Chapter 2

MIGRATION AS A SOCIAL PROCESS

2.1 Stages of Migration

In the previous chapter we discussed the importance of the study of migration and the different types of migration. In this chapter we proceed to consider migration as a social process, as "a part of the social and cultural life of the people". Since migration is a complex social phenomenon, for analytic convenience we divide the process of migration into three distinct stages. These stages are:

A. the migration inducing stage. At this stage a person is favourably disposed to consider migration as a viable course of action. The chief issues at this stage are:

Why people migrate or what are the migration generating factors in the would-be migrants' 'home' society? Who migrates or what are the social, economic and territorial characteristics of the would-be migrant? In other words this stage is concerned with the causal and motivational structure of the migrant.

B. the actual migratory stage. At this stage, the potential migrant decides to migrate, plans and makes preparations for the actual move, and makes the actual move.

C. the adjustment stage. This stage is concerned with patterns of interaction
between the migrant group and the 'host' group gives the fact that the two groups are endowed with different sets of values, norms, patterns of living etc. This stage involves a redefinition of the social milieu and recreation of primary group identities.

We now proceed to consider each stage of migration separately.

2.2. The Migration-inducing Stage

Demographic and economic approaches:

The first stage of migration is concerned with factors in the 'home' society of the would-be migrant which makes him migration-prone. The "push-pull" model is the widely used explanatory framework to study the causal factors of migration. It is assumed that migration is a uni-directional movement of people from rural to urban areas due to the operation of a set of negative factors in the former pushing out people and the existence of certain positive factors in the latter which pull people. The push factors cover a heterogeneous array - pressure of population on rural resources, lack of income earning opportunities, racial, religious or political persecutions, natural disasters, dreariness and boredom of village life etc. The pull factors are better income earning opportunities,
educational, medical and other facilities, exciting town life etc. The push and pull factors may be tempered by other factors such as "distance", "psychological distance", "intervening opportunities", "competing migrants" etc.]

[The main defect of the "push-pull" model is that it fails to disaggregate the sufficient, necessary and facilitating conditions from a heterogeneous array of factors which influence the decision to migrate. The push factors can explain migration if there is a positive correlation between those factors and migration. However in many contexts a reverse relationship is obtained. For example, in Europe mass emigration coexisted with a general improvement in living standards. Indian studies have shown that in urban-ward migration a considerable proportion of migrants belong to the higher-income brackets. Migration from among very poor classes like the agricultural workers is comparatively less.]

[The assumption that rural areas have only negative factors and urban areas only positive ones is too simplistic. A salient feature of numerous case studies in several developing countries is a total lack of credence in what is usually labelled as the "city light thesis", which holds that the desire for exciting city]
life compared to the dreariness and boredom of the village is a prime motive for migration. If at all urban amenities like educational and medical facilities, urban luxuries etc are significant factors in migration they influence only the rural elite and not the rural poor. In the Third World the cities are bursting to the brim and cannot accommodate all the rural migrants. Accelerated rural-urban migration paradoxically coexists with rising urban unemployment. The majority of the rural migrants are absorbed in an "ill-defined informal sector" comprising domestic service, petty trade, construction work etc. They live in dirty and insanitary slum areas. Such a life can hardly be termed exciting and comfortable. Nor can such migration be characterized as a movement of people from the least modern and most traditional sectors of economy and society to the most modern sectors.

The inadequacy of the "push-pull" model led Todaro to propose a new economic model of migration. It proceeds from the assumption that "migration is based primarily on privately rational economic calculations for the individual migrant despite the existence of high urban unemployment". The model then postulates that migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected rather than actual
earnings. The two measures of expected gains are (a) "the difference in real incomes between rural and urban job opportunities" and (b) "the probability of a new migrant obtaining an urban job". While some empirical studies confirm Todaro's hypothesis, others tend to disprove it.

The predictive power of the Todaro model is restricted by mis-specification of the variables due to ignoring the traditional-informal urban sector into which several migrants initially enter. Another limitation of the Todaro model, and other economic models is the failure to take into account non-economic variables.

The undue emphasis on rural-urban migration and their failure to take into account the fact that the phenomenon of migration cannot be understood in isolation from the social-cultural milieu of the migrants restrict the applicability of the demographic and economic models as general theories of migration.

Sociological Approaches

Sociologists have been interested in migration mostly as an adjunct to the study of ethnic relations in metropolitan areas. However, sociological explanations of what factors induce people to migrate have been few. Presently we deal with a few of such sociological explanatory frameworks.)
(Mabogunje, for example, has applied the conceptual framework of the General Systems Theory to migration. He treats migration not as a "linear, unidirectional, 'push-pull’, cause effect movement, but a circular, inter-dependent, progressively complex, and self-modifying system in which the effect of changes in one part can be traced through the whole system". Migration is influenced by an economic, social, political and technological environment. Having received the stimulus, the potential migrant will be influenced by the rural control sub-system (for example, the family, local community) in his decision to migrate. The urban control subsystem (for example, housing and economic opportunities) help the migrant to adjust to the new environment and eventually to become a true urbanite. The success or failure of migrants transmit constant feedback to villages of origin which influence subsequent migration from the same area.)

