CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON MIGRATION

A large number of social scientists, politicians, journalists, and other educationists have concentrated and have shown their interest on the phenomenon of migration. As there exists a vast literature on population movement, it is difficult to review all the work available in the literature. Here, we have tried to give a brief survey of some of the existing literature on migration. It helps us understand the relevance and objective of our present study. The survey will be divided in two sections: a general survey, and a survey on India. In section 2.1 a general survey of the literature on migration will be presented. And section 2.2 will review the literature on India.

2.1 Review of literature on migration – a general survey

Ravenstein (1885, 1889) carried out the study on the area of migration. He defined several laws. His laws are put together on the following:

- “The great body of our migrants’ only proceeds a short distance” and “migrants enumerated in a certain center of absorption will grow less as distance from the center increases.”
- “Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce and industry.”
- “There takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces currents of migration setting in the direction of the great centers of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants.”
- “The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock into it, the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom.”
- “The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption and exhibits similar features.”
“Each main current of migration produces a compensation counter current.” In modern terminology stream and counter-stream have been substituted for Ravenstein’s current and counter current.

“The natives of the towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country.”

“Females appear to predominate among short distance migrants.”

“Does migration increase? I believe so … wherever I was able to make a comparison and found that an increase in the means of locomotion and development of manufacture and commerce has led to an increase of migration.”

“Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion, all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to ‘better’ themselves in material respects” [Ravenstein, (1885, 1889)].

In a generalized picture, it is to found that Ravenstein’s laws on migration were criticized by many (Bourne, 1889; Humphreys, 1889). Ravenstein’s laws were interpreted by Redford (1926) in terms of pull and push factors. Redford pointed out that the unfavourable socio-economic and physical factors tend to push people from their homeland while favourable conditions tend to pull people towards another geographic location.

Lee (1966) developed a concept of “intervening obstacles”. This is one variant of the cost theory. Lee observed that the migrant faces both economic and non-economic difficulties, which have a positive relation with distance. This observation of Lee is more relevant for international migration including travel cost and psychic cost along with legal barriers make the movement more difficult. In his work for Kenya, Rempel (1970) observed distance as a significant factor acting as a preventive force on migration. Also Sahota’s (1968) empirical study of regional movement in Brazil supported the same. But the studies by Connell, Dasgupta, Laishley and Lipton (1976) showed that people living in places very near to towns can enjoy many benefits and avoid the inconveniences of actually migrating, but after a certain point is reached further distance does deter migration. Also some regional studies showing
that distance prevents migration by Caldwell (1969), Essang and Mabawanku (1974) and Riddell (1970) are worth mentioning.

One of the major factors influencing the process of migration is the cost of transportation. Analyses of the data on region basis find that people are interested in migrating a short distance than a long distance because it is not only less costly but also easy for them to get more information about culture, language and opportunities in nearby places. Working on developed and developing countries, Richey (1976) and Gardner (1981) found that especially the tendency of short distance migration is true for low income and less well educated group of migrants. Analyzing the Colombia data, Schultz (1971) showed that the distance of migration which reflects the cost of the migration process, sometime may prevent certain types of migration. For example, international migration requires heavy costs. These international emigrants according to Schultz tend to be better-educated, higher income earner, with greater risk-bearing capacity and have more valuable job skills than internal migrants.

Besides financial costs, migration involves ‘other costs’. Greenwood (1971) found that people are reluctant to make long-distance movement because it widens the cultural gap between the migrant’s home and his place of destination. According to Mangalam (1968) it is preferable to a migrant to go to a destination where the social organization is as similar as possible to that of their place of origin. These psychic, non-monetary costs of migration along with the monetary costs also play a role in migration process.

In the early sixties ‘migration’ was considered in terms of an investment to enhance the productivity of human resources. To take decision of migration individual compare the costs of this investment with its returns. The cost of migration is the financial as well as psychic costs of the move and also the future earnings at home, which a migrant has to do away with. The future earnings in the place of destination are the migrant’s ‘returns’. We may point out the study of Sjaastad (1962) in this context. He studied the percentage gain and loss of population in 48 U.S. States from 1940 to 1949 due to in-migration and out-migration. In his work, he took per capita income, rate of growth of income, educational level etc. as influencing factors. Net in-migration was found to be directly linked with income. The effect of net income
gain was significant but small. Becker, Mills and Williamson (1986) have opined that an individual is more likely to move if he expects a positive return from moving considering both income gains and moving.

In the 1960s, policy makers and planners became more concerned about the relationship among population growth, urbanization and development resulting some development of the economic interpretation of migration largely on the basis of U.S. experience. Kuznets (1966) explained how economic growth and development could lead to migration. Demand for workers in different job changes with the technological advances. Technological change in agriculture reduces the demand for labour in agriculture. According to him, migration should compensate more rapid growth of demand for labour outside the agriculture sector as well as for the higher rate of natural increase of agricultural labour, as the population growth in the rural areas are higher than that of urban areas. Goldstein (1990) observed that the flow of temporary rural-to-urban migrants allows urban to meet their requirement of special labour force and service. This helps reduce the rural labour-surplus, and avoid burdening cities with the responsibility for absorbing vast numbers of migrants into their permanent population.

Todaro (1969) model of rural-urban migration is a pioneering work in the field of migration. It is based on the first and foremost model of development by Lewis (1954), and the model formalized and extended by Fei and Ranis (1961, 1964). Todaro model on migration is basically an economic phenomenon. A migrant takes into account the available various labour market opportunities such as between the rural and the urban sectors and chooses that particular one which maximizes his expected gains from migration. He assumes that:

- …both actual and potential members of the labour force compare their expected incomes for a given time horizon in the urban sector with existing average rural incomes and migrate if former exceeds the later;
- …expected, rather than actual urban-rural real wage differentials considered in the making of migration decision. ‘Expected’ differential is determined by the interaction of two variables—the actual urban-rural wage differential and the probability of successfully getting a job in the urban modern sector;
• …the probability of getting an urban job is inversely related to the urban unemployment rate.

The model also shows how urban labour markets work and how immigrants are absorbed into that labour market.

Several authors have tested the basic Todaro migration model. For example, the findings of Barnum and Sabot (1977) using the data from Tanzania supported the model. Yap’s (1977) study on Brazil showed that migrants are rational and they consider the earnings differentials. Todaro’s observation was contradicted by him as he found the short duration of job search for migrant but supported the view that migrants earn less than non-migrants relating this to the migrant’s age and skills rather than their migrant status. Papola (1981) also observed low unemployment rates and high labour participation rates, among the migrants. He also observed small duration of job search for the city in-migrants, especially among unskilled. However, he did not support the Todaro’s prediction of the migrants were earning less than the non-migrants.

Tianhong, Maruyama and Kikuchi (2000), through their examination of labor markets that are involved in rural-urban migration in China, find that rural-urban migration is not a uniform phenomenon as the Todaro model postulates. On the other hand, they find evidence that rural-urban migrants are diverse, and that there were no significant differences in earnings between the formal and informal sector jobs in the urban areas. Potts (2000) presents evidence regarding the Todaro model with reference to Africa. The findings from this work cast doubt on the extent to which net in-migration was a factor contributing to unemployment in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa.

McCatty (2004) focuses on rural-urban migration and its influence on urbanization mainly in the developing countries. His paper analyzes three models that provide theoretical reasons for the process of rural urban migration: the Lewis dual sector model, the family/household migration model, and the Todaro model. Further, he argues that rural-urban migration is an inevitable consequence of both asymmetric policies, and economic development of urban areas. Consequently, migration should be seen as an equilibrating response to disequilibrium existing in the economy. As long as there are gaps in rural-urban employment opportunities caused by urban
biasness, there will be migration; and it is the responsibility of government to reduce this disequilibrium. The benefits and costs are also analyzed in this paper, and it is found that although there are benefits that can arise from rural-urban migration, the costs are pervasive in developing countries. The marginal social costs far outweigh the marginal private costs, and so urbanization is not efficient. The level of urbanization takes place at the point where marginal private costs equal marginal private benefits.

