Chapter 5

Sociology of Migration

Migration is an important factor in economic development, urbanization, and social change. It has special significance for developing countries because commercialisation of agriculture in these countries demands labour mobility, and urbanization demands rural to urban migration. It has also feedback effects on the place of origin because the migrants from rural to urban areas maintain different kinds and degrees of contact.

Migrations are of two main types: internal migration (i.e., migration from rural to rural areas, rural to urban areas, and urban to urban areas within a country), and international migration (i.e., emigration and immigration between countries). Of all the different types of migrations in India, rural-rural migration occurs to the maximum. It involves marriage migration of females. It also involves movement of landowning peasants and farmers, labourers, artisans and service castes and tribes. There are various aspects of migration to be studied, such as sociological, demographic, economic, and historical. According to M.S.A. Rao (1979) the study of sociological aspects of migration involves three important areas of investigation.

1. The nature of the process of migration. This involves investigation of why and how people migrate. The economic factors provide only the necessary conditions for people to migrate, while the sufficient conditions are provided by non-economic factors. The non-economic factors include flow of
information, resource networks, brokers, and migrant's personality, all contributing to people's decision to migrate.

2. The second aspect of migration studies involves investigation about who migrates and the role of age, sex, marital status, and educational status in migration. It also involves investigation about the problems of migrant's adjustment to new social and physical environment, and the kind of changes that come about in their life-style.

3. The third aspect of migration studies involves investigation about the feedback effects of migration (both internal and international) on the place of origin. Here subsistence migration can be distinguished from developmental migration. Developmental migration involves the migrant sending cash home, and improvement in the living standard of the members of the family left behind. In the case of non-distress return migration the migrants are able to innovate in agriculture, trade, and commerce. The feedback effects of migration should be studied at both the ends, i.e., place of origin and place of destination.

There are two theoretical sources for the origin of the study of migration. One is culture contact theory, and the other is Marxian analysis of colonization and alienation. The Marxian analysis is important in the study of the process of migration and its consequences, particularly in the context of capitalist system of production. For example, many peasants and merchants from different parts of India have established colonies in tribal areas, resulting in conflict between the migrants and the native tribes. The problem
of ethnicity has an important place in migration studies, especially in the urban context. Large-scale migration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers to cities results in the development of slums. Feedback effects of overseas migration are significant in India. The overseas Indians maintain contact with their places of origin and send large sums of money home for maintenance of the family. This money is used in buying machinery, equipment, automobiles, houses, and land. Thus, it has contributed to the developmental activities and high consumerism. This money-order economy has been partly responsible for the green revolution in Punjab and the white revolution in Gujarat. Feedback effects of internal migration have different effects. Migrants maintain close contact with their places of origin, through sending money, visiting, holding property, etc. In case of many unskilled and semi-skilled migrants, their families have been able to rise above the poverty line but still at subsistence level. In some cases, they have been able to clear all their debts, build houses, and improve their standard of living. Besides this, there are demographic, economic and political consequences.

I. P. Desai undertook a sociological study of migration quite earlier in his career. This was also a pioneering study in this field, because it was based on a novel method, namely, case-history analysis. The Deccan College at Poona celebrated the Centenary of its Building, and the Silver Jubilee of its Post-Graduate and Research Institute, on 15th October 1964. Desai had worked in this institute from 1951 to 1952 before he joined the M. S. University of Baroda in August 1952. Dr. S.M. Katre, the Director of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, suggested celebration of the event by publishing 100 monographs representing the researches carried out under the auspices of its various departments. His proposal was accepted. Thus the Deccan College Post-
Graduate and Research Institute wanted a monograph from every one who was connected with it from its inception. Desai felt that he had a moral obligation to the institute where he began his research career in 1951. Thus, he undertook research on migration and prepared a monograph, entitled *The Patterns of Migration and Occupation in a South Gujarat Village*, which was published by the Institute in 1964.

