3. CONCEPT OF MIGRATION

The concept of migration pertaining to the study on “Impact of replacement migration on wages and employment on construction sector in Kerala” is discussed in this chapter under the following heads.

3.1 Definitional aspect of labour migration
3.2 Sources of labour supply
3.3 Characteristics of modern migration
3.4 Nature of migration
3.5 Causes of migration
3.6 Motives for migration
3.7 Some other social and economic aspects of migration
3.8 Effects of migration
3.9 Social and psychological effects of migration
3.10 Migration in Kerala
3.11 Remedial measures

Human migration is a universal phenomenon. It is a process through which people move from a permanent place of residence to another more or less permanent one for a substantial period of time (Chakravarthi, 2001; Chand, 2002 and Singh et al; 2001).

Migration may be classified as rural to urban, urban to urban, urban to rural and rural to rural. Migration leads to redistribution of people at the origin and at the place of destination (Singh, 1998). Population tends to migrate from
low opportunity areas to higher opportunity areas (Pandey, 1998; Lingan, 1998). Intensive agriculture, establishment of industries and higher living standards are the major reasons for providing work opportunities.

Throughout history there have been periods when migration has been an important economic and social safety valve, allowing labour to relocate to areas where it was more scarce. Usually, the cost and difficulty of travel were a serious limitation, but a major break occurred in the twentieth century, when lower transportation costs made possible a sharp increase in labour mobility, even when the nation and state increased controls on migration (World Development Report, 1995).

One of the characteristic features of the industrial labour in India is that it is mostly of a migratory character in the sense that the workers employed in most industries do not claim as their home town the place at which they work. In other words, the Indian factory labourers do not constitute a wage earning class exactly corresponding to the factory labourers in the western countries. In the west, where industrialization has taken deep roots, there are big industrial centers which attract a permanent class of industrial workers, completely divorced from land. In those countries the workers have no ties with the villages or adjoining areas - most of them have been brought up in the towns - and they depend upon their wages as the only means of livelihood. But in India most of the unskilled factory workers come from the adjoining villages and continue to keep contact with their village homes. The workers are thus
immigrants, and may not be called as migratory in the sense in which the word is commonly understood. The tendency to migrate from one centre to another is noticeable only amongst casual labour, while other workers generally try to continue at one place and in one industry, especially in places where high wages prevail, as in Jamshedpur and Ahmedabad, or in those industries which require a high degree of skill. By the migratory character of Indian labour, therefore, is meant the absence of any permanent industrial population claiming industrial towns as their homes; the majority of the workers coming from the rural areas; and the problem is that this migration is not permanent but only temporary in nature.

3.1 Definitional aspect of labour migration

A variety of definitions of migration have given by different scholars in different ways. To a large extent, the variations in the definitions are due to the differences in the nature, scope or purpose of the study.

In the West, where industrialisation has taken deep roots, there are big Industrial centers which attract a permanent class of industrial workers, completely divorced from land. In these countries the workers have not ties with the villages. But in India most of the factory workers come from the villages and continue to keep contacts with their villages homes. Thus, they migrate from rural areas to urban areas for employment.

The migratory character of Indian labour, thus can be defined as “the absecure of any permanent industrial population claiming industrial towns
as their homes – the majority of the workers are coming from the rural areas”-

Further, Migration is thought to be the consequence of unequal development wherein people from ‘backward’ regions move to ‘developed’ regions. Migration is also viewed as the concomitant result of industrialisation and urbanisation and relates to special differences in employment opportunities. Migration is also defined as an inflow or outflow of population from a region to another region for a permanent or semi-permanent settlement of habitation (Mishra, 1981, p.227).

Dictionaries generally refer to migration as a change of residence from one place to another. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of current English, to migrate means to “move from one place to another (to live there)”. According to the Webster’s New World Dictionary, migration means “to move from one place to another especially to another country” or “to move from place to place to harvest seasonal crops”.

Everett Lee defines migration” broadly as a permanent or semi permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary and un-voluntary nature of the act, and distinction is made between external and internal migration”.

In the words of Weinberg, “human migration is the changing of the place of abode permanently or, when temporarily, for an appreciable duration as e.g., in the case of seasonal workers. It is used symbolically is the transition from one surrounding to another in the course of human life”.

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According to Eisenstadt, “migration is the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one”.

In the words of Mangalam, “migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of hierarchically ordered set of values or value ends and resulting in changes in the international system of the migrants”.

Caplov states that, “migration is a change of residence and need not necessarily involve any change of occupation, but it is closely associated with occupational shifts of one kind or another”.

Thus, migration is a significant factor in influencing the size and structure of population of a given region. While presenting the “Laws of Migration”. Ravenstein has pointed out that the tendency of the migrants is to move from the areas of low opportunity to areas of high opportunity. (Ravenstein, 1985, p16). It is generally believed that migration often takes place form rural areas to urban areas in search of better employment and earnings.

Western Development Models (L.F.R. Model) (Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Fei, 1962) argued that the surplus labour from the rural areas will be absorbed in the urban industrial sector as the industrial sector expands.
The migration of labour is not permanent, but it is temporary in nature. Of course, in recent years, a change has been noticed and a trend towards stabilization of industrial labour in urban areas is found. In this connection Royal Commission on Labour has rightly observed, “Over the last 20 years, the trend towards the stabilization of industrial labour has been further strengthened”. A worker today is far more urban in taste and outlook than his predecessor. The notion of ‘Village Nexus’ has receded to the background owing to the positive measures undertaken on the interest of industrial labour. Ever in the more distant plantations, settled labour is more in evidence now”.

Another trend is that the younger members of the family generally migrate to the city who do not have emotional attachment to the land and fascination to the rural way of life unlike their elders, landless labour, has, thus, acquired the status of industrial labour as these young men have been able to adopt the changing situation and environments obtaining in their place of work.

