INTRODUCTION

The studies on emigration and migrants generally focus on two subjects - the adaptation and interaction patterns of the migrating groups in the new society to which they have migrated and the host society's response to these groups. Most often than not, what gets overlooked is the impact on societies, groups and families left behind after emigration by people. This study tries to fill this lacuna by focusing on the families left behind by people who have emigrated to different parts of the world in the villages of the Doaba region of Punjab.

MIGRATION

The English word migration derives from the Latin verb *migrare* meaning to "move from one place to another". Eisenstadt (1954), for instance, defined migration as the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. However, gradually the concept of migration got broadened from just the physical movement of people to include the change of social and psychological setting of the people. In this new avatar, migration implied a transition that usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and a different one. Zlinsky (1971) also considers migration as a process of simultaneous shifts in both spatial and social loci.

Several criteria have been used to classify migration, for example, extent of migration, the distance moved, duration of stay, nature, motivation and forces of migration. Peterson (1966) categorized migration as free, group and mass migration. Free migration is the movement of a single family or an individual. Most economic migrations can be termed as free migration. Group migration refers to the movement of people in clusters larger than the family. A clan, tribe or a social group may move as a unit under the influence of a leader. Mass migration refers to when people in certain area are intensively exposed to migration. Golini (1993) has presented a statistical typology of population movements using the criteria of distance (long or short), duration (short term or long term), legitimacy (legal or illegal) and cause (political, economic, social or religious).
George (1987) classified migration as voluntary, sequential or forced migration. In voluntary migration, the migrant has the opportunity to exercise his own will in deciding whether to migrate. Sequential migration is the migration due to some element of customary obligations and some compelling circumstances such as migration following marriage or job etc. Forced migration is caused by compulsion or force like partition, political or religious persecution etc. Chandna and Sidhu (1980) suggested that geographical area frequently forms the basis for differentiating between one type of migration and the other. It is said to be internal migration when it occurs within the boundary of a nation. International migration on the other hand, is a movement of people that transcends the national boundaries. They further classified the internal migrations into four types on the basis of area i) rural to urban ii) urban to urban iii) rural to rural and iv) urban to rural area.

However, probably the most well known classification that is apt for the present study is that of emigration and immigration. The term emigration is normally used to connote out-migration across the international border. Similarly, the concept of immigration means the movement into a nation’s international border. Someone who moves out of a territory is known as an emigrant and one who enters in a territory is immigrant for that geographical locality.

PERSPECTIVES ON MIGRATION

The theoretical perspectives of international migration have been classified by Massey et al (1993) into two categories. The first category of theories focus on explaining the initiation of migration and the second group of theories focus on explaining the continuation of migration. The perspectives given by Ravenstein (1885), Stouffer (1940), Lee(1966), Lewis (1954), Todaro (1970), Piore (1979), Sassen (1988) focus on the reasons for initiation of migration and direction of migration, while the Hugo (1981), Massey (1993), Myrdal (1956), Kritz and Zlotnik (1992) focus on the continuation of migration.

Perspectives on Initiation and Direction of Migration

Ravenstein (1885) made the first formal attempt towards theory building in the
field of migration. He propounded his “laws” of migration based on his studies carried out in the UK. The laws mentioned by him explain the relation of distance with the currents of migration. The most important of his laws were a) that most of the migrants travel short distances; b) long distance migrants generally go towards the great centres of commerce; c) migration results from the processes of absorption and dispersion and the process of dispersion of population is inversely proportional to the process of absorption; d) each current of migration flow produces a compensating counter-flow; e) the inhabitants immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, flock into it and the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of some other city makes its influence felt; f) natives of town are less migratory than those from countryside and g) females are more migratory than males.

Stouffer (1940) introduced the notion of intervening opportunities while explaining migration. He argued that the volume of migration had less to do with distance and population totals than with the opportunities in each location. He claimed that the migration over a given distance is held to be directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of possible alternative migration destinations between the place of origin and the proposed destination. Such intervening opportunities may persuade a migrant to settle in a place in the route rather than proceeding to the originally planned destination.

Lee (1966) however, holds that the factors which enter into the decision to migrate and the process of migration may be summarized under four headings, namely, a) factors associated with the area of origin; b) factors associated with the area of destination; c) intervening obstacles; and d) personal factors. Thus, migration can be defined as the interplay of factors stimulating or inhibiting movements associated with the origin and destination, together with intervening obstacles and personal characteristics of the migrants. The factors such as distance, physical and political barriers, and having dependents act as intervening variables that can impede or even prevent migration. Lee believes that the migration process is selective because differentials such as age, gender, and social class affect how persons respond to push-pull factors, and their ability to overcome the intervening obstacles. Furthermore,
personal factors such as a person's education, knowledge of a potential receiver population and family ties can facilitate or retard migration.

There are many theories of migration which focus on the economic aspects of international migration. The migration of individuals is traditionally believed to be based upon the demands of certain skills and human resources in the countries of destination and availability of the labour and skills at the country of destination. Lewis's (1954) dual economy model of economic development proposes that the migration is the means by which surplus labor in the traditional (agricultural) sector is redeployed to fill rising modern (urban) sector labor demands. Migration is demand- or employment-driven rather than being driven by wages.

Todaro (1970) also believed in the neo classical economic theory of migration and gave the Harris–Todaro model to explain the origin of migration. The main assumption of the model is that the migration decision is based on expected income differentials between rural and urban areas rather than just wage differentials. This explains the continued rural-urban migration even towards urban areas of high unemployment when expected urban income exceeds expected rural income. Segmented labor-market theory (Piore 1979) argues that First World economies are structured so as to require a certain level of immigration. This theory suggests that developed economies are dualistic: they have a primary market of secure, well-remunerated work and a secondary market of low-wage work. It further argues that immigrants are recruited to fill these jobs that are necessary for the overall economy to function but are avoided by the native-born population because of the poor working conditions associated with the secondary labor market.