Harris and Todaro (1970) modified the basic Todaro model (1969) resulting in a two-sector trade model of migration and unemployment. From time to time, many scholars either modified or extended the original Todaro model as well as the Harris-Todaro model. A few of them were Porter (1973), Bhagwati and Srinivasan (1974), Corden and Findlay (1975), Fields (1975), Lundborg (1990) Hatton and Williamson (1992, 2003), Beladi and Marjit (1996). In spite of wage and income differentials, some of the studies considered wages in the place of origin and destination separately to explain migration.

The studies of Sahota (1968), Beals, Levy and Moses (1967), Levy and Wadycki (1974), Barnum and Sabot (1977), Garrison (1982) are worth mentioning in this context. They supported the general view that in-migration rates have a positive relation with high wages in the destination. They found that in case of origin, the results are not consistent as sometimes high rates of out-migration are linked with lower incomes while sometimes with higher incomes. In their opinion wage levels probably make more difference in stimulating migration than unemployment rate. It is worth to be mentioned here the studies of Arnold and Cochrane (1980) in Thailand, House and Rempel (1980) in Kenya linking migration rates with wages in destination areas with differences in unemployment rates in different regions.

In their work, Greenwood and McDowell (1991) have used four vectors of variables to explain annual immigrations to both the U.S. and Canada, 1962-1984 from a number of specific source countries—economic opportunities, transferability of skills, level of economic development, political conditions and institutional controls that reflects the immigration policies of the two nations. They have observed the wage differentials, several measures of skill transferability, political conditions in source
countries and the policy variables as important determinants of U.S. and Canadian immigration. Tunal (1996) has investigated the qualitative and quantitative importance of the various factors behind migration and return migration using individual migration histories from 1963-1973.

Introduction of uncertainty in migration models was found in the studies by Levhari and Weiss (1974), Stark and Levhari (1982), Katz and Stark (1986), Galor and Stark (1990), Beladi and Ingene (1994), Dustmann (1997). Galor and Stark (1990) assumed uncertainty about a future return while Stark and Levhari (1982) explained rural-rural migration as a device to diversify risk. Katz and Stark (1986) show that uncertainty about income in the immigration area can generate a situation where migration from a rural to an urban area is rational despite a higher mean income in the rural area.

Increasing attention has been drawn to take account of environmental and climatic differences in the migration literature. Inter-regional differences in non-tradeable consumption goods such as the environment or climate were assumed to be capitalized into differences in wage rates and property values. It has been argued by Graves (1979), Graves and Linneman (1979), Porell (1982), Graves (1983), Krumm (1983) that since differences in wage rates and property values capture environmental and climatic differences, they can be used as proxies as indicators of the attractiveness of the areas to migrants.

Remittance also influences migration. Glytsos (1988) has studied this. He took remittances as an endogenous and binding factor in the family decision making process of temporary migration. The model is tested primarily with data from the Greek-West German temporary migration, and has performed very well. Its validity is added with more weight by a supplementary test with data from Greek-American permanent migration. The determinants of remittances were observed by Funkhouser (1995) by using household data from El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Out-migration as a result of debt at home, or debt-interlocking (i.e. the repayment of debts through advance labour commitment, or 'dadan') involving employers in the destination areas or their middlemen, is quite common. Such out-migration may or may not eliminate the causes of debt. The reduction of personalized dependencies or
interlocked relationships may also accelerate labour mobility and migration as labourers seek out alternative sources of cash income (Srivastava, 1987; Breman, 1974, 1985; Mosse et al., 1997).

However, it does appear that the income and consumption level of migrant households is generally higher than that of similarly placed non-migrants (Sharma, 1997; Krishnaiah, 1997). But this conclusion needs to be carefully linked to migration impact as it is generally based on ex-post cross-sectional comparisons. As Mosse et al. (2002) have noted, and as other studies testify, migrants are not only differentially placed at the entry point, but also their differential status leads to different trajectories, so that changes in post-migration average incomes may provide only a limited picture of the varied set of changes. One of the few careful ethnographical studies (Rogaly et al., 2001) provides some evidence of improvement in incomes of seasonal migrants as a result of migration.

The impact of migration on income and asset inequality is limited. The ethnographical study (Rogaly et al., 2001) finds evidence of reduced inequality, as incomes of labour households rise against non-labour households. In another context, Mosse et al. (1997) suggest that these inequalities increase because the differentiated nature of the migration process led to the amplification of income and asset inequalities.

Remittances are mainly used for purposes like consumption, repayment of loans and meeting other social obligations. These constitute, in effect the ‘first charge’ on migrant incomes. The evidence on investment is, however, mixed. Investment by migrant households on housing, land and consumer durables is common and migrant income is also used to finance working capital requirements in agriculture. Evidence of other productive farm or non-farm investment is scarce but a number of studies do report such investment by a small percentage of migrant and return migrant households (Oberai and Singh, 1983; Krishnaiah, 1997; Sharma, 1997; Rogaly et al., 2001). Thus, while studies do not fully discount for the impact of some factors such as the life-cycle effect, rural out-migration appears to provide some evidence of an improvement in the productive potential of source areas, and the ability of some poor migrant households to acquire small surpluses and strengthen their productive base and bargaining strength in the rural economy (Rogaly et al., 2001).
Other important factor is the role of information about possible destination studied by Yeshwant (1962), McEvoy (1971), Findlay (1977), Hugo (1978, 1981), Hull (1980), and Goodman (1981). They have researched the impact of information on migration. They observed that migrants of the common place of origin tend to head for common destination; partly because of the information and help they get out of the ties of kinship and friendship and partly because of the natural attachment with the friends. Mass media helps migration through portraying a picture of better conditions of life and prospects in the nearby cities and in developed countries. Iyoha (1975), Jones and Zannaras (1978) have studied the impact of newspapers, radios and television on the migrants, in Nigeria and Venezuela respectively.

After the migration for job, schooling is also considered as one of the important factors for migration. Such migration takes place in the better off villages. Connell Dasgupta, Laishley and Lipton (1976) observed that the migration of students was positively and significantly correlated with both the literacy level in the village and with evidences of high agricultural production. Olisanya (1969), Adams (1969), Brigg (1971), Chen (1971) and Speare (1972) also have studies for evidence in this area. Individual’s propensity to migrate increased with educational level. In spite of the fact that educated people comprising a small proportion of total migrants from most of the areas, the tendency to move from place of origin increases with the attainment of educational qualifications.

In many studies, it has been revealed that demographic factors also influence migration. Studying the Colombian Census data, Schultz (1971) has found that the young people migrate as fast as the growth of the population. In his estimates a 10 percent difference in the population growth rate accounted for a 25 percent difference in the out-migration rate among those under the age of 26. Gugler (1968) in his work for Africa observed 42 percent of migrants balanced to the age group between 10 and 39. Family size, structure and also any friction in it have important role to play in the decision to migrate. Studies of Banton (1957), Upton (1967), Hital (1969), Wiest (1970), Wyon and Gordon (1971), Borjas and Bronars (1991) focused on these aspects.
Migration tends to be age-sex selective. Caldwell (1969) observed that permanent migrants in the age group 30-59 were one half-time as likely to be single as non-migrant. In his work Heisler (1973) has found that single male migrant has increasingly become household migration as the period of employment for a male migrant has lengthened. Also the same is noticed by Gugler (1968) and Carter (1970) among Africans and Liberians.

Migration pattern of ethnic groups were studied by Peterson (1958), Udo (1975), Knowles and Anker (1977, 1981), Hawrylyshyn (1977), Hornby and Jones (1980), Hugo (1978, 1981). They found that members of some ethnic groups are more prone to migration than others. Serbs in Yugoslavia, the low Sinhalese in Sri Lanka Kikuyu in Kenya are the group with high migration rates. Migration is a normal even mandatory part of a young person’s life in Peru, Liberia and Indonesia [Connell, Dasgupta, Laishley, Lipton (1976) and Hugo (1981)]. But a study by Mabogunje (1970) observed that traditional authorities in other groups such as the Maasai of Kenya consider urban material wealth irrelevant to success and discourage movement outside the tribe.