3.2 Sources of labour supply

Generally, the smaller industrial centres draw on their surrounding rural areas for their complement of workers except for skilled labour. Industrial areas like Bombay, Calcutta and Jamshedpur draw their labour force from a wider field. In the jute mill industry in Calcutta, more than 80 percent of the workers are non-Bengalees belonging to Bihar, U.P., Orissa and Andhra. In the cotton mill industry in Bombay, the labour force is drawn from the neighbouring districts of Konkan, Satara and Sholapur and a certain proportion from Deccan.
and U.P. Labour in the engineering industry at Jamshedpur is drawn from the States of Bihar, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Madras and is now more or less permanently settled at its place of work. Labour in coal mines in Bihar and West Bengal is generally drawn from the surrounding villages although during war-time a certain number of workers were recruited from Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh. About 90 percent of the labour in the Kolar Gold Fields is non-Mysoreans. In the plantation areas, especially in the North East, workers mostly hail from the States of Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh. In the bidi industry at Bhopal the workers are mostly from Madhya Pradesh, and at Jabalpur from former Vindhya Pradesh. In the coal mines in Hyderabad labour is drawn from Gorakhpur and in the coffee estates in Mysore from South Kanara District of Madras. Many workers in U. P. and Punjab come from hills during winter and go back in summer. Many workers in the Hirakud Project in Orissa hail from Andhra and in the building trade at Delhi from Rajasthan and Punjab. As far back as 1911, the Census Report had pointed out that there was not a single family in the Banaras division which had not at least one member abroad in Bengal and Assam.

It will, thus, be seen that migration to the industrial areas may be inter-district, inter-State, or, as in the case of mines and isolated factories in out of the way places, from the surrounding villages. There is very little migration overseas for the purpose of finding jobs. It was only after the decline of cottage industries in India and the abolition of slavery in British colonies after 1830, that many Indian labourers migrated to countries such as Ceylon, Malaya and Burma, in search of jobs, but afterwards this emigration was restricted to
Ceylon mostly. In 1953 the number of workers who migrated from India overseas was 10,802, but the number has been on decline now due to restrictions placed by Governments like that of Ceylon. It may also be pointed out that following the Partition of India in August 1947, migration took place on a large scale between India and Pakistan, but that was due to different reasons.

3.3 Characteristics of modern migration

Prior to World War I we had become accustomed to think of migrants as individuals or families moving rather freely from country to country and from place to place within a country in search of more satisfactory living conditions. As was said above, the motivation was largely economic and individual. The migrant was not often aided in his decision by any public authority, nor was he, as a rule, assisted financially by them in making the move, although at times this was done. By and large it was as often the attraction of the new country as the expulsive force of the homeland which exerted the decisive influence. The knowledge of the attractive features of the new land was conveyed chiefly from relative to relative or from friend to friend by word of mouth and by letter, although not infrequently both private organizations and public agencies in the receiving country made definite efforts to acquaint prospective migrants with the advantages open to them.

The natural result of this relatively free play of forces on the individual was that there was a large movement of people from areas of relatively dense population and low economic opportunity to areas of less density and greater
opportunity, provided both areas possessed the same general pattern of culture and climatic conditions were also rather similar. Since the attractions of the new home were made known chiefly by the letters and personal visits of those who had already ventured forth, international migrants were frequently massed in the new home by place of residence in the old home.

But though there were many concentrations of migrants coming from different localities and of different nationalities in various areas of the receiving countries, there was comparatively little advantage to these modern migrants in maintaining the cultural patterns of their home areas unchanged, and there was comparatively little effort on the part of the areas of origin to encourage loyalty to the homeland. On the other hand, since the migrants came as individuals and families and from relatively harsh living conditions, they felt no special obligation to the country of their origin. Furthermore, to remain isolated from the larger community in which they settled generally entailed definite economic and social disadvantages. These were strongly felt by their children, while the lack of pressure, or at most the rather light and intermittent pressure, of the native group did not drive the newcomers to seek safety and refuge in their own community. Thus the very nature of modern migration tended to encourage the migrant to adapt himself to the new community, and if the migrants themselves failed to do this because of preference in acquiring a new language, their children tried all the harder. If they failed to achieve full integration in their new homes they failed not primarily because they wanted to remain as they are, and so forth, but because they did not know how to make the transition from foreign to native habits. This was almost as true for those
who settled in farming communities as for those who settled in cities, although the former had fewer contacts with outside groups and were necessarily somewhat slower in making the transition.

Even the increasing ease of transportation did little to maintain the bonds between the migrant and the homeland, except for those who intended to return at some future time. Although there were so many intended, they were generally a rather small minority. It is not misrepresenting the situation, then, to say that never in the history of the world had a great migratory movement carried with it so little of adherence to traditions and customs; never had the individual found so easy a way to break the bonds binding him to family and community by moving to a new land, leaving behind his past and embarking on a new career. The individual and family character of modern migration is its most distinguishing feature, as it is also the feature most determinative of the migrant’s development and of the character of the culture developed in lands where immigrants were many and of varied cultural backgrounds.

