CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 SOCIO ECONOMIC STATUS OF MIGRANTS

In a study by Deb & Seck it was found that despite perceptible growth in socio-economic level through income generation as well as increased consumption on account of migration, there could be health challenges faced by the migrants’ families due to various constraints. He further advocates that there apart from improved income and levels of consumption, there are no documentations to reveal greater well-being of migrants (Deb & Seck 2009). Income generation and meeting basic needs are the main benefits of migration, but it is at the cost of health and emotional welfare of the family.

Similar main focus of migration, viz., finding employment for livelihood has been stressed in another research of similar kind. ‘Economically weaker migrants are guided by the unemployment patterns of a state as a choice of destination rather than by welfare measures provided by the state.’ (Gordan et al. 2005). In another study by Ma, it was found that the labor/wage earning group in urban areas enlarged due to migration of rural folks into urban areas creating competition amongst them in the employment market. Ultimately, the Government is left to face more challenges of creating employment potential for the huge populace bloated by the flow of rural migrants into urban segments (Ma, 2012).

Again the employment angle as a major reason for migration has been stressed in another research. There is a mistaken notion that the greater urban amenities and improved life facilities, such as better housing, means of transport, etc. could also figure predominantly in attracting rural folks’ migration into urban areas. This concept was rather questioned by Chen and Coulson, who have attributed the said migration mainly to the conducive environment for growth and better employment avenues largely provided by private markets as well as the facilities extended by the governments (Chen & Coulson 2002). A similar research reveals the craving for survival at any cost to find an employment taking huge risks in life by migrating to unknown places and taking up riskier jobs for livelihood. ‘Immigrants are more likely to engage in riskier jobs than local people partly due to differences in educational attainment or language barriers’ (Orrenius & Zavodny 2009).
Similar interesting but wider study was conducted in the Indian context, with regard to the push and pull factors of migration, as well as crime rate. In the study carried out in 15 big states in India, it was observed that infrastructure was the major pull factor; unemployment was the main push factor for migration towards green pastures. Further it was observed that the migrants didn’t bother about crime rate in the places, usually big cities, to which they migrate in search of jobs, as they were prepared to take risks, to find a means of existence (Roy & Debnath 2011).

Further analysis and research was done whether the income derived through migration has distributed according to age and reasons for migration. Studies also have found that in general migration is associated with an increase in income, though the effects of income gain may vary by reason for move (Bartel 1979).

The factors motivating migration are identified by an analysis of cross-sectional as the household structure, educational facilities and occupation and other factors are only incidental (Farwick 2009). There is a similarity in the migration pattern in Korea with that of the other developing nations with regard to the overall scenario, viz., reasons triggering migration, pattern of shifting, types of movements and settlements, socio-economic factors, contribution to the national economy, etc. The impact of Korea’s economic development on migration is similar and relevant to the developmental and migratory trajectories of other developing nations (Dewind et al. 2012). In an analysis of migration in U.S. during 2 decades ending 2011, the fall in migration to certain destinations was attributed to knowledge dissemination made possible to the working class through IT on geographical peculiarities and potentials for jobs as well as cheap travel facilities. The authors purport that Migration has not fallen because of changes in the demographic features or regional disparity or socio-economic factors (Kaplan & Wohl 2012). These findings may not be applicable to the Indian conditions, in view of the huge illiterate/semi-literate population and major chunk of people either below the poverty line or at the verge of it.

Most of the migrants in another study were satisfied with the socio-economic attainments of their migration objective and wanted to come back to their place of their origin and after saving enough money, so that they could live rest of their lives out of poverty (Ishtiaque & Mallik 2011). This is an important finding. Most of the migrants have moved out of their native place out of necessity mainly to find employment for their livelihood and earning. Nevertheless, their
attachment to their native place and ethnic culture is rooted in their minds and it is no wonder that they want to return back to their native land after earning sufficiently at the migrated place.

