of Rural Migrants

But a very substantial part, especially of internal migration, is distress-led, driven by the complete collapse of rural employment generation, the economic

difficulties of cultivation and also the inadequate employment opportunities in towns.This is why most migrant workers in India today are poor and with few of the resources or social networks that could smoothen what can be a traumatic and painful process. Yet public policy does little to alleviate this - in fact, most public interventions and regulations work effectively to make the process even more difficult and traumatic.

Consider the fate of a rural household in, say Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, a place where mass migrations for work were historically common but have now reached epidemic proportions. A landless labourer who is unable to find work, either within the village or in neighbouring villages is forced to search further afield, in nearby or even distant towns, in other agricultural areas with different crop seasons. If he or she is relatively lucky, there will be a link with a contractor who will arrange for group transport to the place of work. It may be gang work in a field for some activities such as harvesting, or work on a construction site, or some such work that requires a group of labourers for a certain fixed period. Of course, the journey will be arduous, the work will be demanding, the living conditions will probably be very meagre (in fact, the workers are often expected to make their own makeshift dwellings) without any amenities or facilities such as food being provided. In all likelihood, the workers will be exploited by the contractor even in monetary terms so that they receive very little income as savings from this entire exercise.

What is more, there are more women undertaking this type of insecure movement, with often dire consequences. Clearly, this kind of migration is fraught with hazards especially for women, who thereby expose themselves to the possibility of sexual exploitation and violence, in addition to other problems. There are many cases of women and even young girls being physically violated as they try to sleep in bus stands and similar places. Many of these go unreported, as the local police often do not bother too much to register alleged incidents in which the victims are poor people from other areas.

As migrants, these workers then do not have access to any of the public facilities for health care, since they are not resident in that area. They cannot buy their food requirements from the ration shops since they do not have ration cards valid for that place. If they have come with small children, they are unable to place them in local government schools, or even to access the local *anganwadi* for their legally recognised requirements. They are ignored by public schemes and programmes, including those related to such public health issues as immunisation drives.

And then there are the other sins of public omission and commission that directly affect such migrants. There are no public help centres, no information offices, no complaint cells where they can go to redress any grievances, whether these relate to non-payment of wages or terrible conditions of work or physical exploitation and violence. Rather, local officialdom in the destination typically views migrants as vagrants or nuisances, takes aggressive attitudes towards them and becomes another source of tribulation for the migrants.

Distress economic migration, of relatively short-term nature, is now a basic feature of social life in India. It contributes to macroeconomic stability even while imposing tremendous costs on those forced to undertake it. It is time for policymakers and the public became more sensitive to its manifold implications, and took whatever measures are necessary to ensure that something driven by distress did not create further trauma.

(Source: Jayati Ghosh, Frontline, volume 22 - Issue 10, May 07 - 20, 2005)

Urban-Urban Migration Stream

Urban to urban migration is a common phenomenon both in the highly urbanised

parts of the world as well as in the less developed countries. People move out from one urban place to the other. The motive is to find jobs to improve their economic status. It is a common feature that large cities attract people from small towns in their neighbourhood. This is especially true in the case of skilled workers. This practice is known as *step-wise* migration. The first step is to move out from a village to a small town; the second step is to move out from a small town to a large city. Urban to urban migration is due to multiple factors, economic as well as socio-cultural. It is the main channel of labour supply to the fast growing city.

Urban-Rural Migration Stream

Urban to rural migration is a kind of reverse flow. This is so because large metropolises/mega cities in developed countries attain a high degree of urbanisation, which widens the scope for absorption of rural labour in the informal sector of economy. This also leads to the problems of housing due to over-congestion of cities and the resultant problems of environmental pollution and poor health. This often forces the migrants to return to their native villages. It may be noted that the rural areas in the developing countries are generally underdeveloped. They lack infrastructure facilities to accommodate the rural poor. The story of developed countries is entirely different. Their cities have a developed network of transportation which functions efficiently. The people travel daily between the place of residence and the place of work without much difficulty. In India many of the retired persons tend to settle in their native villages or small towns where they own property or acquire it later.