In the world-system theory it is argued that the world is divided into two types of nations, those at the core and the others at the periphery. The international migration is a by-product of global capitalism. (Sassen, 1988) Contemporary patterns of international migration tend to be from the periphery (poor nations) to the core (rich nations) because factors associated with industrial development in the First World generated structural economic problems, and thus push factors, in the Third World.

Thus, the economic perspectives apply classic supply and demand paradigms to migration both at the individual level and at the household unit. Massey, et al.
However, in their theories called new economics of migration, believe that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people - typically families or households. Therefore, families, being the culturally defined units of production and consumption are appropriate units of analysis for migration research, not the individual. This new household economies approach also explains the often temporary nature of migration, an item that the neoclassical approach doesn’t address.

Wolpert (1975) based his model of migration upon behavior theory. He suggested that in the migration models, the focus should be on the behavior of individuals rather than the characteristics of places and population. Thus, he shifted his emphasis from distance and economic motives to the human behavior. Wolpert can be credited with bringing the human subjectivity into account while defining the phenomenon of migrations. A complementary model to the behavioral and economic approaches is the new economic approach, which was developed and used to support the family model of migration. The new economic approach (Stark, 1991) emphasizes the risk-sharing behavior of family members. According to this model, individuals are able to diversify their resources in order to minimize risks to the family income. Hence, it may be more viable for a few family members to work in foreign country, while allowing those left behind in the home country to receive remittances. According to the new economic approach, migration occurs in order to improve the income of the household more than the economic situation of individual migrants.

Perspectives on the Perpetuation of Migration

The perspectives discussed above generally focus on the cause and direction of emigration. However, there are some perspectives which discuss the perpetuation of migration. The most important among these are the Social Network theory (Hugo, 1981), Institutional Theory (Massey et al., 1993), Cumulative Causation Theory (Myrdal, 1956) and Migration System Theory (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992).

Social Network theory (Hugo, 1981) has a basis on the social networks fabricated from interaction. The perspective is based on the assumption that connections between states and people pave the way for greater numbers of people to embark on the journey of migration. Migration becomes a self-perpetuating process,
especially when social and informational networks lower the costs and risks involved. Existing network ties (such as the family, relatives, or social networks) lower the risks associated with migration to foreign regions because migrants can expect help from those who had previously migrated. This social phenomenon is known as chain migration. The perspective focuses on micro level factors such as links between migrants and their friends/family back-home initiate new migration movements. Such social networks lower risks/costs of newcomers and lead to expansion of such networks in places origin and destination and to more potential migration flows. The environment changes over time, lowering thresholds for subsequent migrants. The focus of this perspective is on role of social networks in relating to on the size, composition, decision making process and quality characteristics of social networks. The networks of migrants from other countries in a country help the inflow of migrants from the other country.

The institutional approach focuses on the number and quality of organizations that facilitate migration from one country to another. As international migration occurs on a large scale it can become institutionalized. A large inflow of international migrants induces profit and non-profit organizations, which can be legal or illegal, to provide, for instance, (clandestine), transport, labour contracts, (counterfeit) documents, dwellings or legal advice for migrants (Massey et al., 1993). The theory of the cumulative causation of migration (Myrdal, 1956) posits that once the process of international migration begins, the social context of the origin community is altered in ways that lower the costs of international migration and increase the likelihood that an individual in that community will migrate. The theory of the cumulative causation of migration posits that as migratory experience grows within a sending community, the likelihood that other community members will initiate a migratory trip increases. This diffusion is expected to vary across time and place according to differences in the mechanisms guiding this behavior. Each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent decisions are made; most researchers use demographic variables such as distribution of income and land; regional distribution of human capital; regional meaning of work (i.e. social labeling); and the organization of agriculture, although some other variables may also exist.
The international migration Systems Approach discussed by Kritz and Zlotnik (1992) tries to integrate the key aspects of the different migration theories. The central idea of the systems approach is that the exchange of capital and people between certain countries takes place within a particular economic, social, political and demographic context. Focussing on both macro and micro level factors this perspective attempts to integrate some of the previous macro and micro level theories. Key issue is identification and examination of stable migration flows between places of origin and destinations to explain initiation and perpetuation of migration. An international migration system consist of a particular set of core receiving regions in countries of destination and a set of core sending regions in countries of origin. The perspective tries to identify, examine and relate migration processes in sending and receiving areas. This perspective takes account of individual and household level decision making processes.

Working on these theoretical approaches on individual and family migration, Root and De-Jong (1991) developed an inclusive family model of migration in the context of developing countries which is applicable either when the entire family migrates or when only a few members of the family migrate. In this model, six basic factors were generated to explain family migration. The first factor, i.e., linkage to migration system is represented by exchanges, for example, information, social assistance, money and emotional supports between family/kin at point of origin and potential destination regions. The second factor, i.e., ties at place of origin includes inhibiting factors for predicting migration. Included in this factor is the information on perceived closeness to relatives in origin region. The third factor, i.e., family pressure argues that families either generate or impose restrictions on the expectations for migration of family members. As such, individual perception on family pressures to migrate is intrinsic to this concept. In the fourth, i.e., family structure factor, they adopt two types of family structures - the nuclear family and the extended family. Here, the assumption is that the nuclear family is more likely to migrate as an entire family than an extended family. Another assumption is that migration of some members is expected to be high during stages of major life-course transitions such as school and marriage. The fifth factor i.e., family socio-economic resources which include push or pull factors. For example, the lack of adequate land may push family
members to find work elsewhere. The last factor, i.e., family previous mobility experience considers previous experiences from some members of the family or the entire family as a significant trigger of new movements or repeated movements of some members of the family or the entire family.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the perspectives of migration give varying importance to factors such as distance, economic factors, social networks, individuals, households, interactions and subjective meaning given to migration by the individual actors. The theories generally take into account the factors both at the place of origin, destination, and intervening factors. It appears, however, that no particular perspective can thus be considered sufficient to explain all the aspects of migration since the theoretical and conceptual complexity of migration requires economic, social, infrastructural, and institutional data at the individual, household, and community levels to facilitate a comprehensive examination of the phenomenon on international migration especially in the changing global scenario towards multiculturalism and the transition to a market oriented economy.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The phenomenon of international migration has continued in the recent times regularly in almost all the parts of the world though with varied social, political, economic, psychological and demographic reasons and effects. According to International Migration Report (2002), around 175 million persons currently reside in the country other than where they were born, which is more than 3 per cent of world population. The number of migrants has more than doubled since 1970. Sixty percent of world’s migrants currently reside in more developed regions and 40 percent in less developed regions.

