Chapter 1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF MIGRATION AND CONFLICT
1. Introduction

Migrants irrespective of internal or external conditions move either to improve their standard of living, or to escape from poverty, conflict and famine or socio-political persecution or environmental disaster. Several push and pull factors revolves around for migration of 214 million people in the world constituting 3.1 percent of the world’s total population. This large scale migration has its various positive and negative impacts in the sending or destination country. The impact of migration felt positive when it contributes for development in terms of remittances in the sending and also population adjustment – stability and economic growth in the receiving country. However, it also has serious negative implications in the host country when migrants involves in conflict with the native population for controlling resources. The large-scale migration can cause demographic changes, environmental degradation, social and political distortions and finally the conflict. This chapter seeks to analyses the conceptual framework of migration and its various components. The recent trend of International migration, reasons for occurrence, the various push and pull factors and its impact are discussed in greater detail. A conceptual section related human trafficking is also been analysed in the discussion as migration may in or other form leads to human trafficking. Several theories related to International migration have been also analysed so as to understand the case study. The theoretical model of illegal migration and also the migration under bilateral agreement is discussed. The role of remittances in the destination country is also analysed as part of the migration-development discussion. An analysis of how migration leads to conflict is dealt in greater details. Theoretical understanding related to the case study is also analysed at the end of the chapter. Both primary and secondary sources have been used to analyse it. The primary sources include several reports of the UN, IOM and reports of the world organisations. The secondary sources include the books and articles related to the topic and the case study.

1. II Migration and Its Trends

Migration has been an intrinsic component of human behaviour and a natural process. The migration of population first occurred with the movement of Homo erectus out of Africa across Eurasia about a million years ago. The Homo sapiens appear to have
colonized whole Africa about 150,000 years ago, moved out of it 70,000 years ago, and had spread across Australia, Asia and Europe by 40,000 years ago. Today, migration is a continuing process that occurs within a country's national boundary or across the international borders. Migration whether in response to political or economic, spontaneous or coerced imperatives involves entire nation or groups or selected groups within them (Portes 1978: 1-2; Bodvarsson & Berg 2009: 11-12). Traditionally, migration signifies population movement across places on a temporary or permanent basis in search of better livelihood, greener pasture, to avoid threat to life, sometimes over long or short distance, at large or small number. Migration is commonly defined as the movement of population who crosses jurisdictional boundaries of a particular state or a country for the purpose of establishing a new or semi permanent livelihood (Encyclopaedia 2007 & National Geographic Expeditions 2005).

Migration is complex and multifaceted. Generally, migration means a group of people rather than individuals who involve in a permanent change of residence. It is considered as a concerning global issue in the twenty-first century as millions of people migrating than at any other point in the human history. The UN population division estimated a total number of migrants which stands somewhere between 185 million to 192 million migrants by the year 2005, extrapolating the growth of the known migrant stocks for the period 1990–2000 (IOM 2005: 13). The Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) (2005: 83) views, “the number of international migrants has increased from 75 million to 200 million in the past 30 years and migrants are found in every part of the world.”

The UNDP (2009a: 2), “there are 200 million international migrants in the world in 2008. A large number of people are moving in search of higher incomes, better access to education and health, and improved prospects for their children.” The United Nations Population Division has estimated the presence of 213943812 (214 million) people as international migrants at the mid year (1 July) of 2010 (UNPD 2009). The World Migration Report (IOM 2008: 32) reveals that 49.6 percent of the total migrants are women with only slightly more living in developed than in the developing countries and more women are migrants than men in every region of the world except Africa and Asia.
Thus, it means that during 2005, about 192 million people are living outside their places of origin and one of every thirty-five persons in the world were migrants (Lundias et. al. IFAD 2008: 9). By conjecturing from the above discussion, it can be observed that about 214 million people are living outside their places of origin and one out of every 33 persons in the world today is a migrant (IOM 2010: 115).

All 190 countries or the sovereign states of the world are now either points of origin, transit or destination for migrants; often all three at once. Zlotnik (1998: 426-429) has estimated the growth rate of migration during the period 1965-1990 (from 75 million to 120 million) at 1.9 percent per year, slightly above the rate of 1.8 percent per annum at which the total population of the world grown during the same period. Meanwhile, the annual growth rate of global migration has increased from 1.2 percent in 1965-1975 to 3 percent in early 2000 (Abella 2002: 1-2). However, during the year 2000, the annual migration growth rate was about 2.9 per cent increased to 3.0 percent by 2005. The movement of labour migration is most dominant among all kinds of migration which accounts for almost 80 percent of the total migrant population in the world. The increased employment opportunities in the global market and the growth of transportation and communication system made migration easy (Siddique 2005a: 1-2).

The United Nations Population Division Report on International Migration Stock, Wall Chart (2009), estimated that the international migrant represents 3.1 percent of the total world population by 1 July, 2010. The estimate also shows the total numbers of migrants in Europe at about 69.8 million, Asia - 61.3 million and North America - 50 million. However, the total number of migrants in Europe - 56.1 million, Asia - 49.7 million and North America - 40.8 million were reported in 2000 (IOM 2005: 381). Thus, an increase of 13.7 million in Europe, 11.6 million in Asia, 9.2 million in North America were reported during 2000-2010. Meanwhile, the percentage of migrants of the total world population has remained relatively stable. It increased by only 0.2 per cent (from 2.9 to 3.1 percent) during the same period. An increase of 1.6 percent of total women migrants is also observed in the last decade (from 48 percent in 2000 to 49.6 percent in 2010) (UNPD 2009).
Migration has become an essential and inevitable component of the socio-economic life, and if managed properly, it can be beneficial for the individual, societies and the state. The expansion in scale and scope of migration seems to rise in future due to growing developmental, demographic differences that persist between different parts of the world. The economist Galbraith stated migration as “the oldest action against poverty” (Galbraith 1979: 7). Migration may be the exception rather than the rule, but it is increasing. It is already very important – in terms of economics and politics, domestically and internationally – because of the links it establishes between countries (Massey 1993: 431-432).

The trend of economic liberalization and agents of globalization has changed the world and migration has become all way easier. Migration is also closely related to a number of other globalization processes. The growth of free trade and foreign investment has changed or rather made the international boundary irrelevant and maintain the flow of migrants. The high demands of labourers - skilled, semi-skilled or highly skilled, in the developed economies also encouraged migration. The availability of labourers in the underdeveloped/developing countries has set global labour migration and millions of people are moving from developing to developed countries for greener pastures. Sassen (1988) observes, “The globalization of trade, finance, and production, and the general trend toward greater global economic integration contributed for emergence of new and more mobile pools of labour, while creating stronger ties and networks among advanced industrial and developing economies that provide new avenues and opportunities for migration.” Kritz (1992) views that these economic processes are reinforced by cheaper and more accessible forms of transportation and communication technologies, as well as an emerging global infrastructure of services, that link national economies and under gird the formation of international migration networks (Adamson 2006: 168-169).

The prevalent of demographic imbalances between the developing and the developed countries are also generating migrants. Presently, the annual population growth in the developed countries is less than 0.3 percent, while in the developing countries it is almost six times higher. These demographic changes are affecting international migration in two particular ways. Firstly, one rapid population growth combined with economic
difficulties push people to move out of their place of origin and secondly, the countries with increasing ageing population continue to accept migrants. The presence of migration network in/from specific regions has also been playing a crucial role in enhancing population movement (IOM 2005: 13-15).

Table 1.1
International Migrants, 1965–2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>International Migration in Stock (In Million)</th>
<th>Percentage of Total World Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-till 1 July</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1. III__Why People Migrate?

People generally migrate in search of better opportunities, when their needs are not adequately fulfilled in their place of origin. The migrant may have varying degrees of choice where to move and the decision may be somewhat either voluntary or involuntary. Clearly, individuals migrate for a number of reasons, sometimes the desire to escape oppression or famine, alienation of wealth, family reunification etc. also counts (Castles 2000: 270-71).

Moreover other factors also contribute for migration in different contexts and situations; invasion, conquest, and displacement due to armed conflict, natural disaster, mercantile outreach, colonial settlement, and even slavery etc. The familiar understanding of migration today refers to the movement of individuals/families/groups usually for economic, environmental, socio-political slowness or destructions. In its generic term
migration often refers to permanent relocations of population. The evidences of early mass migrations was found virtually all over the world and it is said that both North and South America received migrants from Asia through several successive waves via a land bridge across the Bering Strait. Early myths and legends of the world discusses the push factors (e.g. natural disasters) that led them to leave their places of origin, or the pull factors (e.g. the lure of adventure) that beckoned them on (Gorter et. al. 1998: 95-96 & 110-112).

The 1998 UN recommendations on Statistics of International Migration defines an international migrant as, ‘a person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence’ (UN 1998: 18). The nature of the duration measure — whether it is the expected duration of stay, the duration of the permit granted upon entry or the actual duration of stay in the host country — is not specified. The one-year duration threshold recommended by the UN seems to be a pragmatic one (UN 1998: 17-18). Malthus defined migration as an inevitable consequence of over population. Malthus (1963: 4-5) viewed, "migration takes place only when the growth of population occurs in geometrical proportion but the resources increases only in arithmetic proportion." Lee defines migration as a permanent or semi permanent changes of residence without putting any restrictions on distances a migrant moves or the voluntary or involuntary, internal or external nature of the act. He stresses on various factors affecting migration in terms of the positive/negative characteristics in the place of origin and destination. He views that migration triggers from one place to another when migrants sees some added advantages in the destination area. According to him, there have to be some positive factors that hold people within the area or pull others into it and some negative forces that repel or push people from that area (Lee 1966: 47-50). Lee’s model of migration is more non-economic and widely popular in migration studies but lack practical policy guidance for decision making in developing nations.

Ravenstein (1889: 241-305) views migration through his well known analysis of Laws of Migration, that is based on the patterns of migration in Great Britain and United States. He views, "people migrate due to economic reasons and migrants travel short distance for
the purpose of accelerating their income. On the other hand, people who travel long
distance belongs to the agricultural areas for which they prefer to migrate into the
industrial/commercial areas for better earning and livelihood. The volume of migration
increases with the development of industry and commerce as well as improvement of
transport.” (Corbett 2001 & Ravenstein 1889: 286-288). Ravenstein proposed following
explanations or Laws of Migration during the time of 1834 to 1913: -

i) Most migrants travel short distances, but the number of migrants decreases
when the distance of migration destination increases. This law is based upon
the assumptions that the higher travel costs and a lack of knowledge of more
distant places acts against large volumes of migration.

ii) Migration occurs in stages and in wave-like motion. According to him,
migration occurs in steps with people gradually moving up the settlement
hierarchy, e.g. from rural areas to villages, to towns, to cities and finally the
capital city.

iii) Migration increases in volume as industries, development of business, and
improvement in the transport system. However, the major direction of
movement is from agricultural areas to urban centres of industry and
commerce.

iv) Most Migrants are adults. Families rarely migrate out of their country of birth
or place of origin.

v) Women are more migratory (than men) in nature but they migrate within their
country of birth but men more frequently venture beyond it.

vi) Urban dwellers are less likely to move than their rural counterparts (Corbett

1. IV_Factors Triggering Migration

There are four factors which an individual enter into decision to migrate and the process
of migration. These factors are associated with the area of origin, destination, intervening
obstacles and personal factors. There are differences between the factors associated with
the area of origin and destination. A person living in an area has long-term acquaintance
and hence can make unhurried judgements as migrants having knowledge of that area. However, uncertainty and ignorance prevails regarding the reception of a migrant in the destination. Between every two points there stands a set of intervening obstacles that might be minimal in some instances and insurmountable in others. These obstacles are distance, cost of travelling and strict presence of migration laws that may restrict the movement. Finally, the personal factors play an important role in individual’s thresholds or facilitation or retard migration. Personal factors more or less constant throughout life for an individual but it may change with stages of life cycle for another individual (Lee 1966: 50-52). The various and push factors of migration are discussed under the following heading.

1. IV.i_Push Factors

Several factors can be attributed for triggering migration across places. There are two forces that typically differentiate the push-pull. Firstly, population growth causing a Malthusian pressure on natural resources triggering out migration. Secondly, economic conditions (higher wages) luring people into cities and industrialized countries (Skeldon 1997: 20; Portes & Borocz 1989: 607). Migrants responding to push factors are leaving a place where life is a struggle and insecure. The advantages and disadvantages of staying versus moving, factors such as distance, travel costs, travel time, modes of transportation, terrain, and cultural barriers etc. also influence factors of migration. The various push factors may be the difficulties in the place of residence, such as the food shortage, war, flood, communal, political, environmental etc. The pull factors may be the better economic facilities, income, good opportunities, better standard of livelihood etc. Thus, these factors may influence people in their movements, sometimes within the region or outside of it. Broadly, the push factors includes, environmental factors, (e.g. climate, natural disasters) Political factors (war), Economic factors-work related and the cultural factors (religious freedom, education) (Todaro 1969: 138-143). The most evident grounds of migration specially are the existence of disparities in the level of income, employment and other social well being irrespective of the areas of origin. People also migrate to escape political or religious persecution. Lee explains that push factors generally exist in
the sending countries that comprise existence of perennial unemployment problem, lack of farmland, famine, or war or the state repression at home (Lee 1966: 49-50).

1. IV.i.a_Economic and Demographic Factors

International migration occurs from developing country to developed/rich nations due to inadequate development, lower standard of living, economic instability, low agricultural production and income, lack of opportunities for advancement, lack of basic health and education, low wages, poverty, prevalence of unemployment and underemployment etc. (Kainth 2009: 84). Migration stems from the developing countries due to slow pace of economic development or economic underdevelopment or existence large scale of poverty. The social and economic transformations that occur during the process of development create a highly uncertain and unpredictable economic environment and to avoid such risks individuals/families migrate to foreign labour for better income (Massey 1988: 383-388). The Great Depression (1929–1939) in the United States encouraged most residents to leave (Lee 1966: 53-56). The demographic factors such as high population growth, high fertility rates, high density of population, increased land-man ratio are pushing people to migrate (House of Commons International Development Committee 2004: 2-3). The above factor are very much prevalent in most of the South Asian countries forcing people to migrate. India being the largest and economically strong is the destination of migrants the neighbouring countries. However, India is also a major migrant sending country (IOM 2005: 104).