Recently the attentions of the scholars are attracted by undocumented migration which is a matter of major international concern. It is assumed that a country, which declares its border open, has to face the risk of having massive influx of immigrants from poorer countries. That is why almost all countries are tending to enforce tight controls to do away with illegal migration and to have restrictive laws concerning legal admissions. The effects of border control and domestic enforcement (detecting undocumented immigrants while in employment) on domestic policy objectives of reducing the level of undocumented immigration and increasing national welfare was analyzed by Ethier (1986, a, b) also the efficiency of domestic enforcement sanctions compel those employers who hire undocumented immigrants to verify the immigration status of their employees.

Djajic (1977, 1987) formulated a dynamic framework where the stock and flow of illegal immigrants were distinguished. He (Djajic, 1997) considers a general equilibrium and showed that any increased effort to stem the inflow of illegal aliens by means of enhanced domestic enforcement might result in an increase in the stock
of illegal immigrants residing in the economy. Using the 1980 Census for population data for the U.S.A., Hill and Pearce (1990) calculated the effects of high, medium and low levels of domestic enforcement on the employment levels of illegal immigrants with the help of general equilibrium including analysis.

Hossain (2001) studies rural urban migration in ten villages of Cumilla district of Bangladesh. His study mainly focuses on differentials and determinants of migration and finds that persons involved in the process of rural out-migration are adults and more educated. Most of them were engaged in studies or unemployed before migration. About half of the migrants migrated for temporary service and about one quarter migrated for permanent jobs. Further, educational attainment of the migrants is found related with the permanent type of migration, whereas temporary types of migration are mainly associated with illiterate migrants. The migration rate is found to be significantly higher for educated as well as unemployed, and also for those belonging to the ages 20-29. He is of the opinion that better opportunity, prior migrants and availability of job are the main pull factors behind in-migration, while poverty, job searching and family influence are the main push factors for out-migration.

‘Floating population’ has been a focus of recent research on migration. Zai Liang and Zhongdong MA (2004) have made a study on “China’s Floating Population”. In this study the researchers deal with the tabulations from the 2000 Population Census of China including a micro-level data sample from the Census. They try to provide a picture of Chins’s floating population which means migrants without local household registration (Hukou), a status resulting in significant social and economic disadvantages. They have found that China’s floating population had grown to nearly 79 million by 2000 and if that category is defined as migrants who moved between provinces or countries and resided at their destinations for six months or more, intra-country floating migration has also contributed a large (66 million) to the size of the floating population.

Other areas of studies are on circular, temporary, and relay migrations. Standing (1985) has argued that ‘circular migration’ contributes to the stability of rural production relations. He argues that circulatory labour migration has ‘safety valve’
features and “has often been a mechanism preserving a social mode of production or at least reducing the pressures on it”. ‘Temporary migration’ may allow households to relieve underemployment and meet debt and other obligations without having to sell assets. ‘Relay migration’ can also be seen as a part of the household survival strategy. Indeed the long history of rural out-migration in some of the source areas in India combined with agricultural and rural stagnation seems to corroborate the stabilizing role of out-migration. But labour circulation as well as other forms of rural out-migration can also disrupt pre-existing production relations (Standing, 1985). The major impact on source areas appears to be through the labour market, indicating greater mobility of rural labour households leading to a less isolated and more generalized agriculture labour market and an upward pressure on wages.

Impacts of migration have also received attention from the researchers (Connell Dasgupta, Laishley and Lipton, 1976; Srivastava, 1999). The major impacts of migration on source areas occur through changes in the labour market, income and assets, changes in the pattern of expenditure and investment. Although seasonal out-migration potentially has the effect of smoothing out employment over the annual cycle, rural out-migration could cause a tightening of the labour market in some circumstances. However, empirical evidence from out-migrant areas does not often attest to this (Connell et al., 1976; Srivastava, 1999). This may be because out-migration often takes place in labour surplus situations. There is also evidence of the replacement of male labourers by female and even child labourers.

Labour in-migration is one of the strategies favoured by entrepreneurs to shift both risk and cost of production on to workers. Another reason for continuous informalisation is to keep businesses away from state surveillance. Thus, most enterprises in the informal sector escape regulation of any kind. Furthermore, in such destination areas, employers rarely provide anything other than wage subsistence requirements. Migrant labourers have to fend for themselves to meet their health, shelter and other basic requirements. Although the poor condition in which labourers subsist is a result of employers not internalizing the legitimate costs of hiring labour (contravening numerous laws), to society the resulting urban congestion appears to be result of unplanned mobility. The costs of population mobility have been, as a result, considered in theory in the context of large costs imposed by population concentration.
in large cities. The social, political and other consequences of immigration, especially where such migration is by linguistically, ethnically or regionally distinct groups, has not been considered in the growing economic literature on internal migration, but figures prominently in the corpus of sociological and political literature (Weiner, 1978, 1982).

There are clearly multiple rationales for the use of migrant labour in destination areas. While shortages of local labour provide one important rationale (Singh and Iyer, 1985; Oberai and Singh, 1983), virtually all available evidence shows that recruitment of immigrants is as much motivated by strategies of labour control and wage cost reduction. Numerous cases have been documented where the same areas export and import labour to identical sectors. Migrants are preferred because their labour is easier to control and it is easier to extract labour from them under arduous conditions. Moreover, the supply of labour can be easily increased or decreased with little cost to employers and migrants can work for long and flexible hours. Flexibility of the migrant workforce is reinforced because of the role of contractors and middlemen in recruitment and supervision.

The question of social and economic mobility can be examined both from the changes in worker occupations in the destination areas, as well as in the source areas. A very large proportion of short duration migrants are unskilled. The question of their mobility is linked to their circumstances of migration, its duration, and is highly gendered. On the whole, a very small proportion of male migrants achieve economic mobility in the destination areas (Haberfeld et al., 1999; Mosse et al., 1997). The limited mobility occurs as migrants acquire a foothold in the destination areas, or acquire some skills, and are thus better positioned to exploit the labour market situation. In the source areas, there is a slightly greater impact on social and economic mobility, which, however, generally eludes the poorest, and in most cases, is not substantial for poor migrants (Rogaly et al., 2001; Rogaly et al., 2003).

Exposure to a different environment, including the stresses that it carries, has a deep impact on the attitudes, habits and awareness levels of migrant workers, depending upon the length of migration and the place to which it occurs. Changes are more dramatic in the case of urban migrants. Migrant workers develop greater awareness
regarding conditions of work (Srivastava, 1999). Life style and changes in awareness may lead to a mixed impact on family members. The increased awareness which migrants, especially in urban areas, gain often helps them realise the importance of their children’s education.

Even if labour tightening is not an outcome, outmigration may still speed up qualitative changes in existing labour relationships in rural areas, and thereby affect the pace of change. This may occur in several ways. First, there is the well-documented impact of migration on attitudes and awareness as migrant labourers and return migrants are more reluctant to accept adverse employment conditions and low wages. Secondly, out-migration leads to a more diversified livelihood strategy. Combined with some increase in the income and employment portfolio of poor households, this may tend to push up acceptable level of wages (reservation wages) in rural areas and may make certain forms of labour relationships (those involving personalized dependency) less acceptable (Srivastava, 1999; Rogaly et al., 2001).

Poorer migrant workers, crowded into the lower ends of the labour market, have few entitlements vis a vis their employers or the public authorities in the destination areas. They have meager personal assets and suffer a range of deprivations in the destination areas. In the source areas, migration has both negative and positive consequences for migrants and their families. Migrant labourers, whether agricultural or non-agricultural, live in deplorable conditions. There is no provision of safe drinking water or hygienic sanitation. Most live in open spaces or makeshift shelters in spite of the Contract Labour Act which stipulates that the contractor or employer should provide suitable accommodation (NCRL, 1991; GVT, 2002; Rani & Shylendra, 2001).