Desai often visited his native village Parujan in Surat district, Gujarat, during vacations. On such visits he observed that many people had migrated from the village. This motivated him to study the patterns of migration in Parujan. It is only four kilometres away from Marla railway station. It was a multi-caste village consisting of Halpatis (or Dublas), Kolis, Anavils, Harijans, Barbers and Blacksmiths. The main occupation in the village was agriculture. He also studied the feedback effects of migration in this village and changes in the village as a consequence of migration.

Desai used a novel method to collect data about migration and occupational history of migrants' families. He studied migration from 1900 to 1963 collecting information during the summer vacations of 1961, 1962 and 1963. He chose three members from Anavil caste who were born in 1880-1890. For other castes, he chose persons 60 years old and above. Moreover, he collected this information in the presence of many other persons in the village, so that everyone's memory could contribute to get more reliable information. He collected detailed history of all families in Parujan. He also studied the feedback effects of migration and changes resulting from migration in the village. This was an important and distinct feature of his study, a unique method of data collection.
Generally migration is studied with a view to find out its impact on social relationships of the migrants in their own village as well as in the place of destination. Thus it is studied as a factor of social change. Desai studied the following variables related to migration: (1) the occupational and social background of the migrants, (2) the time of migration, (3) the place of migration and the new occupations followed by the migrants, and (4) their settlement. He was interested to find out whether the migrants returned to the village or settled down in the new place. On the basis of this information he wanted to analyse (i) the magnitude and rate of migration, (ii) direction of migration, (iii) change in occupation, and (iv) reaction of different social and occupational groups towards migrants.

Desai defined migration as a movement of an individual from the village to an outside place to earn livelihood. He collected information about migrants in Parujan in terms of (a) those who have settled outside, (b) those who have returned, and (c) those who are likely to return to the village. The place of migrant’s destination was classified into five categories: (1) within the district (mainly other village or town in the district), (2) outside the district but within Gujarat state, (3) outside Gujarat, i.e., mainly to Bombay and other places in India, (4) outside India, and (5) left the village and settled elsewhere. All those who migrated from 1900 to 1963 formed the population of this study. This period was divided into three sub-periods: (1) period from 1900 to 1920, which was marked by major industrial development, (2) period from 1920 to 1940, which was marked both by economic boom and depression but on balance not much growth, (3) and period from 1940 to 1963, which was marked by the end of the second world war, independence of India, planned development, and growth of industry, government, and
These three sub-periods were significant as they were associated with three stages of economic development.

Migration is related to availability of alternative earning opportunities elsewhere. Therefore, people migrate to places where job opportunities are available. Desai could not get detailed information regarding migrants' new occupations and so he classified them into four broad categories: (1) white collar, (2) technological, (3) traditional artisan, and (4) non-agricultural, unskilled, manual. These jobs were available in urban areas and some of them required education and training. The migrants' new occupations were also related to the period of their migration.

Desai collected caste-wise information about migration of people and change in their occupation. Caste was the most effective and recognizable social group in the village but it was not important in the choice of new occupation. The choice of new occupation was related to rewards. Among the migrants, change of occupation was related to the availability of education in a caste group rather than its ritual status. Change in occupation and rate of migration of members of each caste could affect the inter-caste relations in the village. However, it should be noted that Desai collected information from three Anavil informants in the village who were born in 1880-1890 and for information about other castes, he took the persons aged 60 as informants. As a result, the quality of information for various castes differed.