(This framework represents a marked improvement on the economic models of migration since the non-economic factors and the organic links between sending and receiving areas are provided for. However the limitation is that it does not specify the variables in order of importance which induce people to migrate. Its over-emphasis on makes it less applicable to other types of migration.)
The second sociological approach we shall consider is Mangalam's social organization theory. In this framework migration is a type of social change. The latter is defined thus:

...the difference between social organization of a given society at two different points in time, comprising changes in any or all the three component systems, namely, the cultural, social and personality systems.

In this process migration takes place. It is defined as:

...a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another preceded by decision making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants.

Mangalam, however does not explain why migration, and not some other course of action is adopted by the migrant collectivity.

Migration as Collective Behaviour

What is needed is a general theory of migration which specifies the economic, demographic, cultural, political and social structural variables which conjointly
produce migration as a specific type of social action in a given historical situation. The variables should be specified in such a way that the model can predict under what conditions people migrate, what type of people migrate, what type of migration will result, and why migration and not some other course of action is resorted to. In our view the theory of collective behaviour developed by Neil Smelser may be usefully adapted to the study of migration. This task has already been attempted by Stone and Taylor.

(In Smelser's scheme collective behaviour results from social mobilization based on a set of beliefs which 'redefine social action'. What sets it apart from other types of social action is that it meets unstructured and undefined situations. The model is a value-added approach in the sense that "a unique combination of determinants is necessary to yield a unique outcome and that the sufficient condition to produce the result is the combination of every necessary condition according to a necessary pattern". Any one factor considered in isolation will not satisfactorily explain an observed phenomenon or outcome.)
Smelser divides factors generating collective behaviour into six categories. Since migration, in our view, partakes of some of the characteristics of collective behaviour, we may break up migration generating factors into parallel categories as shown in diagram I.

**Diagram I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors generating collective behaviour</th>
<th>Factors generating migration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Structural conduciveness: a permissive factor</td>
<td>Structural conduciveness: institutional factors: individual factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Structural strain</td>
<td>Structural strain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Objective</td>
<td>ii) Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Growth and spread of generalized beliefs making the strain meaningful to potential actors</td>
<td>Generalized belief in migration as an alternative to strain. (migration craze)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Precipitating factors</td>
<td>Precipitating factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Mobilization of participants for action-role of leaders</td>
<td>Mobilization of potential migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Social controls</td>
<td>Social controls</td>
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We shall now proceed to analyze the first stage of migration, the migration inducing stage, in terms of this conceptual framework. The attempt is to show that economic and non-economic variables interpenetrate and act conjointly to cause migration. Viewed in isolation no one single variable can satisfactorily explain migration.
(a) **Structural conduciveness**

Certain permissive factors have to be present in the migrant's 'home' society if migration is to develop as a collective action involving a large number of people. These may be viewed at two levels: the institutional and the individual. At the institutional level there should be absence of certain structural constraints. If migration was the result of a simplistic operation of push and pull factors, most migrants should have been the extremely poor. However, poorest of the poor rarely migrate. This is because they are tied down by certain institutional constraints such as debt bondage, tenurial systems which tie peasants, tenants or labourers to land by rules of non-transference or customary services etc. Migration of peasants will take place only in a society where land has already become a commodity to be bought and sold in the market. Migration of labourers will be possible only if they are non-attached and free-floating. That is why some observers place migration as a precondition for the transition to capitalism, modernisation etc.

At the individual level, the migrant should have the necessary resources to meet the costs, risks and delayed returns associated with migration. These resources may include availability of land which could be sold to
raise capital for migration, sources of credit such as relatives, employers etc., the knowledge of a skill or ability to do manual labour which may be exchanged for the initial capital necessary for migration. Some of the costs/risks include distance, transportation, dislocation from familiar social surroundings etc. Distance between point of origin and point of destination is an important limiting factor in migration. Several empirical studies of rural-urban migration have verified Ravenstein's famous law of migration which states that most migrants tend to move to short distances and that this movement is accompanied by "the universal shifting of the population to the great centres of commerce and industry". Each such current, according to Ravenstein, gives rise to a counter current. First the inhabitants of villages close to the cities move, their place being filled by migrants from remoter areas. The latter statement may be modified by the fact that if roads and communications are well-developed, commuting for work from the peripheral village to the city may be cheaper than shifting of residence. It is also wrong to assume as Ravenstein does that the only destination of migrants are urban areas. For, large-scale migration have been taking place between rural areas themselves or even from urban to rural areas.
Another variable which modifies the distance-migration connection is the concept of "intervening opportunity" developed by Stouffer.\textsuperscript{32} Stouffer states that the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities and also to the number of competing migrants.

The distance-opportunity variables affect different social strata differently. Hose\textsuperscript{33} has shown that higher status persons who seek better opportunities usually move a greater distance to find them than do persons whose skills and aspirations direct them to look for less desirable opportunities. Stu\textsuperscript{34} has shown that managers and professionals migrate longer distances than lower-class migrants.