According to Das (1993, 1994), chain migration also has the impact of fragmenting this market along ethnic and regional lines. In the construction sector, migrant workers are fragmented by the contracting arrangements through which they work. In focusing on the characteristics of migrant labourers, schooling and resources act as two important barriers in the poorer social groups obtaining on-job training and skills which could lead to the semi-permanent jobs.
Studies are also carried out to analyse the impact of migration on women (Teerink, 1995; Menon, 1995; Rogaly et al., 2001; Srivastava, 2001; Rogaly et al., 2001; 2002). Given the patriarchal set up, women may have to cope with a number of problems which are exacerbated due to the uncertainty of the timing and magnitude of remittances on which the precarious household economy depends. This, in turn, pushes women and children from poor labouring households to participate in the labour market under adverse conditions. Thus, the impact of migration on the women can be two-sided but the strong influence of patriarchy restricts the scope of women’s autonomy (Teerink, 1995; Menon, 1995; Rogaly et al., 2001).

There are several cases where women participate in the migration streams along with male members of their households. It is usual in such cases for younger siblings and older children to accompany their parents and to work along with them. Family migration usually implies migration of the younger members of the family, leaving the elderly to cope with additional responsibilities while at the same time fend for their subsistence and other basic requirements (Mosse et al., 1997 and 2002). The impact of male migration can be especially adverse for girls, who often have to bear additional domestic responsibilities and take care of younger siblings. The absence of male supervision further reduces their chances of acquiring education (Srivastava, 2001).

In the case of male-only migration, the impact on family relations and on women, children and the elderly left behind can be quite significant. The absence of men adds to material and psychological insecurity, leading to pressures and negotiations with wider family (Rogaly et al., 2001, 2002). Male outmigration has been seen to influence the participation of women in the directly productive sphere of the economy as workers and decision-makers and increase the level of their interaction with the outside world (Srivastava, 1990, 1996, 1999, 2003).

As there are no crèche facilities, children often accompany their families to the workplace to be exposed to health hazards. They are also deprived of education. The schooling system at home does not take into account their migration pattern; and their temporary status in the destination areas does not make them eligible for schooling there also (Rogaly et al., 2001; 2002).
In a relatively recent paper, de Hann (2011) has raised the key question that relates closely to the specific gap in the migration literature, is whether migration studies have become an integral part of the understanding of development processes, including growth, poverty reduction, or rural development, which, as argued, does not necessarily lead to a reduction in migration. Though the burden of proof remains, it is found that it remains difficult to integrate an understanding of mobility, labour migration in particular, in mainstream development studies texts.

This section has reviewed the literature relating to migration in general. The following section will survey the studies on India, especially, relevant to our research.

2.2 Review of literature on migration – a survey on India

There are a considerable number of studies regarding the migration aspect of the Indian population. We will briefly survey some of the major works as it is difficult to survey all the works done because of the vastness of the literature.

The early study of Indian population movement was conducted by Davis (1951). His work focused primarily on the population of India and Pakistan from 1889 to 1941. The discussion on migration was part of his whole work. In another work (1954) he has considered internal migration in respect of urbanization, which helped a lot to the researchers in studying migration problem.

In one view, population mobility in India is more or less low (Davis, 1951; Kundu & Gupta, 1996). Migration statistics to the early 1990s also suggest a decline in mobility. In the 1991 census, using the change in residence concept, 27.4% of the population is considered to have migrated (that is, 232 million of the total 838 million persons), which shows a considerable decline from 30.6% in 1971 and 31.2% in 1981. This is true for male and female migrants. In the case of males, it declined from 18.1% in 1971 to 14.7% in 1991. In the case of females, it declined from 43.1% in 1971 to 41.6% in 1991. However, recent evidence based on NSS figures for 1992–1993 and 1999–2000, and indirectly supported by the census, suggests an increase in migration rates from 24.7% to 26.6% over that period. This evidence suggests the
proportion of migrants of both sexes, in both rural and urban areas, increased during the last decade of the 20th century.

Zacharia’s (1964) book is a pioneering work of demographic aspects of internal migration in the Indian subcontinent and describes the pattern of inter-state and intra-state migration in the area on the basis of migration by the age and sex for regions, states, and to a limited extent for towns with a population of 20,000 or more. He has discussed the quantitative trend of migration and has developed an improved method to overcome most difficulties in the data on internal migration and has yielded precise and useful estimates of internal migration.

A scheme for migration is presented by Mahalingam (1964). He distributes the surplus population so as to promote economic growth and will be a remedy for the major economic ills. He concentrates on political aspect of the problem. On the other hand, Bose (1967) has studied the pattern of migration at the all India level in general and his emphasis was on the discussion of urbanization and he treated migration as an index of urbanization. But in his study he has given only a general interpretation of certain aspects of the census results on migration for the period 1951-61.

Using urban areas from time to time and taking the data from census of 1961, Piplai and Majumdar (1969) have found that the nature and characteristics of inter-state migration and its effects on the economic and social structure of a region and studied its effects on the migrants and residents. They observed that people of Northern India except Jammu and Kashmir are more prone to move out of the home state than the people of the rest of India. But the people of Eastern India, those of Assam, Orissa and West Bengal, excluding Bihar have a lesser tendency to move out of their native places. In view of them the inhabitants of the North have a relatively higher achievement motivation than that of the East and this somewhat explains the difference in the volume of migration.

Based on the 1971 Census data on migration for which migrants are identified on the basis of last place of residence, Sivamurthy and Kadi (1983) analyzed the inter-state migration by sex with respect to different types of inter-state movement, viz., rural to rural, and rural to urban, urban to rural, urban to urban areas. Their observation
brings out that inter-state migration not so much significant as compared to intra-state migration possibly due to socio-cultural and linguistic barriers among the states. More than 60% of the out-migration from any state is absorbed in the geographically contiguous states suggesting negative influence of socio-cultural, linguistic and distance factors. Nair (1985) in his study concluded that majority of the migrants have moved to the neighbouring states. In his study on the recent trends in the levels of internal migration in India and has estimated the state to state gross migration flow during 1971-81 on the basis of 5 percent sample data from 1981 census. He has considered 14 major states from all parts of India for analyzing the data and has shown that majority of the migrants have gave to the neighbouring state only with the exception of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. In his estimation, 75-97 percent of the out-migrations have moved to the bordering state.

In his study Pravakar (1986) revealed the impact on the redistribution of population on the basis of internal migration with the help of the 1971 Census data. It is noted in his research that male migrants more move than females to urban areas of high job opportunities and educational facilities whereas female migrants move mainly in connection with family rather than for employment.

There are several works also, by many scholars, on the reason why the people migrate. Greenwood (1971) in his paper specified that one of the most important factors in the inter-regional population allocation in India is distance or the moving cost. The empirical results of Narayana’s (1990) simple disaggregated economic model demonstrate that the propensity of economic factors of inter-regional migration between workers and non-workers is different. This suggests the need for a cautious step in evaluating the impact of a common policy on population redistribution space. Further he finds that (a) people in India move from high tax regions to low tax regions; (b) the distance (moving costs) account for one of the most important factors in the inter-regional population allocation in India; (c) population in India is becoming more mobile than before as the result of improvements in transportation and communication; (d) people move in India from low wage regions to high wage regions and hence, accentuation of wage rate differentials should encourage inter-regional migration. In his another paper Narayana (1994) observed that annual growth of inter-regional migration between years shows that the growth rates are
neither uniform across states between given years nor uniform for the same state over the years.

Singh (1998) has concentrated on internal migration in India during 1961-1991. His main purpose is to update our knowledge with regard to the emerging migration pattern from the data available with recent Census of 1991. He observed that according to the place of birth and place of residence concepts of migration about 30% of the Indian populations are migrants. His main criterion is that males have migrated due to economic reason whereas marriage is the main cause of migration for females. Other reasons like family movement, education are secondary for both male and female.