**3.4 Nature of migration**

However, it has to be noted that the industrial worker, though comes from the villages, is not essentially an agriculturist, who has only temporarily forsaken his agricultural work in order to add to his income by a brief spell of industrial work in the city. Only in seasonal industries, dealing largely with agricultural products, and in the mines, there is substantial class directly interested in agriculture. In regular factory industries the employer has passed the stage of being compelled to employ only those workers who are prepared
to work for a few months and go back to the villages at the time of harvesting or sowing the crop. An investigation undertaken by the Labour Investigation Committee clearly shows that the bulk of factory workers, though immigrant in character, have little stake in agriculture and their occasional visits to their village homes are more for rest and recuperation than for attending to cultivation. Their interest in agriculture may be only this much that some may be members of a joint-family having an agricultural holding or may have close relations actively engaged in agriculture. The truth behind the assertion of the agricultural character of the factory population is that the great majority of those employed are at heart villagers. They are born in the village, their childhood is spent in them, they have got village traditions, many leave their families behind in their villages and even when the wife accompanies the husband to the city she is generally sent back to the village at the time of confinement. The labourer visits his village as frequently as his financial circumstances permit, especially at the time of social ceremonies, urgent family matters, illness, repair of his house or meeting of relations, etc. Some of the workers may be even prepared to give up industrial work if remunerative work can be secured in their villages, and in any case some earnestly hope to retire there permanently. Except this contact with the village, which in many cases may also be in the form of sending remittances to the family relations or to the village money-lender, the workers, in majority of the cases, continue to work in the industries for a considerable period once they join them, and cannot be called merely "birds of passage". Besides, it is also not true that all workers have a longing for the village. In the words of the Royal Commission on Labour, "with some, the contact is close and constant, with others it is
slender or spasmodic, and with a few it is more an inspiration than a reality”. However, the fact remains that there is no permanent industrial population so far and the migration of the workers is only temporary.

### 3.5 Causes of migration

The causes of this migration are complex. The main cause is the increasing pressure of population on land on account of decline in the cottage industries and village handicrafts and an absolute increase in population. There are more people depending on agriculture than land can support, with the result that there are uneconomic holdings, poverty, unemployment and indebtedness in the villages. Besides, a fairly large class of landless agricultural labourers has long been in existence, obtaining a somewhat precarious living even in good years and subjected to serious hardships in bad years. The loss of land owing to the accumulation of debt, the eviction of tenants due to the desire of landlords to increase their own cultivation, quarrels between the tenant – heirs after the death of a permanent tenant, have been some of the factors increasing this class. These landless rural labourers are the first to feel the pinc of agricultural distress, and improved means of transport enable them to leave the villages in search of work and higher wages in the urban areas. In many places the petty landholders are under the necessity of migrating every year to the towns in order to earn a livelihood. The joint-family system also facilitates such migration as some members of the family can leave the village without having to break up their home or give up their land. Besides sometimes the agriculturist may seek employment in the towns to evade the village money-lenders or to earn enough for buying cattle or more land. Many
village craftsmen, after the decline of cottage industries, have also migrated to industrial areas in quest of work. Further, depressed classes in the villages find that they receive far better social treatment in industrial centres than in villages and are spared much humiliation, as industrial employment tends to break down social and caste distinctions. Some villagers also migrate to the industrial centres on account of family quarrels and worries or to avoid punishment and social boycott due to some social or moral offence, love affair, etc.

We may now analyse the causes of the temporary nature of this migration and of the desire of the workers to maintain close touch with their villages. The workers are attracted to the towns, by the lure of higher wages, but the instability of their employment chronic house famine, high rents and different conditions of work and living prevent them from settling down and bringing their families from the village. As the Labour Commission observes “The driving force in migration comes almost entirely from one end of the channel, that is, the village end. The industrial worker is not prompted by the lure of the city life or by any great ambition. The city, as such, has no attraction for him and when he leaves the village he has seldom an ambition beyond that of securing the necessities of life. Few industrial workers would remain in industry if they could secure sufficient food and clothing in the village; they are pushed not pulled to the city”. The worker, being different from the city folk, finds himself quite out of place in an industrial town and develops an inferiority complex in himself. He is considered rustic, illiterate, and is not treated with the same respect or regard
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which he gets in the village. Life in the cities is absolutely different from that in the village. The village life is a community life. The sorrows and pleasures of each member are shared by all. The city life, on the other hand, is individualistic. Nobody cares even to talk to the villager in the city, much less to help him. There is also a striking contrast between the conditions of work in towns and in villages. In villages, people work in the open air along with their own people and the work is not regular. In the industrial towns they have to work inside the factory and are subjected to strict discipline and are ordered by complete strangers to do things which they cannot understand; and failing to adjust themselves to the change, become homesick and try to return to their villages. The conditions of living are also different in towns. The general shortage of houses leads to over-crowding and misery of slums in industrial areas. As many as four or five families have to live in one room only and that is not conducive to family life. Since both sexes have to share the same room for all purposes, modesty, as that term is understood, is an impossibility. There is no privacy and all the functions of life, birth, death, disease etc. take place in the presence of others in the restricted space of a single room. Self-respecting workers, therefore, prefer not to live under such conditions with their families and leave them in their village homes and live in the city as single men. There are also difficulties of securing work for women and children in the towns and, hence, they are left behind in the villages where they can, live cheaply and more healthily and can obtain some work now and then. The moral ideas also are found to have been so much degenerated in the industrial cities that the worker prefer to leave their young wives and daughters in the village rather than
expose them to moral dangers in the towns. When the family remains behind, the worker has to maintain his contact with the village. Besides, the joint family system also keeps the workers connected with their ancestral villages. Then, those workers who have got land and migrate due to insufficiency of land or the uncertainty of income from it, find it worthwhile to maintain contact with the land and to secure whatever income it can yield. All these factors make it difficult for a permanent industrial population to grow in industrial areas.

Prof. Francis Cherunilam has classified these factors into five broad group as under:

3.5.1 Economic Factors
3.5.2 Demographic Factors
3.5.3 Socio-cultural and psychological Factors
3.5.4 Political and institutional Factors
3.5.5 Miscellaneous Factors

3.5.1 Economic Factors

The most important reason for voluntary migration is economic. Better economic opportunities attract the labourers to move from one place to another. This is true for both-international as well as internal migration. That is why Helen I Safa has remarked, “migration is normally viewed as an economic phenomenon. Though, non-economic factors obviously have some bearing, most studies concur that migrants leave their area of origin primarily because
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of lack of economic opportunities in the hopes of finding better opportunities elsewhere”.