1. IV.i.b_Environmental Factors

People may migrate due environmental destruction or degradation which increasingly causes population displacements. Deteriorating environmental conditions such as deforestation, global warming, and resource pollution compel people to move to safer place. Suhrke (1993: 6-8) views, “environmental problems may be a more immediate cause of migration. For example; the factors such as the population pressures and patterns of resource exploitation.” He provides Haiti as an example, where population growth and a political economy characterized by systematic oppression, inequality and gross corruption have led to deforestation and consequent soil erosion. This leads to significant
migration from the country. Richmond & Verma (1978: 25-36) views, "when environmental degradation leads to migration, it is primarily as a proximate cause linked to questions of economic growth, poverty, population pressure, and political conflict." Mayer estimated that about five million people are environmentally displaced, compared to twenty-three million displaced by civil war and persecution. He further viewed that the number of environmentally displaced persons would be 150 million by 2050 (Mayer 1997: 167-182).

Natural disaster along with the other environmental problems displaces millions of people resulting in long-term damage and destruction to their places of origin (Bailey 2008: 15). It has become a major push for distress migrants in Bangladesh to leave their homes and to migrate internally or externally – more to India. Environmental hazards such as flood, river bank erosion, cyclone and storms displace millions of people and livelihood in Bangladesh. Cyclone SIDR in Bangladesh since 1991 took a toll of more than 140,000 people and damaging billions of dollars of properties (MFDM 2008: 1-3).
1. IV.i.c Political Factors

The political conflict, civil strife, instability, insecurity situation, violence, poor governance, and human rights abuses have been a major push factor of population movement. In the 1980s and 1990s, millions of Africans were pushed out of their homelands to the neighbouring countries because of famine and civil war (Craig 1977: 178-189). A number of African countries have experienced severe civil or political strife and instability in the last 20-25 years. The countries like, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Burundi, Rwanda, Morocco, Algeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia etc. The citizens of these countries have either migrated abroad or to the neighbouring countries to escape such civil/political strife (Dzvimbo 2003: 1-2).

1. IV.i.d Socio-Cultural Factor

The social and cultural (discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender or caste) factors also plays crucial role in migration. Sometimes family conflicts, the quest for independence also causes migration especially of those in the younger generation. Improved communication facilities, such as transportation, communication, the urban oriented education and resultant change in attitudes and values also promote migration (Kainth 2009: 86).

1. IV.ii Pull Factors

The push factors refer to the negative aspects of the sending country, while the pull factors are positive aspects of the receiving country indicating these differentiating factors are the two sides of the same coin. In terms of pull factors, perceived economic opportunities, possibility of employment, better standards of living, greater opportunities for personal and professional development and family reunification are considered. The journey of the migrants for such factros may take them to a nearby town/capital/city or to a neighbouring country (FMOENCN 2002: 2-3).

There is generally a city ward migration due to the rapid industrialisation and technological advancements. Under the capitalistic model of development, there is a
tendency for higher investments in the urban areas that trigger people to move for better paid jobs. The increase in migration of people from India and from other developing countries to UK, USA, Canada and Middle East is due to better employment opportunities, higher wages and other opportunities. Thus, pull factors operate in all cases of rural-urban, domestic and international migration (Kainth 2009: 85). The expanding markets, labour shortfalls and ageing population in the more industrialised countries like Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and also the continuing need for workers in the Gulf countries are encouraging people to migrate (IOM 2005: 104).

1. IV.ii.a Higher Wages/Employment Opportunities/Better Standard of Living

People leave their places or a country to a more developed one in search of better salary and wages. For e.g. Mexicans migration towards US, Colombians or Venezuelans migration to Netherlands, Antilleans moving to the Netherlands. People migrate when there exists a wage gap between origin country and the country of destination. The wage gap between American and Mexican workers has changed dramatically since the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994. U.S. wages are in fact an estimated 13 times higher than that of Mexican wages (TriasWiki 2010).

1. IV.ii.b Labour Demand

Most of the developed and developing countries are in need of workers. The developed economies generate jobs and sometimes native people do not prefer to engage in such jobs due to pride which leads to labour crisis. Basically, the people of neighbouring countries may prefer to work or take up these jobs. For, example, Ireland had seen a surge of migration because its economy prospered during the 1990s. The country which usually sends much of its population in the last two centuries has started to receive migrants looking for jobs. This has caused many conflicts between the natives and the migrants who came to Ireland. When the refinery Lago opened in Aruba in 1947, they did not have enough of people to work and also the required knowledge to take up certain tasks. Thus, Lago hired workers from the US, Barbados, Saint Croix, Trinidad and Tobago, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (TriasWiki 2010).
1. IV.ii.c Family Migration

Family reunification is the most motivating non-economic factor for migration. When migrants settled down in the destination country they wanted their families and children to join them. Even the family (of the migrants) like, parents, brothers, sisters want to join them. Asian migrants to the traditional migration destinations for employment and family unification has turned Asian countries a major source of migrants in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the US. After the end of the Vietnam in 1975, a million Southeast Asian migrants settled down in Canada and United States created new migration networks that continued to add migrants through family unification (Martin 2009: 4-5).

Though migration is an economic phenomenon, other non-economic factors also have some bearing. It is viewed that migrants leave their area of origin due to dearth of employment opportunities and migrates for finding better opportunities. Migration can no longer be viewed as simply a question of individual choice; though this may still have some bearing on selections in a migrant population. The massive movements taking place today within and across national boundaries are due to major structural transformation in the economies of developed and third world countries (Safa & Tait 1975: 1). Population movement which is conventionally seen as being voluntary occurs in situations which in fact the migrants have little or no choice. The individual choice of migration has little bearing in response to natural calamity or disaster – floods, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, tsunami etc. (Hugo 2008: 11, 15).

Amin (1974: 100) in his discussion of migration in Western Africa viewed, “A comparative costs and benefits analysis, conducted at the individual level of the migrant, has no significance. In fact it only gives the appearance of objective rationality to a ‘choice’ (that of the migrant) which in reality does not exist because, in a given system, he has no alternatives” (Hugo 2008: 19). For Example, the Asian Tsunami of 26 December, 2004 occurred across 12 Asian and African countries surrounding the Indian Ocean killing 298055 people and left 5 million people displaced is the example of natural calamities where people have no choice but to migrate forcefully (UNHCR 2006: 21). In Sri Lanka, 450000 were forced to move in the aftermath of the Tsunami. In the province
of Aceh of Indonesia, there were 533000 IDPs by the end of 2004. Thus, the people were forced to moved to other locations within the region over a shorter or a longer distances (Hugo 2008: 21). The impact of hurricane Katrina on New Orleans is another example of disaster induced migration. New Orleans is a city built on a coast susceptible to hurricanes, and susceptible to flooding from the Mississippi River, defended only by humanly engineered levees and ripe for a major environmental catastrophe. It is a classic case of the increased impact of natural events because of the growth in populations in locations, which are vulnerable to sudden and acute natural events (Clark 2007: 8-9).

Again, there are number of life cycle considerations—such as marriage, divorce, completion of schooling, entry into the labour force, start of career, birth and ageing of children and retirement— are critical in an individuals or a family’s decision to migrate. Other personal circumstances include employment status, earnings, education, accumulated skills, age, sex and health. Studies of the determinants of migration have commonly been formulated in the context of individual utility maximization, although in recent years increasing emphasis has been placed on the family or the household as the decision making unit. Individual’s personal characteristics including accumulated job skills and language learnt also triggers migration (Greenwood 1985: 527-528). Migration therefore could be interpreted as a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

1. V. Impact of Migration

Migration has both positive and negative impact on the economy, politics, security and demography of a country of destination. It is viewed that the impact of migrants and migration vary significantly depending on factors including the characteristics of migrants, employment conditions, their geographical location etc. in the host country.Migration is also viewed as a strategy of population stability or growth in many Western countries (Meyers 2000: 1245-49).

1. V.i Economic Impact

The economic impact in the destination is positive when migrants willing to take low-wage jobs, the high levels of ambition that many migrants demonstrate, and the flexibility
that comes from having a regular supply of labour. It is negative when there exists high levels of unemployment and negative effects of competition. The basic fears expressed in the destination countries are that the migrants will take away jobs from the natives. This concern is especially evident in many European countries, where unemployment levels are relatively high and the proportion of long-term unemployed among the unemployed relatively large. In reality, however, this appears to be rarely the case. That is because in most countries in the world migrants are admitted to fill gaps in the local labour market. These can be skills gaps which the local training and education system has been unable to fill, or low-status jobs that locals are unwilling to do. Migrant workers are rarely encouraged to enter situations to compete directly with local workers in destination (Koser 2007: 90-98).

Several episodes in recent history provide interesting precedents for assessing the economic impacts of migration. In 1962, 0.9 million people of European origin living in Algeria moved to France, increasing the French labour force by 1.6 percent. It was found that at most the impact was to reduce wages in the regions where they settled by 0.8 percent and raise the unemployment rate by 0.2 percentages. In 1980 around 0.12 million Cubans entered Miami, increasing the labour force by 7 per cent. When the impact of their migration on resident unskilled labour from different ethnicities was assessed, only the Cubans appeared to have been negatively affected (UNDESA 2004: Overview: xiii).

1. V.ii Political Impact

There are at least two ways that migration can impact on politics and political systems in the destination country. First, the migrants and their descendants may demand for political participation and representations in the political system. Secondly, the migrants may form ethnic vote blocs among citizens of migrant origins for a political party. However, if the local people in the destination make objection or show opposition of such political participation of the migrant community may lead to fierce unrest. During 1970s and 1980s, the migrants in France, Belgium and Netherlands, tended to mobilize the normal channels of political representation outside by involving in industrial strikes, protest movements and hunger strikes etc. An increasing number of European countries,
such as, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway, Netherlands and Sweden, have granted certain political rights to migrants, including that of voting and standing for office in local (but not national) elections on condition that they have resided there for a minimum period. The formation of ethnic Soviet Jews in Israel, who comprise about 15 percent of the Israeli electorate decisively, affected the outcomes of every general election since 1992 (Koser 2007: 99-100).

1. V.iii_Security Impact

International migrations today pose important challenges and have serious security implications in the receiving country. Perhaps the most talked about is the linkages between migration and security. Especially after 9/11 attack on USA, there has been a perception of a close association between international migration and terrorism. The irregular migration appears to be increasing in the world, which is sometimes regarded as a threat to national sovereignty and public security. The fear among the host communities – that societies have become increasingly apprehensive about the presence of migrants, especially those with unfamiliar cultures that come from parts of the world associated with extremism and violence (Koser 2007: 11). The irregular migration is often described as threat to state sovereignty and in more extreme discourses, illegal migration is perceived as a threat to state security as it may provide channel for potential terrorists to enter the countries (Koser 2007: 60).

1. V.iv_Demographic Impact

Migration can one way reduce the demographic deficit of a receiving country and also can alter the demography of the same. This can also spread the fear of loss of identity or being reduced to minority due to demographic changes occurred by migration in the destination (Weiner 1990: 156-158). As long as migrants are of a working age, able to find work, can work legally and pay taxes, they can augment the contribution of a country. Otherwise the diminishing working age population has to face a negative impact. The demographic deficit is a particular problem in Europe and is shrinking, where an average European woman has just 1.4 children and it is estimated that to replace the current population she would need to give birth to 2.1 children. Over 40 percent of the
world's total population now live in countries where the population is shrinking (Koser 2007: 102-103). Meanwhile, the fear of minoritisation and loss of political control was the major factor of political coup by the Fijian military against a democratically elected government with an Indian-dominated majority. Many Fijians felt that the loss of political power may result in becoming a minority like the Maoris in New Zealand or the Kanaks in New Caledonia, two native peoples overwhelmed demographically, politically and socially by migrant communities (Weiner 1990: 158).

By observing the case study, it is viewed that migration was inevitable and necessary due to scarcity of labour occurred with the development of tea and jute industries in Assam during the British rule. The migration of Nepalis in the pretext of recruitment in the army can be viewed as meeting the population deficiency and adjustment occurred during that period. Thus, migration was indeed an economic need and also population adjustment for the colonial power to sustain their exploitation policies in Assam. However, India having a huge population is not in a position for any demographic adjustment as it occurred during British period. The indigenous population considers Bangladeshis as a threat to their existence as the number of Bangladeshi migrants increased and became a source of vote bank. The Nepali migrants being small in numbers, not considered as threat to either identity or ethnicity. The problem of terrorism in Bangladesh and Maoist in Nepal is a serious security concern of the host Assam.

1. VI Types of Migration

Migration can be of many types. These includes; firstly, movements of individuals or group of persons across national borders (international migration i.e. a territorial relocation of people between different countries); secondly, movements of persons within the country (internal/domestic migration). If the population moves within a country of birth or place of origin, crossing a boundary between provinces, districts, municipalities or other political or administrative units is called internal migrants (Peter 1969: 1-5). The UNDP, Human Development Report (2009a: 1), “an estimated 740 million people in the world are internal migrants which is almost four times higher than those of International migrants.”
International migration takes place in the form of migration out of country and migration into the country. Large scale population movement worldwide triggered by variety of reasons ranging from economic opportunity, ethnic violence, to social and political persecution. Since 1990 the economic globalization and the end of the cold war have also led to the steady flow of cross-border movements. According to a report by the IOM, "as of the year 2000, there are an estimated 150 million international migrants...the 21st century is likely to continue to see large scale movements of people, both voluntary and forced" (IOM 2003a: 5-6, 17, 44). The impacts of these movements are seen on transforming and creating cultural and ethnic community, the emergence of diasporas and imagined nations. This actually, necessitates going beyond the focus on the borders and boundaries of nation-states that contain migrants. Migration can also be categorized on the basis of circumstances of migration. There are four ways that International migrants are normally categorized namely voluntary, Illegal or Irregular or undocumented migrants and involuntary or forced migration and also the refugee.