Migration in India is predominantly short distance, with around 60% of migrants changing their residence within the district of enumeration and over 20% within the state of enumeration while the rest move across the state boundaries. A significant proportion of women migrate over short distances, mainly following marriage. The proportion of male lifetime migrants is low in most poor states except Madhya Pradesh and high in most developed states. For inter-state migration, a similar trend is observed: developed states show high inter-state in-migration while poor states, except Madhya Pradesh, show low rates of total and male in-migration. Rates of interstate lifetime out-migration are complementary to the above trends (Srivastava, 1998). Based on place of last residence and on place of birth, migrants are generally classified into four migration streams. Rural areas are still the main destination for migrants, but urban destinations are more important for male migrants (49% of male migrants moved to urban destinations in 1991, compared to 29.5% female migrants). Between 1992–1993 and 1999–2000, NSS data indicate an increase in urban migration, but this is mainly due to urban-urban flows (Srivastava & Bhattacharya, 2002).

Analysis of the recent trends of labour mobility, on the basis of NSS estimates from the 49th (1992–93) and 55th rounds (1999–00) have been carried out by Srivastava and Bhattacharya (2002). This period shows a sharp increase in urban male mobility, with a significantly larger percentage of male migrants reporting economic and employment linked reasons for mobility. For other streams, there has been a decline
in the percentage of migrants giving economic reasons for mobility. A comparison of the decadal migrant streams (migrants who had migrated in the decade preceding the period of survey) shows that (a) a greater percentage of the urban migrant workers were from the non-agricultural sector (self-employed or regular employed); (b) a greater percentage of the male migrant workers were self-employed or in regular employment in 1999–00; (c) in the case of females, however, a larger percentage of decadal female migrant workers worked in 1999–00 as casual labourers (in the rural areas in agriculture).

Shanthi (1991, 2006) examines the extent of employment oriented migration of females in India and the inter-state variations in its magnitude using NSSO 55th round household level data on migration. It is found that though the percentage is very small for ‘employment oriented migration’ an analysis of work force participation of female migrants in the age group 15-60, irrespective of the reasons for migration reveals that in the post migration period, work participation of these migrants increases steeply in all the states. In the recent past ‘independent migration’ of females is on the increase in response to the employment opportunities in export industries, electronic assembling and garment units. In all the states in south India this percentage is high. In the north at the disaggregated level the percentage of ‘never married’ and ‘heads’ is high in rural-urban and urban-urban migration.

Mitra & Murayama (2008) analyzed the district level rural to urban migration rates among males and females separately and find that both the rates are closely associated (irrespective of whether the migrants originate from the rural areas within the state or outside the state). Though many of the relatively poor and backward states actually show large population mobility, which is primarily in search of a livelihood, the mobility of male population is also seen to be prominent in the relatively advanced states like Maharashtra and Gujarat. The social networks, which play an important role in the context of migration, are prevalent among the short distance migrants who tend to lose their significance with a rise in the distance between the place of origin and destination. Further they find that the effect of factors at the place of destination, prospects for better job opportunities are a major determinant of male migration. Low castes and minority groups tend to pull migration through network effects.
World Development Report (2009), deals with factor mobility and migration, and describes that the majority of labour movement is not rural-urban migration, but from economically lagging rural areas to leading rural areas like Punjab, Gujarat and Maharashtra to work on the farm. However there has also been a steady flow of longer term migration into the cities and they are pulled in by economic growth or agglomeration economies and increasing returns to scale obtainable by the clustering of skills and talent. The WDR distinguishes between voluntary migration based on pull factors, as opposed to involuntary migration based on push factors of over population, drought, nonexistent social services and environmental stress. It argues that policy barriers to internal mobility in India are imposed by omission rather than by commission. Negative attitudes held by government, and ignorance of the benefits of population mobility has caused migration to be overlooked as a force in economic development.

In a recent paper, Ghosh & Chakraborty (2010) has mentioned that migration from Bihar, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh to West Bengal played a key role in the history of interstate population movement in India during the 20th century. The paper also reveals that the out migrating regions of Bihar, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh are almost same throughout the 20th century and the reasons for migration are primarily economic.

In a recent work Dwivedi (2012), migration in India is mostly influenced by social structures and pattern of development. The development policies by all the governments since Independence have accelerated the process of migration. Uneven development is the main cause of migration. Added to it, are the disparities, Inter regional and amongst different socio-economic classes. There are two important reasons for rural labour migration: (1) migration for survival, and (2) migration for subsistence. The first one indicates the severe social and economic hardships faced by rural labourers, a situation where migration becomes necessary to stay alive. These communities are generally landless, illiterate and drawn largely from Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other depressed castes. The second reason for migration is also rooted in subsistence and arises because of the need to supplement income in order to fill the gaps of seasonal employment. Such communities often migrate for shorter periods and do not ordinarily travel very far from their homes.
Keshri & Bhagat (2012) have analyzed the regional pattern of temporary and seasonal labour migration in India, based on 64th round NSSO data, more so in rural areas of Northern and Eastern India. Paper also examines the association between temporary migration and its determining factors: economic status, land holding, education level. Paper observes significant negative association between economic status and educational attainment and temporary migration in rural and urban areas. In general, socio-economically deprived groups (e.g. adibasis and lower casts) have greater propensity to migrate seasonally. This also reflects its distance driven nature.

Kundu & Ray Saraswati (2012) has analysed the migration and urbanization patterns in recent decades. It suggests distinctly declining trend. It can be argued that migration process has inbuilt screening system picking up people from higher economic and social status. Decline in share of migration in search of employment and increasing business and study related mobility further confirm this. In contrast, poverty induced migration become less important over time. To attract private capital, urban centers are less accommodating top poor, restricting entry and increasing rural-urban inequality. Strategy of specially unbalanced growth through dispersion of concentration advocated by World Bank and others needs to be examined with empirical rigour.

Most of the literature on rural-urban migration builds on work of the Todaro model (1969) and the Harris-Todaro model (1970) and tests its validity in various countries, contexts and using its assumptions, hence focus mostly on pull factors, with few studies focusing on push factors. Being focused on push factors, the importance of family considerations in mobility decisions of rural to urban migrants in India was investigated by Banerjee (1981) analyzing evidence on urban rural ties. The empirical basis was a survey of migrant heads of households in Delhi conducted from October 1975 to April 1976. Banerjee and Kanbur (1981) used a probabilistic migration model to examine internal migration in India and presented evidence that migration tends first to rise and then falls as rural income rises.

‘Probabilistic migration’ models assume that search for urban jobs is entirely an urban-based activity and that employment in free-entry activities is a transitional
phase during which migrants are actively searching for formal sector employment. A paper by Banerjee (1984) tests the empirical validity of these assumptions using data collected by the author in a sample survey in Delhi, India, in 1975-76, on 1,400 migrants from rural areas. Evidence is presented that the migration process postulated in probabilistic models is not realistic in the case of Delhi. Over one-half of the sample migrants had moved to Delhi after lining up specific jobs; a sizeable proportion expected to enter on arrival activities generally considered to be characterized by freedom of entry; and the majority of entrants into free-activities did not search for alternative employment and were engaged in the same activities at the time of the survey.

Based on survey data from 1,600 respondents collected in 1975-76, Banerjee (1986) has made a study of labour migrants in Delhi, India. A primary objective of the study is to test the empirical validity of the assumptions on which probabilistic migration models are founded. In particular, an examination is made of information transmission, expectations, inter-sector mobility, intra-sector turnover, and the structure and determinants of earnings, focusing on pull factors. The author found that the Delhi experience does not fit the migration process postulated in the probabilistic models. This book examines the economic selectivity and the articulated motives of migrants, and urban-rural ties are investigated. These ties are strong and are manifested in regular visits and remittances by migrants to family members living in the rural area. The determinants of remittances and conjugal separation are analyzed using tobit and logit analysis respectively. The evidence suggests that the underlying objective of migration is maximization of family rather than individual benefits.