The distance-opportunity-migration connection has suggested one possible strategy for planners in limiting the flow of rural population to urban areas - develop medium towns and rural areas so as to make them more attractive for migrants than metropolises.

The risk of dislocation from familiar social surroundings and the need to adjust to the changed social environment after migration, makes the existence of a
'tradition of migration', an important facilitating factor of migration. Early migrants provide information and assistance to later migrants.

Other facilitating factors are age, sex, education etc. of individual migrants. It is very often young adult males with at least basic education who predominate among migrants. However these variables may be less important in certain types of migrations like, peasant migration, refugee movement etc.

(b)(i) **Structural strain : objective factors**

**Growth of population**

Rapid expansion of population exerts considerable strains on a rural society. Villages with high man-land ratios, or where the density of population per cultivated area is very high or where the number of persons dependent on agriculture compared to other sectors of the economy has increased drastically are particularly migration-prone. This relationship has been demonstrated empirically in many national contexts.

However, this statement needs some modifications. Migration need not take place in a highly dense area if land is very fertile and productive. On the other hand migration may take place from a sparsely populated area if land is infertile or unsuitable for agricultural use. It is not merely the availability of land but its income generating capacity that matters.
The income generating capacity of land may be augmented by cultivation of cash crops which may reduce migration rates. Goddard showed that the lack of cash cropping opportunities caused migration in Nigeria, though the migration was seasonal. In fact the migrants returned to their farm and family after raising capital through urban seasonal employment and invested in raising cash crops. This type of dependence on outside employment led Zelinsky to place 'circular', short distance migrations at an early stage of modernization.

Cultivation of cash crops involves a certain level of commercialization and monetization of the economy. The producer of cash crops is dependent on and deeply affected by fluctuations in the world market. In a subsistence economy peasants may be unwilling to adopt cash crops because the risks and uncertainties involved in their production and marketing may upset their survival calculations. Poor quality of soil and shortage of capital may be further roadblocks. However, the peasant is not always free to decide whether to adopt cash crops or not. Tenure terms may bind him to the cultivation of cash crops. Once he adopts cash crops, the fluctuations in the market affects him more than the capitalist. For, in cash crop areas, rent and labour are to be paid in cash; food items,
since they are mostly imported, are also to be bought with cash. So the peasant is compelled to dispose off his produce soon after harvesting at prevailing market rates while the capitalist can withhold his stocks in his own warehouses, godowns and processing units till higher prices are offered. In fact the small producer of cash crops has the largest marketed surplus.\(^\text{40}\)

Moreover cash crops have a fixed bearing period, need periodic replantations, involve a long waiting period between planting and yielding, need intensive use of capital on improvement of land, seeds and labour. They are also prone to pests and diseases. Peasant production of cash crops is usually characterized by inefficient technology and labour intensity. Coexisting with a capitalist sector, the peasant may be unable to compete with the latter and forced to migrate in search of fertile, virgin land at cheap rates. This will by and large depend on government encouragement for reclamation of waste land.

Cash crops such as tea, coffee, rubber and cardamom are most efficiently cultivated on large, capital intensive production units called plantations. Plantations in the Third World developed during the colonial period, sustained by European capital. Development of plantations offered large scale employment to unskilled labourers as well as managerial and clerical staff and accelerated population growth. Besides, they encouraged peasant colonization to the forest areas adjacent to the plantations.\(^\text{41}\)

\textbf{Distribution of resources}

A second migratory force inherent in the social structure is the level of inequality in the distribution of resources, particularly land, in rural areas. It has been demonstrated in the Indian village context that migration is positively correlated with the percentage of land operated by the top 10 percent of the households in
the migration prone villages and the share of agricultural labour population to total population. This is closely related to the existence of unfavourable tenure conditions, the rate of surplus value appropriated by the state or by the landlord, the rate of breakdown of the subsistence economy of the peasant in the face of the introduction of capitalist tendencies in agriculture etc. Where semi-feudal conditions exist, as, for example, in Bihar, the landlords have a vested interest in keeping land idle and fallow and the peasants are offered no incentive to extend cultivation. In such areas, seasonal, or semi-permanent migration of peasants as agricultural labourers to other rural areas, or as unskilled workers to industrial/urban areas may take place.

Redistribution of land, abolition of intermediaries, regulation of rent, tenancy conditions, wages and working conditions of labourers etc. may, in some instances, discourage migration from rural areas. At the same time, these measures may encourage migration, if they release tenants and labourers from bondage, convert land into a marketable commodity and offer incentives for the reclamation of wasteland for cultivation.

Breakdown of village autonomy and isolation

The commercialization of agriculture, spread of non-subsistence, monetized economy etc. are indicators
of the breakdown of village autonomy and isolation. Another indicator is the improvement of transport and communications. The rates of migration are likely to increase in proportion to the breakdown of autonomy and isolation.