In the Indonesian context, the education achievement of the children of the migrants and their socio-economic conditions was studied in detail and a positive finding was made. In another study on migrant children’s education, it was noticed that the standard was better than that of the others. In Indonesia, it was found that the rural to urban migration process has resulted in better education facilities to the children of the migrants. Further it had also contributed to a better socio-economic status of the migrant population. Thus the scholar suggests this process as one of the means to improve the living standards of the rural poor and even suggests reduction of redundant blocks in the system to encourage such migration (Resosudarmo et al. 2009). These findings are only partly true in Indian context, as the rapid spread of literacy and higher/distant education is taking place in the interior parts at affordable costs. However, only when the abolition of child labour becomes 100% in its true spirit, the real progress of education of all children, be it of migrants or others, will become a reality.

A study in the developed nations was made with regard to the family earnings including that of married women upon migration. A longitudinal study for the United States of America and Great Britain was carried out in the area of migration of families. Some relevant issues studied were how childbirth affects the earnings of a married woman vis-à-vis those on migration and the consequent effect on family income. (Cooke et al. 2009). In India too, both the spouses tend to work to meet the family budget, in view of the spiraling cost of living and increasing needs of life. However, upon migration, many women in the families concerned could find jobs in the newly shifted areas, as most such families belong to poor or lower middle class levels wherein it is comparatively easier to find employment placements particularly in urban areas.

In the following research a sharp contrast in the human capital base and consequently the ability of households between the international and intra-national migrations. The role of relative deprivation will differ between international migration and migration within a country, as it is explained below. The sharp discontinuities in the returns to human capital between home- and host-country labour markets may affect the ability of households that differ in their human capital endowments to achieve income position gains through international migration. Also, a relative deprivation approach to migration has important implications for development policy.
For example, the effects of rural development policies on rural out-migration, as predicted by an expected income model, may be precisely the opposite of those predicted by a relative deprivation model’ (Stark & Taylor 1991). This is a study of macro-level migrations and does not take into account individual impact on the migrants.

Shift of knowledge-based production and importance of human capital in productivity were studied in a migration research which has concluded negative outcome in both rural and urban migrations. In the good old days, production was traditional and simple. But progressive with the inventions of modern techniques and advancements with productivity in aim, the knowledge-based human work-force has gained greater significance and utmost reckoning in urban as well as other areas. As such migration of such well-equipped work-force may lead to some negative effect on certain deficit areas (Stark & Fan 2008).

The value of migrants’ contribution to the growth of a state has been a neglected aspect so far. Migration accelerates growth by shifting man power labour surplus regions to those experiencing shortages (Prakash & Mohanty 2005). This is yet another macro level migration impact study on States. While it has focused on the acceleration of growth of States wherein the migrants enter on large scale and contribute to their economy, there are other aspects of simultaneous problems created on the over-burdened infrastructure of these States such as dwelling, transport, water, air, pollution, sewerage, health, etc., which need to be addressed on a war footing while framing redevelopment schemes for slums.

In another research, it was found that there is not much increase in the income of the migrants and they tend to remit some amount to their dependants out of their limited earnings. An interesting inter se impact of household possessions and tendency to migrate was studied by Du, et al. It was observed, as expected, that the poor with little belongings, had a tendency to migrate to better places in search of livelihood. Predictably their households were benefited by per capita income increase ranging from 8% to 13%. However, the entire increase in income was not translated into better living standards, as they were found sharing part of their income with other family members (Du, Park & Wang 2005). As such, it is true in respect of sizeable migrants in India also, who have dependants in their native places, to whom they do remit in their home town and also invest in immovable properties there.
In U.S., a study was made on the impact of the social welfare benefits on the out-migration as well as in-migration. It was based on the effect of the social welfare system on migration vis-à-vis out-migration from and in-migration to metropolitan areas in the US found very weak support for the hypothesis that social welfare benefits influence out-migration decisions, but moderate support for the effect of such benefits on in-migration decisions, especially of low-income and female-headed households (Cushing 2003). In the Indian conditions, these hypotheses are not applicable, as the social welfare schemes in metropolitan areas are more or less similar in nature and major migrations take place from rural/semi-urban to urban/metro areas.