Emigration from Punjab

Thandi (1999) believes that Punjabis are now an established migrant community whose number can be estimated to be between 2-2.5 million. The writings on history of emigration from Punjab and Sikhs by Mcleod (1986), Arthur Helweg, (1979), Judge (2000), Tatla (2004) and several others show that unlike overseas migration from other parts of India, Punjabi migration really commenced during the
final quarter of the 19th century and was very much a product of the strategic and influential position which Punjab acquired within the British Empire. This influence manifested itself in growing military recruitment and increased investment in agriculture leading to substantial growth in agricultural export revenues.

Punjab’s formal incorporation into the British Empire after 1849 resulted in a movement of Punjabis to other regions of the empire such as Malaysia, Thailand, Hong Kong, Fiji, Australia and New Zealand. The majority of these pioneer migrants were Sikhs who originated mainly from the rural areas of Punjab and many went abroad either through military postings, police service or for other economic operations. The first quarter of the 20th century saw further expansion of this migration, especially to East Africa, associated with construction of railways and the new trading and business opportunities which this created.

During the 20th century, especially since the 1950s, international migration from Punjab has been substantial and it has been one of the leading states of emigration from India along with Kerala and Gujarat. The researchers attribute this to mainly three factors. One, the rapid expansion of canal irrigation in the late 19th century in western Punjab raised incomes, enabling the households to meet the threshold expenses for emigration. Second, post-1857 Punjab emerged as the principal area of recruitment in the British Indian army. Overseas postings led to some of them settling abroad after retirement. Third, labour recruitment, especially for craftsman in East Africa during the railways construction boom, created another conduit of overseas migration (especially Ramgarhia Sikhs). However, the biggest change came in the 1950s with the growing demand for labour in England. Subsequently, from the 1970s onwards, large numbers have migrated to North America, especially Canada. (Tatla, 2004).

According to Zachariah (1997), after the first OPEC price hike of 1973-74, the Gulf region also became an attractive destination for Punjabis and finally, the ending of the Cold War after 1989 opened up new land and sea routes to Punjabi migrants, with many settling in Greece, Italy and Spain. Darshan Singh Tatla (1999) considers the migration of Sikhs during the militancy period in Punjab as a major stream of migration from Punjab.
Thus, scholars believe that Punjab has a long history of migration and given the sizable numbers of international migrants from this region, one might expect economic, demographic, sociological and psychological impacts to be considerable.

**IMPACT OF EMIGRATION ON THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN**

Migration is a complicated process that involves not only the migrants but also other members of the household, as well as, those who are not members. Hence, studies that look at the impacts of migration on the population left behind need to look at not only the migrants but also the structure of the complicated relationships that link migrants to the related individuals. Family members within households make migration decisions jointly and local socio-economic conditions are affected by evolving political, social, economic and institutional structures at local, national and international levels. The study of the impact of emigration should therefore always take into account all such factors.

Boyle, Graham and Yeoh (2003) feel that while the population “left behind” is increasing as migration and mobility become commonplace phenomena in the world especially Asia, who the “left behind” are is still an unanswered question. Does the term connote people in stasis, who lacked something, or who missed out on the opportunity to go somewhere else? It is important to take into account the way migrants, the “left-behind” and migration are socially constructed as this influences how they are perceived. The scale of migration and the contexts in both the places of destination and origin strongly influence the impacts of migration on the population left behind. They also felt that very few studies on the socio-economic impacts of migration on the population left behind although the population left behind in the societies of origin of migration is increasing in all parts of the world. Gardner and Osella (2004) pointed out the northern bias in the studies on emigration being more focused on receiving countries rather than the countries of origin.

The impact of emigration has been studied on four levels, viz., the societal, the community, family and the individual. One example of societal level emigration is mass emigration of professionals and skilled workers resulting in brain drain. The community level emigration implies the shift of certain groups, e.g., caste groups. At the level of family we focus on the social and demographic aspects of family.
individual level, it implies the motivations for the individual to move and one’s experiences after migration.

Muhidin (2003), an Indonesian scholar, contends that it is important to examine population mobility in a country by considering the family, as well as, the individual as the units of analysis. But, unlike individual migration, family has received little attention among scholars of migration. Thus, along with the individual, study of the family in the context of migration is necessary as the family may play a crucial role in triggering migration as well as in enjoying or suffering the consequences of emigration.