Desai was more interested in the nature and character of migration and its social consequences for the village. He found that the total number of persons going out of the village was higher in the third period (mentioned above) because they happened to be the
relatives of those who had migrated earlier in the second period. The magnitude of migration increased in the third period, but the rate of migration was steady for the second and third periods as well. It is worth noting that the phenomenon of migration and change of occupation was not a new phenomenon for the village. Even prior to 1900, some persons of both higher and lower castes had immigrated to Parujan, and similarly others might have migrated to other village. Thus movement for earning the livelihood from one place to another was a normal feature of village life. In the past, during the Mughal and Maratha periods several castes migrated and changed their occupation. Thus, migration was not unknown to people of Indian society, provided they had the knowledge of availability of opportunities elsewhere, which was a necessary condition for emigration. Therefore, the magnitude and rate of migration would depend on availability and growth of opportunities outside the village. In case of Parujan village, however, migration was not related with the knowledge about availability of opportunities outside the village, but with the social structure of the village.

Migration and Social Structure of Parujan

Parujan was well connected through road to surrounding towns, railway station, and national highway between Bombay and Delhi. It was a multi-caste village with eight castes: Halpatis or Dublas, Kolis, Anavils, Untouchables, Carpenters and Tailors, one Blacksmith, and one Barber. According to the 1951 census the population of village was 1000 which increased to 1200 in 1963. The details about population of Parujan, in 1963 is given in the Table 5.1.
Table 5.1
Caste-wise Population in Parujan in 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Halpatis / Dublas</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolis</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anavils</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untouchables</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailors</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>1 Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>1 Family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The whole village was dependent on agriculture and most of the land was owned by Anavils. The village had a Gujarati primary school and a branch post office. In 1962-63, there were 175 children in the school, of which 79 were boys and 96 girls. There were children from all castes studying in the school.

The village panchayat was active. It maintained village roads in good condition. The village was situated in the dry farming area. In 1963, when Desai collected information about migration, the higher caste people, i.e., Anavils complained that “the village is breaking down” (1964b: 10). But, according to Desai, the population of the village was increasing, and compared to the past it was much better off in many respects. Desai said that physically the village continued to exist but a new village was emerging sociologically.

Desai analysed caste-wise patterns of migration for three periods as shown in Table 5.2.
### Table 5.2
Patterns of Migration in Parujan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>First Period: 1900-20</th>
<th>Second Period: 1920-40</th>
<th>Third Period: 1940-63</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within District</td>
<td>Outside Dist. &amp; within state</td>
<td>Outside Gujarat</td>
<td>Outside India &amp; Other places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anavil</td>
<td>24 02 23 17</td>
<td>66 17 09 08 10 44 34 06 19 09</td>
<td>68 178</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koli</td>
<td>02 -- -- 03 05 07 -- 08 10 25 19 -- 06</td>
<td>11 36 66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>-- -- -- 09 09 -- -- -- 01 01 -- 01 -- 01 -- 13 14 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>-- -- -- 03 03 01 01 -- 02 04 01 04 -- 02 07 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubla</td>
<td>01 -- -- 08 09 03 -- -- -- 03 06 -- 21 27 39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untouchables:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhed</td>
<td>-- -- 04 04 08 -- -- 01 -- 01 -- 12 12 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kholpa</td>
<td>-- -- 01 01 02 -- 01 -- 03 -- 02 -- 02 06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Desai, I. P. 1964. *Patterns of Migration and Occupation in a South Gujarat Village.* Poona: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute.

**Observations on Anavils**

During the first period a total of 66 Anavils went outside the village. For the purpose of livelihood they were prepared to move anywhere in India and even outside India. All of them were engaged in non-agricultural work in the village and they could get into non-agricultural work elsewhere because they had necessary education. 48 persons returned to the village after retirement and took to agriculture. Only 4 persons...
settled outside the village. Thus, during the first period, many Anavils migrated outside the village, but it did not change their orientation toward agriculture and toward village. During the second period, 44 persons from Anavil caste migrated out of the village, and only 14 returned to the village. The proportion of those who returned to the village was reduced to 33% compared to 72% in the first period. During the second period, people were partially urban oriented. They purchased agricultural land in the village, repaired old houses, and built new houses. They regularly visited the village and took interest in the affairs of the village. They celebrated important occasions such as marriage, participated in funerals, and performed rituals related to death, in the village. These were the occasions to show off their improved economic condition and thus further enhance their status. During this period, the highest number of students was taking secondary education in the towns. They stayed either with their relatives or in their caste hostel. The position of educated persons in their village was influential. During the third period, the movement for earning livelihood resulted in migration. A total of 68 Anavils moved out of village, and became alienated from it. They did not visit the village frequently. Important occasions were celebrated in the place where they lived. Some had sold their land and others were waiting for the buyers. They did not take interest in the village matters. Now education became a necessity. During the first two periods, there was no commitment to new occupations. They only considered them as alternative sources of livelihood. During the third period, there was commitment to new occupations.
Observations on the Kolis

