CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
Migration has become a global phenomenon confronting both the developed and developing nations. As old as human civilisation, it can be defined as a process of continuous human transportation or geographical movement with varying volume, timing and intentions. With the advancement of science and technology, there has been a revolutionary change in the mode of transportation. Information about opportunities abroad is much easier to get than it was earlier. All these factors have introduced a greater flexibility making it easier to migrate.

The reasons for migration are many and varied, and are subjective to individual and situational variations. A broad classification of reasons can be made on the basis of economic, social, political, and personal factors. Migration is always rationalised by “lack of opportunities” in one’s own country and is undertaken in pursuance of the betterment of life, whereby a person can get satisfactory economic returns and other social benefits.

A plethora of literature is available on migratory trends and factors of migration. Most of these models are related to specific geographical area studies and are limited to the study of migration between underdeveloped and developed countries or rural and urban areas. A survey of literature on migration shows that though migration is a global phenomenon, it differs from case to case. Some of the important models are discussed below.

Ravenstien’s law of migration is the oldest theory which has dealt with migration in a systematic manner. According to him, distance determines the volume of migration and long distance migration is only undertaken where returns are more, or technical educational facilities are there or the job involves adventure. He had

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stated hypothetically that the volume of migration would increase with the advance of transport and communication and need for specialised jobs. Women play an important role in internal migration as men do in international migration.

Ravenstien also held the view that people of rural areas are more migratory than the urbanites. Later many other experts subscribed to similar views. Lewis-Fei-Ranis model deals with dual economy system i.e. rural sector and industrial sector. Agricultural sector is basically the rural sector and industrial sector is the urban sector. Migration from the agricultural sector to urban sector occurs because the former is characterised by low productivity, subsistence sector with surplus labour and under employment. However, the latter is characterised as a dynamic sector that provides remunerative employment to the labourer. The differentiation of wage between agricultural and industrial sectors is greatly responsible for rural-urban migration.

M.P. Todaro, a well known scholar on migration, holds the view that the decision of the migrants is influenced by their expected income in the event of getting employment in the modern urban sector. It takes into account 'expected' rather than 'actual' rural-urban real wage differentials. According to him, migration is stimulated primarily by economic considerations of relative benefits and cost, mostly financial but also psychological.

Everett S. Lee's theory on migration includes broad factors, both positive and negative, associated with the area of origin and destination that influences the decision to migrate. He has divided these factors into: (a) factors associated with the area of origin; (b) factors associated with the area of destination; (c) intervening

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2 Francis Cherulinam, Migration (Delhi, 1987), pp. 12-13
3 M.P. Todaro, Internal Migration in Developing Countries (Geneva, 1976), pp. 35-6, as cited in A.S. Oberoi and H.K. Manmohan Singh, Causes and consequences of Internal Migration: A Study in the Indian Punjab (Delhi, 1983), p.28
4 ibid
obstacles; and (d) personal factors. As he puts it, “the decision to migrate...is never completely rational.” The volume of migration according to Lee depends on diversity of areas, diversity of people, difficulty in surmounting intervening obstacles and fluctuation of economy. It tends to increase with time if restriction is not imposed and it is linked with the progress of the area and the country.

The theorists who subscribe to the model that is basically known as the developed and underdeveloped model, are Lenin and Rosa Luxembourg. The dependency theory of migration is propounded by Lenin in his book, ‘Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism’ and Rosa Luxembourg in her book ‘The Accumulation Of Capital: A Critic’. Lenin states that “capitalism has created a particular sort of transmigration of people. Countries where industries develop rapidly, using machines to a great extent and excluding backward countries from the world market, create salaries above the average and attract the workers from less developed countries.”

Rosa Luxembourg, an exponent of communist interpretation of migration, is of the view that “capital needs other races to exploit territories where white man cannot work. It must be able to mobilise world labour power without restriction in order to utilise all productive forces of the globe up to the limit imposed by a system of producing surplus value.”

The dependency theorists hold that emigration is contrary to the interest of the masses of the developing countries and serves the interest of world capitalism. According to them, the three terms ‘backward’, ‘underdeveloped’, and ‘dependence’

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5 Everett S. Lee, “A Theory of Migration” Demography (Washington), vol.3, no.1, p.50
6 ibid, p.51.
7 For details, see ibid, pp.52-4. For characteristics of the migrants see p.56-7.
represent alternative emphasis on different dimensions of the alleged effect of imperialism on the third world. Marshall, one of the theorists, holds that "controlled emigration contributes more to the growth of the developed than the underdeveloped economy and consequently helps to perpetuate international inequalities."\(^{10}\)

Migration can also be explained as a dimension of interdependence between the sending and the receiving countries. The exponents of this theory are Bloomfield, Robert Kochare and Joseph Mye. These theorists believe that migration is an outcome of mutual dependence and is also dependent on bilateral relations\(^{11}\). R.M. Prothero is of the view that contemporary migratory movements are regulated broadly by two facts. Firstly, the present pattern of economy has given rise to regional imbalances in global society which has resulted in imbalances between regions due to unplanned economic development in a free enterprise, capitalist system and secondly countries go for selected migrants endowed with special types of skill which are needed without having any tension on the social front.\(^{12}\)

L.A. Sjaastad, an eminent scholar, however differs from the above theorist in his analysis of migration. He has dealt with the expected costs and returns of human migration which is known as the human investment theory\(^ {13}\). According to him, the returns are divided into money and non-money components. Monetary components are materialistic needs whereas, non-money components are "psychic benefits".\(^ {14}\) This model assumes that a human being can assess his expected life span income

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10 Adhler, n.8, pp. 36-7
11 Stephen Adhler, n.8, pp. 38-43.
14 ibid
streams at the present place of employment and other possible destinations and always tries to maximise his action for economic returns.