Migration flows are generally pronounced form economically backward or stagnating areas to prosperous or dynamic areas. These economic factors again can be sub-ground in (i) Push factors (ii) Pull factors and (iii) The general economic conditions.

3.5.1.1 Push Factors

The push factors refer to the poor economic conditions and the resultant economic misery or lack of opportunities for advancement which push the people out of region in search of better opportunists. Thus, the push factors compel the people to leave the place.

The rural urban migration is mainly due to Push-factors. Poverty of the rural people push-factors. Poverty of the rural people push the people out to cities where better economic opportunities are available. According to G.N. Acharya, “Adverse economic condition is the greatest single cause of migration to cities like Baroda, Hubli, Hyderabad Secunderabad, Jamshedpur, Kanpur, Poona, Lucknow, Surat etc.”

According to I.L.O. study, ‘the main push factor causing the worker to leave agriculture is the lower level of incomes. In almost all countries incomes in agriculture are lower than in other sectors of the economy”. In India, according to the estimates of the planning commission, over cone-third of the
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rural population is below the poverty line. Moreover, due to population explosion, less cultivable land is available to them. The plight of the landless labour, small and marginal farmers is miserable. A large proportion of the growing population is thrown to semi-starvation and mal-nutrition. Population explosion, results in lower land-man-ratio and accumulation of surplus labour on land.

The joint family system and laws of inheritance do not permit the division of property. Therefore, the young people migrate to cities in search of other opportunities and freedom, sub-division and fragmentation of holdings also lead to migration.

3.5.1.2 Pull Factors

Pull factors are those which encourage migration of people to an area where better economic and employment opportunities, facilities and amenities of life are available. These facilities attract the people to these areas. There is usually an exodus of population to the cities where rapid expansion of industries and commerce takes place. According to United Nations Study, “Migration from the country-side of the cities bears a close functional relation to the process of industrialization, technological advancement and other cultural changes which characterise the evolution of modern society in almost all parts of the world”. I.L.O. study also points out that, “The main factor determine the rate of outward movement is the expansion of employment in other occupations. It is this factor which explains the high rate of movement in recent years in the advanced countries (among which Sweden, the U.S.A and
Canada are outstanding) and in rapidly developing countries in Latin America, Middle East and Africa.”

Further, more investments are made in urban areas. Scholars like Michael Lipton, Colin Clark, Lester Brown and Paul Streeten, point out that there seems to be an urban bias in the public sector expenditure in many developing countries, The World Bank also states, “Many biases in policy have created strong incentives to expand economic activity in the urban than rural areas and have encouraged the people to move to urban areas in the expectation of higher paid jobs and better access to services”. Leaster Brown remarks, “It is not at all uncommon for a country with 70 per cent of its population in rural areas to allocate only 20 per cent of its public sector investments to those same areas.”

The urban favour in the investments has led to the widening of the rural-urban disparity in the income distribution. For example, in India during 1960-61 to 1973-74, the rural income increased by 60.5 per cent or at 2.12 per cent per annum, the incomes in the urban-sector increased by 188.71 per cent or at 4.72 per cent per annum. 4.64 per cent, while the urban income increased by 49.17 per cent. The city-ward migration is encouraged by the presence of a variety of occupations to choose form, the higher wage levels and the possibility of attaining higher standards of living in the cities.
3.5.1.3 General Economic Conditions

Elaborate and efficient network of transport and communications system also encourages migration.

Trade cycles or economic fluctuations also facilitate migration. For example, during the period of prosperity, the expansion of economic activities in urban areas pull the rural people in the cities, similarly, monsoon and crop failures may push large number of people to cities. Natural calamities and vagaries of nature like cyclone may push rural people to cities.

3.5.2 Demographic Factors

The differences in the rates of population increase between the different areas of the country have been found to be a stimulant to internal migration. Fertility and the rate of natural increase in population are generally higher in rural areas than in urban areas. The reduction in the mortality rate and the concomitant high rates of population growth would drift the rural population towards the city.

Marriage migration, that is migration that takes place on account of the marriage between residents of different areas is the predominant type of female migration in India, because it is a Hindu custom here to take the bride from another village. Moreover, the custom in India of the woman returning to her parents to deliver her first child also accounts for significant internal migration. According to the National Sample Survey, more than 46 per cent of the female migration to urban areas is caused by marriage.
3.5.3 Socio-Cultural and Psychological Factors

Social and cultural factors have also their role to play in rural–urban migration. The quest for independence, the desire to break away from traditional constraints of social organisation, conflicts among the family members, exclusion from the community circles for one reason or the other or a feeling of being isolated etc. may also cause migration particularly of those in the younger generation. Improved communication, facilities such as transportation, the modernising impact of the radio, television and cinema, urban-oriented education, rural-urban interactions etc.

And the resultant change in the social values and attitudes also promote rural-urban migration. More-over ‘bright-lights’ i.e. the social facilities of the town may also pull some of the rural folks. Migration is influenced by closeness of contracts, cultural diversity etc. Cultural and linguistic ties and kinship chains also significantly influence migration.

Psychological and cultural factors also influence migration. Beiger’s study on Dutch emigrants in the mid-1950, suggested that “while economic motives were frequently present, they would not be considered predominant, and that social and psychological factors also played a major role”. Other studies of international migration have identified the following factors which influenced migratory behavior: degree of attachment to cultural patterns in the home country, previous residence abroad, presence of relatives in the country of destination and a general feeling of discontent.
Certain personality traits associated with a high propensity to migrate were also identified by Wentholt; these include great vitality, strong self-assertion, an active personality and individualistic attitude.