1. VI.i Voluntary Migrants

If the people who have the opportunity to exercise his own discretion in deciding whether to migrate or not and also in the matter of selecting the place of migration is considered as voluntary migrants (Greenwood 1985: 527). It may be temporary or permanent migration, return/circular or seasonal migration. Individual who are unwilling to settle down permanently in the host country are temporary migrants and those willing to settle down are permanent migration. For example many migrants to the Middle East have no inclination to settle down there permanently. They would rather prefer to work there for a short period and return home with a good savings (Francis 1987: 4-6). Those people who return to their countries of origin after a period of stay in another country is called return or circular migrants. Return migrants are often looked on favourably as they may bring with them capital, skills and experience useful for economic development (Castles 2000: 271).

The seasonal migration means the process of moving for a period of time in response to labour or climate conditions, for e.g., the farm workers following crop harvests or
working in cities during off-season; "snowbirds" moving to the southern and southwestern USA during winter (National Geographic Expeditions 2005). Meanwhile, voluntary migrants may migrate for employment and family reunification purpose. People migrate voluntarily for getting recruited in another country to perform jobs, particularly when there persist low wages or poor working conditions. Family reunification of migrants may occur when women and children of a migrant who are moving to join their husbands working abroad. Governments often permit close family members of the migrants to enter through legal channels (S. Martin 2005: 2-3). The basic features of voluntary migrants can be the following:

- Voluntary migrants are those people who decide by themselves the time and the place of destination.
- It may be temporary or permanent migration or a semi permanent movement, return or seasonal migration.
- Family reunification is also a feature of voluntary migrants.

1. VI.ii_ Illegal/Irregular/unauthorised/Undocumented Migrants

Undocumented migration is also known as the illegal/irregular/unauthorized migration that occurs circumventing the rules of prevailing migration and also without the knowledge of the concerned authorities. Illegal migration usually occurs in a system where there is no existence of clear migration policies or lack of administrative efficiency, porous borders, imprecise or incompatible laws or complex regulations. In many cases migrants, with or without the collusion of their employers knowingly circumvent or break the laws and regulations of the host country (UN 1984: 17). Illegal migrants refer to those people, who, in search of employment opportunities enter a country without possessing any necessary documents/permits (Castles 2000: 271-72). Illegal migrants according to the GCIM report (2005: 32-33), “A variety of different phenomenon involving people who enter or remain in a country without authorization or by breaching the law of that country”.

The concept of irregular/illegal movement of people is relatively a recent phenomenon and it became more relevant when nation states started formulating and implementing
rules of governing the entry and exit of foreigners. A popular perception of illegal migration is that people who migrate with the intention of living in another country temporarily or permanently and working illegally there, often entering clandestinely or with forged documents. According to the 1998 Europol Convention, stated that 'illegal migrant smuggling' comprises “activities intended deliberately to facilitate for financial gains the entry into residence and employment of an alien in the territory of the state, contrary to the rules and conditions applicable in such a state” (Lama 2006: 4).

According to the convention no. 143, adopted by the 1975 ILO conference defines illegal migration as those movement where migrants find themselves “during their journey, on arrival or during their period of residence and employment (in) conditions contravening relevant international multi-lateral or bilateral instruments or agreements or national laws and regulations” (Lama 2006: 4-5). Thus it shows that the figures related to illegal migration could vary right from entry, residence and occupation to finally departing from the host country.

Another category of illegal migrants that is commonly witnessed are those who enter a country legitimately and then over stay the period for which they have permission to remain or enter. On the other hand the forced migrants' flee from their country under difficult circumstances primarily for safety, food and shelter. Tapinos has identified six categories of such migrants:

i) Migrants who have entered the country legally with a legal residence permit, but who are working illegally either because the job is not declared or because their residence permit doesn’t allow them to work.

ii) Migrants who have entered the country legally, who are living in the country illegally (either because their work permits are invalid or have expired or because they don’t have residence permit) and who are working illegally. It is assumed that a migrant without a residence permit cannot work legally under the legislation in force.

iii) The same category as above, but covering inactive migrants.

iv) Migrants who have entered the country, clandestinely, who have no residence permit and who are working illegally.
v) The same as category above, but covering inactive migrants.
vi) Migrants who have entered the country clandestinely who have residence permit (e.g. following regularization, or by variation in their status through marriage) and are working illegally (Tapinos 2000: 14).

About 10 to 15 percent of the migrants in rich countries are unauthorized and most of them are found in US, a much less in Australia and Canada. These migrants typically enter by illegal means and many of them (about 40 percent in US) enter legally but fail to return when their visas expire. The other category of migrants who enter with proper visas but violate its terms, usually by engaging in gainful employment. In Japan, approximately 400,000 illegal migrant workers tend to be found in jobs characterized by the "three Ks": kiken, kitsui and kitanai, or "dangerous, difficult and dirty" (Papademetriou 1997-1998: 15-31).

Asia is notable for having relatively large numbers of students, trainees, and migrant workers moving to their richer neighbours illegally. There were about 15 million Asians abroad in 2005, including over half from the Philippines. However, fewer than three million of these Filipinos are guest workers with contracts, while most of the 400,000 Vietnamese are legal or irregular migrant workers (Martin 2008: 13). According to the UNDP, Human Development Report (UNDP 2009a: 2-3), "an estimated 50 million people are living and working abroad with irregular status. Some countries, such as Thailand and the USA, tolerate large numbers of unauthorized/illegal migrants."

The hot spot on the global illegal migration, in terms of volume, has been the US-Mexico border. The problem of large-scale illegal migration originated with the beginning of the Bracero program in 1942 that imposed rigid rules under which Mexican workers were employed in US agriculture. The migrants through this program were provided transportation, housing, and wages paid similar to the US workers. The Mexican workers were expected to sign up on their side of the border and wait to be recruited officially which the migrants found excessively rigid rules. As a result, large numbers of Mexicans migrated illegally and when the Bracero program was terminated in 1964, undocumented...
Mexican workers continued to cross the border seeking primarily seasonal jobs in the agricultural sector (Djajic 2001: 140).

Approximately 0.5 million persons enter USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand illegally every year. Estimates of persons entering countries of the European Union by irregular means vary from 0.12 million to 0.5 million annually (Khan 2004: 28-29). The illegal migration and employment have long been fairly widespread as indicated by the fact that in 1973 illegal migrants constituted 10 percent of the foreign population of Europe. In 1954, the US repatriated over 1 million Mexican nationals under operation wetback\(^1\) (Castles & Miller 1998: 96). Basically, the increasingly restrictive policies adopted by the countries, greater number of illegal migration, attractive opportunities in the host countries and also the natives showing resentments against migration on their economic and social welfare have further led to irregular migration. At the same time fewer countries have migration controls (Lama 2006: 7-8).

1. VI.ii.a Human Trafficking

As a subset of illegal migration, there is a clear category of agent-client relationship who come under migrant smuggler/smuggling syndicates. Here the migrants are not actually a victim but a consensus client or willing migrants. The smugglers work as facilitator primarily for profit or other material benefit (Lama 2006: 5). The UN protocol on smuggling of migrants in relation to the UN convention against trans-national organized crime (2000: 42, 54-55) under Article 3 define

(a) “Smuggling of Migrants - shall mean the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefits, of the illegal entry of a person into a state party of which the person is not a national or permanent resident.

(b) “Illegal Entry” is defined in the protocol as ‘crossing borders without complying with the necessary requirements for legal entry into the receiving states;

---

\(^{1}\) Operation Wetback was conducted by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to remove about one million illegal immigrants from the southwestern United States, focusing on Mexican nationals in 1954.
(c) Under the same convention article 3 of the protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children defines trafficking as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs" (Lama 2006: 5-7).

There are several investigations related to the size of the problem of all kinds of human trafficking. People are trafficked from across 127 countries to be exploited in 137 countries, affecting every continent and their economy (UNODC 2006: 7-9). According to the ILO (2005: 14), "the number of persons in forced labour, including sexual exploitation, as a result of trafficking is 2.45 million during the period of 1995-2005. Out of these, 1.4 million are in Asia and the Pacific, 270000 in the industrialized countries, 250000 in Latin America and the Caribbean, 230000 in the Middle East and Northern Africa, 200000 in countries with economies in transition and 130,000 in sub-Saharan countries (UNODC 2008: 6-7).

The US Department of State, Trafficking in Persons Report (2007: 8) views, "the ILO which addresses labour standards, employment, and social protection issues estimated 12.3 million people in all kind of forced labour including bonded labour, child labour and sexual servitude at any given time. Meanwhile, the other estimates range from 4 million to 27 million. Approximately, 0.8 million people are trafficked across national borders. However, it does not include millions people trafficked within their own countries. The report also estimated that 80 percent of translational victims are women and up to 50 percent are minors. The majority of victims are females trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation."
 Trafficking is a lucrative business and billions of dollars are being made at the expense of millions of victims. The trafficking has come under the control of international networks of organized crime as an industry which is estimated to generate as according to the UNODC $7000 million and by the UNICEF at $10000 million worldwide annually (Feingold 2005: 26-27). Presently, the total illicit profit made by the human trafficking is estimated at $32000 million (Human Trafficking Statistics 2009: 1-2). The trafficker maintains a continued exercise of control over migrants by force or fraud even after the transit through the borders. The smuggling itself can degenerate into trafficking that involves serious elements of exploitation and human rights abuse (Lama 2006: 4-8).

1.VI.iii_Forced Migrants

Again, people are forced to migrate from one place to another by compulsion, coercion, like separation, communal violence, political or social persecution etc. state repression. According to Wood (1994: 607-611), “there are three particular causes of forced migration. Firstly, political instability, war and persecution that creates political refugees. Secondly, economic decline, ecological crisis and natural disasters are usually responsible for generating economic migrants, for e.g. guest workers, illegal migrants and inaptly named environmental refugee. Thirdly, ethnic, religious and tribal conflicts aptly give rise for intense territorial, nationalistic and emotional intolerance of foreigners and ethnic cleansing.” Forced displacement is the clearest form of human right violation. The economic, political and social rights of the human beings are often infringed upon due to political, religious, cultural and/or ethnic persecution during conflicts. The large scale forced migration is a growing concern as millions of people are displaced by war, state repression and natural disasters. While some have been forced to take refuge across national borders, many others are displaced within their own countries.

Many of the major migrations throughout history occurred as a result of forced expulsion. Approximately 15 million Africans were transferred to the America prior to 1850 during the transatlantic slave trade; the population exchanges between Greece and Turkey at the end of World War - I; the expulsion of Germans from the Sudetenland following World War II; the expulsion of indigenous Arab populations with the establishment of the state
of Israel in 1948; the ethnic cleansing that characterized the Balkan wars in the 1990s - all are examples of largely involuntary waves of migration. The UNHCR reports that the total stock of forced migrants reached slightly more than 20 million in 2003 (Moore & Shellman 2004: 723-726).

Again, the largest of such forced migration has taken place in Indian sub-continent itself. The independence and the subsequent partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 along religious grounds into India and Pakistan is one of the largest and most rapid migrations in human history. An estimated six to seven million Muslims moved from India to Pakistan and nearly eight million Hindus and Sikhs moved from Pakistan to India. Approximately 35 to 40 million people have moved across national boundaries in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal since 1947, some as economic migrants, but more are forced migrants. The 1971 Bangladesh liberation struggle also generated around 10 million forced migrants who moved largely to the Indian eastern Border States (Weiner 1993: 1737-38).

Forced migrants make up a significant minority in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Caucasus, the Balkans, the Middle East, Central America and central south and Southeast Asia (Francis 1987: 4-5 & 36-37). A large number of international migrants have been forced to leave their home countries and seek refuge in other nations. The basic tenets of forced migrants are the following:

- Forced migrants are compelled to leave a country or a place within or outside due to persecution, human rights violations, state repression, conflict, war etc.
- They depart on their own initiative to escape these life-threatening situations. Although in a growing number of cases, they are driven from their homes by governments and insurgent groups intent on depopulating or shifting the ethnic, religious or other composition of an area.

---

In other cases, migrants are forced to move by environmental degradation and natural and human-made disasters that make their homes inhabitable.

Some manage to escape their countries and find temporary or permanent refuge abroad, while an alarmingly large number remain trapped inside or are forced to repatriate before the home countries conditions change in a significant manner (Martin 2001: 226-228).

1.VI.iv_Refugee

A person who is residing outside the country of his or her origin due to fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. The 1951 convention relating to the Status of Refugee, defines refugees as, ‘a person residing outside his or her country of nationality, who is unable or unwilling to return because of ‘well founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion’. The UNHCR seek to distinguish clearly between refugee and migrants but they do share many common characteristics (Castle 2000: 270-71). Refugees constitute a significant proportion of around 14.1 million in total, including those of concern to UNHCR and UNRWA added together. More significantly, the majority of those people are hosted by African, Asian and Middle Eastern countries that are currently experiencing a variety of important development challenges and constraints (UNHCR 2007: 1-2).

1.VII_Theories of International Migration

It is observed that migration takes place for variety of reasons and circumstances ranging from economic, environmental, political causes also affecting the overall migration process. The conditions under which a migrant enters a receiver population can have broad implications for all parties involved in migration. The circumstances in which migrants move may produce different impressions about migration. For instance a person who moves within a national boundary will not have the same migration experience as an international migrant or forced migrants. In most cases, forced migrants need special services from the receiver population such as emergency shelter, food, and legal aid. The psychological trauma of fleeing their homeland and leaving family members behind can
also complicate migrant’s adjustment to their new environment. Considering that a migrant can be a slave, refugee, or job-seeker, or have some other reason for moving, no single theory can provide a comprehensive explanation for the migration process.\(^3\)

Migration is one of the most significant of all human behaviour and a wide ranging variable has been spanned in search for possible determinants of the redistribution of population. It has been suggested that demographic, political and psychological factors exert a significant causal influence. However, regardless of what other variables may be operating, migratory streams generally seem to flow from a place of origin where economic opportunities are restricted to destinations where economic opportunities are comparatively greater (Parker 1975: 3). Todaro highlighting the paradox of migration views that people move in search better life or standard of living through a good job as well as an adequate level of income. Thus, people might be enduring short-term difficulties in the process of better prospects for economic growth and improved welfare in the longer term (Todaro 1969: 139-140).