Apart from the above models, there are many factors which play an important role in human migration. The factors which causes migration are embedded in the socio-economic and the political conditions of a country and thus can be described as complex and multi-dimensional. Interplay of many factors induce a motivation to migrate. Migration is largely dependent on subjective individual decisions, which are influenced by various social, economic, political, and personal factors. Before taking a decision to migrate, the migrant is confronted with a series of self introspective questions in terms of opportunities in social and economic spheres.

Among other factors, shortage of labour in comparison to the available opportunities, demand for specialised skill and techniques in addition to better socio-economic and political conditions, incentives in the form of issuing visas, assistance towards traveling expenses, better facility for higher research to satisfy ones intellectual pursuits, lead to migration.

Further, the economic factor plays an important role. The economic disparities between nations has been largely responsible for the migration from third world and developing nations. In such a situation, the rationality of a migrant’s behaviour is simple and can be explained as part of “complimentary derivatives and dependent rationality”. “It is a direct function of the prevailing socio-economic structure which in most under-developed countries is invariably entrenched in the political, economic control exercised by the mutually beneficial alliance between the ruling compradors and international monopoly capital”.15

Inequality in the wages between developed countries and less developed countries is wide. According to a World Bank report, “the most prosperous groups of

15 Nanda R Shrestha, Landlessness and Labour Migration in Nepal (Westview, 1990), p.82
workers in the world—the skilled workers of the industrial countries—now earn on an average some sixty times more than the poorest group—the farmers of the Sub-Saharan Africa.... The ratio between the wages of the richest and the poorest groups in the international wage hierarchy... could fall from an estimated sixty to one in 1992 to fifty to one by 2010”.  

It is not only a differentiation in wage but also the problem of unemployment, poverty etc. that has been a major stumbling block confronting most of underdeveloped and developing countries. Certain menial jobs shunned by Europeans like ‘agriculture, child care, custodial and cleaning sector’, are taken up by the migrants from underdeveloped countries. Structural transformation in economy in most of the developing countries has been accelerated by the establishment of small and large scale industries. It can be said that the flow of migration is generally determined by ‘receiving countries’ stage of economic evolution which determines not only the type, number and characteristics of migrants but also the socio-economic structure in which they settle”.

Advancement of modern technology after the industrial revolution, has resulted in a radical change in the field of agriculture which previously was dependent on manual labour. Penetration of capital intensive method of production into the agricultural sector, the substitution of products made by rural artisans by factory manufactured goods and mechanisation of certain manual works reduced labour requirement in rural areas. Even without significant utilisation of scientific

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tools, agrarian sector of the developing countries are said to be characterised by existence of surplus labor, in the form of disguised unemployment and open unemployment. Moreover, higher return in terms of wages and other benefits lowered the demand for farm labour and also loosened the attachment of the farmer for his land.

Development in communication networks play an important role in migration. The fast growing communication network provides various information about opportunities available in different countries. This helps migrants to take decisions according to their qualifications and the requirements of the host country without any apprehension. The migrant network "connects migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin" thereby making immigration risk-free and costless.

Demographic factors play a very important role in migration. It is estimated that "the number of international migrants in the world, including refugees, is in excess of 125 million, about half of them in the developing countries. In recent years, the main receiving countries in the developed world registered a net migration intake of approximately 1.4 million persons annually, about two thirds of whom originated in developing countries". The population growth gives rise to unemployment, underemployment, starvation and ultimately leads to conflict

19 Cherulinam, n.2, p.21
disrupting social cohesion. Many people migrate to other countries due to the poor living conditions in their native country. Environmental factors like natural calamities also cause migration. Countries or regions that are more vulnerable to natural calamities like land sliding, flood, cyclone, drought, earth quake etc. results in exodus of people, to different countries.

The political factor can lead to forced migration, as in the case of those who are otherwise known as refugees. The difference between political migration and migration due to economic and social factor has been explained as:

Political migration has often exerted a disruptive influence on the economies of the countries, where it originated, while in receiving countries it has led, at least in short- run, to heavier expenditure, unemployment and inflationary pressures. Economic migration on the other hand, has benefited both emigration and immigration countries by providing an outlet for the energies of millions of men where as the refugees have often been forced down in the occupational and social ladder, the migrant worker has usually been able to better his lot.23

The entire gamut of factors leading to migration in short can be compartmentalised into two broad categories- ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors of migration. Internal dynamics like indigenous factors of socio-economic and political hazards compel a person to leave the country. The ‘pull’ factors are the external dynamics attracting the migrants to emigrate. These positive factors of relative gains and favourable conditions satisfy the individual’s aspirations thereby making emigration to the host country lucrative. In short, this factor can be described as ‘regular migration’ which is demand determined,24 resulting from a deliberate decision on the part of the receiving countries to admit a foreigner or a group of foreigners in

fulfillment of specific economic, social or humanitarian objectives. On the other hand, irregular migrations are, with a very few exceptions, “supply determined”. by reasons of the fact that a foreigner enters, stays or works in spite of contrary policy assumption. In addition to all these, the migration policies of sending and receiving countries play an important role. Immigration policy is generally determined by the level of infrastructural development, its demographic profile and social structure.