3.5.4 Political and Institutional Factors

Institutional factors such as Government policy towards migration may encourage or discourage the movement of population. For instance, the adoption of the ‘JOB FOR THE SON OF THE SOIL POLICY’ by the state Government in India will certainly trim the migration form other states. So also the attitude of Shiv Sena in Bombay restricts the migration of outside people in Bombay.

Some studies have tried to find the relationship between migrations and the political background of the emigrating regions. Lakshman Rao’s study revealed that more than a third of the respondents in Bhilai moved form the state of (Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and West Bengal) in which the communists had been traditionally influential, about a fifth moved from the states of Tamil Nadu, Orissa and Punjab in which the regional parties had been elected in 1967 to lead the Government and about four in ten came from the states of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan in which the Janasangh has been fast expanding its influence. Thus the political background, attitudes and outlooks of the people and the repercussions of political changes seem to have significant influence on migration.
3.5.5 Miscellaneous Factors

Over and above, certain miscellaneous factors, do affect migration, e.g. geographical factors like distance, topographical features, weather and climatic conditions including floods and droughts etc.

3.6 Motives for migration

The motives leading to migration have probably varied but little from age to age, the economic motive being dominant at all times, although not of equal importance in all movements. Clans, tribes, nomadic shepherds, and other regularly migratory groups have always moved as seemed best to them from the standpoint of making a living, although the force exerted on weaker groups by more powerful groups in search of a better living has very frequently made necessary the migration of the weaker group. Comparatively few peoples or individuals who are reasonably well satisfied with their economic position move to new homes. The more recent “forced” types of migration find their motives in desires and ambitions of political leaders (individuals and/or groups) who show no concern but for their own power in the state. In authoritarian states people are forced to move to preserve life or are shuffled about to serve the purposes of the leaders.

But to say that until these modern forced migrations came into the picture the dominant motive of individual and family migration was economic is not deny that a good many individuals migrated for noneconomic causes. It is merely a recognition of the fact that far and away the most important causes of migration was the desire to improve economic status. Other causes of
significance have been (1) the desire to secure freedom from political oppression, oppression which quite frequently shows itself in the economic disabilities imposed on minority groups; (2) the desire for religious freedom, to find a place where one could believe and worship as he saw fit; (3) personal maladjustments to family and community life, and (4) military and national considerations, which at certain times and in certain places have played an important part in the movement of large bodies of people from place to place.

3.7 Some other social and economic aspects of migration

In addition to the aspects of international migration already noted, there are some other points of interest worth mentioning.

Effects on Individuals:- From the standpoint of the economic status of the individual there can be little doubt that, in the long run, the migrant is better off as an immigrant than as a native in the homeland. As was said, he ordinarily starts out to improve his economic condition, and he succeeds in doing so in the great majority of cases even though he may remain poor according to the standards of his adopted land. From the standpoint of personality development the balance in favour of the immigrant is less certain. There are no doubt a great many immigrants who feel that they have cast off the shackles of tradition and that they have been released into a larger and more benign world. These people experience an enlargement of spirit which they could never have had at home, and this growth of the spirit can be considered among the finest fruits of the emancipation arising from migration. They are entries on the credit side.
The debit side is represented by the broken-spirited and those whose lives have become anarchical.

It is quite impossible to strike any general balance in this account. The elements in the case are too imponderable. But the fact is that the consequences of migration on the personality development of the immigrant are so frequently obscured by the economic advantages which are direct and obvious that the immigrant’s own judgment is of little value in deciding whether he is spiritually richer for migration. Even his conduct in the matter of inducing his friends to come is conclusive only on the economic side, for the dollars-and-cents argument is no doubt the most generally plausible one and the one which is most frequently decisive. The author thinks there can be little doubt that from the economic standpoint the individual usually benefits from migration; that this is, and will remain, the overwhelmingly pre-dominant motive inducing men to leave their homes and search out new habitations; and that economic improvement will remain the chief criterion by which the immigrant will judge of the benefits of emigration.

Ability of immigrations:- As regards ability, immigrants are probably a little above the average of the groups from which they come, in energy, in knowledge of conditions abroad, and in adaptability. Their going might be a drain on the home community, which would weaken it in the course of time. Too much emphasis should not be placed on this point, however, since economic motives are generally predominant and the selective effects both of economic factors and of personal factors are by no means clear, for
comparatively few people who have attained more than average economic success at home are among those who emigrate. Economic success, of course, is not the only criterion of ability, but we have no basis for directly judging the personal characteristics of immigrants which make for good citizenship.

Assimilation of Immigrants:- A country of immigration has a problem that is very difficult and perplexing in creating an organic unity of the numerous elements which compose it. Whether or not in the long run it profits from these diverse elements is a matter of much dispute. There are vigorous advocates of the view that diversity of cultural elements is essential to the development of a rich and diversified civilization; but there are also just as vigorous advocates of the view that only a highly homogeneous group can be expected to produce a civilization of a high order. There does not appear to be any very satisfactory evidence for either view; but one is probably safe in saying that the highest achievements in decent and humane living cannot be expected until a high degree of national unity of purpose has been achieved. A fine type of human development necessarily presupposes an integration of personality and an assurance regarding human and aesthetic values which cannot be developed by a people that has not attained a considerable unity of purpose. In so far as immigration retards the integration of the life of all classes and groups into a national whole, it undoubtedly makes the achievement of many of the higher human values more difficult.