Connel and Dasgupta have shown that in their Indian village sample, the percentage of village produce sold was the most significant factor in migration. This in no way implies that the high proportion of village produce sold will benefit all sections of the community equally. The integration into the wider economic nexus may give rise to two types of migration. The first is the migration for education, white collar employment, trade, commerce or industry by the surplus earning rich to urban areas. Second is the migration of labourers in search of employment to rural or urban areas and of poor peasants in search of land. In addition it may induce the profit oriented agricultural capitalists to invest in industry, plantations or even engage in land speculation. In the latter case (land speculation) it is in the interest of these 'quasi-migrants' to induce poor peasants to whom they can sell the land they have cheaply acquired and pocket substantial profits.

Technological changes

Technological changes make certain village crafts obsolete and those engaged in them surplus man-power, which in turn may induce migration. In Tamil Nadu, for
example, when pumpsets replaced leather buckets used in irrigation, the cobblers engaged in making the buckets were forced to migrate for alternative employment. However, if technological changes create new opportunities in rural areas, migrants from other rural areas may be attracted to them. Growth of village industries which generate occupational diversity in the village and create additional employment, may discourage migration since it reduces dependence on land. The Connel and Dasgupta study has shown that in the Indian village sample the non-agricultural share of the village work force did not correlate significantly with migration rates.

Migration usually takes place from large sized households. This is because per capita availability of land and other resources is limited in a large household with small holdings. Further, inheritance laws have the effect of subdividing and fragmenting the holdings, and this encourages migration. Larger households are also able to retain some members of the household to manage the family farm while sending out others to earn cash to invest and extend the family farm. In agricultural colonization it is usual for some members of the household to go and acquire land while other members retain the original family farm. If the former are successful, at a later stage the original
farm may be disposed off and the entire household may migrate. If the large households have some members employed or working elsewhere, it would be easier for the rest of the members to join them and adjust to the new environment easily.46)

The type of family organization is another factor which has important bearing on migration. Systems of family organization which prohibit or put various restrictions on the selling or alienation of land, or subdivision of land among the heirs, will restrict migration rates, especially that of agricultural colonization. This is particularly true of the matrilineal, matrilocal joint family system like the tarward system prevalent among the Nairs of Kerala. Some African studies also have confirmed the role of matrilineal, matrilocal joint families as a limiting factor in migration.47 On the other hand, the large matrilineal family may, of course, encourage migration for education or urban employment by providing financial support from the family resources to family members.

Moreover, the large joint families, during the course of their evolution during successive generations, may become unwieldy structures without or with loosely defined bonds of natural affection and kinship. The manager of the family property, who is usually the eldest
male member, may turn out to be an autocrat and may use the family resources primarily for his immediate family (wife and children) and this may generate disaffection and revolt among the other members. This is true, particularly in a system where the wife and children of the manager of property is not a member of this family but belongs to another family as in the non-partible joint families (tarwars) of Nairs of Kerala. The disgruntled junior members may leave the family as a mark of protest and go in search of employment and alternative means of livelihood.

In some societies migration is a necessary ingredient for the maintenance of the social system so much so that positive incentives for migration are ingrained in the system of inheritance of property. For example, among the Basques of Spain only the eldest male issue is permitted to inherit family property and the rest of the members are encouraged to migrate. In the Punjab, younger sons are given education so that they can seek urban jobs, while older sons are deliberately kept off schools so that they would remain back in the village to manage the family farm. In a subsistence oriented Sri Lanka rural society, the fear of farming falling short of subsistence needs in the future impel many farmers to send their younger sons to school in preparation for securing urban jobs.
Marriage migration

Practices associated with marriage such as territorial exogamy, female hypergamy etc result in migration of females. However, as pointed out earlier, all female migration is not marriage migration, since many women also go in for employment and work opportunities. Migration is sometimes caused by sex-imbalances in the population which may have been caused by previous migrations.

Social discrimination

Social groups, which undergo social disabilities in their home villages, may decide to migrate, if they have the resources or connections to finance the initial costs of migration and have, on migration, a chance to lose the oppressive practices associated with their traditional status. This may be called system-avoidance migration. The economic motive is only one, though a very important one, of the motives to migrate. In India the ex-untouchable migrants to towns have exhibited a marked tendency to forego religious observances. The scheduled castes in 'Dalena', a Karnataka village studied by Epstein, were similarly motivated.

(b)(ii) Structural strains : subjective factors

In a rural society both migrants and non-migrants are faced with the same type of life situations, the same set of positive and negative conditions. But only a few
In general we may say that it is the subjective evaluation of the objective conditions that dispose people to migrate. We have already noted that the extremely poor generally do not migrate, either because they do not have the wherewithal to migrate or because they are not able to free themselves from bondage. Neither do the extremely rich migrate: they are too well-entrenched in rural society and have everything to gain by staying on.

The objective existence of oppression or injustice is not a sufficient condition for migration. The peasant will migrate only if he comes to feel that the oppression he is being subjected to is unjust and not inevitable. This presupposes that some reciprocal relationship between his employer/landlord may have been violated. For example, the landlords' demand of rent may have been felt to be excessively high and threatening his traditional level of subsistence. Thus relative deprivation is more important than absolute deprivation.