The type of migrants (skilled, semiskilled or nonskilled) is determined by whether the country is an agro-based economy or has a small and large scale industrial economy. It also depends on the estimation of manpower required. According to George J. Borjas, “[T]he host countries legislate immigration policies based on immigrants’ skill, wealth, occupation, political back ground and/or family relationship with residents of the host country...host countries “compete through those immigration policies for the human and physical capital of the potential migrants”.

The emigration policy of the sender country reflects the status of the country as a potential supplier. This policy is influenced by the cost incurred in the training and replacement of the manpower and remittance the country will get out of emigration. “Where a country is receiving large remittances, training workers for migration has yielded higher returns than training workers for employment in

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25 ibid, For details about the reason of migration from the third world see Mike Parnwell, Population Movement and The Third World (New York, 1993), pp. 4-10. 26 George, J. Borjas, “Economic Theory and International Migration”, International Migration Review, vol. 2-3, No.3, 1989, p.460. The Immigration Policy has three main objectives. (a) limitation on further immigration; (b) containment of the social cost of migration; and (c) most efficient utilisation of foreign manpower. See Gunter Schiller “Challenging Migration: A Review Policy with Special Reference to the Federal Republic of Germany”, International Labour Review, (Geneva), vol.3, No.4, April 1975, p.337.
domestic economy”\textsuperscript{27} This may be true in the case of semiskilled workers or skilled workers if they are extra in supply after fulfilling the domestic requirements. However, no country in the long run can afford the emigration of trained personnel without severely damaging its economic development. ‘The problem for a sending country is specially severe if the emigrants include those who impart skill, thus, impairing the accumulation of skill over a long term’\textsuperscript{28}. In some countries, emigration legislation imposes fines or penalties on potential migrants and makes it very difficult for residents to leave the source country. Some countries therefore, enter the migration market by setting emigration policies that regulates the types of individuals who can obtain exit visas. Emigration provides a ‘safety valve’ to the supplier country where the growing restive unemployed people can be an economic and social hazard and their growing dissatisfaction can be a threat to the smooth functioning of the polity. Emigration not only reduces the population pressure on the economy but distributes population in a more or less equitable manner among the regions which are sparsely populated by meeting the demand of required labor supply.

While formulating a policy on migration, migrants pose a problem to planners and other government officials at least in three areas firstly, jobs for unskilled workers and problem for unemployment and underdevelopment, secondly, housing and other public services and lastly, the political significance of this large proletariat for urban and national power structure.\textsuperscript{29} These are basic factors that are kept in mind for any of the countries which depend on immigrant workers.


\textsuperscript{28} ibid., p.419.

\textsuperscript{29} Safa and Du toit ed., \textit{Migration and Development} (Hague, 1975), p.6.
A country's emigration policy does not take into consideration the political and economic impact of emigration as compared to the immigration. The outcome of socio-economic policy implementation in the host country leads to voluntary, forced and illegal migration. It is the host country's policy that may lead to illegal migration, if the other alternative of legal entry is not permitted. Consequently, however, "immigration policy is the outcome of an interactive process at the national level that incorporates information based on a country's actual experience with immigrants as well as the perception of policy making elites regarding the role of immigration and its desirability". 30

II

Migration has multi-layered impact on the society, affecting its culture, economy and polity. The impact of migration is felt both in the host and sending society. It sometimes gives rise to serious complications in the bilateral relations. A cost-benefit analysis of both the sender and receiver countries is discussed below.

The sending country benefits in many ways from emigration. These are: (a) acquisition of scarce foreign exchange, relief from unemployment and underemployment, with a possible cumulative increase in the rate of savings, investment and economic development. It is also possible that work experience abroad will impart skill to the migrants which would prove useful to the home country upon return. 31

Remittance plays an important role as it "provides additional purchasing power to the receiver i.e. family members and these funds are used to purchase goods and services and thus soon enter local economy" 32. It has

31 Reginald, T. Appleyard, "Issues of Socio-cultural Adoption and Conflict", in Stahl, n.8, p.189
32 Gerald; E.Dirks, n.17. p.206
a strong positive impact on the balance of payments of recipient countries by helping to narrow the trade gaps, control external debt and facilitate debt servicing, dependence on remittances which compromise security in that continued flows depend on political and economic developments in the host country. The impact of remittances deposits on the development process are the extent to which they have been ‘wasted’ on consumption items and the extent to which funds have entered the country illegally or are held in deposit accounts in the host or other foreign countries.33

Remittance plays an important role by enhancing the economic status and general living standard of the people. Sudden and unexpected termination of remittances can also have a major negative impact on the local economy.34 This can happen when the migrants who are gainfully employed are either expelled or return to the sender country due to political and economic instability in a country. The countries who are facing the problem of employment are not in a position to absorb these returnee migrants and provide suitable jobs to them. This gives rise to frustration among the returnees and ultimately results in social tensions.