Race and Migration:- Thus far no mention has been made of the effects of international migration on race contacts. International migration
inevitably brings together people having more or less different cultural backgrounds. When these cultural differences are accompanied by visible racial differences the cultural traits of the immigrant group are usually thought of by the native group as in large measure due to racial differences. Thus it has come about that race problems have been multiplied and intensified by migration during the past century or two.

3.8 Effects of Migration

Large-scale population mobility and the consequent redistribution of population have a number of economic, social, political, ecological and demographic effects. According to Spengler and Myers, “Migration consists of a variety of movements that can be described in the aggregate as an evolutionary and development-dostering process operating in time and space to correct rural-urban, inter-urban and inter-regional imbalances. It may also spread information, when migrants are more skilled than those living in the regions of destitution, and it may break the cake of custom developing migrants and make the latter a dynamic force”.

There are good effects and evil effects of migration. In the first place let us examine the good effects of or benefits of migration of labour.

Firstly, most of the industrial workers have been brought up in rural surrounding. Therefore, they possess a sound and better physique than the city-bred workers. They can bear the stain of factory life much better.
Secondly, where contact is retained with the village, there is usually, some kind of home to fall back upon in case of need and emergency. The Royal Commission of Labour has in this connection rightly observed: “In sickness and in maternity, in strikes and lock-outs, in unemployment and old age, the village home is a refuse for many and the fact that it exists, affords a sense of security, even when it is not required”. Thus, the village homes provide a shelter where the workers get into difficulties owning to illness, epidemics, strikes, disability, old age or unemployment.

Thirdly, the life of the city quickens the minds and enlarges the outlook of the workers. The workers bring to the village the wide knowledge and new ideas of freedom and independence which they imbibe in the towns. As a result of this, social reforms in the villages become possible and the villages are able to liberate themselves from the fetters of customs, prejudices, conservatism etc.

Thus, migration may be regarded as a processing machinery and mission that sparks off social changes on both the emigrating and receiving ends. According to Kingsley Davis, “Urbanization represents a revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social life. Itself a product of basic economy and technological developments it tends in turn once it comes into being, to effect every aspect of existence.” Urban life usually brings about certain social changes in the migrants. The village culture gradually gives way to urban culture.

Migration exercises significant impact on the occupational structure. eg., In India, the traditional caste barriers of occupational mobility are breaking
away in the urban environment. In the past, the lower castes in India, “because of a number of rigid and orthodox restrictions could never achieve a higher status…. since mobility.. Either caste or occupational…was, generally speaking, restricted, there was little scope for achieving higher status. In the mid-twentieth century, the forces of modernisation, have given immense opportunities to the members of different castes to achieve a higher status in the non-ritual dimensions. In the words of Phillips, “This has shaken the traditional caste structure and has accelerated escalations of statuses-occupational and others- and has provided momentum to social mobility”.

Having come to take out a living, one will be compelled to shed his caste inhibitions and whims and accept any available job. According to Dibakar Basak, “Many castes are found practicing shoe-shining. Leaving aside their traditional occupations, the higher and middle caste groups like Brahmin, Naidu, Teli, Kumhar and Goala, have adopted the job and lower caste groups like Namosudra, Mirdaha, Kalal and Rabids have also done so”. Migrants also influence the character of the cities. According to Saxena, “Sociologically, the most important aspect of this change was that emigration was gradually leading to a shift in the occupational pattern of the villages. Agriculture was no longer the only fallback of the people, they were now turning their attention to more remunerative occupations such as business, trade and commerce also”. Attitudes towards inter-caste marriage have become more favourable. Joint families are breaking up and are becoming semi-nuclear and in some cases nuclear. Considerable deviation has been found in traditions and religious attitudes, celebrations of festivals and value orientations of the people. The
deviation is 93, 24 and 12 per cent in respect of dress and language, means of recreation and purdah system etc.

Fourthly, migration also have important economic effect on both the place of origin and destination. Migration from a labour surplus region or area where disguised unemployment is wide spread, generally helps in increasing the average and marginal productivity of labour in that region. As far as, migration draws upon the surplus labour and the disguised unemployment, it would help the emigrating region. It would enable the remaining population of the region to improve their living conditions. The removal of disguised unemployed increases the average productivity. This would enable the remaining population to increase the per capita consumption since the total number of mouths to be fed by the given cake is reduced as a result of the emigration. Urban areas have the power to attract large number of labour of different skills. Thus, one urban-ward shift of population can accelerate economic growth.

The money sent to the village by the migrants may enable the recipients to make some productive investment. The migrants may start some business or small-scale industry. The emigrant money can, thus, bring about economic prosperity in the village in a number of ways.

Further, rural to rural migration of labour may result in better distribution of the labour force and relieve some regions of surplus labour and others of labour shortage. This would help economic development of both the
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regions. Migration of labour would also help to reduce or remove inter-regional wage-disparities. Seasonal migration of labour help smooth adjustment of seasonal fluctuations in demand for and supply of labour.

However, migration of labour is not free from evil effects. Its evil **effects** are as under :-

(1) In the first place, due to migration, the workers find themselves in a different environment in all aspects closed factories, uncongenial working conditions, strict discipline, strange customs and traditions, shortage of housing facilities, etc. This leads to artificial life. The customs and traditions are weakened, the ties of the village life, its corporate and organic character are also loosened. The worker becomes individualistic.

(2) Further, the health of the worker is adversely affected due to variety of factors e.g., different climate and condition of work, a defective dietary, excessive congestion, lack of sanitation etc. He has to work for long hours under strict discipline.