Finnie studied the impact of destination attraction based upon income levels and found that higher income destinations resulted in gains and vice versa. As regards women, income level was not a major criterion for migration; in fact migration was found to have resulted in loss of income for women in many cases (Finnie 1999). In India also, income levels play a predominant role in attracting migrants. Higher wages in the new place naturally tend to woo the migrants from lower wage earning areas. As far as females are concerned, it is observed in the current research that most of them have moved out mainly on account of marriage.

In a major research in Chinese conditions, it was observed that the major issue of regional disparities in economic levels in China was addressed in its reforms effectively through open-door policies during 1980s through floating population. China has system of household registration of non-permanent migrant floating population also, in order to keep track of this segment and their utility/deployment. Though there could be some regional imbalances on account of such frequent migrations, in course of time such mobility could pave way for integration of various regions; the author suggests that the issue warrants more academic as well as policy framing authorities’ focus (Zhu 2003). China had tackled its huge population explosion and regional imbalance as well as floating population of migrants tactfully. No wonder it had achieved great economic strides in the global arena. India needs to study the Chinese policies on migration right from registration point onwards and try to analyze its strengths and weaknesses in its endeavor to build up a national policy framework by involving all States and sections of the society in a transparent manner with special focus on speeding up the scientific planning/designing of redevelopment of large slums like Dharavi.

2.2 LIFE SATISFACTION LEVEL OF MIGRANTS
Boost in happiness is received through migration bringing people back to their initial level of Subjective Well Being. Long-distance movers are at least as happy as short-distance movers despite the higher social costs supporting the set-point theory of happiness (Nowok 2011). Hence the distance of migration does not normally impact the life satisfaction on account of migration.

Both types of migrants, those who move for work and those for other reasons are both found to be happy for different reasons. A Swedish Young Adult Panel Study found that internal migration is accompanied by an increase in life satisfaction. This increase is observed for both, migrants who move due to work and those who move due to non-work reasons. However, different factors account for the increase in life satisfaction for work and non work migrants. For non-work migrants, it is greater housing satisfaction that leads to an improvement in life satisfaction. For working migrants increase in income does not seem to explain the differential improvement in life satisfaction because of a lack of improvement in their economic satisfaction (Switek 2012). The same findings have been reiterated in another angle. A longitudinal study to assess the changes in life satisfaction that accompany migration found strong evidence of a positive association between internal migration and life satisfaction is found for young adults in Sweden. This association is true for people who move due to work and non-work reasons (Switek 2012). But In one of his papers Barcus asserts that housing satisfaction increases as an effect of residential migration (Barcus 2004).

Another perspective has been found in migration satisfaction. For work migrants, relative status improvements in the work domain seem to contribute to the increase in life satisfaction that accompanies migration. Though work migrants experience an increase in income above that of non-migrants, they do not experience a similar improvement in satisfaction with economic situation. Migration affects life satisfaction through different channels for work than for non-work migrants. This indicates that an increase in income is neither sufficient nor necessary for a positive relationship to exist between migration and life satisfaction. It is the improvement in relative status accompanying occupational changes that contributes to life satisfaction increases for this migrant group.

Easterlin studied the relationship of migrant population’s satisfaction levels vis-à-vis their aging. He found out in his research study that till they reach the age of about 50, there was a mild rise in
happiness with family live and work, health issues not being much. However when middle age settles in, there was a decrease in satisfactions levels possibly due to health problems that were cropping up more. However he found out that a good financial background could considerably reduce any such negative effect on happiness in their advancing ages (Easterlin 2006). In younger days, normally robust health makes his resilient and happier than older people around him. In India still the family fabric is valued much and elderly people are being taken care of.

One of the main aspects of life satisfaction is earning sufficient income to cope up with life aspirations and the findings are in line with human nature. A diagonally opposite view has been expressed in another cross sectional study points out to a negative association between migration and Life Satisfaction (Knight & Gunathilaka 2007).