The diverse and multifaceted international migration cannot be explained solely with a model which rests on a particular level of analysis at a particular point of time. In such cases it needs a variety of studies. These theories/studies vary from the disciplinary perspectives and the level of analysis (e.g. micro-macro level). Presently, there is no coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories have been developed largely in isolation from one another but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries, current patterns and trends in migration (Massey et. al. 1993: 432; Borjas 1989: 458).

However, it is important that a full understanding of contemporary migration will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis their complex and multi-faceted nature and impact actually require a sophisticated theoretical treatment that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels and assumptions (Massey et. al, 1993: 433). The reigning theories of international migration

\(^3\) Migration - Theories Of Migration, see http://family.jrank.org/pages/1170/Migration-Theories-Migration.html
that have an economic basis are the neoclassical economic theory of migration, the
equilibrium theory, dual labour market theory, economics of labour migration, world
system theory and system approach. These theories apply classic supply and demand
paradigms to migration at the individual level and the household unit (Massey 1999: 303-
306).

The Neo-classical economist focuses on differentials in wages and employment
conditions between countries. This theory suggests that international migration is related
to the global supply and demand for labour. Nations with scarce labour supply and high
demand will have high wages that pull immigrants in from nations with a surplus of
labour. The New Economics of migration in contrast considers conditions in a variety
markets, not just labour markets. The theory views migration as a household decision
taken to minimize risks to family income or to overcome capital constraints on family
production activities (Massey et. al. 1993: 433-436; 1994: 701-705; Borjas 1989: 460-
461).

The Dual Labour market theory argues that First World economies are structured and
they require a certain level of migration. This theory suggests that developed economies
are dualistic: they have a primary market of secure, well-remunerated work and a
secondary market of low-wage work. The theory argues that migrants are recruited to fill
these jobs that are necessary for the overall economy to function but are avoided by the
native-born population because of the poor working conditions associated with the
secondary labour market. On the other hand, the world system theory generally ignores
such micro-level decision processes. The theory focuses on forces of operations at much
higher levels of aggregation and argues that international migration is a by product of
global capitalism and market penetration across national boundaries (Massey et. al. 1993:

The theories of migration are important in understanding population movements within
their wider political and economic contexts. For example, if out migration from Third
World nations is shown to be a result of economic problems caused by the global
economy, then such migration could be managed with better international economic
agreements instead of restrictive migration acts. Indeed, rather than slowing Mexican immigration to the United States, termination of the Bracero program actually increased the amount of migration because it exacerbated Mexican poverty (Parker 1975: 8-9).

Ravenstein who is widely been regarded as the earliest migration theorist and an english geographer, used census data from England and Wales to develop his "Laws of Migration". He concluded that migration was governed by a "push-pull" process; that is, unfavourable conditions in one place (oppressive laws, heavy taxation, etc.) "push" people out, and favourable conditions in an external location "pull" them out. Ravenstein's laws stated that the primary cause for migration was better external economic opportunities; the volume of migration decreases as distance increases; migration occurs in stages instead of one long move; population movements are bilateral; and migration differentials (e.g., gender, social class, age) influence a person's mobility (Ravenstein 1889: 246-250).

Many theorists followed Ravenstein's footsteps, and the dominant theories in contemporary scholarship are more or less variations of his conclusions. Lee reformulated Ravenstein's theory to give more emphasis to internal (or push) factors and outlined the impact that intervening obstacles have on the migration process. He argued that variables such as distance, physical and political barriers, and having dependents can impede or even prevent migration. Lee (1966) pointed out that the migration process is selective because differentials such as age, gender, and social class affect how persons respond to push-pull factors, and these conditions also shape their ability to overcome intervening obstacles. Furthermore, personal factors such as a person's education, knowledge of a potential receiver population, family ties, and the like can facilitate or retard migration.4

Grigg's (1977: 41-54) evaluation of Ravenstein's work points out the role of industrialization in structuring migration in Britain. In so far as similar conditions apply in other regions and times, similar patterns might be expected to occur. Thus young adults are often mobile job hunters and jobs are often in urban centres around the

4 Op. cit. no. 3
developing world. As Grigg notes, however, in Britain itself, migration to towns increased with commerce but by the 1880s was already declining. The key point is that developing and developed commercial societies often depend on a mobile labour force and the volume of economic movement is sufficient to overwhelm other causes of mobility. To conclude that migration is always economically motivated in the narrow sense of the labour market may miss other important attributes of the process. Despite these caveats, Ravenstein’s work identified several important aspects of human migration and is the foundation for later theory (Fix 1999: 9).

1.VII.i Push and Pull Theory

Lee advocated the push and pulls factors of migration and labels the weighing of options at home and abroad as “push-pull” factors. According to him, push factors are more likely visible in developing or least developed countries and pull factors are most likely to exist in an advanced economic nation. For instances, people can be pushed out of regions after repeated droughts while others can be pulled towards the city or to a nation because of the development as well as urbanization and industrialization. As regards the “push” factors, migrants may be motivated to leave a place for reasons ranging from the economic and demographic (poverty, unemployment, low wages, lack of basic health and education), to the political (conflict, insecurity, violence, poor governance, corruption and human rights abuses), the social and cultural (discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender or caste), and the environmental (harvest failure, resource depletion, and natural and/or man-made disasters) (Lee 1966: 49-51).

The disintegration of the Soviet Union placed ethnic Russians residing in Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in a precarious position. Much of the repatriation movement of ethnic Russians was a result of their decreased civil and political rights and restrictions on their private activities in the newly independent CIS states. In terms of “pull” factors, perceived economic opportunities are the important that guide the migrants. Migrants are generally attracted by the possibility of employment, better standards of living, and greater opportunities for personal and professional development in comparison to those at home. In the economic sense, it means higher wages and employment and in the social
sense, it means a greater prospect for personal development (Harris & Todaro 1970: 126-128).

1.VII.ii The Equilibrium Theory

The most interesting simplification of the process of labour migration is advanced by the Equilibrium Theory. Migration occurs between two societies that are autonomous and internally integrated but at different levels of economic development. The equilibrium approach primarily focuses on the rational characteristics of the individual's decision to migrate from one place to another. The approach conceptualizes migration as the geographical mobility of workers who are responding to the sensitive changing environment and imbalances in distribution of land, labour, capital and natural resources that exist in an area. It considers migration as an alternative practice of individuals or households or families (Harris & Todaro 1970: 126-132).

The theory evaluates migration as the decisions of an individual or a family based on rational evaluation of the losses or benefits to be gained and the costs entailed in moving across places. It is always seen that migrants move from low to high wages areas/nations (Smith 1776: 32). Being seen as primarily a form of arbitrage in the labour market, migration is considered to raise wages in the sending countries (because migrant withdraw their labour) and lower wages in the receiving countries. This is how a situation of equilibrium is achieved at. The equilibrium approach is considered to be more useful in understanding free internal migration patterns and also international migrations between culturally and economically similar countries (Gorter et. al. 1998: 3-5).

Wood has pointed three major drawbacks of this theory. According to him, in the context of developing countries – it is evident that geographic mobility of labour does not necessarily lead to an equilibrium situation, because migration is often an indicator of regional disparities. For instance, the movement of skilled people are reinforced by migration rather than reduced. Secondly, he mentions that the non-historical characteristics of this approach. Some empirical facts run counter to this approach and against the fact that many backward economies throughout history have not spontaneously exported labour but when needed; they were coerced to do so. And thirdly,
it fails to account for migration resulting from non-economic reasons, such as political developments, persecution, religious beliefs, etc. (Wood 1982: 298-319).

1.VII.iii Neo-Classical Theory

The most influential theory about migration emanates from the neo-classical economics that was propounded by Adam Smith and Ravenstein. The neo-classical economic theory attributes the patterns of international migration to the economic factors such as labour demand and supply, wage differentials, etc. According to it, migration is based on familiar tenets such as rational choice, utility maximization, expected net returns, factor mobility and wage differentials (Todaro 1969: 139-141; Todaro & Maruszko 1987: 101-102). It argues that migration is a process of measuring the opportunities offered to the migrants in their current state, against opportunities offered at other places or nations. The theory views that migration is a ‘cost-benefit decision’ undertaken to maximize income by an individual migrating to places where income-maximizing opportunities are available. One of the major causes of migration is the large-scale unemployment in developing states. Relative wage differentials in sending and receiving countries are found to have a positive correlation with migration. The theory combines micro perspectives of individual decision making and a macro-counterpart of structural determinants (Massey et. al. 1993: 433-436; 1994: 701-702).

According to micro level theory of neo-classical economics, individual migrates because of cost benefit calculations (Sjaastad 1962: 80-85). This induction of their expectation for a positive net return is usually a monetary form of movement. It conceptualizes international migration as a form of investment in human capital and individual’s choice to move when they think of improving their productivity and livelihood by investing their skills. However, before moving towards the high wages economy with greater labour productivity they have to undertake certain investments that include the cost of travelling, maintenance while moving and looking for a job. At the macro level, the theory emphasizes a spatial redistribution of the factors of production responding to different relative prices. Traditional neo-classical economics view migration as a simple sum of individual cost-benefit decisions undertaken to maximize income through migrating. It
highlights that migration occurs whenever there are uneven geographical distribution of labour and capital. In some countries or regions labour is relatively scarce than capital but its price and the wage level are comparatively higher than other countries or regions. As a result the labourers from a poor wage countries prefer to go to labour scarce and high wage regions (Massey 1993: 434-436).

The simple and compelling explanation of international migration offered by the Neo-Classical theory has provided the basis for much migration policy and the perspectives contain several implicit propositions and assumptions:

i) The international migration of workers is caused by differences in wage rates between countries.

ii) The elimination of wage differentials will end the movement of labour, and migration will not occur in the absence of such differentials.

iii) International flows of human capital – that is, highly skilled workers – respond to differences in the rate of return to human capital, which may be different from the overall wage rate, yielding a distinct pattern of migration that may be opposite that of unskilled workers.

iv) Labour markets are the primary mechanisms by which international flows of labour are induced; other kinds of markets do not have important effects on international migration (Massey et. al. 1993: 435-436; 1994: 701-702).

Some countries with a large endowment of labour relative to capital have a low equilibrium market wage, while countries with a limited endowment of labour relative to capital have a high wage. Such consequential discrepancy in wages causes movements of workers from the low wages country to the high wage country (Todaro 1976; Harris & Todaro 1970: 135-137). As a result, the supply of labour decreases and the wages rise in the capital scarce country, while the supply of labour increases and wages fall in the capital rich country leading to an equilibrium point. The flow of investment from capital rich country to capital poor country begins due to relative scarcity of capital in the poor countries wherein it yields a rate of return thereby attracting investment. The movement of capital also includes human capital with highly skilled workers moving from capital
rich to capital poor countries in order to reap high returns on their skills. This particularly occurs in a human capital scarce environment leading to a parallel movement of managers, technicians and other skill labourers from both sides (Massey et. al. 1993: 433 & 1994: 701-702).

However, the neo-classical theory fails to explain why some countries have relatively high out migration rates and others structurally similar do not have the same. It also fails to explain why numerically, so few migrants, gains or makes significant positive differences in income, wages and levels of well being in comparison to their standard of living in their homeland. This can be termed as the Achilles heel of neo-classical theory. If migration flows between countries were to conform to the prescription of neo-classical theory, the number of international migrations should be many times higher than the one in reality. These shortcomings can be partly traced to the total exclusion of the political dimension from the picture, which has significant prominence. In essence being a theory of mobility of factors of production in accordance with relation prices, the neo-classical theory is incapable to come to terms, with a world with barrier that surely curtails the movement of labour (Massey et. al., 1994: 708-710).

**1.VII.iv The New Economics of Labour Migration**

The theory of new economics of labour migration came into existence as an inside criticism of the micro level neoclassical theory. It argues that international migration stems from failures in other markets which threaten the well being of the households and create barriers to their economic advancement (Massey 1994: 711). According to this theory, migration is a family strategy to diversify the sources of income in order to minimize risks such as unemployment, loss of income or crop failures etc. in their countries of origin. The theory doesn’t cover complete and well functioning markets as the neo-classical model does. Indeed it recognizes many situations particularly in the developing countries such as markets for capital futures, and insurance which may be absent, imperfect or inaccessible. In order to self-insure against risks of unemployment, poor income, low production of crops and poverty, or to gain access to scarce investment capital, households send one or more family members to foreign labour market. Given
the relatively higher wages in developed countries, international migration offers a particularly attractive and effective strategy for minimizing risks and overcoming capital constraints (Piore 1979: 4-8). Thus the migrants aim at maximizing income. However, they do not necessarily send people or the whole family in absolute terms but rather in relative terms (one or two). Thus it can be inferred that more the unequal distribution of income in a given community, the more intensely relative deprivation will be felt and the more incentives will be there for further migration to occur. The theoretical models growing out of the new-economics of migration yield a set of propositions and hypotheses that are quite different from those emanating from the Neo-Classical theory. These are the following: -

1. Individuals are not the only focal point of migration research but other units such as families, households, or other culturally defined units of productions and consumption are the appropriate units of analysis for migration research, not the autonomous individuals.

2. A wage differential is not a necessary condition for international migration. However, the households may have strong incentives to diversify risks through trans-national movement even in the absence of wage differentials.

3. International migration and local employment or local productions are not mutually exclusive possibilities. Indeed, there are strong incentives for households to engage in both migration and local activities. An increase in returns to local economic activities may heighten the attractiveness of migration as a means of overcoming capital and risks constraints on investing in those activities. Thus economic developments within sending regions need not reduce the pressures for international migration.

4. International movement doesn’t necessarily stop when wage differentials have been eliminated across national boundaries. Incentives for migration may continue to exist if other markets within sending countries are absent or imperfect.