Migration provides a ‘safety valve’ to the pressures of over population and unemployment on the country of origin. It reduces the pressure on the government in fulfilling the demands arising in social service sectors. Emigration effectively reduces frustration among educated youths by providing an outlet for fulfillment of economic and personal aspirations, thereby providing societal stability.

At the same time, the emigration of competent and able-bodied persons to foreign countries affects the development of the sending country. The brain-drain syndrome especially has a negative effect. The cost incurred in the training of such personnel and the damage it causes to the development of a country can be gauged from the fact that competent manpower whose skill can be used for development exceeds the remittances they send. A study by Finkle and McIntosh concluded that it

33 Appleyard, n.27, p.492
34 Dirks, n.17. p.207
was the “cream of labour force” that was skimmed off for export and the vacancies they created were filled by less competent and inefficient workers.35 This is true in the case of migration among developing countries and between developing and developed countries. Emigration has never been able to bridge the economic gap between the sending and receiving countries. Migration also sometimes results in shortage of labour force.

Net out-migration at seasonal peaks or throughout the year reduces the available labour supply directly.... This may affect the traditional sector as much as the estate farmer-who cannot find enough hands or whose labourers are unwilling to work at prevailing rates because they have heard of foreign wages or because they receive remittances-but it can also deprive co-operatives or agricultural development projects of necessary manpower.36

The effect of the migration and the benefits attributed to the host countries can be immense. Initially the various compulsions of the migrants can be exploited to the advantage of the host country. In the beginning, the migrants are not demanding and are ready to work in the worst conditions and in those sectors of the economy where the indigenous labour force feels reluctant to work. The illegal immigrants are the people who are exploited the most since they do not have any valid documents and there exists the fear of being thrown away from the country. If a country is facing a labour shortage because of being sparsely populated or there is non-availability of required skilled or unskilled personnel or unwillingness of its people in taking up certain jobs, migration is considered as a boon and can provide the much needed labour to build the economy. If the migrants are professionally trained, the country benefits from their skill without investing any money or material

in their training. Compared to the wage offered in the host country, in most of the cases, the migrants are offered low wages compared to the indigenous people which they accept without any complaint as it is higher than what is offered to them in their own country.

Migrants are, however, considered as a burden when there is an unwanted supply of labour. A country having enough human resources at its disposal considers migration as an unwanted phenomenon. As a noted scholar puts it, "...they create a substantial economic burden by straining housing, education, and transportation facilities....in less developed countries, refugees may illegally occupy private or government lands; their goats, sheep, and cattle may decimate forests and grazing land; and they may use firewood, consume water, produce waste, and in other ways come to be regarded as an ecological threat." 37

Migrants have a tremendous impact on a country’s economy; either it boosts the economy or it stagnates the economy. When there is a shortage of labour, migrants can be instrumental in economic development. But when the country has abundant supply of generally low skilled labourers or manual labourers, the migrants are not welcome. With the increase in the population of the host society, social evils like poverty, unemployment and anti-social activities increase. The local people attribute the steady decline in their standard of living to the migrants, holding them responsible for their state of misery and considering them as their competitors. This precipitates intra ethnic rivalry. This is more apparent when the migrant groups are economically much better off due to sheer hard work and intelligence. The situation of this kind is exploited by the opposition of the host country. They accuse the government of appeasing the migrants and indirectly the country to which they belong. This type of attitude towards the migrants further alienates them. Their

assimilation and adaptability to the host country's society and culture takes a back seat.

Migrants affect the socio-cultural system of the host country in a number of ways. Migrants contribute to the enrichment of culture in the society. However in a multi-ethnic state, where the state does not identify with the culture of a particular group, assimilation is easier for the migrants. The immigrants exhibit their own class structure and are divided by various dialectic, region and diffusing political belief. In the host country, however, permutation and combination of ethnic identity is made to organise them into a cohesive group. It is the attitude of the natives and the government policy which determines alienation or assimilation. The decision to settle down in the host society makes assimilation easier. Conferment of citizenship on migrants who want to settle down makes adaptability to the host society easier.

The assertion of ethnic identity leading to the feeling of alienation is due to the state policies and the socio-economic situation, that determine the treatment meted out towards the migrants. Migrants add a new dimension to the politics in a heterogeneous society and divide the society between the immigrants and indigenous people leading to ethnic violence. The next section deals with migration and ethnic politics with the migrants defined as an ethnic group on the basis of common country of origin, belonging to a single socio-cultural or linguistic group and thus sharing a common bond in the country of immigration.

Multi-ethnic states are always vulnerable to intra ethnic cleavages which may weaken the state system. The ethnic politics itself speaks about the separateness and exclusivity of a particular ethnic group. The migrants develop a sense of alienation due to insecurity in an alien country. Insecurity emanates from the fact

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38 Ronald Skeldon. Population Mobility in Developing Countries: A Reinterpretation, (London, 1990), p.132
that they are a minority and have a completely different set of customs, tradition, culture and linguistic stock.

The migrants, as an ethnic group from a particular country, exhibit cohesiveness based on a broad framework of ethnic identities which cuts across caste, creed language and other sectarian identities. They exhibit a strong sense of unity and cling to their primordial identities especially in the countries where they are in a minority. Moreover, from cohesiveness emanates the power to bargain.