Vulnerabilities of 3 insecurities “personal”, nutritional and “employment security” vis-à-vis income, life satisfaction on migration, their inter-se relationship were studied by Cordenas and others in Lain America. Income was a main determinant of happiness of a migrant. However, it was found that questions over nutritional food availability etc., were looming large over the migrants’ families’ minds (Cordenas et al. 2009). Latin America, being a poor continent, has shortage of nutritional food and personal / job security. Hence these factors figure predominantly in the minds of the migrants, apart from income, while arriving at the life satisfaction levels.

In the Chinese conditions, the vast farm lands provide scope for ample elbow-room for returning back or re-locating their homes. Some migrants from rural China find it rather difficult to adjust to city conditions and would like to return back to their rural fields. As their relatives/contacts and lands and homes in countryside were intact, they had no difficulty in exercising such an option to return back to village life. The author calls this as circular nature of migration in China, a luxurious option to extend the life satisfaction of off-farm migrants of China. (Neilson, Smyth & Zhai 2010).

Another paper analyses the effect of Life Satisfaction on intention to migrate abroad. Life satisfaction was found to be negatively associated with intention to migrate, controlling for education. ie. More educated individuals reporting more Life Satisfaction have less intention to migrate than more educated individuals reporting less Life Satisfaction (Chindarkar 2012). This may not be true in respect of highly qualified professionals who get high level placements abroad.
with adequate scope and monetary compensation. Further they get satisfaction for advancement in their respective professions with access to the necessary latest technology and infrastructure.

In the Indian context, though there is some improvement in living standard of migrants, there is scope for upgrading their lives through urban employment programmes. Results based on a slum survey in four Indian cities highlight the importance of various informal channels through which urban jobs are accessed. The author has surveyed four Indian city slums and found out that though the findings indicates an improvement in the well-being of migrant workers over time, several of the long duration migrants and natives in the cities still lead a low quality life. Urban employment programmes should be implemented at the earliest to improve the status of the migrant workers. (Mitra 2010).

The higher shares of young and educated workers in cities arise because these workers perceive relatively greater benefits from living in cities, given relative urban/rural wage rates, or because the relative demand for these workers rises with city size (McCormick & Wahba, 2005). It is but natural that there is greater demand for young workers everywhere, who have better energy, aspiration and enthusiasm.

There is a different employment pattern among migrant sub-groups, migrant networks do not appear to strongly influence perceptions and behavior such as Life Satisfaction and Political Participation. It is also observed that individual networks could facilitate the development of migrant communities in city (Xu & Palmer 2001). In India also migrants do act as a natural group in matters of their interest.

As far as Indian immigrants in Canada are concerned they have a tendency to compare their lives with their peers in India, the Canadian citizens and other Indian immigrants. Further they also weigh their lives with what they have missed by not staying in India particularly with regard to their children’s grooming, realizing their personal dreams and degree of self-esteem (Vohra & Adair 2000). While many Indians settled in U.S. and Canada are economically well-off, they are concerned about the cultural side of their children. Indeed they do miss their relatives, their family functions, festivals etc., in India and for the religiously minded, the craving is more for such occasions. Hence life satisfaction is not merely earning large amounts of money, but satisfying the other aspects of cultural, social and family life.

2.3 SOCIAL INCLUSION OF MIGRANTS
A sample Survey in five big cities in China found social inclusion of rural-urban migrants, as a complicated process, which is mainly affected by seven factors, viz., inhabitation, community, economic, social, human capital, employment and health. Based on such findings, it has proposed a model of social policy system for social inclusion to cater to the needs of the rural migrants to urban areas. The model suggests that the structure should reduce the exclusion and improve social integration. Simultaneously, community projects should be undertaken to build social fabric of migrant policy implementation and to improve social service deliverance (Liu 2010). The study has encompassed wide aspects of life satisfaction on account of migration. Indeed the suggestion, viz., developing community bondage through various programmes is applicable to India also, in order to improve social inclusion.