**IMPACT ON FAMILIES LEFT BEHIND**

Emigration from a society can have negative, as well as, positive impacts on the economy of the families and societies the people have left behind. For instance, the emigration from poor countries causes loss of skilled and best workers. The phenomenon is termed “brain drain.” A selected few help their families and their parent countries through remittances. On the other hand, emigration of unemployed people can be assumed to have positive short-run effects both for the individuals involved and for the home country. (Stalker, 2001). Apart from economic impact, there is visible social impact on the people left behind. The emigration of a very large scale can leave very deep impact on the families left behind. It can cause changed pattern of interaction among the various members of the family. The consanguine and affine relations, especially conjugal relations may come under the influence of change. The status of family in the village set up, as well as, with other families may also change. The desire for high status and philanthropic image may invite the investment of a sizeable amount by the Non Resident families in their areas of origin, especially in the field of religion, education and health. The remittances sent by them when invested in these fields can raise the social status of the members of family who are left behind, as also the prestige of their families in the area. In addition to above, there may be psychological impact on various individuals in the family. For instance, as the wife may feel loneliness and financial insecurity; the aged may feel stress owing to increase in work or there may be frustrations among the youth when the members of the family are not able to emigrate owing to poverty. The feeling of
jealousy among those who are not able to migrate may result in increase in tensions in the family. On the other hand, successful emigration of the members of the family may result in feeling of contentment and satisfaction among those left behind.

The result of large-scale emigration has visible impact on every member in the institution of family. The impact can be manifold like psychological, economic or social. The impacts can be both positive and negative. Similarly, the results could vary longitudinally, as well as, cross-sectionally. Studies show that various categories of people are found in the left behind families such as females, youth, aged and children and role of each category of person may change due to emigration of one or more members of the household.

Impact on Aged

The aged remain in the villages with their emigrant sons and daughters visiting them occasionally. They are left with little choice but to live alone. The social withdrawal with aging itself might be a problem but living without your kith and kin might aggravate the psychological feeling of loneliness and lack of purpose or utility in the life. The aged especially those belonging to middle income groups are left with poor medical care. The rich however are now sending their parents to the old age homes. But that also does not solve their problem of feeling unwanted. Also, the dependency on the money sent from abroad can cause loss of self-respect for them. Only few lucky ones get the chance to move abroad along with their children.

Impact on Women

The male emigration generally precedes the female and the female emigration has been slow. This has left large number of females left behind in different parts of the world living either independently or with other members of the joint family. Such women play the roles of mothers, daughters or wives. All the three categories of women face the problem of adapting to new kinds of circumstances. The mothers have to worry about physical security in their children. The newly married women face new kind of situations while living alone with families of their in-laws without the support of their spouses, which may lead to many emotional problems. Many of them are also not sure of the timing of the return of their husbands. The face-to-
face meeting of the husband and wife may not take place for years. Even when their husbands come from abroad for few months after years, it is difficult for these male members to find time for their mothers, daughters and wives, as they are busy meeting their old friends and kinsmen. In addition, senior male members of the family generally control the money sent by their husbands. These women may have to depend on others to purchase even the household articles of everyday use. Sometimes it may become difficult to support the schooling of their children. The health facilities being lesser in these villages can also cause major stress to these women. The absence of any male member again, creates problems, for instance, those of child care, keeping the grown-up children disciplined etc. Consequently, the dependence on the relatives and other villagers increases for such women.

Impact on Youth

The youth in the villages gets in the state of mental unrest due to uncertainty of emigration which frequently results from changing immigration policies of nations. The unskilled people especially are not sure whether they will be able to move abroad or not. But still their reference groups are always abroad as they are much impressed by the show of materials brought by their friends and relatives from abroad. The showing off and materialistic and individualistic outlooks is major value shift among the youth, especially due to the impact of emigration. Also, they are lured by the agents who show them rosy dreams and impress upon them the idea of going and settling abroad. The agents frequently misguide the youth and sometimes send them abroad illegally where they may be caught by the Governments of other countries and sent back resulting in loss of lacs of rupees in the form of money cheated by the traveling agents. But the youth wish to emigrate at any cost sometimes and hence are least interested in the opportunities of work available in the villages. Also, they find education available in the local colleges and schools useless especially when it is not recognized in foreign lands. They instead wish to learn the foreign languages and those courses which can help them in the emigration. Many times their mental state of uncertainty and tension results in their following the course of drug addiction and crime.
TYPES OF IMPACT OF EMIGRATION

The impacts of emigration on the family as a whole and individual category of people have been economic, social, demographic, as well as, psychological.

Economic Impacts of Emigration

The economic impacts are generally measured in terms of the change in income of the families left behind, the change in traditional occupation, change in quantity and quality of land or property owned by the families. The change in the standard of living is also an indicator of economic impact of emigration on such families. The changes brought in the pattern of consumption, saving and investment of the family due to emigration of members of family to other countries may be found. The money received in the form of remittances may result in rise in income of the families left behind. But this may not be case always as it may so happen that some poor families can lose their main earning member here who moves abroad and the other members may not earn the same.

Change in occupations may also occur due to the emigration of one or more members from the family. The increase in income due to the remittances sent by the emigrants to their families left behind in villages may lead to the change in traditional occupations of such families, e.g., they may sell their land and shift to non-agricultural professions or vice versa may happen. Another important change may occur in the standard of living of the families left behind. Standard of living implies the level of material comfort as measured by the goods, services, and luxuries available to an individual, group, or nation. It can be measured in terms of the quality of life in such areas as housing, food, education, clothing, transportation, and employment opportunities. It may rise in case of some while it may decline in case of others.

There may also be an increase or decrease in the ownership of land or property or homes owned by the families left behind. The emigration may cause transfer of land or property from one person to another. Sometimes the members of family mortgage their homes, shops or lands to get send their members abroad. This may result in loss of their ownership over these. On the other hand, sometimes the families may purchase more property due to the money sent by their members abroad.
Social Impacts of Emigration

Apart from the economic impact, there may also be social impact on the people left behind. The social impacts could be measured in terms of impact on social institutions such as family, marriage, education and presence or absence of the deviant behavior among the children. The demographic effects, as well as, the impacts on the health of family members may also form part of the social consequences of emigration for the families left behind.

