



Studies in HUMAN MIGRATION

Najma Khan



STUDIES IN HUMAN MIGRATION

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PREFACE

The Post-World War-II decades have experienced phenomenal and unprecedented growth of population as well as the ceaseless migration from local to international character; the rural to urban migration predominates. It is more so in the case of developing countries, where the countryside would no more sustain any further addition to the already fragile man-resource-development syndrome. Consequently, migration studies have become the most important area of contemporary research in the social sciences. Geographers, with their concern for spatially expressed process, are obviously attracted to the study of re-location of the people. The concepts, the theories and methods of analysis of the various aspects of migration have emerged for a better understanding of the migration phenomenon. The knowledge and application of all these is a prerequisite of the migration research. One of the foremost problem with which a researcher on migration confronted is the comprehensive references as well as the nature of data to be collected. They are primary preconditions to arrive at the stage of formulation of hypothesis.

Recently the world over, the official census documents furnish more or less authentic data and information on the various aspects of human migration. In some cases one may get partially computed data for highlighting some specific features of the migration but in most of the cases one gets the raw data and information. One needs to be well-versed in the techniques and methods of analysis of the various aspects of migration and also be conversant with the source material pertaining to it. The present attempt fulfills this need. However, it endeavours to cover a more long felt need of the students of migration, and that is, it provides a classified annotated as well as unannotated bibliography pertaining to the various fields of human migration.

'Studies in Human Migration' is the outcome of sustained efforts on the part of the author engaged for almost a decade in the study of the empirical and methodological problems of research in this field. The study is divided into two parts. Part-I deals with the various methods and techniques, the concepts and theories regarding the mechanism, causes and consequences of migration. This part is supported with a separate empirical study of the Eastern Uttar Pradesh of India. Part-II provides a detailed and comprehensive bibliography—both classified annotated and unannotated. Precautions are being taken to make this study up-to-date and relevant in dealing with the questions of migration.

In the making of this study a reality, many scholars contributed in diverse ways and that substantially the author feels grateful to them. It would be rather a long list of individuals if one thanks them by name. However, I would be failing in my duty, if I do not mention the name of Dr. Ali Mohd., Reader in the Department of Geography and Regional Development, University of Kashmir, Srinagar for his profuse and critical help in developing the present work, both in its conceptual and collection and writing stages. At many a times, he proved to be a source of inspiration in continuing the present study to its final form. But for his support, the present study would have been shelved. I would feel greatly rewarded if the present study help even in the modest way the researchers in this field of human migration and generate further interests in such studies.

Najma Khan

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Internal Migration: Concept, Theories and Methods of Analysis

Migration is recognized as one of the most important area of contemporary research in population. Geographers with their concern for spatially expressed process are obviously attracted to the study of relocation of people. However, any attempt to analyse migration inevitably leads to a set of definition, concept, theories, typologies, and methods of analysis. The knowledge of all these is a prerequisite of migration research. This paper is however written with the intention of providing necessary guidance for the research beginners, and other persons who are interested in the field of migration.

Concepts in the Study of Migration

One of the foremost problem with which a researcher on migration will be confronted at the time of data collection and formulation of hypothesis is that how to define migration and other related terms. Here therefore, we will discuss some of the popular terms used in migration researches.

The word *migration* denotes movement of population with the change of residence. The change of residence may occur from one village or town to another village or town, or from town to village, within the district or commune, or between

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the district or commune, within the country, or outside the country, during last one month, two months, three months, or more. However the operational definition of migration require both temporal and locational criteria to be more specifically defined. This operational definition depend both on the type of research and the type of data available.

Migrant is a person who moves from one administrative unit to another. In the context of India these administrative units are generally village in rural areas, and town in urban. Thus a person who moves out from one village or town to another village or town is termed as migrant provided his or her movement is not purely temporary in nature, on account of casual leave, visit etc. Sometimes migrants are also called *movers*. Thus at any given time total population of a place or region may be divided into *migrant* and *non-migrants* or *mover* or *non-mover*.