It may be noted that the urban to rural stream is not very common. This generally happens when people run away from a metropolitan city, such as Kolkata or Mumbai, due to social insecurity or expulsion by hostile regimes.

26.6 FACTORS OF MIGRATION

There is a set of factors which cause migration. These factors are primarily economic, such as high income, better employment opportunities, and jobs in the informal sector, and the hope for a better quality of life. Marriages, social insecurity, civil strife and inter-ethnic conflicts are important social factors, which influence the decision to migrate. These factors drive people out of their countryside homes. The factors leading to migration vary from area to area and perhaps from person to person. As indicated above the push and the pull factors work together generating the streams of migration. The push factors operate to force the people to move out, while the pull factors attract the people to move to the urban nodes. It has been noted that migration is also caused by industrialisation, technological advancement and multifarious changes in the social, economic and political spheres of life of the ordinary people. Then there are other factors, such as regional disparities in economic development, perceived employment potential in a given region and the demand for services required in the city. Extra-ordinary episodes in history, such as war and terrorism also lead to migration. Studies have shown that the process of migration is not a simple but a complex phenomenon. The factors determining migration may be classified into three broad categories: economic, social and demographic.

Economic Factors

It has been observed that economic factors play an important role in the movement of population. The volume and the direction of migration depend on the economic conditions. The availability of agricultural land and the size of landholdings may also induce migration. The depressed economic conditions of the people and their state of poverty lead to out-migration. The economic

prosperity has a high employment potential and leads to in-migration. The industrial nodes have always proved to be more effective than the rural push in the industrial and agricultural countries. In developing countries, like India, agricultural development is progressing fast. These factors induce people to migrate to the agriculturally developed areas where adoption of extensive irrigation programmes, high yielding varieties of seeds and mechanical devices have brought about a green revolution. The green revolution areas in Punjab and Haryana have a high demand for labour. This labour is available in the relatively underdeveloped regions of northern India, such as eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The availability of better means of transport and communication also encourage people to migrate.

Social Factors

Like economic factors, social factors also play a significant role in inducing migration. For example, women move out from their parental home to the place of residence of their spouses after marriage. This is due to the Indian traditions and values prevailing in the country. This type of migration has nothing to do with economic gains. Chandna suggested that religious freedom might also be a significant factor influencing the migration process. Other factors also operate, such as socio-economic status, information network, cultural contacts, desire of social uplift. The socio-economic potential has been considered as an important factor to determine the magnitude and direction of migration. In India people in a low socio-economic stratum are more mobile as they have no landed property to bind them to their native places. There is overwhelming evidence to show that the better educated, more skilled and economically better-off people have a tendency to migrate. The labour market for higher status jobs is universal. This does not mean that all high status groups would migrate. For example, doctors, engineers, lawyers, architects and teachers who have already established do not move easily. Similarly, the communities, who have strong communal ties with the family, follow ancient tradition and customs do not move easily. In the world today information network (INTERNET), e-mail and cultural contacts widen the scope of having employment opportunities. Sometimes, official policies also help the aspirants to migrate in a specific direction (Chandna, 1998, p. 92-97).

Demographic Factors

There are a number of demographic factors, which induce a person to migrate. For example, age of the migrant is an important demographic factor. Young people have a far greater desire to out-migrate than the elderly people. Likewise, regional disparities in economic development also play an important role. In fact, a high rate of natural increase of population provides the basis for out-migration. It has been suggested that the growth rate of population, among other things, determines the extent of population pressure in a given geographical area. The movement of European population across the Atlantic is an example of the gap in the potential for economic development acting as an important factor of migration. In contemporary India, redistribution of population is partly related to disparities in regional development. As noted earlier, large-scale out-migration from the thickly populated parts of Bihar and east Uttar Pradesh is largely due to the diminishing land resources in the native villages.