For a person who is endowed with such relative deprivation, his "sphere of social participation" narrows "with the consequent development of a non-structured, incompletely defined situation resulting in insecurity and anxiety". However, for an exploited person, migration is only one of the alternatives. Another alternative is
revolt against the oppressive system. For the potential migrant revolt appears to have minimal chance of success. In a situation where the solidarity of oppressed is underdeveloped, revolt may not even be perceived to be a possible alternative. On the other hand, the aftermath of an unsuccessful revolt is usually mass migration.55

The motives for migration may also vary from migrant to migrant. A section of the rural rich may migrate to urban areas for education, employment in professions and services, for enjoying urban luxuries or starting commercial or industrial enterprises. The emerging agricultural capitalists may go to other rural areas to bring land under cultivation or plantations or just for speculation in land. In both cases only individuals and not entire families are likely to migrate, and their stakes in rural society are left undisturbed. For the poor, migration may be a device to earn cash wages for family sustenance, or for acquiring cultivable land, or even for escaping traditional social disabilities.

Migration also is dependent on the personality characteristics of individuals. In general migrants as compared to non-migrants are more willing to take risks and make experimentation. For the decision to migrate involves a decision to leave one's familiar social surroundings and reach out into unchartered territory.
It should, however, be remembered that readiness to take risks and experiment is a result of socialization and one's social group and community plays a crucial role in moulding this attitude.

(c) Generalized beliefs

Collective behaviour will be possible when there is the growth, spread and acceptance of certain generalized beliefs and expectations which orient actors to devise potential courses of action to relieve or change the strain they have come to recognize and feel. It is the generalized belief that conditions can be better that dispose them favourably for collective action.

In every migration stream, the early pioneers are usually individual actors. Their success and prosperity has a demonstration effect on their kinsmen, friends and neighbours. Gradually a belief spreads that migration is the way out of all evils. What may be called an irrational 'migration craze' develops, irrespective of whether conditions can actually be improved by migration or not. The rural migrant in the city may find his condition actually more unbearable than previously, but it was his belief that the city was a heaven that induced him to migrate in the first instance. Even when migration results in some economic advantage, it may not represent the optimum utilization of resources and yet migration takes place. Thus it is not advisable to study migration in purely
economic terms. Though such beliefs may operate only at a very general level in the form of rumour, hearsay etc., they exert considerable influence on migratory movements.

(c) Mobilisation

Kinship, caste, territorial (village, linguistic region etc.) and friendship networks play an important part in mobilizing potential migrants. It has already been noted that large families some of whose members have already migrated are likely to have more migrants since the new migrants are able to rely on their kinship for support and sustenance within the new environment. This depends on the strength of kinship solidarity and feedback between the early migrant and his village/family of origin. The early migrant has a vested interest in inducing more migrants from his village of origin, whether kinsmen, castemen, friends or just neighbours, since the latter would provide him a friendship circle in the host society with which he may have developed weak solidarity.

Besides, early migrants "feel involved with, and responsible towards, their home, village and family". To this extent they belong to their original families.
and villages though technically they are not its members. They actually belong to what Epstein\textsuperscript{58} calls a 'share family' where common decisions aimed at the maximization of family's resources are made within a family structure but where individual members may, because of migration, contribute to such an end in geographically separate areas. This pattern of kinsmen and fellow-villagers following the early migrants is usually referred to as 'chain' or 'linked' migration.\textsuperscript{59} Religious, communal or caste based organizations, ethnic groups, political parties, labour recruitment agencies etc. may also act as mobilization agencies. In addition, in agricultural colonization, agents of landlords or government at point of destination, land-speculators from point of origin who have acquired large landed estates at destination etc., may induce potential migrants with various incentives and blandishments.

(e) Precipitating factors

There are certain factors, which precipitate the actual migration of persons who have been contemplating migration or have already half-made up their minds to migrate. These precipitating factors will have no effect on persons who have not considered migration as a potential project. For example, the death of an elder relative, whom it would not have been advisable to take
along, or who has been opposing migration, may allow
a person who has been planning migration to make the
actual move. A petty quarrel which lowered the prestige
of the villager may have a similar effect. The precip-
itating factors vary from individual to individual.

(f) Social controls

Social controls operate both at the point of origin
and at the point of destination. If migration is to take
place it should exist as an acceptable response to
adversity and frustrated aspiration, or the need to raise
economic and social status. We have already noted that
certain family structures do not permit migration. Decision
making may vest with parents or elders who may not approve
of the project. Taboos and restriction on travel may
restrict the rate of migration. The social controls which
operate at destination are regulations with respect to the
immigrants' nationality, ethnicity and racial identity,
their educational and professional qualifications etc.
The integration of earlier migrants of the same ethnic
or cultural background with the host society in large part
determines whether new migrants with the same ethnic/
cultural background would be welcomed. Regulation regarding
acquiring house or residence, land etc. may also act as
social controls. It may be pointed out that during the
colonial era, the migrants in demand were unskilled,
manual labour while the present day international migrants
are highly skilled professional persons. The avenue of inter-national migration is blocked for millions of unskilled rural workers, while brain-drain type of migration is proving a great drag on the resources of the Third World.