The theoretical literature on 'ethnicity' analyses the factors leading to the evolvement of ethnic identity, ethnic solidarity and group mobilisation on the basis of common ethnicity. Ted Robert Gurr in his book 'Why Men Rebel' has discussed about relative deprivation that leads to conflict. He has defined it as perceived discrepancy between men's value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goals and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are goals and conditions they think they are capable of attaining or maintaining, given the social means available to them. The sense of deprivation leads to perceiving the discrimination on ethnic lines. The migrant groups face many socio-economic hazards and discrimination in the host country and they evaluate their economic condition in terms of relative deprivation. Runciman is of the opinion that relative deprivation is said to arise when individuals compare their own situation with that of a reference group which has what they want and think they are capable of. "The greater the individuals' negative discrepancy, the greater their relative deprivation." 

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40 ibid., p.13
Ethnic conflict tends to occur when government's policies favour some groups, who fit into government's ethnic criteria of selection and others are discriminated for not belonging to a particular ethnic group. According to Naomi Chazen, a well known scholar on African ethnicity, "the centrality of government as purveyor of development and distributor of social goods meant that state intervention contributed heavily to the sharpening of social realities of ethnicity and class. The rhythm of ethnic politics is largely a function of state action and of the fluctuation in the composition of state office holders." The policy of 'protectionism' like protecting one's language, culture, custom and tradition at the cost of others (migrants) in order to promote nationalism, can cause solidarity among ethnic groups. In such a situation, according to Ernest Gellner, a noted expert on nationalism, "men will be politically united with all those, and only those, who share their culture. Politics then will to extend their boundaries to the limits of their cultures, and to protect and impose their culture with the boundaries of their power".

Nathen Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan have dealt with ethnicity in terms of advantaged and disadvantaged groups. They have explained an 'ethnic group' as an 'interest group' which sees itself in terms of being an advantaged and disadvantaged group. The former always tries to consolidate its advantage to protect the group interest whereas the latter tries to overcome its disadvantage to reach the socio-economic level which the former has achieved. While emphasising the role of the government in sustaining and maintaining ethnic differences they argue "the strategic efficacy of ethnicity as a basis for asserting claims against government has

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its counterpart in the seeming ease whereby government employs ethnic categories as a basis for distributing its rewards".44

Michael Banton45 has dealt with the socio-cultural similarities of one group with other groups. This helps a group to come together and strengthen its solidarity. Ethnic boundaries are "reinforced" when individuals act in groups and are "dissolved" when they act as individuals46. In order to grow as a political organization, an ethnic group requires three things "one, a 'constituency of supporters', two, 'a set of shared priorities' and three, a 'means for ensuring the commitment of supporters to this priorities'47. Ethnic movements to be successful need all these factors. However, the effectiveness of the movement is determined by the actual discrimination and its intensity as also the extent of alienation.

Migrants form an ethnic group taking the broad framework of ethnic identities into consideration. They can be defined as an ethnic group48 in the host society on the basis of language, customs, food habit and above all belonging to a particular country. The reason for intrusion of ethnic factor into politics can be attributed to the erosion of the practice of consensus, inequality, absence of equal opportunity, discrimination based on caste, sex, religion and above all the preference to a homogeneous state and the failure of the government to live up to the concept of distributive justice. Significantly the rule of the majority has contributed

44 ibid, p.10.
46 ibid, p.13.
47 ibid, p.14.
substantially to the ethnic politics. A political contender for power, in order to secure his position, appeals to the ethnic group. To quote Brass, this is "the process by which elite mobilises ethnic identities simplifies those beliefs and values, distorts them and selects those which are politically useful rather than central to the belief systems of the people in question" 49. In a multi-ethnic society, ethnicity becomes a force to reckon with in the elections. The migrants who settle down in the host society, after fulfilling their economic aspirations, aspire for political equality and a share in the decision making process. The leaders of the migrant group try certain permutations and combinations of symbols to evolve a separate ethnic identity for its group in order to bind them with a strong psychological bond. "The cultural forms, values and practices of the ethnic groups become political resources for elites in competition for political power and referents for the identification of members of the group, which are called up in order to create a political identity more easily". 50

Group mobilisation constitutes an important aspect in politics. Achievement of political goals as an individual is rather difficult but as a group member it is greater. In fact, in politics "the leader and organiser believe they can get a more potent response by appealing to ethnicity than they can by appealing to class interest". 51 Thus, ethnicity is a device as well as leverage for group mobilisation by its leadership through the selective use of ethnic emblems for socio-cultural and politico-economic purposes. According to Rothschild, "politicised ethnicity has became the crucial principle of political legitimation and delegitimation of systems, states, regimes, and governments and at the same time has also become an effective

49 Brass, n.48, pp.16-17.
50 ibid, p.14
Each ethnic group seeks to protect its interest in a pluralistic society. The most important factor is what feature of the ethnic commonalities is singled out for politicisation. The group formation and solidarity can be attributed to the reason that "a sense of membership in a given cultural community involves recognition of certain features of the group which render it distinctive implicitly. Appreciation of uniqueness requires perception of what differentiates the group from others—speech code, symbols, values, religion, ritual, or physical appearances".