5. The same expected gain in income will not have the same effect on the probability of migration for households located at different points in the income distribution, or among those located in communities with different income distributions.
6. Governments can influence migration rate not only through policies that influence labour markets, but also through those that shape insurance, capital markets and future markets. Government insurance programs particularly unemployment insurances can significantly affect the incentives for international movement.

7. Government policies and economic changes that shape income distributions will change the relative deprivation of some households and thus alter their incentives to migrate.

8. Government policies and economic changes that effect the distribution of income will influence international migration independent of their affects on mean income. In fact, government policies that produce a higher mean income in migrant sending areas may increase migration if relatively poor households do not share income gain. Conversely, policies may reduce migrations if relatively rich households do not share in the income gain (Massey 1993: 439-440).

1.VII.v_Dual Labour Market Theory

Piore developed the dual labour market theory and contributed to a better understanding of contemporary realities of migration studies. The theory focuses the receiving end of migrations only and explains it at the macro-level of structural determinants. It explains international migration as a cause of a permanent demand for foreign labour by certain advanced industrial nations. Dual labour market theory views that natives of a developed country are generally averse to jobs of manual labour or drudgery (Piore 1979: 26-29). This aversion to secondary sector jobs often affect policies in developed countries, assuming a comfortable level of unemployment, that allow or even encourage migration and make it much easier for people from other countries to migrate and find jobs (Bijak 2006: 10).

Moreover, migration out of a particular area occurs due to the excess of labour. A surplus of labour often tends to deliberate wealth in the hands of a few individuals who control what work there is to be had. This economic deprivation too encourages migration. When migration does take place, the result is a decrease in the surplus of labour that may continue well into a deficit. When the surplus decreases, and especially in the existence of a labour deficit, wealth tends to become more evenly distributed and leaves less people
in a state of economic deprivation. Thus, the presence of migrant community and the existence of a dual-labour market in a developed country may have effects on the structural changes on the country of origin that ultimately abate the migratory flow (Massey 1993: 441-443).

Overall, the dual labour market theory of international migration offers a reasonable approximation of migratory practices. However, it is important to consider other factors that may not have direct economic corollaries, such as war, politics, disease, famine and geography (Hugo & Massey, et. al. 1997: 261-262). The unstable job conditions in an advanced economy due to division of the economy into labour and capital intensive primary sectors, low productivity secondary sectors give rise to a segmented labour market. Local workers avoid such jobs due to low status and prestige and promise scant upward mobility because they entail motivation problems. That's why the local workers show their reluctances to occupy such unattractive jobs. But migrants and temporary workers from low income countries, who entertain prospects of returning to their homeland some day, are willing to accept such jobs; because of their relatively poor standard of living back home (Massey, et. al. 1993: 442-443).

1.VII.vi_World System Theory

The historians and sociologists developed the world system theory on the notion of the modern world system as established in the mid 1970s. The theory is influenced by the decade of the 1960s and belongs to the historical – structural tradition. It views that migration is the product of the domination exerted by core countries over peripheral areas in the context of international relationship that are characterized by conflict and tension (Hugo, et. al. 1997: 262-263). The theory views that international migration occurs due to institutional and sectoral imbalances between three geographically distinct zones, i.e core, semi-periphery and periphery and is facilitated by cultural, linguistic, administrative, communication links (Wallerstein 1974: 33-36). According to this theory migration is a natural outgrowth of the dislocations and disruptions caused by the development of capitalism. With the development of capitalism, the influence and control of market also extended over to land, raw materials and labour within the peripheral regions creating a vast mobile population. The material and ideological links along with
the investment capital usher these dispossessed masses from the underdeveloped countries to the global cities in developed countries to take up low-paying jobs (Sassen 2001: 20-23).

The world system theory views the world as developing states and developed or wealthy-states. The developed worlds are always in the centre and the developing states in the periphery. According to this theory, international migration is the extension of the capitalist mode of production from core countries to peripheral ones and to ensure incorporation of new regions into an increasingly unified world economy. As a displacement of capitalism the traditional occupations of the periphery states, sections of the population are pressured to migrate in order to find employment. Globalization has accelerated the process of capitalization, an idea emphasized by the fact that labour market bifurcation is at its most extreme in the most globalized cities of the world. The world systems theory also captures the historical relationship between the formerly colonized and the colonizers, Migration into such former colonial powers such as Spain and Portugal reveal the strength of historical ties, with most of their immigrants coming from former colonies in Africa, Brazil, and Latin America. Colonial regimes in the past assisted this penetration and at present neo-classical regimes and multi-national corporations assume this role (Hugo, Massey et. al. 1997: 262-263).

The world system theory gives importance of past and present linkages between countries at different stages of development. It also made some empirical observation that migration often involves countries that were linked in the past by colonial bounds. This theory is a by-product of univocal, reductionist and sense-loaded interpretation of history in which all countries pass through similar process of evolution. The theory is only applicable at the global level and migrants are little more than positive pawns in the hands of bigger powers (Kritz & Zlotnik 1992: 10-11). The world system theory conveys with full force the fact that labour migration, like related exchanges, doesn’t occur as on internal process between independent entities but as a part of the internal dynamics of the same overarching unit. This unit, the international capitalist system, is constantly changing according to forces that allow its components to modify their relative positions without significantly altering the basic order (Wallerstein 1974: 229-233).
1.VII.vii_System Approach

This approach has gained popularity in recent years advocated by Kritz and Zlotnik recognizes that the study of changing trends and patterns of contemporary international migration requires a dynamic rather than static perspective. According to them, migration occurs within national context, its political, demographic, economic and social dimensions change partly in response to the feedbacks and adjustment that stem from migration itself. The theory reveals that micro as well as macro elements are the part of migration analysis. They also include the time dimension, which allows a historical perspective on migration, an analysis of structural conditions and economic and political linkages (Zlotnik & Kritz 1992: 2-4).

The approach recognizes that the study of changing trends and patterns of contemporary international migration requires a dynamic rather than a static perspective. A further main characteristic of the system approach is that a migration system, i.e. two or more places or more specific countries connected to each other by flows and counter flows of people, is used as the basic unit of analysis. Network plays an important role in the system approach and stresses that network must be looked at dynamic relationships and variable social arrangements that vary across ethnic groups and shape migration and its sequel. They point out that networks of institutions and individuals link the various countries together into a coherent migration system. They also note that network at the origin restrain or encourage an individual to migrate, depending on the extent to which such networks provide economic and social support. Finally, networks between origin and destination countries can play a role in channelling information, migrants, remittances and cultural norms (Zlotnik & Kritz 1992: 5-6).

The system framework compared to other approaches has a better advantage as it tries to take into account a larger variety of factors that play their role in the migration process. The theory does not restrict to any special type of migration and it doesn't only explain the existence of migration but also how the sizes, especially of social networks work. A large scale migration flows may be characterized as family migration. However, the approach has the character of a conceptual framework rather than a specific theory and it
may not provide much guidance in specifying functional relationship or testable hypotheses in empirical research (Gorter 1998: 12-13).

1.VIII_Theoretical Dimension of Illegal Migration

Though there exist various studies to explain illegal migration and its economic consequences but they have failed to yield out a conceptual framework to build a general theory of it. Todaro and Maruszko provided a model of illegal migration emphasizing on individual decisions to migrate abroad is strongly influenced by economic factors, particularly for employment opportunities and higher wages. However, the expected income from the destinations or employment depends on various grounds. Firstly, the probability and chances of getting employment opportunities in the destination economy; secondly, the probability of being captured while crossing borders and during stay in the receiving country; thirdly, an implicit tax that is imposed by employers who take advantage of the migrant's illegal status by paying less than market wages. By calculating all the above mentioned factors a migrant calculates the cost and benefits of migrating (Todaro & Maruszko 1987: 102-103).

The individual decision to migrate illegally depends on the income that an individual expects to receive in the destination country relative to the income expected in the home country. This illegal migration is defined as some function of the expected relative income differential between the home and destination countries. The effective capture rate means the proportion of all individuals attempting to illegally enter the country in any given period who are actually prevented from doing so. It depends on both the average number of attempts to migrate illegally and the rate of apprehension on each single attempt. In keeping with the observation that a high rate of unemployment in destination countries generates pressure for stopping the flow of illegal migrants, it is assumed that the effective capture rate is change of the unemployment rate in the destination country. The probability of being captured is the same as the effective capture rate in the destination country. The illegality tax on earnings in the destination country is an implicit tax imposed by employers who take advantage of the migrant's illegal status by offering less than market wages. It is assumed that the illegality tax is a positive
function of the unemployment rate in the destination country. In other words, a higher illegality tax is associated with a higher unemployment rate since employers can offer less than competitive wages to illegal migrants who will accept them rather than risk the chance of not finding employment at all. Conversely, one would expect that the tighter the labor market (i.e., the lower the unemployment rate), the less employers are willing and/or able to discriminate against illegal migrants (Todaro & Maruszko 1987: 102-106).

It is argued that illegal migration occurs due to strict migration policies (Maillat 1986: 33). It is sure that there would be no illegal migration if nations do not restrict the movement of people across their borders. The states however, do retain sovereignty over the entry of migrants and therefore national policy has to be taken into account (Kritz 1987: 957). Moulier-Boutang and Garson (1984: 590-591) views, “the restrictive work and residency permit system used in many European countries produces large numbers of illegal migrants. Permits can limit migrants' occupation and sector of employment, as well as specify their area of residence. Migrants can lapse into irregular status by not renewing their papers within specified periods of time or by shifting occupation or sector of employment. Applications for renewal are unlikely to be filled by the unemployed since employment is required for the renewal to be granted” (Kritz 1987: 958).

The migrants may gain entry through legal channels, for example as family members or as contract labourers, or evade law enforcement either by illegally crossing borders or by overstaying temporary visas. The main assets that this class of migrants brings to their countries of destination are all labour related: skills, willingness to work harder and for lower wages than the local working class, and flexibility to accommodate fluctuations in employers' needs. The massive presence of these manual labour migrants in the advanced countries can only be explained by the match between their goals and aspirations and the interests of their employers. Mexican migration to the United States, Turkish migration to West Germany and most Caribbean migration to Great Britain are examples of this class origin and of the economic contributions such migrants can make (Portes & Borocz 1989: 616-617; Baldwin – Edwards 2008: 1450).
There are a number of theories that seek to explain economic migration but none of them can give very straightforward answers related to migration or do not provide any explanation regarding the free movement of population under bilateral agreement existing in various countries. With the increase of international migration arising from economic disparities among the countries as well as conflict and political instability in others, there has been an urgent need for strengthening dialogues through international cooperation which would help in tackling international migration. This has been pursued in the form of various bilateral, regional and multilateral arrangements. Bilateral agreements have been traditionally used to manage migration flows between countries and these are legally binding treaties for the cooperation of managing labour migration (Go 2007: 1-2).

There are few investigations which postulate free movement of population to manage labour migration. Rodrik (2002: 3-8) viewed, “since wages for similarly qualified workers in developed and developing countries differ sharply – by a factor of 10 or more as against a difference for commodities and financial assets that rarely exceed a ratio of 1:2 - the gains from openness could be enormous, roughly 25 times larger than the gains from liberalisation of movement of goods and capital. In a simplified world with no national borders through a bilateral agreement and no limits to the internationally free movement of labour, migration overcomes country-specific scarcities or surpluses in factor endowments and enhances global welfare. These theoretical models bring out the positive outcome of free movement of people and suggest that it makes economic sense to strive for a policy of migration without borders or agreement” (Ghosh 2005: 3-4).

However, it was criticized for being based on a set of fixed assumptions, such as labour is homogeneous; perfect competition and mobility exist in labour markets; that there are no public goods and no public intervention; and that both economies of scale in production and the output mix in the economies remain unchanged. However, the reality is often different as the migrant labour may be skilled - unskilled and even skilled labour may not be fully homogeneous across countries; competition in the labour market may be hindered due to rigidities and segmentation of the labour market. An open border through
a bilateral agreement is likely to lead to massive outflows of skills from poorer to richer countries and the receiving country may benefit from the positive externalities associated with skilled migration. However, it could also be exposed to negative externalities of a non-economic nature. Massive inflows of migrants may place heavy strain on the receiving country's physical infrastructure, public services, including housing facilities, transport system, schools and medical services etc. The costs of integration may exceed the margin of tolerance of foreigners, whereby tension and conflict could follow, which can threaten economic growth and social stability. Thus, the over-all economic for open borders is further weakened by non-economic considerations (Ghosh 2005: 4-5).

There are several examples of bilateral agreements framed to stimulate the desired labour migration. This has gained special importance in the enlargement process of the European Union of strongly controlled borders. The free movement of labour, however, as one of the basic principles of the European Union supposes unified Europe without controlled borders between the member countries. The institutional development of the European Union supports bilateral agreements between countries of the European Union and those outside the Union. The purpose of the agreement is to bring about guest-worker programmes of their own by each member country of the European Union. Bilateral agreements are believed to be the proper technique to channel labour migration (Hars 2003: 1-2).

Next Germany has been the main receiving country of migrants through the frame of bilateral agreements from Central and Eastern-European countries, while the main sending country has been Poland. Nearly 85 percent of the annually employed temporary migrants were seasonal worker, around 13 percent project tied worker, the share of participants in other programmes was negligible in Germany, less than 5 percent all together (Hars 2003: 5). In the Asian region, Philippines have been the most successful among the labour-sending countries through various bilateral agreements. However, the number of bilateral labour and social security agreements that the Philippines has successfully entered into during 1974-2004 with 13 countries (12 labour receiving countries and 1 labor sending country) since the overseas employment program began in 1974. While this is so, it has not been able to enter into such agreements with the largest
labor receiving countries of overseas Filipino workers such as Singapore, Japan and Saudi Arabia (Stella P. Go 2007: 2-5).

1.X__Migration and Development

Migration and development are closely linked and it has been beneficial economically, socially for both sending and the receiving country. Through that process the migrants and their families also get benefited from it. However, the developmental impact of migration is dependent on effective migration management and governance. The economic and human development of many countries has been associated with the population movement over the various stages of history. Massey (1998: 108-110) views, "the industrial growth of Europe owes heavily to migration colonisation. Countries like Australia and the United States owe their creation as nation-states to migrants. Again the massive infrastructural growth and development in the Middle East since the oil price hike of the 1970s were possible only through migration of all categories of workers ranging from highly professional, skilled to unskilled."