Impact on Family

In the first place, the family structure may change from joint to nuclear. Similarly, the relative importance of consanguine or affinal relations may change depending upon who supports a migrant household in the absence of some members of the family. In addition, the functions of family may change. Two major functions of family are socialization and social control of members. Sometimes after the father or mother emigrates, the children may be sent to boarding schools, especially when money is not a problem. Thus, the family may lose its functions of socialization. In case of social control also, with the emigration of senior members of family, the nature and degree of control over various members of family may undergo a change. It can be observed that due to absence of father sometimes, the child may not be disciplined by the care takers and the children, especially youth may be out of control of their families and go for undesirable or even criminal activities for the sake of adventurism.

The roles of different members in the family may change. For instance, the women who were earlier confined to the house may have to step out of house for employment and also to perform other household related tasks. Similarly, the aged members of family may no more be the decision making authority since the son who has emigrated may be sending money to the wife thereby giving her the control of family. Conflicts may emerge within the family left behind due to changing roles and economic dynamics. Thus, a lot of changes may be seen in the family due to emigration of one of the members from the family.
Impact on Marriage

Another social institution that may be impacted by emigration is marriage. In the first place, the amount of money spent on the wedding functions may undergo transformation due to varied easy availability of money. Accordingly, it may change the social position of the person as the money spent on marriages is often an indicator of his/her social status. Secondly, the married couples being separated from each other for very long periods may result in rifts in the marriage due to which the incidence of divorce may go up. Thirdly, who has not heard of women deserted by their NRI husbands? According to the reports of Ministry of Welfare of Government of India, there are about 40,000 women left in the villages of Punjab after being deserted by their husbands who go abroad with a promise to return and take them along to the countries of emigration.

Impact on Education

Firstly, there may be a change in the education level of the families left behind after the emigration of their members, since in some cases each child of the family can be educated due to the easy availability of money, while there may be more number of people left uneducated due to shortage of money in other cases. In the former case, children in the left behind families may go in for higher qualification as well. The type of schooling of children of migrant households may change due to the emigration of a family member. For instance, the children of NRI fathers may be enrolled in expensive schools. The youth from such families, under the advice of their relatives abroad may also prefer to take up the courses which can help them in moving abroad.

Deviant Behavior of the Children

The lack of control by mothers due to absence of father who is traditionally considered as the head of a patriarchal family may lead to children and youth becoming uncontrolled. This may result in the youth falling into bad habits such as truancy, misbehavior, adolescent delinquency, crimes, addiction, to drugs and alcohol.
Demographic and Health Related Changes

The size and composition of family may change as some maternal or paternal kin may come to stay with the families left behind to provide them emotional support and physical protection. Alternatively, a nuclear family may be formed when a woman leaves her in-laws’ home along with her children and starts living separately. The emigration may affect the number of children born in every family, as well as the spacing between the children as some husbands may be away from wives for years. Health of different family members may also be affected due to the emigration of some members of the family. For instance, the illness of the aged may increase due to insufficient care by the daughter in law in the absence of the husband. Similarly, the women left behind may not be able to take care of their own and their children’s health due to the pressure of work.

Psychological Impact of Emigration

Along with economic and social impacts of emigration, another area that needs attention is the psychological impact. Those left behind may experience the insecurity, loneliness and high stress level. The women, the aged as well as children in the family may fear for their physical safety in the absence of adult male member. They may also suffer from loneliness. Additionally, the stress levels of members may rise due to various kinds of uncertainties and pressures. The changes in psychological state of well-being of the members of the family left behind need to be measured in order to know whether they feel relieved and satisfied on sending their relatives abroad or the feelings of loneliness engulfs them always. It is also good to know as to what category of people in the family feel better or worse due to emigration of one or more family members.

REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

As international migration with its intricate web of demographic, social, economic and political determinants and consequences is a topic that has moved to the forefront of national and international agenda, the demand for information on it has increased. The international migration statistics can serve as solid base for formulation and implementation of policies for managing the phenomenon. However,
the data that allow precise estimations are far from complete. Kritz, and Zlotnik (1992) feel that the sense of scarcity possibly stems from limited access to these data. As the data available on international migration are those collected by the data collecting systems set up to answer the demands of different administrative objectives, these are not always valid. Also, the empirical studies generally explain the causes of origin of migration and focus on the people's adjustment in the host countries, while very less number of studies have been done on those left behind.

As mentioned before, a large number of studies on international migration focus on the reasons for the migration. Many of the studies consider economic factors as most important causes for emigration. For instance, Mahmood (1991) shows that in Bangladesh, 91% of respondents mentioned that the desire to increase their incomes was the main reason why they had emigrated while in another study by Nair (1991), 45% of respondents in Kerala said that they had moved in order to find a job. Indeed, almost 98% emigrated for a financial reason. Similarly, a migration survey by the Government of Kerala in 1992-93 indicated that employment was the main aim of about 87% of migrants (DES, 1994). As Khan's (1991) study shows, in Pakistan to 95% gave reasons such as raise in the standard of living, repaying debts, raising money for children's education or marriage etc. as reasons for emigrating. In Sri Lanka, according to Gunatilleke (1991), 97% of the females and 92% of males also indicated economic reasons.

In the case of India, Darling, (1925) maintains that subdivision of land reduced the land for average farmers and some young Jat men from Punjab migrated to earn enough money to allow them to buy larger and more economically viable holdings on their return to Punjab. He also felt that receding water level aggravated the problem resulting in the displacement of peasantry Jat caste group from Punjab towards the western and central Punjab, which was comparatively fertile due to the development of canal colonies in this part.

Other studies on emigration have stressed the importance of social factors like familial and class networks for causing emigration. Gunatilleke (1991), for instance, emphasized the importance of ethnicity and cultural affinity as facilitators of the migration of Sri Lankan Muslims to the Middle East. He adds that the proportion of Muslims among migrants is significantly higher than their share in the total
population. A notable feature is the large number of Muslim female migrants. The normally conservative traditions and values that have resulted in relatively low participation rates by Muslim women in the domestic work force do not appear to constrain them in seeking the more hazardous but more remunerative employment abroad. Some of the studies in Kerala such as those by Gulati (1983) and Nair (1991) show that unemployment is the main reason for emigration.