The ethnic symbol plays a significant role in group formation. It consist of a broad framework of ethnic diacritics which is all encompassing. The use of ethnic symbols depends on the numerical strength of the group and its potential to capture power. Some times the possibility of a single ethnic group capturing power is remote because of factionalism, and intra ethnic group rivalry. In a multi-ethnic society, more than one or two groups combine together where there is mutual compatibility of interests rather than similarity of interests. Here a broader view of ethnicity is emphasised rather than distinct—cultural markers. Ethnicity or ethnic markers are used whenever other avenues of political mobilisation fail to make any significant impact.

The migrants as an ethnic group can be defined as "a network of organisations and informal social relationship which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic to remain within the confines of the group for all their primary relationship and some of their secondary relationship throughout all the

Membership of the ethnic group not only provides them with socio-psychological security but also protects their interests in a foreign country. Migrants as an ethnic group can act as a pressure group to gain advantage from the political system. What seems to be difficult to achieve individually, can be achieved through the group. The reason is that "ethnic groups allow a positive self-image to be formed and at the same time meet what may seem to be obvious need ---the right to be culturally one self and the means necessary to do so. Moreover, the politicians can hardly say no to an ethnic group without being branded as racists" without paying a political cost in foregoing their support base and votes.

Political power is used to promote and protect the economic interests of the ethnic group. The migrants after settling in a country want political empowerment through citizenship. Citizenship issue is the most significant undercurrent in any movement of the migrants against the political authority. Migrants are not considered as a threat as long as they do not upset the political demographic support of the ruling elite. They are used in the vote bank politics without any conferment of socio-economic rights. Some times, the migrants’ are even deprived of basic human rights as far as their rights and entitlements are concerned.

In part, their vulnerability stems from the fact of state sovereignty, from the particular role ascribed to states themselves as guardians or protector of human rights, and from a tendency to confine certain rights within a context of community or citizenship. Non-nationals simply because of their lack of citizenship, are perceived to stand outside the community and on that basis may be denied the substantive and procedural entitlements...normally accorded to the members.

The non national status of the migrants not only denies them certain basic human rights but their vulnerable socio-economic existence make them reluctant to protest when such human right violations are taking place.

According to Gerald. S. Dirk, an expert on migration "...the fundamental question associated with entitlements is what distinction, if any, should be made between the citizens of a country and migrants, whether legal or illegal, when it comes to such state services as unemployment insurance, health care and welfare scheme".57 The migrants are not only accused of being an economic burden on the receiving country but are also targets of racism and discrimination. "At the time of high inflation, escalating unemployment and pressure to curb government expenditure, social services, special education programme when, multicultural policies tend to fall victim to government fiscal restraint",58 the migrants become the first victim of such restraints.

The natives, however, always feel that the economic benefits which accrue to them and can be used for the betterment of their lives are being diverted towards the benefit of the migrants. The antagonistic attitude undermines the cordiality between the indigenous population and the migrants. What in the first instance seems to be a conflict between the natives and the migrants can take the form of ethnic conflict in course of time.

Certain cultural markers do persist even after the assimilation of the migrants. This is due to the fact that "ethnic identity cannot be explained in sheer cultural continuity, for identification may continue even when a migrant group has lost most of its cultural traditions. In such cases, the continuity of interpersonal linkages that migrants maintain among themselves and with the individuals in their place of origin

57 Dirk. n.17, p.205.
may be more important in explaining ethnic identification...". It is very difficult for the first generation of the migrants to assimilate in the host society. But the second generation of the migrants adopt to the host culture more easily. Any discrimination on the basis of their ethnic origin alienates them and make them to assert their ethnic identity. "...immigrants from particular countries eventually exhibit some degree of social cohesion and develop their own separate institution and organisations, it is often in response to discriminatory treatment by the receiving society that immigrants need to develop a power base in order to protect their interest": 

Social integration and assimilation plays an important role in the assertiveness of the ethnic group. The extent of social integration is determined by acceptability by the other groups and its relation to other native ethnic groups --- cordial or antagonistic. The degree of tolerance of the natives towards the migrants plays an important role in assimilation. In an alien atmosphere, generally, the migrants feel very insecure and isolated. To quote Anthony H. Richmond, "racial and ethnic prejudices among the indigenous population may lead to complaint about foreign customs with regard to immigrants clothing, food consumption, religion, rituals, recreation pursuits or personal habits which are regarded as offensive". The indigenous peoples attitude is greatly determined by the economic conditions of the country or the region where the immigrants are settled. If the ratio between the required manpower and its availability is mismatched then the migrants are not welcomed in that country. This is because, inter ethnic relations in multiethnic societies of the developing world are in a fluid state because of both these processes: migration is critical because it

59 Safa and Dutoit ed., n.29, p.17.
61 Richmond, n.18, p.118
changes both the demographic and economic balance of groups within a
given space. ...and the economic opportunities that exist within it are often
central objectives of the local population, while the expansion of
opportunities within that space is a central objective of migrants. Migrants
within a multiethnic society, therefore frequently has destabilizing effects
and tend to arouse ethnic conflicts.62

The extent of assimilation determines the cohesiveness of the ethnic group. Ethnic assimilation may take one or more of the following four forms (a)acculturation (b)amalgamation (c)identification63 and (d)integration.64 Complete assimilation is far from reality and each ethnic group retains certain ethnocultural identities. In a polyethnic state, assimilation is emphasised by the ruling elite to broaden its support base. To quote Anthony D Smith, 'polyethnic states are dominated by a single strategic ethic which seeks, to a greater or lesser extent, to incorporate or influence, the surrounding smaller or weaker ethic....In this process the earlier dominant community tries to forge a wide political culture by extending and perhaps attenuating its own traditions or by universalising them to include the new ethnic migrants65. In some countries' migrants are conferred with citizenship and privilege in order to assimilate them. But it does not lead to erosion of migrants primordial identity. As Smith has observed, 'in this situation two kinds of 'myth-symbol complex' and two set of allegiances operate. One public and political with its official symbolism and all embracing mythology and one semi-permanent and

64 ibid.
65 Smith, n.48, p.150
cultural for each ethnic community. These factors assimilate the migrants and at the same time helps them retain their cultural identity.