Migration has profound impact on health conditions. The mobility of the population, bringing people from different areas together, can facilitate the spread of disease. For example, malaria, which had been almost eradicated in India since 1960s, has made a strong resurgence and one causal factor is migration form malarial areas. Circular mobility has been an important contributor to this renewed spread of malaria. The health of migrants may also deteriorate owing to the movement form one environment to another which is different one. Movement from the village community to urban society can lead
to problems of adaptation and to various types of mental disorders. These aspects of migration and health are of great importance to policy-makers not only with respect to the physical and mental welfare of the migrants themselves but for the population as a whole. Information on the distribution of disease and of population mobility patterns is essential to the containment and eradication of various types of illness.

Moreover, they also have the dangers of sickness and disease. They have to live without their wives because of shortage of accommodation. They become the victim of prostitution, alcoholism and gambling. Sexual immorality plays a large part in family disharmony, lowers down social standards and produces many other evils. Kumarappa has rightly observed: “Birth, disease, cohabitation and death may all take place in the presence of inmates in the restricted space of singles room. The existence of such non-family groups in industrial cities gives rise to serious problems of personal and social disorganisation”.

Further, the influx of rural migrants in response to the increasing demand for labor in various new and developing industries in may centers has led to a phenomenal growth of population in them. This rapid increase has aggravated the housing problem.

A large number of the migrants, unable to find a better job, drop into the mushrooming squatters exposing the horrible misery. Even by modest
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standards, it has been estimated that from one to two thirds of a typical Asian city population must be considered to live in slums.

According to the estimates of Streeten and Burki, “Over 150 million people in the urban areas of the poorest countries have less than satisfactory shelter”. The population living in slums has been fast increasing. In Madras, the proportion of persons living in slums increased from 24 per cent in 1961 to 30 per cent in 1971. The number of clusters of jhuggies in Delhi increased from 199 in 1951 to 1,373 in 1973. The number of squatter jhuggies or households increased during the same period from 12,749 to 1,41,755.

Quite a significant segment of the slum population is composed of the rural migrants. In Delhi, it was found that 93 per cent of the household heads in squatter settlements had migrated to the city from villages and represented 60 per cent of the city’s total population. In Ahmedabad, nearly 83 per cent of the slum-dwellers are migrant house-holds.

Moreover, the efficiency of the workers is also adversely affected because the labour force is constantly changing which restricts them from getting full training. The efforts of the employers in training them are lost when the workers go to their villages and do not return. The workers also do not put in disciplined and concerted work, because, they all the while think of going back to their villages. The threat of dismissal also cannot prevail upon them because, they have the alternative of going back to their villages.
(6) It is also argued that migratory character of labour has an adverse effect on industrial organisation and it leads to unhealthy growth of trade unions. Many workers are inactive in the formation of unions and do not like to pay their subscriptions because they do not want of settle in the cities permanently. Since workers come from different areas, speak different languages and belong to different castes, the leadership cannot be developed from within the rank and file of the workers. The workers constitute a shifting mass with a changing contact, and therefore, are often prevented from joining trade unions.

(7) Besides, the management and the workers –both are at disadvantage because of migratory character. The continuous turnover of workers, many of whom may be entirely new to a particular factory and to its machines and methods of working, with a consequent loss of efficiency, reacts adversely on both the parties. The employers have to maintain additional workers or employ a larger staff. This leads to increased cost of production.

(8) Moreover, a worker who returns after a period of absence has no guarantee of re-employment after his return and difficulties of re-instatement place him at the mercy of the jobber whom he has to bribe to get the job again. Then, the employers also make the migratory character of the workers an excuse for not providing many social amenities of life which are provided to the workers in the West.
Finally, the flow of recruited labour from rural to urban areas has been paralleled by a flow of independent job seekers. In so far as they arrive in industrial centers without skill but with exaggerated hopes of highly paid employment, they often constitute a serious social and psychological problem. The substitution of urban employment for rural under-employment usually represents a net loss to the community. UNESCO report in this connection remarks: “Such floating migration of labour results in wastage of manpower and undue stress from the conflicting claims of the means of livelihood on the one hand, and life itself on the other”.

3.9 Social and psychological effects of migration

In its simplest terms the migration of a person places him in a situation involving social adjustments greater in degree than he is accustomed to making, and often they are new in kind. If the environment he has left is quite similar to that which he enters, his adjustments are few and relatively easy; hence he is not likely to suffer any very serious disintegration of character, nor is he likely to cause much disturbance in the life of the group and the community into which he enters. If, on the other hand, the adjustments are many and difficult, because of wide differences in cultural patterns between migrant and native, it is practically certain that the migrants and their families will show a large measure of instability in conduct, often resulting in considerable lawlessness and crime. The social controls which the native
population finds fairly adequate to direct conduct are not effective for migrants finds adjustment difficult the receiving community finds the assimilation of the migrant just as difficult, and much mutual antagonism arises. It is this conflict of cultural patterns that is of most importance from the social standpoint in considering the consequences of migration, although the economic conflict of migrant and native is also of great importance. The hereditary differences between migrant and native are of minor significance unless the migrants are of a distinctly different race which is easily distinguishable by its physical characteristics.

3.10 Replacement migration in Kerala

Migration has provided the single most dynamic factor in the otherwise dismal scenario of Kerala in the last quarters of the twentieth century. It is one of the positive outcomes of the Kerala Model of Development. The role of foreign remittances in the economy of the state of Kerala in India in the form of money sent by its workers in the Gulf countries is now widely acknowledged. However reliable estimates of the quantum of such remittances over time have been difficult to obtain. The problems in estimating remittances to a regional economy like Kerala are well known. The revival of growth in the Kerala economy since the late eighties-once again brings into prominence the role of remittances. Given the fact that per capita consumption in Kerala since 1977-78 has consistently exceeded the national average without a corresponding excess in income, it would appear that remittance factor is central to an understanding of the performance of Kerala in recent times.
Kerala migration studies speculated that the era of large-scale emigration from Kerala to the gulf countries was largely over, that in the coming years, emigration trend would accelerate, that a larger number of emigrants would return to Kerala and that the return emigrants could outnumber fresh emigrants in the early 21st century.