To sum up, the discussion on the first stage of migration, we concentrated on contributing to migration by analysing different explanations provided by different approaches. However, the collective behaviour model was demonstrated to be the best approach since it provides for multiple causation in migration and its social rootedness. It enables us to understand migration as a social process in its totality, historicity and cultural specificity. Most of the factors are derived from the social unit of the migrant's original society, the village in our case, and its level of integration into the wider society. Non-village factors help merely to accentuate the propensity to migrate and do not generate them. The traditional explanations of migration such as the push-pull model assume that all the factors in the society of origin are negative and all the factors at destination are positive. They fail to explain why all persons faced with the same set of negative factors do not migrate.

In the collective behaviour model adopted here, any one single determinant taken individually is not sufficient to cause migration. All the necessary factors have to
be combined in a specific way to produce the outcome. As we shall show in the later chapters, our analysis and explanations will be on these lines.

2.3 B. The migratory stage

The process of migration

Upto now we have dealt with factors which place the would-be migrant in an unstructured situation in his 'home' society which causes him anxiety and insecurity. Among the different alternative courses of action he has found migration as the most viable and socially acceptable one. Now comes the stage of decision making, planning, preparing and making the actual move. The student of migration describes the behaviour patterns of migrants at this stage which are again moulded by the social structure of the 'home' society. They also affect the next stage of migration, the adjustment of the migrants in the 'host' society.

The decision to migrate may be taken by the individual migrant himself or by his family or other primary and peer groups. The extent of freedom of choice permitted in decision making can tell us a lot about the character of the given society as well as the dynamics of migration. In several rural societies, the head of the household is the chief decision maker. He may decide which member should migrate, whether the entire family should migrate, etc.
Migration is often undertaken to increase household income rather than individual income.60

Planning and preparation for migration include the actual collection of further information, establishing contacts at point of destination, even exploratory visits, mobilization of resources through savings, credit, disposal off of property etc. Looking for or getting jobs, purchase of land etc. may either precede or follow the actual migratory move.

(Patterns of disposal off of land have important structural consequences for the society of origin in the vacuum created by migrants and subsequent migration from it. For example, land may be purchased by a large landowner, by a person from a different social group etc. Or it may be purchased by a relative, a co-religionist, a poor man etc. If there is a tendency for concentration of land in favour of a different social, occupational or class stratum, than that of a majority of migrants, there will be several consequences. For example the migrant may lose his roots in his 'home' society entirely, and this may shape the nature of his adjustment in the 'host' society. If the migrants' social group loses social and economic power as a result of migration, more members from that group may migrate.)

The actual migratory move involves saying good bye to kinsmen and friends, setting out on the journey, and
reaching point of destination. The actual move may be alone, with family, kinsmen, friends etc. Understanding these subprocesses can give valuable insights into social structural specificities and dynamics of migration. Insight into this stage of migration, then, is essential to understand migration as a part of social and cultural life of the people.

2.4 C. Adjustment stage

Problems of adjustment and assimilation

(A person who leaves his familiar social surroundings and enters a strange one has to adapt his behavioural patterns and cultural values to those of the 'host' system. And the most dissimilar the value systems, the customs and traditions of the 'host' system and the 'guest' system the more difficult the adaptation will be. This dilemma of the migrant is due to two types of needs faced by him. Firstly, the 'host' group has to accept him or as Eisenstadt says, 'the immigrant's' role has to be institutionalized or legitimized'. Secondly, the migrant has to look for new primary group solidarities.)

Successful adaptation will result in varying degrees of assimilation, ranging from partial to complete assimilation between the host system and the guest system. Who adopts whose values, of course, will depend on who are the
most powerful - in terms of numerical strength, economic power, social prestige, presumed cultural superiority etc. If the 'guests' are more powerful the 'hosts' will be compelled to adapt their behaviour in varying degrees to the guests and vice versa. But what are the factors which determine the nature of adaptation of the individual migrant or group to the host society? When will successful assimilation take place? What are the different stages of adaptation and assimilation? In this section we shall attempt to answer these questions.

There is a convergence of opinion in the literature on adjustment on at least three factors which determine levels of adaptation and assimilation. The first is that an individual immigrants' adjustment depends partly on personal and social background, on the motives for emigration and expectations of the new land, on customs and values of the migrant group and the nature of family, village, regional and religious origins of migrants and their similarity or dissimilarity with the 'host' society. Studies by Eisenstadt, Patterson, Appleyard, Taylor etc support this proposition.

Secondly, the assimilation of immigrants is much influenced by their numerical strength, assimilation tending to become slower and more difficult as the number of migrants from the same social background becomes large. For, this has the effect of making the immigrants ghettos-
...minded, as well as making them more visible to the local population who perceive them as competitors for scarce resources like employment, housing etc. However in the initial stages, the presence of fellow-migrants will enable the new-comer to adjust in the new environment by ensuring physical and moral support and assistance.