It some time happens that a person is willing to migrate but due to certain reasons like the lack of money, guidance, or lack of information about job opportunities in the other places, remained in his native place. This type of person is called *Potential migrant*. After certain time of stay away from home in a new place migrant may come back to the native place, he will be considered as *returned migrant*. A person returned to his native place with the intention of spending holidays, or meeting friends and relatives will be called *Visiting migrant*.

In *Internal migration* (i.e. the movement of population within the national boundary); to distinguish between the direction of movement the terms *immigrants* and *outmigrants* are used. Immigrants are simply those persons who enter an area and outmigrant are those who leaves.

Migration takes place from an area of *origin* (departure) to one of *destination* (arrival) and a group of migrants with the common origin and destination is called *migration stream* (or current). Usually each stream has a *counter-stream* (or counter current). The term *gross-migration* refer to arrival and departure, or total volume of population turnover, and *Net migration* is the balance between immigration and out-migration. If analysis is restricted to two units connected by migration stream, the total size of both stream and counter

stream is called *gross interchange* between the two areas and the differences between the two as *net-interchange*. By comparing net migration and gross migration *efficiency of migration* can be established.

In a study based on data concerning previous residence the term *migration period* or *migration interval* has to be introduced. If the question asked concerns the residence at specific date this period becomes *migration interval*. If the concern is with *lifetime migration* than lifetime becomes synonymous with migration interval. *Duration of absence* from home is counted with the reference of migration interval.

Migration rates state the relative frequency with which migration takes place during a specific migration interval. The difference in the rates of migration between various demographic, economic, and social group is termed as *differential migration*.

Theories of Migration

The theoretical literature on migration is substantial. It can be conveniently divided into two parts: laws hypothesis, theories and models related with size, direction motivation and mechanism of migration, and hypothesis and connotations related with differential migration, and consequences of migration. We will discuss them here in sequential order.

I. Size, Direction, Motivation and Mechanism of Migration

The first name worth mentioning in this reference is of Ravenstien¹ who in 1880 presented a paper entitled 'The laws of migration'. His major laws and trends were mainly concerned with the value and direction of migration are as follows:

1. The great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance and that there takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of population, which produces 'Currents of migration' setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants.

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- 2. It is the natural outcome of this movement of migration, limited in range, but universal throughout the country, that the process of absorption go on in the following manner:

The inhabitant of a country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, folk into it, the gap thus left by the rural population are filled by migrants from more remote district, until the attractive forces of one of our rapidly growing centre makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom, migrants enumerated in certain centres of absorption will consequently grow less with the distance proportionately to the native population which furnish them.

3. The process of dispersion is the universe of absorption and exhibit similar features.
4. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter current.
5. Migrants proceeding long distance generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and industry.
6. The natives of town are less migrating than those of rural parts of the country.
7. Females are more migrating than males.

The broad generalizations of Ravenstein have been shown to be correct in a number of studies, though his thesis on migration have been severely criticized.

Hill² concentrating on the rural districts of Essex, showed that the migration from these districts was mostly short distances into neighbouring counties. In his study of Glamorganshire Coalfield Thomas³ also showed the importance of short distance move, similar is the finding of Greenwood⁴, who in the case of migration in India found that migrants to cities from both rural urban areas tends to come from nearby. Teauber and Teauber⁵ in their study of movement between

cities and suburb, supported the law that each current of migration is accompanied by counter current in opposite direction.

Based on the 'Distance' as a measure of decreasing probability of contact and increasing cost of movement and population as a measure of attraction. Zipf⁶ developed his hypothesis (P_1P_2/D) which says that "migration is directly proportional at the products of population of the place of origin and destination and inversely proportional to distance between them".

His model has been subject of much study. In several empirical studies it is found to be operating.⁷ But later Hagerstand⁸ realized that there are many difficulties into its application, because the rate of change in interaction over distance varies in time according to the place and according to social composition.

Though many authors agree that distance is the major determinant of volume and direction of migration, recent theories looked at migration of population not in mere terms of distance but also in terms of 'Opportunities'. It is realized that migration is primarily motivated by search for occupational opportunity and that its volume and direction are primarily influenced by job opportunities. In 1940 Stouffer⁹ presented his theory of 'Intervening Opportunity' in which he proposed:

"...the number of persons going to a given is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number intervening opportunities."