III

The preceding sections have dealt with the issue of migration and its implications on the general socio-economic scenario of a country and its ethnic manifestation in the politics of a country. The ethnic factor precipitates the feeling of insecurity for the natives. But security here is explained in socio-economic terms. Alienation of the migrants leading to greater assertion of ethnic identity and ethnic conflict has wider ramifications for security.

It is important to discuss here the barriers to socio cultural assimilation which distance the migrants and alienate them, and induce in them an idea of "separate entity" having a distinct ethnic consciousness. The treatment meted out to the migrants in the host society both in terms of governmental policy and societal attitude, plays an important role. It is the discrimination meted out to the migrants in the host society which brings the migrants closer due to perceived social insecurity. This is true in the case of Indian emigrants to Nepal and Nepalese immigrants in Bhutan. The Indian immigrants who are mostly concentrated in Terai region are termed as Madhesias and are marginalised in the socio-political sphere. Same is true about the Lhotshampas who are marginalised in politics while effort are made to absorb them into Bhutanese society by imposing Drukpa culture, dress and language. This has been resented by both the immigrant communities.

The concept of national identity where there is an effort to work out a commonality between all the citizens to bind them in a common bond, if done at a cost of ethnic identity (immigrants identity) can threaten the very base of the composite culture. At the same time the conflict arising out of lack of assimilation

66 Ibid., p.151
can result in ethnic strife and violence has marring the peace of the civic society. The state’s incessant quest for national identity to a certain extent is responsible for the politicisation of ethnicity. The ethno-cultural conflict arising out of the imposition of culture can result in violence and exodus of people who take refuge in the camps in neighbouring state. The movement of refugees and the insurgent acts carried out by them can become a factor of insecurity for the state.

It is important to note here why the immigrant communities engage themselves in inter-state activities and support their home government. The reason is both social and psychological insecurity. The social insecurity includes not being accepted culturally and socially in the host country and the need to depend on their native governments to support them in case of any ill-treatment and discrimination. The psychological insecurities are being far from the family, kinsmen and ethnic folk. The inherited custom, tradition and culture compels them to maintain their emotional attachment with their homeland. “Many ethnic and ethnic migrants did not aspire nationhood for themselves, they do not see themselves as consisting a separate ‘nation’ yet they were loath to dissolve their ethnicity and lose their ethnicity. So they accept the offer of citizenship and mobility but retained primordial ethnic attachment”.67

The political impact of the migrants creates many upheavals in the society itself. The material condition of the migrants, their educational attainment and political socialisation coupled with their numerical strength makes them a potential political force. The party in power does not hesitate to include them in the political process and confer them with voting rights to ensure their political survival. The group solidarity of the migrants enhances their assertiveness to fight as a unified group, and they seek to influence the decision of the government by drawing

67 Smith, ibid., pp. 150-51.
attention to the various grievances. The government sometimes accepts their demands because they constitute potential vote banks. The success of any ethnic group and their bargaining power is determined by the size of the group, the level of political consciousness, their strategic role in the country’s economy, organizational capacity, group solidarity, their chances of being a threat to the ruling class, the genuinity of their grievances and its capacity to generate hatredness against the prevailing system. All these factors induce in the migrants a sense of belongingness and give them the much needed motivation to fight.

However, if the migrants are from a particular region and are dispersed in the host country, political mobilisation is difficult. Assertiveness and group solidarity is enhanced by geographical proximity. Mobilisation can take place only when the masses are politically educated, conscious of their rights and relative deprivation between the indigenous mass and the immigrant community. Moreover the numerical strength is a very important factor and plays a decisive role in determining their socio-economic and political strength.

The migrants can be a problem for both the country of origin and adoption taking into consideration the level of political education, socio-economic status and the cultural character of society they have come from, and the kind of socio-political structure of the society they are settled in. The concept of divided authority and loyalty plays an important role because in cases where membership of ethnic group is determined by *jus sanguine* (blood relationship), as a noted scholar has put it, "homelands will be assured of their supremacy in a triangular relationship that is created between them, their diasporas and host countries, and will therefore demand the loyalty of the diasporas ...allegiance to their homeland overshadows their devotion to their host countries. This will continue to be major source of conflict between diasporas and the hosts, with possible inter-state ramification involving
homeland and host country". In a conflict situation between the host country and the country of origin, the position of migrants and his stand on the conflict can have far reaching ramifications. The host country is in a position to expel the migrants if they are engaged in anti-governmental activities, but the native government can’t take any action against the migrants, but can request the host country not to allow its territory to be used for any subversive activities against the country of origin.