Banerjee (1991) examined using a multivariable framework at the determinants of migration with a pre-arranged job and of the initial duration of the urban unemployment, based on survey data in 1400 rural migrants in Delhi. The result shows that with increasing educational level and age the probability of moving with a prearranged job increases and it is higher for non-manual job-seekers. For migrants who arrive in the city without a pre-arranged job, unemployment duration depends on marital status, pre migration information on urban employment opportunities and on the reliance of contacts for job search.
Williamson (1988) examines the consequences of migration and asks the question whether cities can close their doors to migration. He offers an alternative, which is that only pricing of services needs to be corrected. Sridhar and Mathur (2009) take a hint from this, estimate the marginal cost of water supply in cities of India, and find that several cities in India are significantly under-pricing their water. Hence it is rather pricing that is the solution, closing the cities to migration is certainly not a solution to the problem of poor service delivery, especially in a democracy.

There are several works focusing on special group of labour migrants and their nature of work. Data on individual migrants gleaned from micro surveys shows a significant clustering of migrants in the 16–40 year age group (Conell et al., 1976). This is even more the case with poorer semi-permanent or temporary labour migrants (Srivastava 1999). With respect to education, migration rates are high both among the highly educated and the least educated, and among seasonal migrants there is a high preponderance of illiterate people. In the overall migrant population, differences across caste groups are not significant, but ST and SC migrants are more involved in short duration migrants, with migration rates among them being 2% and 1% respectively, compared with an overall rate of 0.7% for all short duration migrants (Connell et al., 1976; Rogaly et al., 2001; Haberfeld et al., 1999).

The nature of migration primarily reflects household subsistence strategies in the face of social, cultural, demographic and other constraints. Males predominate in most labour migration streams. But in a number of other cases, both men and women migrate together for work, especially among lower caste and tribals where constraints on women’s participation in non-household economic activities are fewer. The pattern of labour migration (whether males alone, males and females, or females alone) is related to the social structure, the pattern of demand, and the nature of the migration process. In some sectors such as construction, brick kiln and sugarcane cutting, family migration is prevalent as it is more economical for employers. The proportion of women out-migrants (predominantly to agriculture and the construction sector) ranges from 18% to 42% in the case of some tribal areas of India (Haberfeld et al., 1999; Mosse et al., 1997).
Given the diversity in the nature of migration in India, the causes are also bound to vary. Migration is influenced both by the pattern of development (NCRL, 1991), and the social structure (Mosse et al., 2002). The National Commission on Rural Labour, focusing on seasonal migration, concluded that uneven development was the main cause of seasonal migration. Along with inter regional disparity, disparity between different socioeconomic classes and the development policy adopted since independence has accelerated the process of seasonal migration.

Employers often prefer migrant labourers to local labourers, as they are cheaper and do not develop social relationships with the place of destination. Women migrants fare the worst; they are generally paid less than male migrants (Pandey, 1998). In the construction industry they are viewed as assistants to their husbands, and confined to unskilled jobs. The consequent segmentation is used as a justification for low payments. Women also face greater insecurity (Viajanyanta, 1998). In the fish processing industry, they are badly exploited in terms of working condition, wages, living condition and sometimes sexually harassed (Sarodamoni, 1995).

Breman (1996) has argued that the continued existence of a large mass of unorganized workers belies expectations that workers would eventually shift from the traditional to the modern sector. An examination of the major industries in the informal sector shows a steady replacement of local workers by migrants. He also finds that rural-urban migration shares a number of features in common with rural-to-rural migration. The urban and rural informal sector markets are increasingly linked through horizontal circulation as migrants may move from one to the other in search of jobs (Gill, 1984; Chopra, 1995; Breman, 1996). Despite growing linkages between the urban and rural labour markets, the markets are not integrated but instead segmented in various ways. Breman (1996) shows that for locals as well as migrants, stratifications are generally preserved as workers move so that the overall tendency of the labour market is to be broken into ‘circuits’ of labour. Women migrant workers in urban areas are concentrated mainly in the lower segments, in household work or jobs in manufacturing, construction or personal services (Meher, 1994).

Bird and Deshingkar (2009) explore circular migration in India, the policy response and impact of the policy response on the welfare of migrants and more broadly on
regional inequality. They find that circular migration rates are high in remote rural areas, particularly amongst the chronically poor. Particularly high rates are found in drought prone areas with low agro-ecological potential, poor access to credit or other prerequisites for diversification and high population densities. Circular migration is found to be high among the poor, SCs, STs and Muslims. Young adult populations have a greater propensity to migrate and permanent migration rates are found to be higher among the more educated but illiterate and unskilled people appeared to dominate seasonal labour migration (Deshingkar, 2006). The study finds that a range of push and pull factors drive circular migration. Income is one driver, with people migrating in search of paid employment. Migrants may be pushed to migrate by debt, poor access to credit, declining access to common property resources or commodity price crashes (Deshingkar, 2003).

Saxena (1977) observed that majority of the remittances and the migrant’s savings are spent on consumption in most cases, while relatively small percentage is directly invested in agriculture, industry or commence. Oberai and Singh (1982) studied that in Punjab remittances are invested in agricultural technology.

Although we do not have direct evidence of the value of remittances from migrants, some indirect evidence can be adduced from the NSS surveys on migration and consumption and employment/ unemployment. These surveys give the percentage of out-migrants making remittances and households receiving remittances and depending upon remittances as their major source of livelihood. The former estimates depend upon the definition of out-migrants, which can vary. In 1992–93, 89% of permanent out-migrants sent remittances (Census of India, 2001).

The percentage of all rural households receiving remittance income is also fairly high – in some regions of the country, one-quarter to one-third of the households receive remittances. It should be noted that remittances are only one form in which resource flows occur as a result of migration, the other being savings brought home by migrants in cash or kind. Field studies show that a majority of seasonal migrants either remit or bring home savings. In many cases, a substantial proportion of household cash income is attributed to migrant earnings (Haberfeld et al., 1999; Rogaly et al., 2001; Mosse et al., 2002). However, the cash incomes which accrue
may not always add to the resource base of migrant households as some are used to adjust earlier debts (Mosse et al., 2002).

The share of migration to urban area increases from 33% in 1999-2000 to 35% in 2007-08. Given the current development and growth of urbanization it is likely that migration to urban areas will accentuate more in future. The low rate of growth and uncertainty in income in agricultural sector, reduction in livelihood opportunities in rural area due to structural adjustment programmes has led to out-migration from under developed regions. As a result of this most of the migrants become absorbed within urban informal economy. Hence, the challenge for policy makers is to formulate migration policies linked with employment and well-being of the migrant living in urban area. The policies should be explicitly implemented addressing the problem of urban poor migrants who are largely accommodating in urban informal sectors. It has been argued (Deshingkar, 2009) that although India has one of the most comprehensive systems of pro-poor programs in the developing world, the millions of poor migrant labourers cannot access these for the entire time that they are away due to proof-of-residence requirements. Thus, the Public Distribution System-supplied food grains are inaccessible to them, as are government schools, hospitals, and other pro-poor schemes.

Several authors have studied the cause and consequence of international migration in India and states. Among them, Guha Roy and Datta (1995) have observed the migrants from Nepal in West Bengal taking into account spatial variation, sex ratio, economic activities and some estimation of migrants from Nepal in West Bengal using mainly 1951-81 Census data. They viewed that these migrants in West Bengal tend to settle mainly in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Calcutta and urban areas of 24 Parganas due to some socio-economic reasons.

An attempt has been made by Chakraborty, Gupta and Bandyopadhyay (1997) to estimate and explain the main features of migration from Bangladesh to India in the period 1971-91. The magnitude of migration from Bangladesh to India in the period was shown to about 6 lakhs approximately in 1971-81 and about 10 lakhs in 1981-91. The differential of economic opportunity and the periodic absence of food security with religious persecution operate such migration.
Sekhar (1993) observed in his paper that “the emigrants are more likely to be from the lower middle class rather than the poorest or the very affluent section of the society”. Data collected through a sample survey of 280 Gulf migrant and 80 non-migrant households from two villages namely Kadappuram and Valavannur in Kerala he found that economic factors, mostly assets provide the means by which the emigration can take place. The rich are not ready to face the risks and hardships involved in the jobs of Gulf countries, whereas the very poor did not have the required resources at their disposal to incur the required expense of emigration. But the “social characteristics of household namely, the kinship connection in Gulf countries and previous migration experiences” are the factors responsible for the crucial difference between the persons who migrate and who do not migrate.