The studies on emigration from Punjab by Mcleod (1986), Tom Kessinger (1973), and Arthur Helweg (1979) focused on social reasons for migration. Hew McLeod (1986) has suggested that the distinctive social milieu of the bara pind (big village) network of this part of Punjab may well have been an important factor in driving out-migration. McLeod suggests that the practice of female infanticide, which was an important element of the particularly high premium these communities placed on izzat or honour, resulted in a marked gender imbalance and a result some young men opted to migrate to seek status in the face of constrained marriage options. McLeod also held that the Chamar community’s emigration from Punjab can be explained by the fact that they formed majority of Ad-dharmis living in this region of Punjab and increased value of leather in those times helped them arrange money for emigration. They hoped to enhance their social status from this process.

Tom Kessinger (1973) in his study of a village in Punjab feels that the enhancement of status due to the purchase of the pucca houses and the purchase of additional land holding are the main factors for the emigration. The migration (especially of young men) reduced the pressure to sub-divide the land in smaller and smaller plots. Further the remittances not only helped investments in the land but also to acquire more land. Arthur Helweg (1979) in his study of the village Jandiali stated that the level of expenditure on the marriage of the daughters was also symbol of prestige attached to the family. Since emigration helped these caste groups achieve such objectives, it became a routine practice. He also argues that the remittances were responsible for a large increase in yields. Money enabled local residents to live better, invest in machinery, obtain and use new varieties of seed and gain new ideas about farming from abroad. Also with the outflow of people, the pressure on the land decreased so that there was more production for less people.

Some studies have been done in different parts of the world to explain the
magnitude, patterns and networks of migration. National family Health Survey 1992-93 found that maximum migration from Punjab was from Jalandher (52%) followed by Hoshiarpur (16%). According to a study by United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) carried out in 2010 over 20,000 youths from Punjab migrate to other countries by using illegal channels every year.


Rodriguez (1998) uses household data on remittances from Filipino migrants to determine the effects of migration on income distribution in the Philippines. In that country, the government supported emigration and, in general, it seems to have improved social welfare by raising incomes. Arcinas and Bautista (1992) also studied the economic impacts and use of remittances in the Filipino families. The economic impacts of migration on families generally converge in pointing out that on the whole, and in the short-run at least, migration has enabled families to experience economic improvement. Better housing, funds for the education of children or family members, or capital to start a business were considered the usual indicators of migrant families' material improvement.

Papademetriou and Martin (1991) studied the consequences of international migration for development (and the effects of development on migration) in countries of origin. They argued that it is useful to draw a distinction between the short-run and long run effects of emigration on economic development. The "long-run" implies a period of generations, i.e., in discussions of migration, the "short-term" spans a decade or mostly two. Papademetriou and Martin believed that in the short run, it has proven to be difficult to demonstrate empirically a positive "automatic mechanism" and the positive links become clearer over the long term, as illustrated, historically by countries such as Sweden, Germany and Britain, and more recently by such "transitional cases" as Greece and Italy, which went from being countries of emigration to countries of immigration.

Zachariah and Irudayarajan (2001) focused on the impact of emigration from
Kerala. Their study points out that remittance collected from the non-resident Keralites have shot up from Rs.136.52 billion in 1999 to Rs.184.65 billion in 2004. Figures indicate that the Non Resident Keralites helped boost the state's per capita income from Rs.16,062 in 1999 to Rs.25,764 in 2004. They found that the annual remittances to the state were seven times what Kerala received from the central government as budget support, 15 times the receipt from cashew exports and 19 times the receipt from marine exports. As a result of the emigration, migrant workers from other states in India are now working in Kerala accepting low wages and taking away a lot of work that would have otherwise gone to residents.

Gupta (2005) tried to understand the economic impact of emigration on Punjab. He found that the village of Kharodi, which has received over a crore of rupees in investments primarily from Canadian NRIs that have led to improvements in the quality of roads, water and sewage systems, and a resulting decline in the incidence of various water-borne diseases, is frequently cited as an example of the beneficial effects of remittances. Remittances have also contributed to scheduled caste mobilization in recent years. Ad-dharmi households buoyed by income from family members living abroad that has reduced their dependence on Jat patronage have increasingly challenged the hegemony of Jat Sikhs.

However, as mentioned earlier, other scholars have highlighted the negative economic impacts of emigration on the country of origin of migration. Glytsos (1993) pointed out in case of Greece, in early 1970s, 63% of remittances were used in consumption only and only 4% on productive activities. Bohning, (1984) also believed that the remittances can be a mixed blessing. In the short-run, they support incomes and consumption but they tend to create dependency symptoms both for the families of migrants and the home country economies as well. As the basic economic unit in most developing countries is still the extended family, remittances sent back to the family members left behind, reduce their incentives to ensure their subsistence through agricultural work. Young members of the family are the first to consider remittances as income support that allows them to leave the rural labour market. Thus, not only are the young and able-bodied drained abroad, but also those who remain are less and less attracted to work on the land, as the Irish experience indicates.

Adams (1989) analyzed the impact of international migration and remittances
on the rural socio-economic order in Egypt. His study shows that remittance earnings of migrants abroad had a negative effect on income distribution in Egypt. This is explained by the fact that a disproportionately large share of migrants came from upper income groups. The data indicate that remittances from abroad worsened rural household income distribution both in gross terms and per capita terms. Households at the highest income scale benefited most from remittances.