Thirdly, adjustment very largely depends on the nature of the economic, political, social and psychological characteristics of the receiving society or the 'host' system.

The three propositions stated above take into account both the group and the personality determinants of assimilation. The group point of reference and the social function of primary and secondary groups in assimilation has been assuming importance in recent research. As Zubrzycki stated, a systematic examination of "the true unit of ethnic relations, namely, the membership of primary groups is necessary to understand an immigrant's position in the larger groups of society as his behaviour and status in the factory, neighbourhood or political associations depend on the example and opinions of individuals with whom he has primary group relationships."

The primary group of the immigrant may be based on ethnic, religious, linguistic, caste or other particularistic considerations. The importance of ethnic groups in assimil-
lation has been a recurrent theme in current literature. Milton Gordon\(^6\) for example, has developed the concept of "eth-classes" (ethnic subgroups) which are differentiated by regional residence, rural-urban residence, social class and ethnic group.

While stressing the group aspect of assimilation it should not be forgotten that the migrant group is not necessarily homogeneous. There are two possibilities. The migrant group (ethnic, cultural or linguistic) may be integrated as a single group through which members conduct many of their relations with the 'host' society. Or it may be less an integrated group than a collection of individuals, families or ethnic groups. If the latter is the case, "the extent of social contact with the host society depends on the number of tightly knit sub groups compared with the number of individual persons or families, the latter assimilating more quickly".\(^6\)

Assimilation may be measured by entry of the immigrant group into the primary groups of the host society. With reference to the integrated ethnic group and the closely-knit sub group it may be stated that their assimilation depends on "the nature of the group's internal links, and on the success the smaller group has in preventing intermixture by fostering continuous immigration or close relationship with like-minded groups elsewhere in the country of settlement".\(^6\)
One crucial factor which affects the adjustment and assimilation of the immigrant group and the host group is the extent of prejudice and discrimination existing between the two groups. Historical studies demonstrate the evolution of prejudice and discrimination against one group of immigrants rather than another and the hardening of this into fixed attitudes and patterns of behaviour, though they fail to explain the reasons for such evolution. Socio-economic and cultural explanations range from theories of exploitation and direct conflict to theories of social structure and function.

Stages of Assimilation

Assimilation of the immigrant group with the host group is very slow and rarely complete. What are the stages through which assimilation passes? The "race-relation cycle" as propounded by Park and Burgess pass through a cycle of five stages.

1. Contact: it is usually peaceful and exploratory
2. Competition: for scarce jobs and resources
3. Conflict: it is the result of competition and may lead to riots, discrimination etc.
4. Accomodation: a modus vivendi sometimes based on the withdrawal of one group into unspecified occupations not sought after by the other group, a separate area of inferior status.
5. Assimilation: progressive intermixture and inter-marriage until the two groups merge into one; ethnic groups lose their identity and persons become 'invisible' as distinct ethnics.
The passage from contact to assimilation is termed the 'race-relations cycle'. The cycle is not inevitable and irreversible; regression of the cycle is possible. For instance, outbreaks of race conflict may follow a steady period of accommodation. Complete assimilation is not considered as a necessary outcome.

Park and Burgess have been criticized for ignoring another possibility, namely, the elimination of the less powerful ethnic groups. Another objection to the theory of the cycle is that the term accommodation and assimilation are too wide, concealing the fact that there may be complete assimilation in some things (dress, religion and language), accommodation in other things (economic life and family customs) and conflict in others (housing or education).

Another possible criticism is that the cycle, though attractively simple, fails to fit all the facts it claims to explain. The first contact may not be peaceful or even competitive, but may assume the form of direct conflict. Thus there is need to pay more attention to uneven assimilation.

Another attempt to delineate the different types and stages of assimilation is the theory of Milton Gordon. Gordon's stages of assimilation are set forth in diagram II.
**DIAGRAM II**

**STAGES OF ASSIMILATION (MILTON GORDON)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-process or conditions</th>
<th>Type or stage of assimilation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Adaptation of cultural patterns</td>
<td>Cultural or behavioural assimilation (acculturation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to those of host society</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Large-scale entrance into host society's primary groups</td>
<td>Structural assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cliques, clubs etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Large-scale inter-marriage</td>
<td>Marital assimilation (amalgamation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Development of the sense of peoplehood based on host society</td>
<td>Identificational assimilation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Absence of prejudice</td>
<td>Attitude receptiveal assimilation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Absence of value or power conflict.</td>
<td>Civic assimilation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distinction between 'intrinsic' cultural traits (religion, ethics, folk-music, language, literature and other things deriving from the central core of the ethnical-cultural heritage) and the 'extrinsic' cultural traits (dress, manners, pronunciation and other things deriving from adjustment to the environment and therefore extrinsic to the core of the groups' central values) is central to Gordon's theory of assimilation.
According to Gordon, the first stage of adaptation of an immigrant group to the 'host' group is acculturation or the adaptation of cultural patterns of the host group. The 'extrinsic' cultural traits are more easily amenable to adaptation than the 'intrinsic' traits. Acculturation can exist even in the absence of other types of assimilation and this condition of 'acculturation only' may continue indefinitely. The most crucial stage is structural assimilation or the large scale entrance into host society's primary groups. Once this stage has been achieved all other stages will follow automatically as a matter of course.