Koli was a second largest caste in the village. Their social status was equal to that of Tailors and Carpenters. Many of them owned a small piece of land. Some also tilled land on the basis of either cash/rent, or crop-sharing. They had subordinate but cordial relations with Anavils. Many were attached to Anavils through either seasonal or annual contracts. Thus they were greatly influenced by Anavil caste. Migration of Anavils outside the village and weakening of their economic position influenced the position of Kolis. They became more independent, both socially and economically. During the first period, 5 Kolis migrated outside. Those engaged in white-collar jobs did not return to the village. During the second period, 25 persons from this caste went out to urban areas. Some took to higher status occupations requiring education, and some engaged in skilled work of artisans, which was equal in status to their traditional occupation. They exhibited a strong tendency to live where they earned. However, they were not alienated from the village as they did visit the village for a short stay and then went back. They became more conscious of their status within the village. During the third period, 36 Kolis went out. Those who went out followed a variety of occupations, such as white-collar jobs, technological jobs, non-agricultural, unskilled, manual jobs and other occupations. Those Kolis who could take education would go for white-collar and technical jobs, and those who did not take education became unskilled manual labourers. The Kolis have become alienated from agricultural labour. So, alienation from agriculture would drive some of them to non-agricultural manual labour. Thus, during the sixty years, the opportunity grew outside the village but its impact varied according to caste and occupation.
Observations on the Tailors

The Tailors' social status was next to the Anavils' and equal to the Kolis' in the village. There were six households of Tailors in Parujan. They were artisans and had Jajmani relations with the Anvils, known as Avat system in south Gujarat. They were also partly dependant on agriculture. They owned some land and earned cash by stitching clothes of landless castes. Economically they were better off than Kolis. No Tailor had relatives in urban areas. In the beginning of the second period, at least one person from every Tailor family went to Africa. Even outside the village, they did not change their occupation. Education among them did not go beyond the primary level. Thus, without much education they were becoming urban oriented. Until the end of the second period, they were part of the Avat system and thus received some grains. Their migration was not the result of availability of opportunity for earning livelihood. But their stay in Africa made them think in terms of amenities of urban life and they found it difficult to adjust to village life.

Observations on the Carpenters

The Carpenters in the past were doing potter's work also. Potters and Carpenters both were part of the Avat system. Since their services as potters were not needed because of increased use of metal ware, many of them turned to carpentry. They were dependent on the landowning class and were therefore called Vasavaya. In 1963, there was no potter in the village. They changed their occupation as well as place of residence. Those who moved out of the village settled in a town. The Carpenters had taken primary education
till the second period of migration. They continued to work as Carpenters elsewhere, even in Africa. In the third period, Carpenters changed their occupation: some of them became small contractors and furniture makers. Of those who took English education, one became an engineer and another a surveyor. Thus, for some the change in occupation came with education and for others without education, i.e., for contractors and furniture makers. The Carpenters provided an example of the traditional mode of occupational change and migration. It was an adaptation to the changing situation. Change in occupation did not affect their social status. When they took to new occupation, it was related to their traditional skill.