Verduzco and Unger (1995) in his study of Mexican families described that the prolonged absence of one or various members of families, especially when in addition there are many families in a community in this situation, constitute a significant cost for families that find themselves in those circumstances. On the one hand, of emotional costs that weaken the different members of migrants’ families, and on the other, of social and economic costs because of the need to cover adequately the functions that the migrant leaves vacant both in his own family and in the community. Alarcón, R. (1995) describing the impact of emigration of Mexican workers to US mentioned how emigration leads to brain drain in the countries of origin of migration. He observed that because of the fact that the young people with the most initiative leave, the current and potential leaders in communities are lost. This leads to a weakening of communities in their relations with the exterior, especially with government agencies in negotiations for services. Community participation is also weakened. Dinerman (1983) carefully describes how within families, the roles and
economic functions of the different members are reassigned in accordance with migration cycles, when faced with the possibilities and the expectations of migration.

In the Indian context, Rahman (2001) explained the impact of labor migration to the Gulf on the society left behind in Bihar in terms of changing socio-economic status, attitudes and behavior, values and religious practices of laborers and their family members. The study showed that the effects of emigration are rather positive than negative. This is not only in terms of economic gains but also in other matters like social, cultural and political. It is observed that migration brings many positive changes in the socio-cultural attitudes of migrants and their family members. Half of the emigrants' families left behind were able to improve their social status and had more economic earnings than before emigration from their family. The emigrants' children are now getting more education than before. Girl children and females in general get status equivalent to their male counterparts in education and work force and the emigrants' attitude changed significantly. The structure of family is changing towards the nuclear family as a result of the breakdown of extended or joint family. Moreover, family relations are also affected due to changes in the attitudes and behavior of migrants and their family members. The communal harmony is strengthened rather than weakened due to emigration. And the villages are more prosperous due to inflow of remittances.

Arcinas and Baustita (1992) found that for the left behind wives, though the experience was not easy, the wives acknowledged to have learnt new things about themselves. Capable wives were also behind families which successfully managed the economic advantage brought about by migration. Go and Postrado (1986) examined impacts of male migration on the wives left behind in case of families left behind in Philippines. They found that the left behind wives assume more responsibilities to perform their dual role as father and mother. Gulati (1983) concluded that the women left behind have adapted to the new situation by becoming more extrovert on the basis of 10 case studies on women left behind in Kerala. They have to enter the social arena where they don't normally enter. They have to take charge of all the roles that the migrant husband was doing or was expected to have done. Emigration has caused a large number of married women in Kerala to live away from their husbands. The
study found that most of these so-called "Gulf wives" experienced extreme loneliness to begin with, and were burdened with added family responsibilities to which they had not been accustomed to traditionally. But over a period, and with a helping hand from abroad over the telephones, most came out of their early gloom. They gained in autonomy, status, management skills and experience in dealing with the world outside their homes were and this experience would remain with them for the rest of their lives for the benefit of their families and society.

Cruz (1987) in his study in Philippines described the pathetic state of the children left behind after emigration of parents to other countries. He believed that absence of one or both the parents leads to social and psychological condition of the children. He described the children belonging to such families as seasonal orphans who are forced to live with solo parents.

Battistella and Conaco (1996) studied the impact of parental absence and children left behind in Philippines. The study confirmed that the children left behind experience loneliness and abandonment, but at the same time they also understand the reason for their parents' departure. The study found that the children of emigrant parents lagged behind in school performance compared to children with both parents present. Children left behind also tended to be less socially adjusted than children both of whose parents were present. In terms of spiritual and moral formation, the study suggested that the absence of parents did not have a negative impact. However, the mothers’ absence was associated with more difficulties for the children left behind. On the whole, the study found that in the absence of parents, the extended family has come to fill an important void in the caring and rearing of children.

Maruja’s (2003) study discusses the impact of international labor migration on the young children and families left behind in Philippines after emigration to the countries of Gulf. The study finds that parental absence creates displacements, disruptions and changes in care giving arrangements. He point out that the departure of one or two parents leaves an emotional mark on the young children left behind – the children long for the presence of the emigrant parent(s), especially when the mothers are away. But the study also suggests that the children are attended to by the
family - mostly the mothers when it is the fathers who emigrate, other female relatives and/or the fathers when it is the women, who leave, and other female relatives and the extended family when both parents are out. Despite the emotional displacement, the children of migrants are not disadvantaged vis-à-vis the children of non-migrants in many dimensions of well-being. Thus, when the family is stable, it can withstand the separation imposed by migration. Asis, Yeoh and Huang (2002) focused on the impacts of wives’ migration on husbands and children. The husbands admitted to have learnt for the first time the ability of the women to perform multiple tasks in the household. They found themselves unable to manage their paid work along with the newly got job of care giving to the children.

Geographers such as Mehta (1990) have studied the impacts of emigration studied the migration from Bist Doab from a spatial perspective in order to understand the demographic impact of migration within Punjab and also to the different parts of the world in early 1960s. She found that this region in Punjab experienced out-migration on a large scale, including emigration to a limited scale in the pre-independence period. Later, from 1951-61, out-migration outstripped the in-migration by a wide margin. These streams of migrations resulted in redistribution of population. The outmigration from the rural areas was age selective, with most of them belonging to age group 16-49 and most of the migrants were literate.

A large number of studies on international migration focus on the Indians abroad, e.g., Babu (1989), Chandran (1986), Jain (1993), Mcleod (1986) and Judge (2000) discussed issues relating to the ethnic discrimination faced by the Indians abroad. They discuss the issues such as ethnic conflicts, cultural conflicts, and inter-generation conflict faced by the Indians abroad. The degree of adaptation of the Indians migrants in the other countries, and their attempts to preserve their culture in other countries has also been discussed by these scholars. For instance, Judge (2000) considers emigration from Punjab as a problem of cultural crisis. He studied Punjabi migration to three countries of multicultural background viz. Canada, USA and UK. The socio-cultural life of Punjabis in the hub of these multicultural societies is leading them towards a crisis of identity. Considerable problems emerge due to this cultural
clash. There is visible conflict between the two generations. The elderly and women are the two groups which are caught in a trap and feel considerably powerless.