Similarly, the growing economies of South East Asia depend on steady flows of migrant workers for their sustenance (Siddique 2005b: 6-7). A number of developed countries, such as US, Japan and UK highly depend on the skilled professionals from developing and the least developed countries to carry out their development, research and other programmes. Among the world’s high income countries i.e. US, Japan, Canada has experienced highest annual inflows of skilled workers. The US (1999: 370000 persons), Japan (2000: 129000 persons) and Canada (2000: 86200 persons) experienced the largest annual inflows. Followed by UK (2000: 39000), Australia (1999-2000: 30000), Germany (2000-2001: 11800) (IOM 2003b: 2). Thus the movement of brain-drain/knowledge workers constitutes as an integral part of the global economic development (Siddique 2005b: 7).

Remittances are considered as an important yardstick of migrant’s contribution to their countries of origin. Flow of migrant remittances from sending to receiving countries is continuously growing. The official remittances have increased from less than US $ 2000 million in 1970 to US $ 80000 million in 2000 (ILO 2002: 2-3). In 2008, remittance flows to developing countries reached up to $336000 million which was $285000 million
in 2007 (Ratha 2009: 1-2). The latest annual, quarterly and monthly data reported by central banks show that officially recorded remittance flows to developing countries reached $316000 million in 2009, down 6 percent from a revised $336000 million in 2008 (Ratha 2010: 1-3). The world remittances have increased exponentially; up from $132000 million in 2000 to an estimated $414000 million in 2009. More than $316000 million flow of remittances occurred to developing countries representing some 76 percent of the total remittances. Earlier, $83000 million and 63 percent were recorded during 2000 (IOM 2010: 117).

The IMF, World Bank and ADB are increasingly commending migrant’s remittance as a tool to promote development. The ILO and IOM have emphasized that countries that initiate pragmatic policies to manage migration will benefit most out it (Siddique 2005b: 9). More than 1.5 million South Asian workers are estimated to migrate every year, many of them destined for the Gulf region to perform construction, maintenance and other service jobs. The ILO reveals that more than 200000 workers are estimated migrating every year from Sri Lanka and Pakistan and many more from Bangladesh and India (The Daily Star, July 8, 2008: 4).

The five major South Asia labour-sending countries sent over 1.5 million migrant workers abroad legally in 2005. In which, India sent 549000, Bangladesh-253000, Sri Lanka-231000, Nepal-184,000, and Pakistan-142,000. The number of migrants deployed rose in each country by 2007, for instance, the number of Indians deployed in 2007 was 800,000 the number of Bangladeshis 833,000, and the number of Pakistanis, 265,000. There were 24 million South Asians abroad in 2000, including nine million Indians (four million in the Gulf countries), almost seven million Bangladeshi's (most in India, but three million in the Gulf countries), and 3.5 million Pakistanis abroad, including 1.5 million in other South Asian countries and almost a million in the Gulf countries (Migration News 2008). An estimated 30 million Indians working abroad, spread across 110 countries during 2009 (Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs 2010: 16). A substantial increase of migration for employment from India to abroad is seen constantly rising. During the year 2002, the number of migrant worker living India was 0.368 million – increased up to 0.849 million by 2008. About 0.61 million workers migrated legally from
India to with emigration clearance during 2009. Out of this, about 0.13 million workers went to UAE, about 0.28 million to Saudi Arabia, about 46,000 to Qatar and about 11,000 to Malaysia (MOIA 2010: 33 & 55).

Table 1. II
Officially Reported outflow of Migrant Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Bangladesh</th>
<th>Sri Lanka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>236200</td>
<td>30073</td>
<td>7600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>163000</td>
<td>77694</td>
<td>12400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>143600</td>
<td>103814</td>
<td>42625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>415300</td>
<td>187543</td>
<td>172489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>243182</td>
<td>212686</td>
<td>182188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>549000</td>
<td>252702</td>
<td>231290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>849000</td>
<td>875055</td>
<td>252021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>610000</td>
<td>475278</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Nepal Government has opened 108 countries for foreign employment and maximum numbers of Nepalese go to Malaysia, Saudi Arab, Qatar, UAE, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, and so on. In the fiscal year 2008/09, a total of 219,965 Nepalese workers including 211,371 male and 8,594 female workers had gone for foreign employment while this number was 173,239 including 164,711 males and 8,528 females for the first eight months of the current fiscal year 2009/10. The Number of Nepalese workers bound abroad for foreign employment in different fiscal years are shown in Table 1. III.

The five major South Asia labour-sending countries received $40,000 million as remittances in 2007, led by $27,000 million in India; $6,400 million in Bangladesh; $6,100 million in Pakistan; $2,700 million in Sri Lanka; and $1,600 million in Nepal. Bangladesh provides an example of the challenges and opportunities facing South Asian labour senders. Bangladesh's second leading source of foreign exchange after garments is remittances, which totalled $6,600 million in 2007. The number of migrants leaving
Bangladesh averaged about 250,000 a year between 2001 and 2006, rose to almost 400,000 in 2006, and doubled to 832,600 in 2007; the government expects to send 900,000 workers abroad in 2008 (Martin 2008: 17-18). India has received $ 46900 million as remittances during 2008-09 that increased from $ 22200 million during the 2003-04 (MOIA 2010: 15 & 54).

Table 1. III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Nepalis for Foreign Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>35543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>55025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>104739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>105055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>106660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>135992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-2006</td>
<td>177506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-2007</td>
<td>204533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>249051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2009</td>
<td>219965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010*</td>
<td>173239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Again due to global trade liberalization and the dismantling of the trade barriers in the world the movement of service providers from developing and least developed countries has increased mainly to high income countries since the early 1990s. The income earned by the migrants increases both the migrants and their families' welfare and strengthens national economy through remittances. However, there are barriers for movement of population, unlike the trade in goods and services. Unlike trade in goods and services barriers to movement of natural persons across borders is still high. This is particularly true for less skilled temporary migrants from poor countries (Khatun 2008: 1-2).

1.XI Migration and Conflict

The movement of population has been an intrinsic component of major process of structural and social changes. Whether in response to political or economic imperatives, whether spontaneous or coerced, whether involving entire nation or groups involved or selected groups within them, the displacements of people through spaces have

47
accompanied every major transformation of the social order. The effect of international migration on the demographic, social and economic structures of sending and receiving countries has received wide attention in recent studies. While international migration has declined in importance as a component of population growth, several countries of diverse levels of economic development continue to receive large numbers of migrants (Kritz 1975: 513-515).

There has been debate about the impact of migrants and refugees on the countries and communities that shelter them. Migration of people from one country/place to another can induce violence and conflict. Migration from a country has serious and several implications on the host/receiving country. The influx of people can create demographic changes, both in size and composition of population, environmental degradation and can have serious security implications. Several factors are responsible in which migration of population can trigger conflict in the receiving country (A. Martin 2005: 329-332 & Clark 2007: 2).

Migrations have security implications in the receiving country. If there is a continuous large scale migration from country A to country B for whatever the reason, and if the country A doesn’t take any step to prevent the influx and in fact is tempted to encourage it, then country B may regard it as an interference in its domestic affairs. In extreme form, it may be left with no option but to forcibly push back the migrants. This may escalate into inter-state conflict and even war. This is what happened between India and Pakistan in 1971-72 when millions of East Pakistanis crossed the border came to India to escape repressions. This led to a war between India and Pakistan and finally the liberation of Bangladesh. It is well known that Chakma refugees have long been source of tension between India-Bangladesh relations, and Tamil refugees in Indo-Sri Lanka relations (Dubey 1999: 5-6). According to Richmond (1988: 42), “conflict in the host countries may arise out of competition for scarce resources, the differential distribution of power within the society, fundamental opposition of basic value systems and inherent contradictions in the values held and the institutions serving them. Such conflict may co-exist with countervailing forces promoting greater order and stability. These may include economic interdependence and exchange relationships emerging in the market context,
the emergence of an underlying consensus on basic values that encourage tolerance of diversity, together with the translation of coercive social controls into legitimates authority.”

The conflict between the migrants and the inhabitants can be the result of a wide range of factors, including competition for scarce resources, competition over controlling political power and dissatisfaction or desperation on the part of marginalized groups. Many conflicts are directly caused by competition for essential livelihood resources. Even where there are other primary causes of an escalation of tensions livelihood failure can contribute to the emergence of conflict by weakening the social fabric, making people resort to desperate means to obtain resources, and deepening vulnerability to exploitation by those with an interest in promoting conflict for political or economic gain. People whose livelihoods are damaged by conflict may be motivated to continue to fight or join the fighting in order to get back what they have lost (Richmond & Verma 1978: 25-26).

Thus, migration can lead to conflict in the following sequence: Population Migration => Migration Induced Scarcity, Political and Social Imbalances and Distortions => Conflict (Lama 2004: 11-12). Conflict can occur in the receiving country due to population migration can be illustrated through the following points and the flow chart.

1.XI.i Demographic Imbalance

There is a common belief that high population pressure triggers migration and it can also disturb the demographic balance and generate conflict in the host country when migrants and local inhabitants compete for controlling the resources such as arable lands, jobs, fresh water etc. (Gleditsch 2006: 342; Brunborg & Urdal 2005: 371-74). When there is a rapid rise in population, the demand for resources increases dramatically following the creation of settlements, accelerated conversion of forests to agricultural land, for collection of firewood, extraction of surface and ground water, fishing and hunting etc. (A. Martin 2005: 330- 332). The demographic changes in the host country because of migration may heighten native sentiments among the majority groups who might perceive it as a threat to their dominant social status. If the needs of migrants are similar to the domestic minorities in the host area, the minorities in the host may feel that
migrants may further dilute their strength. The conflicts in the North East Indian states i.e. Assam, Tripura, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland have been fuelled due to migration of Bangladeshis (Gleditsch 2006: 342-43).

![Diagram of Population Migration Effects]

The introduction of transmigrasi or transmigration programme by the Indonesian government has been designed to relieve population pressure in the densely populated areas of Java, Bali and Madura by encouraging families to resettle in the sparsely populated outer islands, especially Sumatra, Kalimantan and West Papua. This created conflict in the region. The programme was started by the Dutch colonial power in the early 20th century, but continued by both the Sukarno and Suharto regimes. The Indonesia government’s five-year plans also incorporated the same to move very large numbers of people: 250000 families during 1974-79, 500000 families during 1979-83 and 750000 families in 1983-88 (Tirtosudarmo 2001: 199-227). Though the targets were not achieved
fully but large numbers of people were settled. Violent conflicts broke out between indigenous groups and settlers from the inner islands; which were particularly intense in Kalimantan, where Dayak tribesman attacked the predominantly Madurese transmigrants. Hundreds were killed and thousands of Madurese families fled their villages and had to be evacuated by the Government (Castles 2002: 7).

1.XI.ii_Environmental Changes

Population migration can also occur when there persists environmental crisis, such as floods, droughts, deforestation etc. Environmental degradation may generate massive population displacement which in turn can ignite social conflict in the receiving states by depleting the resources in the host country. Resource scarcity has become an omnipresent feature of human existence and this scarcity has become so severe that it may seriously threaten the very survival of human being. It's a common belief that migration not only strains the economic resources and the administrative structure of the host country but also leads to political instability and ethnic polarization which may result in destruction (Goldstone 2002: 5-6 & Gaan 2001: 151-152).

Environmental changes and scarcity in a country can lead to serious conflict between the migrants and the natives in the receiving country (Dixon 1995: 27-28). There are three types of environmental scarcity for which population migration occurs. The three environmental scarcities are - firstly, supply induced scarcity is caused by the degradation and depletion of environmental resources for e.g. the erosion of cropland. Secondly, the demand induced scarcity results from population growth within a region or increased per capita consumption of a resource, either of which heightens the demand for the resource. Thirdly, structural scarcity arises from an unequal social distribution of resources that concentrates it in the hands of relatively few people while the remaining population suffers from shortages. These scarcities force the people to migrate to another location for survival. This may lead to armed conflict and violence in the receiving end in the same way they occur in the sending country (Pericipal & Dixon 1998: 280).

Dixon (1991: 78) views, "poor countries will in general be more vulnerable to environmental change than rich ones and therefore environmentally induced conflicts are
likely to arise first in the developing countries.” Dixon (1994: 20) views, “environmental degradation might generate massive population displacements which in turn can ignite social conflict. Conflict is not obviously a necessary consequence of migration nor is it clear that environmental degradation by itself is a major cause of population movements.” Moreover Dixon (1994: 24-26), “demography and political economy in other words are the most salient causal factors. Population increase appears as a central underlying cause of both environmental degradation and migration. Due to demographic pressures, population concentrations develop in marginal areas where they are vulnerable to even small changes in the environment. Few numbers of poor migrants would hardly be a cause of conflict in the receiving areas. They are too weak to make demands, and too few to be an agent of destabilization, rather they are more likely to become passive victims than a source of conflicts.” Environmental scarcity is one of the major causes of rural-urban migration in South Africa that generated conflict among the migrants and the local people. Conflict over scarce resources, such as minerals, water and particularly territory is a major source of armed struggle in the migrants receiving state. Recently wide ranging claims have been made to the effect that environmental degradation will increase resource scarcity and therefore, contribute to an increase in armed conflict (Pericipal & Dixon 1998: 290-296).

Generally people can adapt to adverse environmental changes either by defending against them, or by leaving the affected areas and the choice between these options largely depends on the extent of change and the technical capabilities of the society. A developed society/developed countries are likely to defend against the changes. On the other hand least developed countries (LDCs) or the developing countries are less able to do so since this effort requires high levels of investment and technological expertise, which they lack. People living in LDCs may have no choice but to migrate from the affected areas. Environmental migration, in turn, increases the livelihood conflict at its destination due to several reasons. There are always high possibility of conflict between environmental migrants and the residents at the migrant’s destination. According to Reuveny (2005), the environmental migration can cause conflict in the receiving state through four channels including:

52
1. The arrival of migrants can be a burden in the destination’s economy and natural resources, promoting native-migrant competition for controlling over economic and natural resources. The resource pressures are expected to rise with the rise in population of migrants and residents. When economic and natural resources are scarce at the migration’s destination and the population pressures are high, people may attempt to secure or sometimes forcefully snatch resources, particularly when there are underdeveloped property right institutions.