Observations on the Dublas or Halpatis

Most of Dublas had migrated into Parujan village before 1900. They were known to move from one village to another. Until 1950, they were working under the *Hali* system in the village. Under this system, a Dubla worked for an agriculturist master from whom he had borrowed money for marriage or such other purpose, and worked until he returned the money. He was given food and clothing for his labour. His wife did household work for the master and was given food and clothes. No payment was given to them. By the time they were able to repay their old debt through their family labour, they needed money for another occasion, and thus the cycle of debt continued. Thus, for Dublas, there was no chance to change the occupation and move elsewhere. For those who were not attached to any landowner, it was possible to move out to another village and borrow money from another landowner. The Dublas did not own any land. They also worked on the saltpans to return their debt, but they did not earn enough to return their
debt. After 1950, they became free labourers. Numerically, they were the largest group in the village. They lived outside the village settlement and were not integrated into the village life. During the first period, some of them left the village and settled in another village. Some were recruited as labourers in the Second World War. During the second period, some went to Surat and other towns. Desai could not get information about the type of work they were doing there. However, he could get information about some of them. Some became peons in offices or labourers in the ginning factories. One Dubla had become a school teacher (1964b: 140). But a large number of them took to unskilled work. In every generation, some migrated to the city but continued to be attached to the village. It was difficult for them to adjust to city life and to the industrial system of production.

Observations on the Scheduled Castes: Dheds and Khalpas

The Dheds were a traditional untouchable caste. They showed respect while talking to others. The agricultural labour was their main source of livelihood. They also bought and sold cattle and earned brokerage. They tilled land on rental basis. The Khalpas, another untouchable caste was lower in status than Dheds. They were tanners and removed dead cattle from the village and ate their meat. They also worked as agricultural labourers. Three Khalpa families had migrated into Parujan before 1900. During the first period, they started going out to Bombay or Basra (in Iraq) as coolies. This movement was confined more to those families who came from outside to Parujan. Those who immigrated during the first period went to Bombay, where they served as cooks, butlers or domestic servants in the households of Europeans and Parsis (Desai
1964b: 147). In the third period, the sons of earlier immigrants went out to become drivers, office peons, tailors, and carpenters. They were not inclined to return to the village. Thus, the concentration of Europeans and Parsis in Bombay provided opportunities to Dheds. Later, kinship provided the channel for flow of migrants to Bombay. During the second period, they changed their occupation from tanning to making foot-wear. Two of them who went out to work during the World War returned to the village.

**Impact of Migration on Parujan Village**

In general, the higher castes availed of the new opportunities more than the lower ones. Desai pointed out that in Parujan, migration was not related to information about the opportunities available outside the village but to the social structure of the village. The impact of migration on the social structure of village could be summarized on the basis of data about migration. The pattern of migration varied according to the caste group to which the migrants belonged, and the period of migration. The figures in Table 2 show that the highest caste (i.e., Anavils) availed the opportunities outside the village more than any other caste during the first period, and the movement was towards urban areas. 50% of the migrants during this period went out of Gujarat state. In the second period, more people moved to places outside the district but within Gujarat state. In the third period, more people migrated and settled within the district compared to earlier periods, and the proportion of people going out of India was reduced. In the third period development occurred near Parujan, opportunities became available near the village, and therefore the movement was within the district.
Regarding the number of people who returned to the village, Desai found that a large number of those who migrated in the first period returned to the village, followed by the migrants of the second period. Of those who migrated in the third period, only twelve persons were likely to return to the village. This was a significant trend for the village in the third period, and it was more visible among the Anavils followed by Tailors, Dheds and Dublas. The numerical strength of all castes except Dublas had considerably declined in the village.

In the past the Anavils were influential in the management of village affairs, because they owned large amount of land and other people were dependent on them for their livelihood. They were also educated and enjoyed higher social status. Even after reduction in their number, they continued to be influential in the affairs of the village. Desai observed that this was partly because they continued to take interest in the affairs of the village. This indicated that the numerical strength of a caste did not affect inter-caste relations in the village.