Cobo in a documentary *Mexican Dreams* made in 2004 painted a powerful portrait of Mexico's suffering underclass by exploring the migration of indigenous Mexicans from Charan to the United States and the subsequent impact this mass exodus has had on the Mexican family unit. He explains that during the summer and spring months, an estimated 70 percent of Cheran's inhabitants leave for seasonal labor in the United States. Those who are affected most are women, single parents left behind to care for their children, parents and grandparents while their husbands send money home from their low-paying jobs. Often, these family separations last for years and, in some cases, become permanent. Cheran survives as a quasi-modern town only because its people migrate and return the richer for it; the local economy is based almost entirely on work performed in the north.

After going through the existing literature and theories on international migration, it is clear that the social researchers have either ignored the consequences for the societies of origin, or considered them from only a limited perspective while the consequences of migration, whether within or between countries, are experienced at three general levels - for the migrants themselves; the society they enter; and the society they leave.

Thus, we find that studies on emigration from Punjab are focused upon either the reasons for migration or what happens to Punjabis abroad. Apart from studies in this region, a lot of studies have been done to explain how the Indian migrants adjusted themselves, in different degrees in the various parts of the world. Another section of studies have been done to explain how the migrants have been making either successful or unsuccessful efforts to continue their native cultures in the countries of the world. Few studies have focused on economic impacts of emigration while there are no studies on finding out the social impact on the families left behind in Punjab.

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OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Keeping in view the above discourse the major objectives of the study were:

1. To look into the general trend of emigration from the Doaba region in Punjab including issues such as the favoured destinations for it and the networks used for emigration, as well as, the relative importance of the push and pull factors responsible for emigration from this region.

2. To examine a socio-demographic and economic profile of the families selected for the purpose of this study.

3. To gauge the economic, psychological and social impacts of emigration on the families left behind.

4. To understand if there are significant differences in terms of impact of emigration on the families left behind belonging to different villages, castes, age groups, sex etc.

METHOD OF STUDY

The universe of study was all the villages in the Doaba region of Punjab. The term emigrant household here means a household in which at least one member is an emigrant. The study was done in the four districts falling in the Doaba region of Punjab namely Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Nawansahar and Kapurthala as these are the administrative districts falling in the region of study. A multistage quota sampling method was used. Two villages from each of the four districts mentioned above were selected on the basis of the number of households as per Census of India 2001 data. Despite our efforts we were unable to obtain any reliable data regarding the number of emigrants from the selected districts, so the villages which had maximum number of households in each district were selected with the assumption that the largest number of emigrations would also have taken place from these villages and therefore it would be easy for us to find a substantial sample size. From each of the selected villages a list of all the households from which at least one person had migrated in past 20 years was procured and from each village 40 families were selected through random sampling technique. In some cases, where such a list was not available, snowballing technique was used. In all, 320 migrant households were selected from villages of each district.
The study is based on both primary and secondary data. Since it is very difficult to get enumerated data on the total migrations from an area, the study was based on the primary data collected by the researcher through field survey and personal interviews. Our main respondent in each household was the head of family. Where the head of family was the one who has emigrated, the person considered the head at that point of time was interviewed. Apart from the head of the family, additional information was gathered from the other members of the family. The data were collected through interview schedule technique. Information was collected on various socio-demographic and economic indicators such as sex, age, caste, religion, the countries to which the members of the family have emigrated, the motivation for their emigration and their frequency of contact with the families. For measuring the psychological impact, a questionnaire formulated on the basis of the Affect Balance Scale constructed by Norman M. Bradburn (1969) and the 6-point scale to measure psychological well-being by C.D. Ryff, (1995) was used for measuring loneliness, insecurity and stress level of the members of family left behind. A total of 13 case studies were prepared giving representation to the people belonging to major caste groups, as well as, age and sex categories. Focussed Group Discussions were held in different groups, to assess the impact of emigration on the different category of people in the family left behind viz. aged, women, youth and children. Along with this qualitative method, analysis was also done with the help of other methods such as observation and general conversations with the various members of the family. Secondary data were collected from various books, reports published by government and N.G.O.s.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Most studies on emigration have concentrated on those persons who have migrated to different countries, focusing on issues such as why people migrate and how they adapt to new places. This study, however, is examining the often less studied category of families left behind.

Secondly, most studies focusing on impact of emigration within India have been confined to Kerala, Bihar and Gujarat, Punjab has been usually neglected in this
sense, despite a sizeable number of emigrants belonging to this state. This study aims to rectify this trend.

Thirdly, majority of studies on impact of emigration on families left behind tend to be partial as, firstly they focus only on the economic impacts of this phenomenon leaving out the social, demographic and psychological aspects or have been conducted on any one category of people in the family such as women, aged, youth etc., thereby being unable to provide a complete picture of the condition of the families left behind. This study will try to adopt an integrated view of the different aspects of the impact, as well as, different categories of people in the family as a unit.

Findings from proposed research are expected to give a better understanding of the strengths and vulnerabilities of families left behind in the countries of origin of migration and help in the development and implementation of more responsive policies for such families.

CHAPTER SCHEME

In the next chapter, we shall focus on the profile of the families left behind that have been included in our sample. Chapters III, IV and V would include the description of the economic, psychological and social impacts of emigration on the families left behind. Chapter VI contains 13 case studies, as well as, the analysis of the Focussed Group Discussions of the aged, women and youth, held in the selected villages as part of our research. The last chapter provides a recap of findings of the study along with a discussion of our final conclusions regarding the crucial issue of families left behind by the emigrants in the Doaba region of Punjab.