It may, however, be noted that factors affecting the migration process are many and it is not easy to establish a cause-and-effect relationship. Recent research has highlighted the role of multifarious factors at the macro level. The micro level studies may reveal a more comprehensive picture of the causes of migration.

Migratory Selection

The concept of *migratory selection* implies that some groups in a particular age and profession are likely to be more in favour of migration than others. 'In order to deal effectively with the causes, type and consequences of migration, it must first be pointed out why the migration process is a selective one. Some elements of population tend to be more migratory than others. This is termed as migratory selection. Age is one such factor, which influences the migratory selection. In fact, the young adults and late adolescents are likely to migrate more rather than elderly people'. 'Of the millions of immigrants entering United States during the nineteenth century, two-thirds to three-fourths were between 15-40 years of age'. 'Besides age, sex is also an important element of migratory selection. Although there are no universal laws, the out-migration is predominantly of males. The region of departure becomes more strongly female, while the region of entry is characterised by an unduly large proportion of males' (Trewartha, 1969, p. 137; see also Box 4).

It may be concluded that some occupational groups are more likely to migrate than others. This is an apt example of migratory selection. 'Ordinarily selection seems to depend more upon conditions at the place of destination than upon those at the place of departure' (Trewartha, 1969, p. 138-39).

Reflection and Action 26.2
1. What do you think is the main stream of migration pattern in India?
2. Do you think the state should have policy on migration, such that it alleviates the plight of migrants?
3. In what is internal migration in India different from international or external migration?

26.7 IMPACT OF MIGRATION

Migration is not a simple phenomenon. It brings about changes in the population composition in the home villages as well as in the regions of destination. It is generally known that migration of population has backward as well as forward linkages. In fact, it is a strong catalytic agent. It helps the migrants and their families to achieve a certain level of self-sufficiency and a better quality of life in the regions/countries of destination. In fact, depending on the volume of migration the composition of population changes both at home and abroad. More importantly, the demographic scene changes drastically leading to the synthesis of culture, language, quality of life, and the influx of knowledge. The immigrants adapt themselves to the conditions prevailing in the countries of destination. Migration brings about a cultural change and its ramifications are too many. Even the place names are carried to the regions of destination. For example, New London, New York (both in USA), New South Wales (Australia), New Plymouth (New Zealand), New Castle (Australia) are all examples of the human desire to preserve their memories of the places they have left behind. The Muslims who migrated to Pakistan after the partition of British India gave the names of their hometowns in India to the places of their settlement in Pakistan particularly, the Province of Sind.

It has been suggested that the regions of destination generally benefit, while the regions of origin suffer. When the educationally qualified personnel move out their migration is often referred to as 'brain drain'. This kind of migration is likely to play a major role in terms of economic development of the countries of destination. However, the regions of origin also benefit from the remittances of money by the migrants. For example, Turkish labour in Germany and the Philippino maids in Singapore have played a vital role in the economic development of the chronically labour-deficit regions. There are other dimensions of change. The movement of the qualified labour, such as scientists, medical doctors, engineers, particularly software engineers plays a significant

role in the reduction of unemployment at home and generating income through their services in the regions of destination. India has suffered a lot due to the on-going out-migration of the highly qualified personnel to other parts of the world, such as West Asia, particularly the Gulf region. The people move out because they are enamoured by the shining Euro-Dollar. They are obviously unhappy with their economic conditions in the home country. On reaching there they register changes in their family. Inter-ethnic marriages often take place in the countries of destination. A new class of NRI's (non-resident Indians) has emerged. They not only remit money back home but also bring new cultural influences with them. Ideologies change and the process of globalisation becomes a normal channel for the diffusion and synthesis of cultures and innovations.