2. When environmental migrants and residents belong to different ethnic groups, the arrival of many newcomers over a relatively short period of time may upset a precarious ethnic balance. If migrants have brethren in the destination, residents may consider the combined bloc as a threat. Host countries may fear separatism, and migrants may attempt to reunify with their home country, thus promoting aggressive nativist responses.

3. Environmental migration provides opportunities to exploit the situation, which generates tension. For example, the migrants' origin country may suspect that the receiving country accepts migrants in order to upset the ethnic balance in the origin country. The receiving government may suspect that migrants wish to destabilize its rule by enabling penetration by the origin country. Also, the origin country may resent (actual or perceived) mistreatment of migrants by the receiving country.

4. The conflict could follow existing fault lines. For example, pastoralists and farmers may compete over land. Migrants and residents may compete over jobs. Environmental migration from rural to urban areas— another fault line—presents competing effects. Political entrepreneurs in urban areas may exploit rural migrants’ frustration and poverty and mobilize them to challenge the state. Threatened, the state may respond with force. However, urban settings offer migrants more opportunities, which can alleviate pressures and, therefore, reduce the likelihood of conflict (Reuveny, 2005: 4-5).

The deforestation is most fundamentally a result of population growth in a political economy characterised by systematic oppression and gross corruption in Haiti. Yet
deforestation leads to soil erosion which has an independent and accelerating effect on poverty. The total situation has produced large-scale outmigration for several years. Some forms of environmental degradation are a result of poverty (e.g. air and water pollution). Others stem out from economic growth (for e.g. deforestation and industrial pollution). Population increase appears to be the most central, cause of both environmental degradation and migration. Due to demographic pressure, population concentrations develop in marginal areas where they are vulnerable to even small changes in the environment (Suhrke 1993: 3-8).

Historically, migration has certainly been associated with violent conflicts. Ancient migrations and colonial expansion involved conquest of territory and peoples; later, spontaneous or colonially induced migrations in Africa and Asia contributed to ethnic conflict that has persisted in the post-colonial states. Current conflict in the Indian subcontinent alone suggests the severity of migration. Native people and new settlers fight over land (the Northeast hill areas), old and new migrants clash over political power in urban areas (the Mohajir and the Sindhi in Karachi). Native movements turn violent to exclude newcomers (from Assam to Bombay), and industrial workers fight with displaced tribal people over employment (e.g., in Bihar) (Suhrke 1993: 15). International migration has an additional conflict potential because it involves two distinct sovereignties (Weiner 1992-1993: 91-93).

Baechler's extensive study of the relationships between environmental change and violent conflicts found that environmental degradation could be the most vital catalyst in ethnic or political conflicts. The countries having relatively low and high population growth rates may encounter population changes having long lasting impacts on demography. It is not the absolute rate of population growth but sometimes the imbalance between growth in specific sectors of the population and growth of the economy is crucial to the creation of conflicts. Demographic factors have also proved highly useful for forecasting political risks. Even revolutions are also frequently marked by shifts in marriages and birth rates (depending on whether the post revolutionary period is one of rampant optimism or pessimism), in urbanization (if the new regime sponsors the new development), in education (as the new regime and the violence associated with it may
either attract migrants from abroad or send them across borders seeking escape from violence or persecution) (Goldstone 2002: 6-7, 17-18).

The recent neo-classical work on the environmental sources of civil wars actually inverts the neo-Malthusian position, arguing that an abundance of natural resources, rather than scarcity, is more likely to produce armed conflict. Environmental stress, including the loss of valuable agricultural land and decrease in crop yields due to soil erosion or pollution, the loss of timber and fuel wood due to unsustainable cultivation practices and the loss of hydroelectric power. Transportation due to the siltation of rivers and reservoirs can also lead to decline in the economy and reduce the flow of revenue to the state (Suhrke 1993: 23-29).

1.XI.iii Competition due to Dearth of Resources

Resource scarcity leading to conflict may evolve endogenously following an external shock, such as a rapid increase in population due to inward migration (Reuveny & Maxwell 2000: 302). The arrival of migrants can be a burden in the destination’s economy and resources and the pressure on resources would increase due to rise in population. Thus, people may attempt or fight to secure or snatch resources, particularly when there are underdeveloped property right institutions (Dixon 1994: 21-23; Reuveny 2005: 4). According to the UNEP report (2009: 8-9), ‘resource scarcity can exacerbate conflict thus increasing the likelihood that it might become violent. For example, it has been found that natural resources play role in at 40 percent of all violent intrastate conflicts in the world’ (Gendron & Hoffman 2010: 3-4).

Renewable resource scarcity (e.g., land degradation, deforestation, fisheries depletion, food scarcity, and water scarcity) is increasingly a factor that contributes to conflict. The conflict over renewable resources has typically occurred in LDC’s during post-1945 era. Land scarcity and deforestation are said to have played a role in the 1994 Rwandan civil war, whereas land pressures and hunger stimulated the Chiapas uprising in México in the early 1990s (Baechler 1998: 24-28). Other examples involve conflict over scarce water. Some observers in fact argue that future wars will be increasingly about water. (Reuveny & Maxwell 2001: 720-721).
1.XII. Conflict and Violence

Thus, the pressure of population will lead to environmental changes and degeneration of resources which would further lead to competition between the inhabitants and the migrants resulted in conflict in the host country. The violence may be of various natures; i.e. ethnic, economic and land related conflict among the migrants and the local inhabitants involving various groups which would finally lead to political instability. The political instability in the host country may give birth to insurgency problem (Dixon 1994: 7-8; Ware 2005: 435-436).

1.XII.1. Ethnic Conflict

Migration whether it is voluntary/forced/legal or illegal has potential to generate conflict in receiving area by triggering competition for resources and other civic amenities. Migration can arise from conflicting situations like sending countries and has potential to generate dissension in the receiving country when there exists ethnic imbalances. If the inhabitants of the host countries are ethnically sensitive and lack coherence, there are high chances of conflict (Richmond 1988: 41-42). Forced migrants are generated through conflicting situations i.e. civil wars, political repression, and regime change; natural calamities or man-made disaster. These displaced migrants can change the ethnic composition of the host area by initiating economic competition of land and resources. They might lead to impoverishment, and encroachment of ecologically fragile areas or bring with them arms, combatants and ideologies that are conducive to violence and mobilize opposition directed at their country of origin as well as their host country (Castles 2002: 3-4; Gleditsch 2006: 338).

Lee (2001: 73-75) finds complex causes of forced migration from Bangladesh. Bangladesh’s extremely dense population and its exposure to cyclones, floods, ethnic division, economic development projects, political instabilities like - state repression appears as the quintessential example of forced migration generating conflict in the North-Eastern part of India. The CISS report points out that the ethnic strife in the Northeastern states of India is the result of population migration from Bangladesh and Indian states of West Bengal, Bihar and others. The report also views that population
migration from Bangladesh in the near future may be driven by climate change which includes rising sea levels, extreme weather events; floods arising from deforestation in the watersheds upstream on the Ganges and the Brahmaputra rivers. The strong force of migration as a cause of population displacement can be understood in context of tribal, cultural, religious, and economic cleavages that often channel and aggravate intergroup hostility (CISS Report 1990: 16-17).

Migration within and into a multi-ethnic society frequently has destabilizing effects and tends to perpetuate intense conflicts through both integrative and disintegrative potentialities. People from different ethnic group/background from another country, may lead to a sense of awareness among the natives about benefits of the larger national polity and economy; or it can lead to civil strife as it did in Nigeria and Malaysia. Migration may precipitate self-awareness both on part of the migrants and indigenous people. Ethnic self-awareness takes place when individuals are able to contrast their cultural characteristics with that of the migrants (Debabarma 2001: 151-152).

Migration has a cumulative effect on the linguistic heterogeneity with those of others. For example, the migration of people from Bangladesh to India is a peculiar and perennial phenomenon, which over the years caused various problems in Tripura causing the most serious being ethnic conflict between the Boroks (indigenous people) and the migrants. The imposition of Driglam Namzah (cultural code of conduct) in 1980s by the Bhutanese government forcing all Bhutanese to conform to the Drupka culture, language and dress, is nothing but a policy to drive out the Bhutanese Nepalese (also known as Lhotsampas). These led to the exodus of thousands of Bhutanese Nepalese into Nepal. The raison d'être of the official policy of citizenship and other cultural measures adopted by Bhutan was made public saying that Bhutan would never compromise on one nation and one people formula that aimed at long term security and integrity of Bhutan and its survival as a nation (Muni & Baral 1996: 5-10).

1.XII.ii Economic Conflict

Migrants may pose actual or perceived negative economic externalities. Migrants compete with locals over employment, housing, land, water, constitutes an economic
threat. Migrants can depress wages when they enter the labour force and lead to an increase in prices as they consume goods, services, housing etc. This may lead to a decline in living standards for politically important segments of the indigenous population, particularly those who are in greatest competition with the migrants. Such a decline may lead to a setting that invites violence against migrants as well as more general dissatisfaction (Gleditsch 2006: 344-345; Borjas 1989: 457-460; A. Martin 2005: 331). The conflict that has arisen between the natives of Telangana and the Andhra’s in India is another example. The migration of people from the most prosperous agricultural delta districts of Andhra Pradesh to Telangana was a major factor of conflict. The local people were anxious over the migrants, because they were mostly engaged in the state administrative services, and were acquiring land in the countryside. They had a predominant power in the state government. These made the educated middle classes of Telangana jealous and they felt deprived. They thus turned against the people from Andhra Pradesh. They demanded greater power sharing in the state government and sought preferential rules for employment for the Telangana people (Weiner 1978: 265-272).

The attack on the Bihari community in Assam and Maharashtra displays the economic conflict occurred between indigenous population and the migrants (Crush & Ramachandra 2009: 64). The worst attack on non-Assamese people occurred in November 2003, when a major wave of violence was launched against Hindi-speaking people coming from Bihar to find seasonal work in Assam. The conflict was triggered by row over jobs and reported intimidation of Assamese people in Bihar and violence quickly spread from the capital city of Guwahati to areas in Upper Assam. Mobs and militants killed at least 56 people and torched hundreds of houses. There is no estimate of the number of people who became internally displaced within the state, but at least 18,000 fled to about 40 camps in and outside Assam (Relief Web 2004).

1.XII.iii Land related Conflict

When people migrate, they first grab land and other resources in the receiving country/state but also involved in conflict with the indigenous population. The control
over renewable natural resources can be the structural causes and sustaining factors in struggles for power among the migrants and the natives. Competition between the local population and the migrants arises when there is a consensus on the value of given objects or goals, both material and symbolic and when these are in short supply. Nevertheless it is demonstrated that changes in land use and land access have been a significant factors of high-intensity conflicts in Africa. Though not being the root causes, they are seen as one of the ‘sustaining’ causes of conflict. Competition for access over land exacerbated by the enforced or spontaneous migration is more commonly said to be a source of conflict (Huggins, et al. 2005: 1-4).

The conflict between the indigenous people of CHT and Bengali speaking settlers is an example. Migration of Bengali speaking people from other parts of Bangladesh due to the resettlement policies of the government triggered a sense of anger among the indigenous people. The migration of Bengali speaking people in the CHT region occurred after the construction of Kaptai dam during 1962-67. The construction of dam generated new income and job opportunities in the region, for which the Bengali population from other parts of the country migrated. The government of Bangladesh also facilitated migration by removing the Special Status Area of CHT in 1963-64. This policy also lifted the restrictions on the entry and land settlement rights of non-indigenous people. The continuous influx of Bengalis, land grabbing and their settlement policies of the government drastically altered the demographic set up of CHT by reducing the indigenous people to minority in their ancestral homeland, which finally led to an armed conflict between the migrants and the CHT people. Later the conflict became serious and turned out to be an insurgent movement in the region (Adnan 2003: 51-54).

The migration of the people from Minahasa, Bali, and South Sulawesi to Bolaang Mangondow and the city of Bitung is an example related to land grabbing leading to conflict. In case with Bolaang Mangondow city, migrants have made significant contribution for the development of the district agricultural sector. Moreover, in the district of North Sulawesi Province, migrants attempted to produce considerable amount of agriculture products, mainly rice, which made the district a main source of supply for that region. On the other hand, the negative impact of the existence of migrants in this
area has inevitably sparked conflicts among various ethnic groups. The existence of the migrants has stimulated conflicts between local people and local government, particularly with those related to land acquisition used for transmigration resettlement. As a typical rural society, control over land resources was a significant factor that influenced income. Therefore, it was not surprising to find that competition to control agricultural land became the prominent conflict in Bolaang Mangondow (Noveria 2002: 1-10).

1.XII.iv. Political Instability

Migration may result in conflict if the overall political stability is scarce or instability in the receiving area persists (Whitaker 2003: 245). Whitaker on the basis of case studies of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (the former Zaire) and Tanzania in the 1990s, compared the situation in both countries when migration of people from Rwanda had to be accommodated. In DRC, the collapsing political system facilitated a climate in which opposition groups and rebel movements could easily gain momentum to struggle against dictator Mobutu. By contrast, in Tanzania economic reform and political democratization processes had been initiated which facilitated extensive legitimacy of the government. As a result, Tanzania was more capable of providing a stable political environment for migrants than the DRC (Warnecke A. et. al 2010: 4-5).