Occupation is considered to be an important feature of a caste and therefore Desai believed that change in occupation indicated possible changes in inter-caste relations. A significant change was observed in this regard in the third period. Half of the earners were not dependent on agriculture. Moreover, the Avat system binding the artisans with landowners was not much effective in the third period. The Hali system binding the agricultural labourer with the landowner was also not effective in the third period. As a result, the dependency of artisans and agricultural labourers on agriculture had declined in the third period. The artisans were more dependent on their cash earnings than on their
share in farmer’s produce. So, even when they continued with the same occupation, its meaning had changed during the third period. Their relationships changed from traditional Jajmani system into contractual employer–employee relationships governed by market forces.

This was the most effective change, which changed the relations between individuals and groups in the village. In the third period the Dublas went on a strike, which indicated a changed relationship between groups in the village. The continued influence of Anavils was viewed as a hangover of their past socio-economic position. Desai was doubtful about the position of Anavils in the future. They continued as a landowning caste, but their population as well as their land-holdings had already declined in the village, and those who had migrated outside the village were not likely to return to the village, nor take interest in the affairs of the village. Desai noted that the Kolis were passing through a phase similar to that of Anavils. The Dublas were never integrated into the village; they always lived outside the village. Desai felt that no caste would be able to dictate the management of the village on the basis of its traditional position in the caste structure and will have to recognize other castes as equal. The inter-caste relations in the village were governed by various norms of the new type of society, i.e., industrial society, and the customary bonds were transformed into contractual bonds.

All migrants were involved in non-agricultural activities, namely, activities related to industrial production. Even those engaged in agricultural production in the village, had become part of the industrial system. Their interactions were governed by norms of industrial productive system; i.e., their relations were transformed into
contractual relations. So, even without migration their interaction was influenced by the goals of industrial society. Desai saw conflict between goals and norms of two types of societies and that is why the strained inter-caste relations were reflected in labour protests and in complaints of landowners and supervisors in the field of agriculture.

Concluding Remarks

Desai’s study of migration was a pioneering study in the sociology of migration in India, using a novel method of data collection. It seems he followed Marxian analysis and thus observed the change in inter-caste relations from that point of view. The out-migration of upper and lower castes brought change in the traditional power structure. The Anavils were economically and politically powerful in the past, but did not remain powerful politically. Due to out-migration their number in the village had considerably declined. However, they continued to enjoy the economically powerful position and remained influential in village matters. But, how long they would be able to enjoy this position could not be predicted.

Desai observed the migration pattern for the village as a whole. He concluded that for every two earners in the village, less than one went out of the village in the first period (1900-1920); the number of people going out to earn livelihood was equal that of the people in the village during the second period (1920-1940), and the highest number of persons went out to earn livelihood in the third period (1940-1963). However, Desai said that migration in terms number of people was not important to understand the nature and
character of migration and its consequences for the village. He made an important
observation that even in the past, people of highest as well as lowest castes migrated from
one village to another. Thus, migration was not unknown to the people of Parujan.
Similarly, change in occupation was also not new to it. The cause of migration was the
same before as well as during the period of Desai’s study, namely, to earn one’s
livelihood and to improve one’s position in society.

If a person could fulfill his desire by being in the village, he need not migrate.
Only, if he could not fulfill his desires by living in the village, he had a reason to move
out, and he could move out provided he had the knowledge about the availability of
opportunities elsewhere. Desai was interested in establishing the correlation between
migration and the growth of opportunities, and the impact of growth of opportunities on
the people of Parujan. He inquired into the influence of growth of opportunities on
different caste groups in the village. For this purpose, he collected information about (1)
the type of opportunities that people availed of, (2) the places they moved to, (3) whether
they continued to stay outside or returned to village, and (4) caste of the people who
moved out. On the basis of this information, he observed a geographical pattern, the caste
pattern, and the occupational pattern of migrants, and of all these indicated a relationship
between growth of opportunities and social structure of the village.