Several studies have focused on the problems of migration of a particular state of India or states of India. (Chakraborty, 1968, 1989; Chakraborty and Khasnobis, 1984; Rele, 1969; Premi, 1980, 1989; Sarkar 1989; Dey and Chakraborty, 1994, Bandyopadhyaya and Chakraborty, 1995; Bhattacharya, 1996; Ghosh, 2002, Singh 2007, 2010)

Chakraborty (1968) has researched effect on migration on the population growth of West Bengal during 1951-61. Chakraborty and Khasnobis (1984) have estimated the contribution of migration on the population growth of Tamil Nadu during 1951-61. Both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of migration from 1901 to 1961 were observed by Rele (1969). According to him, migration, especially its qualitative aspect is related to a process of change occurring within the social system. His observation was that obligatory and non-economic reasons cause females to leave the village while voluntary and economic reasons are prominent in the out-migration of males from villages.

In a case study of Rajasthan with the Census data of 1961, 1971 and 1981, Premi (1989) has observed that (a) female migration took place mainly within short distance; (b) migrants to rural areas come across shorter distance than those to urban areas; (c) the districts with high to very high values of in-migration from and out-migration to the neighbouring districts are surrounded on all sides by the districts of the same state.
They do not have sound economic base to attract migrants from far off districts; (d) most of the people migrating from such districts are unskilled and do not have information about better employment opportunities available at longer distances; (e) these migrants are generally with low earnings with and do not possess necessary entrepreneurship. Premi (1980) in his another work has shown that in general India’s women folk account for over 80 percent of their moves because of marriage and other family considerations.

Sarkar (1989) has done another important study on the migration in West Bengal. Where a model by doing multiple linear regression analysis was formed which explains the rural-urban movements of population in West Bengal. In his study the explanatory variable man/land ratio becomes statistically insignificant. Literacy is considered both as a ‘push’ as well as ‘pull’ factor in this model and stands out as one of the major explanatory variables for migration.

Chakraborty (1989) has analyzed the trend, pattern migration in Eastern India during 1921-81. He has concentrated on Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Dey and Chakraborty (1994) discussed migration in the entire group of Andaman and Nicobar Islands from 1901-81. The study has shown that the migrants in the islands formed an important constituent of population. In 1981, 58% of the total population were migrants. This analysis shows that migrants were largely from Burma, Pakistan, Bangladesh and lately from Sri Lanka. They observed that 90% of the migrants from foreign countries were displaced migrants. Their movements were forced in nature. The rest of the migrants from other countries largely came to the island for employment and other services.

Bandyopadhyay & Chakraborty (1995) in their paper have discussed the pattern and causes of inter-district migration of West Bengal on the basis of 1981 Census data. The authors have studied the pattern of inter-district migration of West Bengal and found that among the 16 districts only six districts are gaining whereas rest are loosing. It has been observed that despite of high industrial development Calcutta and Howrah belong to the group of loosing districts.
Bhattacharya (1996) observed the relation between inter-regional disparities in human development and migration. Harriss and Todaro (1970) theory also is discussed by the author and then she goes beyond this theory to examine the connection between the relative overall deprivation in a region and migration. She has regressed the data on inter-district migration on the estimated ‘human development index’. From the regression results a systematic pattern of migration within the economy of West-Bengal is observable from the regression results where human development levels of the districts emerge as an important factor in determining urban migration.

Ghosh (2002) has made a comprehensive empirical analysis of migration in West Bengal during 1872-1991. She has analyzed the trend different components, characteristics and reasons of the important from different parts of India to West Bengal and has analyzed the pattern of inter-district migration within West Bengal.

In the recent years the migrants from Gujrat state to Mumbai has declined significantly (Singh, 2007). Singh (2010) in his recent paper has presented the district-wise inflow of migrants to the Mumbai. The information shows that Mumbai attracts migrants from all over India, mainly from districts of eastern UP, western Maharashtra, and some districts of Bihar, Rajasthan, and Bihar. The employment related reasons are main motivating factor among male migrants and ‘marriage’ among female migrants to move to Mumbai districts.

Important contributions have been made by Ghosh (1961), Dasgupta, (1984) and de Haan (1997) on the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata).

Ghosh (1961) observed from the study on Calcutta (now, Kolkata) that a substantial evidence of moving to Calcutta where migrants settled down first from rural areas to rural towns and then to a larger city, i.e. Calcutta. Dasgupta (1984) has developed an approach with a historical basis and broader socio-economic perspective in explaining the population movements towards Calcutta. His study reveals that migration in the context of Calcutta fails to bring about uniformity in earnings and other opportunities between the origin and the destination, and to be true, widens the disparity overtime. The correct approach to solve the problem associated with migration will be according to him to develop a pattern of urbanization in which the smaller towns will
be the focal point of rural development in the respective region and also to make extensive agricultural development.

de Haan (1997) looked at the relation between rural-urban migration and poverty: who migrates, from which areas and income groups, how do the migrants compare to non-migrating urban groups, and how do the migrants fare over time. The analysis focuses on field-work and interviews in an industrial area of Calcutta, India, mainly amongst migrants from other states (Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa) who in many cases had moved 600 km or more to come and work in the jute and paper industries (de Haan 1997). Migrants had been attracted to the unskilled work in these industries in earlier parts of this century; during the last decennia few new jobs have been created.


Kumar and Aggarwal (2003) have also studied the causes of migration in the state of Assam. The findings show that male people moves to Assam mainly for economic reasons, the female related reasons carved the migration among females. It is also revealed that ‘family moved’ and marriage were made important reasons from neighbouring state of Tripura, Meghalaya and West Bengal and economic reasons came prominent for state like Bihar, U.P. and Rajasthan. The paper also analyzed the impact of migration or linguistic and religious composition of the state of Assam.

Beside the above contributions, important regional studies have been conducted by Breman (1978), Xexa (1983), Gupta, Arora and Agarwal (1988), Selvaraj and Rao (1993), Rao and Rana (1997), Sharma (1997). Breman (1978) has worked on the
character and scale of seasonal migration of labour in and around Bardoli Taluka in Gujarat. The work is based on the author’s field work during February-June, 1977. The study has examined the intra-rural circulation and seasonal movement of landless labourers and small peasants mostly from Khandesh in Western Maharashtra to sugar factories in the vicinity of Bardoli in Gujarat. In their research Gupta, Arora and Agarwal (1988) described the causes and consequences of large-scale migration of continuously residing migrants of agricultural labour to Punjab. Their observation was that the number of immigrants to Punjab increased as a result of green revolution in the state where the immigrants were from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh mostly who mainly Hindus, young in age, illiterate and belong to intermediate and low castes.

Selvaraj and Rao (1993) studied the migration patterns and relationships to specific socio-demographic factors based on longitudinal studies carried out in North Arcot District of Tamil Nadu, Southern India. Their findings is that in the rural sector ‘marriage’ and ‘job security’ are respectively the main reasons for in-migration and out-migration, whereas the next immediate reason for both the in-migration and the out-migration is ‘to settle down’. They also analyzed the reasons by the distance of migration in rural as well as in urban areas. Both the in-migrants and out-migrants moved shortest distance (within 15 kms.) mainly for ‘marriage’ in rural areas and for better or own house in urban areas. Medium district (15-75 kms.) in-migrants moved to settle down in rural areas but out-migrants for marriage, whereas ‘secured job’ is prominent reason for both the out-migrants and the in-migrants in both sectors. But in the longest distance (more than 75 kms), prime reason for in-migration as well as out-migration in rural areas is to settle down and in urban areas to have secured job. Their study also confirms higher rural-urban migration as compared to urban-rural migration throughout the years under their study.