Migration can lead to group-identity conflicts for controlling resources in the host country. If the receiving country having economic and other social problems can result in group-identity conflicts, which in turn would cause deprivation conflicts, such as civil strife and insurgency. Strong evidences shows that due to large-scale migration from Bangladesh to Assam has produced group identity conflicts and even the birth of insurgency in the state (Dixon 1994: 21-22). For example, in Tripura, the original Buddhist and Christian inhabitants make up less than 30 percent of the state’s population. The rest are Hindu migrants from East Pakistan or Bangladesh. This shift in the ethnic balance precipitated a violent insurgency between 1980 and 1988 that diminished only after the government agreed to return land to dispossessed Tripuris and to stop influx of Bangladeshis (Dixon 1994: 23).
The process of socio-cultural adaptation and assimilation of migrants in the receiving country/state may occur without undue conflict when the receiving society is experiencing economic growth and relative affluence. However it can give rise to problems when unemployment is high or there exist competition for scarce resources, such as affordable housing, access to higher education or the benefits of a welfare state. Migration enables people from different groups to share place of residence. Migrants are also expected to tolerate the social, economic and cultural differences in order to make a harmonious living condition. However, sometimes this could not be achieved easily because in some cases there are resistant groups who will not accept other groups. These groups particularly in the host states demonstrate their nationality, ethnicity in different way and try to alienate the migrants. Inevitably, this attitude sparks conflict among different groups, either between migrants and local people or among migrants itself (Richmond 1988: 49-50).

It is observed that the conditions of underdevelopment and income disparity will raise the risk of conflict. The developed economies can absorb an influx of migrants into various sectors but the underdeveloped economies – reliant on the environment for survival – are more limited in this regard and are therefore, more prone to conflict. The relative importance of these channels can vary across cases, and the likelihood of conflict is likely to rise as more channels operate simultaneously. These forces can also promote conflict from ordinary migration. When migration flows are slow and small, receiving countries can absorb them smoothly (Reuveny 2005: 5-6). The migrants who have been weak and marginal in the sending countries, depending on the context; they may remain weak in the receiving countries which limits their ability to organize and to make demands to trigger conflicts. To trigger conflicts the migrants need support of a state, either of the receiving or an external one without the support of the state, migrants are less likely to produce violence and undergo silent misery and death that hardly can destabilize a state. On the other hand, migration does not always produce bad results. It can act as a safety valve by reducing conflict in the sending area. Depending on the economic context, it can ease labour shortages in the receiving area, as it sometimes has; for instance, Malaysia,
Canada and Thailand show the astonishing capacity of some societies to absorb migrants without conflict (Dixon 1994: 20).

The migration-conflict is usually a result of several interrelated causes and can hardly be traced to a single causal explanation. If migration in the receiving area is properly managed, the conflicts arising out of migration could be avoided. In case with large-scale migration, additional exacerbating factors are of utmost importance because they might serve to diffuse or escalate conflicts in receiving areas. It is important to identify the regions which will most likely be the receiving area of migrants that already faced highly volatile situations with respect to disagreements and tensions. These areas may be subject to increased economic scarcity and pressure and also have limited capacities to deal with the flow of large-scale migration. The receiving communities must be supported for devising strategies aiming at control and management of rising migration. The different kinds of response mechanisms (e.g., disaster management vs. long-term adaptation planning) need to be established in the receiving areas. The concerned government and also the international donors need to address the challenges to provide a sustainable management of the natural resource base, to avoid risks of instability and conflict in future, and to control the costs needed for appropriate capacity building. However, these efforts demand political leadership and financial assistance to build up the institutional and bureaucratic capacities (Warnecke A. et. al 2010: 8).

People have been moving around the South Asian region in large numbers for centuries. Since the division of the subcontinent, millions have migrated from East Pakistan or Bangladesh to the Indian states of Assam, Tripura, and West Bengal. This enormous influx has produced pervasive social changes in the receiving regions. It has altered land distribution, economic relations, and the balance of political power between religious and ethnic groups, and it has triggered serious inter group conflict. The United Nation estimated that the population of Bangladesh will be 235 million by the year 2025. The population density is over 900 persons per square kilometre. In comparison population density in the Indian state of Assam are fewer than 300 per square kilometre. Since virtually all of the country’s good agricultural land has been exploited, populations
growth will cut in half the amount of cropland available per capita by 2025 in Bangladesh (Dixon 1994: 20-21).

From the above discussions we can observe that migration can lead to development as well as conflict in the host country. If the host country lacks communal or ethnic cohesion, the migration of a different race or community might lead to conflict with the indigenous population. Migration of the Bangladeshis had an adverse impact on the demography because of the large-scale influx. It led to the violent conflict among the indigenous populace in Assam, due to presence of large number of ethnic groups. It must be admitted that the feeling of alienation and the fear of being reduced to minority among the Assamese people were a major cause of conflict. However we can’t ignore the role of these migrant people in development of the Assam’s economy. Though they are engaged in most of the petty economic activities, the development of agriculture and other sectors is important even after being unskilled labourers (Weiner 1992-1993: 104-107).

1.XIV Theoretical Understanding

From the above discussion it is evident that it’s very difficult to explain the various aspects of migration and its consequences in sending and receiving countries through a single theoretical explanation. This is more so with regard to the Bangladeshi and Nepali migration into Assam. For better understanding the issue of Bangladeshi and Nepali migrants, there is an obvious need of assimilation of various models and theoretical frameworks of migration both in a larger and a local context. While taking some contemporary theories such as the equilibrium and the system theory as the main thrust in explaining certain situations in the context of Bangladeshi and Nepali migrants, we could possibly reinterpret many other theories. The equilibrium approach advocates that migration is the outcome of a choice process for individuals or households. The theory also conceptualizes migration as the geographical mobility of workers who are responding to the imbalance in the spatial distribution of land, labour, capital and national resources. The equilibrium approach is useful in understanding the internal migration patterns or for understanding international migration between culturally and economically similar countries. In case with the Bangladeshi and Nepali migration into
Assam, it is almost true that migration from both the countries has been caused by uneven distribution of land, labour, capital and natural resources. The approach says that international migration takes place in a culturally homogeneous country. In that context, Bangladeshi and Nepali migrants choose Assam as their destination because it has cultural as well as ethnic homogeneity based on the long historical linkages.

Apart from that the theory also views that migration occurs due to different levels of economic development and due to that disparity migrant’s move from lower wage to higher wage countries. Thus, the level of economic development and disparity existing between India – Bangladesh and Nepal can be considered as the cause of migration following the view of the Equilibrium theory. The differential level of wages existing between India – Bangladesh and Nepal also causing migration; for e.g. a migrant earning 100 BDT or 100 Nepali Rupee would obviously intend to migrate to India as the level of wage is high. And even if the migrant in India earns INR 100 it will be 135 BDT and 160 NR when converted the amount in Bangladeshi and Nepali Rupees. Thus, this cost benefit analysis of the migrants from both the countries resulted in movement.

More or less similar, the Neo-classical approach views that migration occurs due to the factors such as labour demand and supply, wage differentials etc. It is also argued that migration is a process of measuring the opportunities offered to the migrants in their current state, against opportunities offered at other places or nations. The theory views that migration is a ‘cost-benefit decision’ undertaken to maximize income by an individual migrating to places where income-maximizing opportunities are available. Apart scarcity of labour in the rich countries also causes migration. The high demand of labour in the capital rich country with higher wages attracts migrants. While, analysing the case study, the demand for labourers to work in available land in Assam during British rule was a major factor of population migration through the policy of hiring labour from outside the region. The migrants were provided land, higher wages to the migrants for further settlement with the motive of exploitation of resources in Assam. Thus, the Neo-classical approach is useful to understand the early migration of Bangladeshi and Nepalis into Assam.
Meanwhile, the dual labour market theory is also useful in understanding migration of both the communities in Assam. It views International migration occurs due to permanent demand for labours in certain advanced industrial nations. The theory also views that the natives are averse to jobs of manual labour or drudgery in a developed advanced countries. This aversions leads to demand of labourers for which migration occurs from low income countries, who entertain prospects of returning to their homeland some day, are willing to accept such jobs; because of their relatively poor standard of living back home. The migrants from Bangladesh and Nepal into Assam occurred due to scarcity of labourers in the secondary sector of the economy and migrants are still engaged in some petty economic activities.

The theory of new economics of labour migration is also important and useful in understanding the causal factors of the case study. The theory views that migration is a family strategy to diversify the sources of income and to minimize the risks of unemployment, loss of income or crop failures, poor income, low production of crops and poverty etc. in the origin and also to gain access to scarce investment capital, households send one or more family members to foreign labour market for further income. The migration of Bangladeshis and Nepalis into Assam can be viewed as the risk minimisation process of the migrants existing in their respective countries. The existence of poverty, unemployment, poor income, state and political repression are the major causes analysed to understand the case study. The maximising the income is also a motive of both the migrants into Assam.

Meanwhile, to understand and to find out the casual factors of migration from Bangladesh and Nepal, we can broadly follow Todaro’s and Lee’s model of push and pull factors of migration. Both the Bangladeshi and Nepali migration took place not because of the immediate prospect for improving their standard of living but to accelerate their acceptable level of income. Hence the people were ready to face any difficulties in a host state, Assam. The push factors of Bangladeshi migration are mainly the conditions that existing in Bangladesh for e.g. high population growth, environmental degradation, large-scale poverty, poor economic condition, political instability and lack of communal cohesion.
However in case with Nepali migration the same causal factors can be attributed except communal cohesion and a political treaty of 1950 under which the Nepali citizens and Indian citizens could go to each other country without any restriction on a reciprocal basis. Bangladesh has faced population explosion, and remains a country with the highest density of population in South Asia and in case with Nepali migrants are mostly economic and is facilitated through the treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950. On the other hand, the pull factors of migration in Assam include low density of population, availability of plentiful and fertile land on easy terms, employment (small) opportunities and cultural homogeneity.

The issue of Bangladeshi and Nepali migration into Assam can also be analyzed through the system approach which has an advantage because it takes into account a large variety of factors that play their role in migration including networks. The ethnic composition of Assam is a broad racial intermixture of Mongolian, Indo-Burmese, Indo-Iranian and Aryan origin. The tribes of Mongolian origin mostly inhabit the hilly tracks of Assam. Apart from that there are large numbers of concentrated Bengali speaking peoples mostly the Mymensingh settlers (from Bangladesh) and tea-garden labourers. The Assamese culture is a rich conglomeration of other ethnic races and based on practices and assimilated beliefs and Assamese language resembles with many other languages like Bengali, Nepali and Oriya.

To understand the case study and the dimensions of illegal migration Todaro and Maruszko model is useful. It views that individual's decisions to migrate illegally depends on economic factors, particularly for employment opportunity and expectation for higher wages. However, this decision depends on probability and chances of getting employment opportunities, being apprehended during border crossing and while stay and the implicit tax that is imposed by employers who take advantage of the migrant's illegal status by paying less than market wages. By calculating all these cost and benefit takes decision to migrate illegally. To understand the illegal migration from Bangladesh this model is useful to understand cost of migrating illegally into India. However, there is no theory to explain international migration under a bilateral agreement existing in various countries. With the increase of international migration there has been resurgence for
strengthening international cooperation for managing migration. This has come out and pursued in the form of various bilateral, regional and multilateral arrangement. To understand Nepali migration under the treaty of 1950 is useful developing policies to that similar migration pattern between India and Nepal.

It has been observed that the population growth rate in Assam has been exceptionally high due to the migration. Assam's population of 18 million people, according to the 1991 census, is considerably greater than what all-Indian rates of population growth would suggest. The Nativist movements claim about the presence of four million Bangladeshi migrants who mostly arrived in the 1961-68 period. This has caused considerable and acute social conflict. The Bangladeshis became the target of Assamese Nativist movements which feared the migrants were taking both land and middle class positions from the indigenous population nativist agitation primarily focused on the political access of migrants and tried to prevent them from voting. Around 3,000-5,000 Bangladeshi as well as other migrants including Nepalis were massacred in the Brahmaputra valley in 1983.

At the same time the Assamese people did not oppose the migration of Nepali's and perhaps welcome them as they provided the labour requirements. Thus, they gave an opportunity to the Nepali migrants to assimilate with the Assamese language, culture and customs. The anti-Nepali feeling in Assam was first observed during the Assam Movement period only. The slow pace of development and neglect of the region spread the feeling of disension and alienated indigenous people, who began to see the migrants or the non-indigenous groups as the cause of their predicament and a threat to their identity. The issue was highlighted mainly by the student's organization, AASU and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) in 1980, which suggested that the infiltration of illegal foreigners had created a 'monstrous problem'. The indigenous population first targeted Bangladeshi migrants and they also included Nepalis in the anti-foreigner discourse. The Nepalis were mostly displaced from the Char (mid-stream sand bars) and the Chapari (grazing reserve) areas, and from the Kaziranga Reserve Forests in Assam. During the Assam Movement (1979-85) the unprecedented violence, demonstrations and sporadic assaults mainly targeting Bangladesh migrants forced the Nepalis to leave.
Following the violence in Nellie, Chowl Khowa Chapari and other areas a large number of Nepalis were displaced. It must be remembered that Nepalis were not generally targeted in Assam movement period; they were displaced only because of the threat perceived.

The Congress party and the local politicians facilitated the Bangladeshi migrants to enter into Assam because it enabled them to build up "vote-banks". By registering the migrants as voters, a stable supply of votes for the party was built. The structure of political competition in Assam rendered the migrants particularly useful to the nationally dominant but locally weak Congress Party. This also explains why it might have been possible for millions of Bangladeshi migrants to take up residence in a rather short period of time especially during 1961-1985. For illegal migrants, it opened a formal entry to civil society and associated benefit such as ration cards, the right to squat or purchase land and The Bangladeshi migrants altered the economy, land distribution and political power balance in the receiving Assam. Unlike in the state of Assam, in the state of Tripura also the original, primarily Buddhist or Christian people became minority due to the Bangladeshi migration. By 1981, they consisted of only about one third of the total population, down from about 90% in 1947. Resentful and increasingly competitive with Bengali migrants over land and resources, the native people turned to violence during 1980 to 1988. The government tried to calm the local outrage in the 1990s by returning land to Tripuris owners, and by tightening the controls over migration. However, the migration and the violence continued, albeit at a lower intensity.