Diaspora solidarity can be mobilised and pursued to influence political outcomes in the home country to provide economic, diplomatic and even military assistance to the home country or to seek protection, and help from its government. Similarly the native government may call upon the diaspora community to promote its interest vis-à-vis the home country. “with their variable capacities, opportunities and propensities to exert influence on behalf of their domestic or external interests, diaspora community can be regarded as interest group and as political actors”.

The states never want to risk or hampers its vital socio-economic and security interests for the sake of the immigrant communities. It is only when the country is criticised about its policies vehemently at home, that it endeavours to take some initiative which most of the time is inadequate. The interference on behalf of the migrants also depends upon the degree of cordiality the country is having with the host country.

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69 Diaspora are ethnic minority groups of migrant origin residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their country of origin --their homelands. exam: Indians in Uganda; Cubans, Greeks, ans Irish etc. in U.S. Since the diasporas are migrants they are included in this study. For detailed analysis see Sheffer ed. Modern Diaspora in International Politics.(London,1986), pp.1-15.
Migration also influences the foreign policy of the native society towards the host country. The native governments tend to judge bilateral relations with the host countries keeping in mind their treatment towards the people of their country. In a conflict situation, the migrants support to the country of their origin gives rise to the suspicion of divided loyalty. In the sphere of bilateral relations, the migrants can positively influence the foreign policy of both the host and the native country. On the other hand, if the government of the country of origin does not have a good bilateral relationship with the host country then the support for subversive activities against the sender country can be given openly.

This is possible if both the countries, sender and the receiver, have two different type of political systems and ideology and antagonistic relations. The host country can use the migrants, if they are anti-establishment in the country of origin, to evoke disturbances and turmoil in the sender country. On the other hand, the country of origin can help the migrants with money and material to fight against the host country. The settlers group can be used as intermediaries to pass money and material to other warring groups who are fighting against the host society. The geographical proximity of both the sender and the receiver country can facilitate the trans-border network. Moreover, "It is virtually impossible to stop the streams of ideas, information, weapons and money moving through the trans-state networks, especially since international borders have become more penetrable and these networks have become more sophisticated as a result of recent development in communication and transportation".71

The core of the problem involving two parties ----one government and other, the aggrieved group (migrants), becomes a problem of greater magnitude when the ethnic groups have a spill over across the boundaries of other countries. This not

71 ibid.
only increases the ethnic group's assertiveness but worsens the bilateral relations between the concerned countries. An ethnic movement termed as anti-national and thus sympathy. The money and material help is sometime extended by the diaspora groups to help them to fight the state. The "diaspora often create trans-state networks that permit and encourage exchanges of significant resources such as money, manpower, political support and cultural influence, with their homelands as well as with other parts of the same diaspora. This creates potential for conflict with both homelands and host countries which, in turn, is linked with the highly complex patterns of divided and dual loyalty within diasporas". In case of Punjab, the Khalistan movement was supported by Sikhs settled in Britain, Canada, and U.S.A., LTTE supported by expatriate Srilankan Tamils. As a scholar has put it, "Primarily through the trans-state networks established by diasporas, these groups engage in myriad activities which may affect the security of those regarded as apparent. While diaspora community that have links with established states usually engage in relatively innocuous exchanges through these network, diasporas that support irrendentist successionist or national liberation movements (such as Palestinians, Kurds, Irish and in the past Jews and Armenians) use these trans-state network to transfer less innocent resources, such as higher weapons, military intelligence and money. The networks are also used for various type of communication and the shipment of the resources needed for international networks of terrorists and liberation fighters".

72 In case of Bhutanese refugees, the parties supported the cause are Akhil Bharatiya Gorkha League, All Gorkha Student Union, Association for the Protection of Democratic Right, Gorkha Democratic Front, CPI(M). Refer to Asian Age,(Delhi), 18 and 19 January 1996.
73 Sheffer, n.68, p.60
74 Sheffer, n.69, p.64.
Migration has become a major menace of the present century. Its manifold implications are felt in both developed and developing societies. Migration is an expression of structural inequalities between countries and reflects the widening gap between the rich and poor countries. Migration is inevitable as long as there is a surplus supply of labour in the sender countries and depend upon absorption capability of the host country.

Ethnicity is in some ways a corollary to the factors of migration. The migrants not only add to the culture and tradition of a society, but the retaining of a distinct identity in the host society gives rise to suspicion among the natives about their willingness for assimilation. Maintaining the distinct identity stems out of psychological insecurity but however, it reinforces their exclusivity. The potentiality of the migrants as vote banks, gives rise to the mobilisation on ethnic lines. It is only when the migrants are discriminated against, there are human rights violations or they are exploited that they become assertive of their identity as a group and can be a threat to the host country. Moreover, the transborder ethnic linkages makes them more powerful.

The diaspora linkages with ethnic compatriots living just across the border, without any physical barrier, has become a major concern. Especially in South Asian region the migrants have the potentiality to transform it to a major conflict between the neighbouring states. It is very difficult to restrict the migration of people from neighbouring countries due to ethnic affinity, cultural and family linkages. The South Asian countries are more susceptible and sensitive to the issue of migration due to these reasons. The characteristics and features of migration in South Asian context is discussed in the next chapter.