Sometimes, the population movement is quantitatively strong. In this case the change is all embracing. For example, Muslims of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh migrated to the Sind Province of Western Pakistan after the Partition. The immigrants and their settlements in Karachi, Hyderabad and the neighbouring small towns became a threat to the *in situ* Sindhis. Soon the immigrants became a source of tension leading to inter-ethnic clashes and civil strife.

26.8 MIGRATION TRENDS

International Migration

The term international migration refers to the change of usual residence between one nation and the other. The overwhelming majority of such movers across the frontiers do not necessarily mean that they have decided to change their usual residence. Both international and internal migration involves a change of usual residence. Another interesting feature is that the recorded volume of international migration is much less than the undocumented/ unauthorised migration. This is because people cross the international boundaries in a clandestine way. Whatever the case may be, the net international immigration has always been an important component of the population change in the country of entry. It may be noted that as a result of emigration significant change in population composition is registered in the countries of departure. A policy statement of the United Nations suggests that international movements within an intended stay of more than one year be classified as international migration. Unfortunately, there is no uniformity among the nations on the definition of international migration. Many governments, including the government of the United States of America, collect data on immigration but not on emigration. All data on immigration published by governments refer to legal immigration only while data on illegal or undocumented immigration is not tabulated (Bergatta, 1992, p. 986-87). This gap in information is a serious drawback in any study of international migration.

Trends of Migration in India

Trends of migration in India can be classified into two categories: intrastate migrations and interstate migrations. A few examples may be cited to show that the terminology used here may be confusing. When a family migrates from the Agra district of Uttar Pradesh to the neighbouring district of Bharatpur in Rajasthan, one has to describe it as interstate migration, even though distance covered is short. On the other hand, if a family or a single individual moves from Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh to Adilabad or Guntur in the same state, migration will be described as intrastate, although a long distance has been covered. It may, therefore, be concluded that distance is not a definitive criterion.

Intrastate Migration

Studies show that migrants in India do not generally cover long distances. They generally move within the state of their birth/origin. This type of migration is called intrastate. Estimates on the basis of census records show that people mostly move from one village to the other in the same state. There are about 200 million people who are normally on the move within the state. Within this group are included those who move from one village to the other. This category accounts for about 70 per cent of all migrants. On the other hand, only 9 per cent migrants move from small towns to cities. About 15 per cent of the intrastate migrants move from rural to urban areas, while 6 per cent move in the reverse direction, i.e., from urban to rural areas.

An interesting feature is that about 75 per cent of the total intrastate migrants are females. This shows that the bulk of the female migration in India is related to marriage. About 7 per cent of female migrants move from one urban centre to the other; about 12 per cent move from rural to urban areas.

Among the migrants, around 50 million consist of males. They move mainly in the rural to rural stream. This stream accounts for about one-sixth of the urban to urban category. About one-fourth is in the rural to urban and 8 per cent in the urban to rural stream.

Interstate Migration

Census data on migration show that interstate movement is much less in India as compared to the intrastate migration. In all about 27 million migrants cross the state boundaries. Of these, a little less than one-third belong to the rural to rural stream; another one-third belong to the urban to urban stream and another one-third move from the rural to urban areas. Those who move from urban to rural areas account for 7 per cent of all migrants. Data also show that in the category of interstate migrants, some 15 million women are also included. About two-fifths of them move within the rural areas; about one-third are in the urban circuit, i.e., they move from one urban centre to the other; about one-fourth of this category move from urban places to villages.

26.9 CONCLUSIONS

We have looked at various aspects of migration in India, we have tried to understand what is meant by migration and also looked at some observations made by sociologist and demographers to understand migration. We examined the various streams of migration, the trends and the factors, which go in to various kinds of migration. In the present global age migration is ever on the increase, especially transnational migration and this is altering the very nature of societies both in countries of origin and countries where people migrate to, making migration an important process that needs to fully grasped and analysed.

26.10 FURTHER READING

Chandna, R.C. 1986, *A Geography of Population*, Kalyani Publishers:New Delhi,

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