Sharma (1997) has researched on the economic causes and consequences of migration in Bihar, a backward economy based on large sample chosen from four centers—two each from rural (Saran & Singhbhum) and urban Bihar (Muzaffarpur and Bokaro Steel Plant). He has studied both in-migrants and out-migrants in each center. On the basis of findings of the survey, the author attributes much of rural to urban migration, to the push of rural poverty rather than pull of higher urban income thus negating the
Harris-Todaro model. The researcher also suggests a regionally dispersed development strategy to prevent socially unprofitable migration to cities.

Srivastava’s (1999) study of seven villages in Uttar Pradesh showed some variation over regions. While the situation in the study villages in eastern and central Uttar Pradesh conformed to a situation of labour surplus, this was not the case in western Uttar Pradesh where seasonal migration coincided with the agricultural peak season (Rabi) and employers complained of labour shortages. Significantly in all the regions studied, labourers on their part gave uncertainty of employment along with employment conditions and poor relations with their agricultural employers as the major reasons for outmigration.

A study based on annual seasonal migration of tribal households from Khandesh (Dhule district, Maharashtra) to the sugarcane fields of southern Gujarat in 1988–89 estimated that every year 100,000 to 150,000 labourers are recruited from this region to work in the nine sugar co-operatives of Southern Gujarat (Teerink, 1995). Other studies in the tribal areas in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat also indicate a very high rate of out-migration, in some cases involving 60 to 80% of households (Mosse et al., 2002; Haberfeld et al., 1999; Rani and Shylendra, 2001). Significant number of tribals, mainly from drought prone areas of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra, migrate to work in construction, tile factory, brick kiln and crop cutting in Maharashtra (Pandey, 1998). Saora, Munda and Santhal tribes have a long history of migration, with male only migration among the Saora (plantation cultivation in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh), whereas Mundas and Santhals migrate as household units, mainly to NALCO site in Denkanal district of Orissa (Menon, 1995). The construction industry mainly depends on migrant labour (90% of the labourers are migrants in one estimate (Vaijanyanta, 1998)). Around 40,000 girls migrate from Kerala annually to other state to work in the fishery industry (Sarodamoni, 1995).

In the domestic maid sector, there is increasing trend of independent migration of females. A study by the Institute of Social Sciences (1991) indicates that 20% of total women migrants to Delhi are employed as domestic maids. There are also important regional differences in the pattern of female labour mobility between the northern and southern states (Singh, 1984). Among inter-state economic migrants, the share of the
Northern states is very large in male migration, but the Southern states have a comparatively larger share in female economic migrants (Srivastava, 1998). On the whole, however, females move smaller distances for work compared to males.

The growth of intensive agriculture and commercialization of agriculture since the late 1960s has led to peak periods of labour demand, often also coinciding with a decline in local labour deployment. In the case of labour flows to the rice-producing belt of West Bengal, wage differentials between the source and destination have been considered as the main reason for migration. Moreover, absence of non-farm employment, low agricultural production has resulted in a growth of seasonal migration (Rogaly et al., 2001). Focusing on four source areas for labour migration to West Bengal’s rice bowl, find male only migration in two of the source areas they studied, whereas migration from the other two areas was both by men and women.

Migration decisions are influenced by both individual and household characteristics as well as the social matrix, which is best captured in social-anthropological studies. Factors such as age, education level, wealth, land owned, productivity and job opportunities influence the participation of individuals and households in migration, but so do social attitudes and supporting social networks (Haberfeld et al., 1999; Rogaly et al., 2001; Mosse et al., 2002). Where migration is essentially involuntary, it makes little sense to use voluntaristic models to explain the phenomenon. In Dhule region (Maharashtra) sugarcane cultivation leads to high demand for labour, but landowners recruit labourers from other districts for harvesting as they can have effective control over the labour. Local labourers are thus forced to migrate with their households to South Gujarat (Teerink, 1995). In Kerala, trawler-fishing has depleted marine resources. With unemployment in other industries like cashew and rubber, this has led to large scale out-migration of girls. The fish processing industry has seen the migration of large numbers of single women (Sarodamoni, 1995).

Social networks provide initial income support, information, accommodation, and access to jobs. However, parts of the urban unorganised sector may also be characterized by a high degree of organised migration, as in the rural areas discussed above (Mazumdar, 1983; Mehta, 1987; Piore, 1983). In the construction industry, workers are largely recruited through contractors who settle wages and retain part of
their earnings apart from payments received from the employer, and sometimes also play supervisory roles. In the fish processing industry in Kerala, recruitment takes place through contractors, who often use networks of older women to recruit. In the case of domestic maid servants in Delhi, a number of voluntary organizations are involved in the recruitment process. Most of the maids are from the tribal belts of Jharkhand and Chattisgarh. While a new genre of private recruitment agencies has sprung up (which continue to recruit through informal channels and make unspecified deductions from wage payments), the church also plays an active and more benign role in bringing potential employers and employees together (Neetha, 2002).

The labour process in the places of employment only partly overlaps with the process of recruitment. Workers seeking jobs independently may still find the labour processes in the destination dominated by contracting and sub-contracting relationships. Workers have to depend upon advances and irregular payments. Migrants often get lower wages than local labourers. The migrant status of the labourers accounts for 38–56% of the wage differential in Chennai city when other characteristics are accounted (Duraiswamy & Narsimhan, 1997). They work long and odd hours. Moreover the payments are not made on time. Piece rates are mostly prevalent which provide greater elasticity to employers (NCRL, 1991). Of course, migrants may also prefer these wage systems as they can maximize returns on a per day basis, raising the opportunity of their saving part of wages. But in many cases, organised migration results in credit-labour interlocking, such that the net return to labour may have no relation to wages in destination areas (Singh and Iyer, 1985; Das, 1993; Krishnaiah, 1997; Mosse et al., 2002).

Ghate (2009) highlights the case of Oriya migrants to the cities of Gujarat. He argues that the emergence of these migration corridors across the country has led to the development of some unique institutions to serve them. For instance, on the financial side, a set of money transfer intermediaries have emerged in Surat. They deliver remittances to recipients back home in Orissa within 6 to 48 hours at a much lower effective cost than that charged by the post office on money orders.

Saikia (2011) has examined the economic conditions of the in-migrant workers in Kerala. Informal information networks through acquaintances plays important role in
The review of the literature documented in this chapter reflects that a vast literature has developed over decades on migration in general, and India in particular. Literature is still expanding as researchers are continuing their work on migration issues. The review of literature also reveals that the empirical studies in this field focusing India are considerable. However, the works focusing on inter-regional and intra-regional migration in India are thin. However, recently Chakraborty, 2007 has made a modest attempt in this regard. Further, the present author, along with others (Kundu, Chakraborty and Haldar, 2008) has also contributed to this area.

In their paper, Kundu, Haldar and Chakraborty (2008) have made a study of the inter-regional migration in India for the period 1951-61 to 1991-2001. The study is made on the basis of the six regions of India. They are of the opinion that Western region has always been a net gainer followed by the Northern region, while the Southern region has been the constant looser followed by Central and Eastern region (expect the decade 1951-61). ‘Economic factor’ was the most important behind migration to the Western region from the Eastern, Central and northern region. The most important factor was ‘family moved’ in case of migration from the Southern region. Migration to Northern region was mainly because of economic reasons. Recently, Kundu and Chakraborty (2010) have examined the impact of economic reform on inter-regional migration. They have found that the benefits of reform have been reaped by mainly the Northern and Western regions, and so these are the most favourite destinations of the migrants from the other parts of India, especially Eastern region. The new economic policy introduced in 1991 has put an impact on inter regional movement of population in India.

However, to the best knowledge of the present researcher, till date no detailed and in-depth study has been carried out focusing on inter- and intra- migration in India covering the period 1951-2001. The present dissertation has made an umbrella attempt in this regard by conducting a detailed and in-depth analysis of the inter-regional and intra-regional migration in India during the five decades (1951 to 2001) and tries to fill some of the gaps in this area. These will be the objectives of the next few chapters.