Black migrants tend to migrate to metropolitan cities when their white counterparts preferred rural farm areas (White et al. 2005). This is also somewhat true in the Indian context where lower castes are not so much discriminated against in metropolis like Mumbai and prefer to migrate to cities rather than small towns. Confirming the tied migration theory, married women chose destinations as their partners whereas single women chose metropolitan cities with high employment opportunities (White et al. 2005). This may also be true in Indian context as women migration is more due to marriage and choice of destination is not in their hands and single women may prefer metropolis as gender gaps in cities are supposedly less. In our study also marriage was a major reason for migration of women, whereas it was rather insignificant in respect of men. However, educated single women may migrate to cities like Mumbai, but may not stay in slums, but can afford to stay in decent localities by paying higher rents.

Migration of women was again studied in another research in Spain. Women who moved to the Costa Blanca benefited from fluid movement across national borders in the EU since 1992; that is mobility. However, once they settled in Spain, they found that they were effectively living in bounded settlements, almost exclusively with people from their own ethnic group. Their ethnic identity was effectively reinforced by their dislocation from their hosts, their inability to speak Spanish and their diasporic status (Ahmed 2011).

The migrants from rural to urban areas are unable to break their social, psychological and economic ties with their home even if they plan not to return to their homeland (Myerson et al., 2010). Since the childhood and early day reminiscences are not easy to forget,
it is rooted in the minds of the most of the migrants, despite their settlement elsewhere for long periods for livelihood. All the more so if there are cultural, religious and linguistic differences in the migrated place.

In a study by Liaw and Frey, another interesting factor of how young migrants choose their destination spot for migration was taken into account. Various factors such as relative location, population distribution, distance, contiguity, etc., were analysed and ultimately those which figured in their decision making process for destination choice were found to be predominantly culture oriented, i.e. racial and ethnicity similarity (Liaw & Frey 1996). In many slums in Mumbai also it is observed that ethnic and cultural groups flock together in cluster pockets by nature obviously due to their origin and common backgrounds as well as comfort levels.

According to studies couples who move their residence frequently to other places are more likely to separate than couples who stay in the same place (Paul et al. 2008). This is a sociological problem that displacement causes in the lives by way frequent migration. There is a discontinuance in the neighbourhood and relationships and pattern of living which also creates friction in the lives of the couple.

2.4 MIGRATION AND HEALTH

The families with low income prefer to go to Brihan Mumbai Corporation Hospital rather than to private hospitals. It is found that ‘the issues that emerged from the study and recognizing the paramount importance of health in the well being of the people, it is crucial that policy action be taken to improve the health services for migration populations who live in the unauthorized slums’ (Mili, 2011). The effect of unhygienic conditions and lack of sanitation which is prevalent in slums subsequently cause diseases.

Hesketh studied the poor living conditions of migrants and their health issues. He had observed that many poor migrants were not able to afford proper healthy atmosphere and health-care, which made them vulnerable to diseases. Hence he has advocated proper health care to migrants without insurance cover and the poor in urban areas (Hesketh 2008). As many single male migrants come alone to the cities and they frequent sex workers, they are more prone to HIV/AIDS. This further worsens their health due to unhygienic conditions.

2.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS
The extensive review of the related research on migration in India and abroad has brought to the fore front the lacunae in the measure of satisfaction with life and social inclusion of migrants. No research as such has been carried out to measure the life satisfaction level of the migrants of Dharavi slum in relation to their socio economic status and social inclusion level. Hence the current research aims to focus on the neglected issue of the relationships between life satisfaction & social inclusion of migrants in relation to their socio economic status. The present research is a statistical analysis of migrant slum dwellers of Dharavi slum vis-à-vis their socio economic status, life satisfaction levels, social inclusion levels, employment, and demographical differences if any. The questions that are raised by the study are

• Whether improved socio economic status has improved the life satisfaction of the migrants?

• Whether perception of higher social inclusion in the mainstream has improved life satisfaction of the migrants?

• Testing the differences in the relationships between life satisfaction levels, social inclusion scores and socioeconomic status of migrants in Dharavi according to demographical variables like age, gender, native state, etc.