Initially, emigration of skilled labour did not create any major bottleneck back home, but their continued emigration resulted in significant scarcity of skilled workers in the state. It is often said that it is easy to find a plastic surgeon in Kerala than a good carpenter. The scarcity was followed inevitably by increases in wage rates (Rajan, 2004).

At present the state Kerala provides higher wage rates among the states in India. The increasing wages in agriculture along with stagnant or declining prices of agricultural products in Kerala have resulted in decreasing employment opportunities in agriculture. Money spent on high wages could not be recovered from the sale proceeds of agricultural products because of their falling prices. It was cheaper to buy imported rice from Andhra Pradesh or imported bananas from Tamil Nadu than to produce them locally. The result is shrinkage in the agricultural activities and employment opportunities in agriculture (Zachariah, 2004).

The differentials in wage rates between Kerala and neighbouring states received the attention of workers in other states. Migration of workers seeking employment in Kerala from other states like West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa,
Chandigarh apart from the workers already present in this state from Tamil Nadu are increasing. These workers are not paid Kerala level wages. The contract system of employment is also increasing in this state. And they began to move into Kerala and to take up work, especially in the construction sector. What started as a trickle soon assumed the dimensions of a torrent in the course of a few years? Thus started the era of replacement migration to Kerala (Economic Review, 2006).

After a lapse of about 60 years, Kerala is again becoming an in-migrating state. As soon as a contractor takes up a contract for any construction or road work, he appoints an agent to recruit workers not only from neighbouring states but also from states as far away as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and West Bengal. In many construction sites in Kerala the lingua franc is not Malayalam but Hindi, Bengal or Tamil. Emigration of workers from Kerala, demographic contraction of supply of young workers brought about by the rapid demographic transition in the state, the higher wages charged by Kerala workers, the ability of Kerala workers to sustain themselves with remittances even without work for long periods, the reluctance on the part of Kerala workers to do hard physical work—all these have engendered the era of replacement migration in Kerala. For the in-migrant workers from other states, Kerala is, for all practical purpose, their promised land, the “Gulf”. The way Kerala workers have penetrated into most economic sectors in Kerala.

It is true that remittances from the Gulf kept up economic activity in the construction and the service sectors in Kerala. Normally the additional jobs thus created should have gone to the Kerala workers. But, given the large
differences existing between the current wage rates in Kerala and the rest of the states in India, and the unwillingness of Kerala workers to do certain types of hard physical work, workers from other states have grabbed the unfilled employment opportunities in Kerala. Thus replacement migrants have taken the places which Kerala workers could have filled. The so-called spin-off effects benefited out-side workers more than Kerala workers.

3.11 Remedial measures

The national as well as state economy has been confronted with changes in the demand for labour as rapid as they were fundamental. Moreover, persistent large scale unemployment among able- bodied men and women in certain industries and areas provided dismal evidence of the loss suffered by an economy which could not re-deploy its manpower resources. It cannot be believed that automatic adjustments in the number of young recruits entering different industries produce equilibrium. It is, therefore, necessary to pay attention to suggest suitable remedial measures to stop the rural exodus and thereby to prevent rural areas from human/brain drain and people from urban miseries.

More investment for modern and traditional sector should be made for employment generation. Small scale industries should be developed for large employment opportunities. Large manufacturing industries cannot generate more employment. Therefore, in rural areas where much of the underemployed are found, and increase of agricultural employment and investment. Useful
labour intensive activities can be promoted through local construction works, more labour intensive methods of cultivation, the development of small industries in villages and towns to meet growing demands for simple equipment and for consumer goods, other productive activities such as animal husbandry, afforestation, orchards, fishery and water foods, rural handicrafts and quarrying and the provision of social services as a self help basis.

3.11.1 Regional location of industry

The regional location of industry is important because local resources are used by such industries. Therefore, local people get the jobs in their own areas. Therefore, the people will not migrate to other areas.

3.11.2 Regional dispersion of industry

The greater regional dispersion of industry may economise on private and public investment otherwise needed to alleviate congestion and expand facilities in existing overcrowded industrial centres. It will also diffuse industrial knowledge, skill and technique and a sense of progress among a larger number of population.

3.11.3. Development of small and cottage industries

The small scale and cottage industries should be given a priority in investment by the Government so that local people can be absorbed in these industries. Moreover, as they are labour-intensive they will generate more employment.
3.11.4 Promotion of construction activities

The construction activities such as roads, housing etc., should be promoted in order to employ more local people. In these activities even women will also be absorbed. Women migration has so far been a neglected dimension of labour migration.

Similarly, promotion of animal husbandry, bee-keeping, afforestation, orchards, fishery, rural handicrafts etc., will promote generation of employment opportunities in the rural areas, which, in turn, will stop local people to migrate in urban areas for jobs. These activities will also provide the subsidiary income to the rural masses.

3.11.5 Choice of techniques and pattern of investment

In a developing country like India where capital is a scarce factor, the choice of technique should be such which can maximize output per unit of capital. In other words, capital saving and labour-using techniques should be used to promote labour and save capital. In some industries like agriculture, construction and small industries where small-scale production is appropriate, these techniques are appropriate. They will promote both – employment and development.

The policy measures affecting the pattern of investment include the direct allocation of resources by governments in their development plans of within their public investment budgets. Labour intensive techniques of production should be encouraged by lower interest rates, tax deductions, lower
tariff rates etc. Luxury and non-essential consumption of capital intensive products should be discouraged by tax policies. The rural exodus can be checked by orienting investment and technological development more in favour of rural areas and rural population.