The great merit of Gordon's theory is that it assigns a central place to primary group assimilation. However, by positing a strict temporal sequence, it is unable to take into account uneven assimilation and even regression. It is possible that discrimination may disappear even without primary group assimilation. Disappearance of discrimination may facilitate intermarriage which in turn may speed entry into primary groups. Moreover, while giving primacy to cultural assimilation, it is silent about the fact that the scramble for scarce resources such as employment, housing etc. by the immigrant group may make it highly visible and harden attitudes and prejudices of the host group thereby making even cultural assimilation difficult. The delineation of what are intrinsic and extrinsic cultural traits is also
problematic, for, some cultural groups may view such things as dress or speech as central to their value system. It is also wrong to assume that both the 'host' and 'guest' groups are homogeneous entities. In fact, both groups may be divided along caste, religious or political lines and it is also possible that some caste, religious or political groupings in the host and guest groups are akin to each other. In such a situation it is possible that the kindred groups in the two groups may adapt to each other more easily.

The need to integrate the socio-cultural, political, economic and psychological aspects of assimilation into an inter disciplinary framework is keenly felt today. The earlier approaches are now being viewed as too narrow, being oriented to the immigrant group and not to the social situation into which the migrant moves. It would be much more profitable to study social stratification in urban and rural communities in general rather than being restricted to the migrant person or groups only. In this perspective the migrant is only one element in the whole system. 72

Most studies on assimilation are concerned with the adaptation of rural migrants or ethnic groups in the urban setting. The problems of adaptation of peasant migrants in rural areas are paid scant attention. Here the key is likely to be the land tenure system and the problems connected with acquisition and disposal off of land. There is need to pay
more attention to problems of adaptation of rural migrants in rural areas.

To conclude, we divided migration into three broad stages and examined the subprocesses involved in each stage. What emerges from the discussion is the collective aspect of migration at all the three stages. In the remaining chapter we propose to unravel this collective aspect by studying peasant migration in Kerala. The next chapter provides the necessary background to study migration within the context of social structure and change in Kerala society.
Notes and References


8. Roy Burman, op.cit. p.XXXV.


14. ibid. p.29

15. Studies confirming Todaro's hypothesis are:

   The following studies contradict the Todaro hypothesis.


19. ibid., p.16.


26. ibid. p.15.

27. John Stone used a similar classification to study British Immigrants in South Africa. For him structural conduciveness is limited to the availability of physical and financial means. Structural strain is equated to "incentive" which may be negative or positive, subjective or objective. See John Stone, op.cit. p.15.

See also Joseph Viruthiyel, Internal Migration in India: with special reference to the In-migration of Peasants from Central Travancore to Malabar, unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1975, p.12-15.

28. Connel, Dasgupta et.al., op.cit. p.18.


30. Connel, Dasgupta et.al., op.cit. p.73.


32. S.A. Stouffer, 1940, op.cit., p.346.


37. R. I. Rochin, "Inter-relationships between Farm Environment, Off-farm Migration and Rates of Adoption: Dwarf Wheats on irrigated Small-holdings in Pakistan", Workshop on Empirical studies of Small Farm Agriculture in Developing Nations, Purdue University, Indiana, Nov. 1972, p. 11.


42. Connel, Dasgupta et al., op. cit., p. 11.

43. ibid., p. 16.

44. T. S. Yashvant, 'Rural Migration - a case study of four Ramanathapuram Villages'. Agricultural Situation in India, 17(6) 1962.

45. Connel, Dasgupta et al., op. cit., p. 167. In low-migration villages the percentage of village produce sold was only 39.34 while in high-migration villages it was 50.15.

46. Pathare et al. found that the mean size of migrant households in a Maharashtrian factory was 8.22. See P. A. Pathare et al; 'Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Labourers at a Cooperative Sugar Factory in Maharashtra'. Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, 27(4) 1972, p. 237.


50. The 1971 ILO Employment Mission was told by several Sri Lanka farmers that younger sons were sent to the town for education, and hopefully, urban jobs, "when the land ran out". See Connel, Das Gupta et.al. *op.cit.*., p.46.


56. The term 'migration craze' is used by W. Petersen, *op.cit.*, p.256-65.


59. Migration is 'linked' in the sense that the decision to migrate is taken in the context of family needs either as a form of risk-spreading or to create surplus for rural investment. In such a situation the migrant has well-defined obligation to his kin back in the village such as sending remittances, helping other kin to migrate etc. In the latter case, 'chain' migration develops. See Connel, Das Gupta et.al., *op.cit.* p.24-25, 91, 203.

62. For example see works cited above of Eisenstadt, Appleyard, Taylor etc., see also S.Patterson, *Immigrants in Industry*, Oxford University Press, London: 1968.
67. ibid., p.192
71. Milton Gordon p.75.