Desai’s study revealed an important fact about in the village: migration was not
related to the knowledge about availability of opportunities outside the village but to the
social structure of the village. Moreover, the growth of opportunities outside the village
was not availed of equally by all castes in the village. The highest caste, namely, Anavils utilized the opportunities more than any other caste. This was followed by Dublas, Kolis, Carpenters, Tailors, Dheds and Khalpas. Desai observed regarding the place of migration that during the third period a greater number of people moved outside but settled within the district. Thus, the proportion of people who settled in the district increased and the proportion of those who went out of India declined. This indicated that there was growth of opportunities nearer the village. Desai inquired about how many of those who moved out returned to the village. He observed that the maximum number of people who moved out during 1900-1920 returned to the village; the number of people who returned during the second period declined in 1920-1940, and none of those who moved out during 1940-1963, ever returned to the village. This was a significant trend during the third period.

Desai observed the impact of outward migration on different castes in the village and found that the number of Anavils, Tailors, and Dheds had declined considerably in the village than that of Dublas, Kolis, Carpenters and Khalpas who were in large numbers in the village. This was a significant impact of outward migration on the village as a whole, because the population of different castes influences inter-caste relations and distribution of power in the village. Even in the past, the population of Anavils was smaller than that of Dublas and Kolis. In 1963 also their number had considerably declined but they continued to be influential in the management of the village. Desai assumed that the traditional position of a caste was related to its economic position, occupation, education, and style of life. So, in this study he observed deviations from the past occupation as an indicator of changes in inter-caste relations in the village. He
observed the occupation pattern during three periods in the village. During the third period, 93 persons were directly dependent on agriculture, 49 persons were in no way dependent on agriculture, and 30 artisans were indirectly dependent on agriculture. Thus, there was an almost equal number of persons directly dependent as well as non-dependent on agriculture. Moreover, the *Avat* system, binding artisans with landowners was not much effective during the third period compared to earlier periods. During this period the Carpenters, Tailors and other artisans were dependent more on their cash earnings than on their share in the farmers' produce. The *Hali* system was also not practiced to the same extent as before. So, the agricultural labourers were not dependent on agriculture in the third period as before. Thus, even though some occupations continued to exist during the third period, their meaning had changed. The occupational activities came to be treated as commodities to be sold and purchased, and the relationship between artisans and landowners, or between landowners and agricultural labourers, was transformed into employer–employee relationship that was not governed by customs but by contract and by the market forces of demand and supply.

This was the most important social change in Parujan: the change in relationships between individuals and groups. It affected the hierarchical feature of caste system. The fact that the Dublas went on strike during the third period was a proof of changed relationship between different castes and traditional hierarchy. The inter-caste relationships were no more governed by the traditional hierarchical feature of the caste system but were transformed into contractual relationships. In 1953, Desai observed that the number of Anavils had significantly declined in the village but they continued to be
the landowning group and also influential in managing the affairs of the village. According to Desai, it was only a hangover of their past position. But it was difficult to predict how long their same position would continue in future. He pointed out that under the changed scenario, no caste would be able to continue to dominate in the management of the village on the basis of its traditional position. All castes would have to recognize other castes as equal. Thus the new village in which inter-caste relations would be governed by the norms of the new society was emerging. By 1960, industrial development had occurred in the surrounding region, and therefore migration was taking place within the district. People of the village had to sell their agricultural commodities to the outer world and thus a change in the direction of industrial society came in the village. The village had changed socially.

This study is an important landmark in the history of Indian sociology. For, it was a pioneering sociological study of migration, using the unique methods of case history, and group interviews, leading to significant theoretical and substantive findings about the process of migration in relation to the social structure of the village. Finally, we can also see Desai’s concern for the type of future society.