The basic weakness in Stouffer's theory was that he was notable to clarify opportunities well. In his study of Cleveland Metropolitan district he defined it as a number of vacant houses. However, in comparison to Zipf Gravity model Stouffer's theory has more predictive power. In several empirical studies where opportunities are defined as occupational the theory of Intervening Opportunities was applied with encouraging results.¹⁰ A recent report on population mobility by the Census Bureau has likewise shown both migration as well as distance moved are related to occupational opportunities in United States.¹¹

In 1960 Stouffer¹² further modified his hypothesis and introduced a variable of "*Competing migrants*" according to which the number of migrants from city A to city B, is a direct function of number of opportunities in city B, and inverse function of number of opportunities intervening between A and B, as well as the number of other migrants competing for opportunities in city B.

Jansen and King¹³ tested this modified model in a recent study of internal migration in Belgium. He found that the level of 'explanation' is 'satisfactory' but the terms 'competing migrant' is particularly weak.

Rose¹⁴ concentrating *Distance and opportunity* tested following hypothesis in Minneapolis "Higher Studies people seek better jobs or opportunities much have greater distance to find them on an average than to person whose skill and aspiration direct them to look for less desirable opportunities". Stub¹⁵ in his study the occupational characteristics of migrants: a retest to Rose hypothesis confirmed Rose. It shows that professional and managerial worker migrate longer distance than lower status people.

In a study of movement of labour from farm Burford¹⁶ considered '*Psychological distance*' to be more important than the geographical distance as a determinant of migration. He constructed the "remoteness index" taking into account the distance between a country seat and the nearest town of 25000 population, number of secondary cities (10000-25000) within a radius of 30 miles, and some of percentage level of unemployment in cities involved.

Though the theory of migration which takes into account 'Opportunity and Distance' as a determinant of size and direction of movement have been successful in describing many migration patterns. It has one major shortcoming. One of the major factor which has not been given due consideration in this theory, is that map of 'Opportunities actually available' to the migrants is not identical to the corresponding "mental map". The migrants do not know about the opportunities or perceive it in a distorted fashion. Moreover, their "knowledge" is accompanied by varying degree of uncertainties, a similar observation can be made about, the 'actual costs' associated

with attaining each opportunity. Since the transformation from the actual map, to the mental map, is very much a function of the information available to and utilized by individual migrant, the "characteristics of information" are more important in assessing directional pattern of migration.¹⁷

A number of recent studies¹⁸ show that directional pattern of migration has been greatly influenced by the '*presence of friends and relatives*' at the place of destination who have been the major source of information about the potential job opportunities to the migrants.

Based on the above idea Greenwood¹⁹ presented an hypothesis which says "The previous migrants from one region to another exert a significant influence on the direction of current migration". In a test on the data of India he found that migrants have shown a strong tendency to migrate to localities which had previously attracted natives of their region.

However the above discussed laws, models, hypothesis are basically concerned with size and direction of migration. They do not say anything about motivation and mechanism which are two important aspects of migration. Not only these but they suffer from another short-coming, that they tend to describe rather than explain migration.

Push and Pull theory was developed in order to explain cause or motivation of migration. The Push and Pull attributes of place of origin and destination, is recognised by Bagne.²⁰ He suggested that there are positive and negative aspects of migration provoking situation. Migration may occur as a search for opportunity to improve one's lot in life. In this case destination exert a Pull on migrants. Migration can also occur as a flight from undesirable social and economic situation. These situations constitute expulsive Push of the Community. Migration generally takes place when the positive Pull factors at the place of destination is outnumbered by negative Push factors at the place of origin.

There are certain scholars like Myrdal²¹ who consider only Push as a potent reason for migration. While there are others like, Sovani, Base, Trewartha²² who disagree and assert that migration occur due to a complex interaction of Push and Pull factors. This has been proved in a recent ILO²³ report on the

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Census of migration. It concludes "Though the Push factors of falling income and underdevelopment in agriculture in most of the less developed countries are now very strong, they do not in the absence of strong Pull factors suffice to cause large shift in manpower between occupation."

In a paper presented at 1959 population conference George²⁴ considers Geographical movement of population into two forms: moves caused by necessity or obligation, and moves caused by need. Characteristics of the former type are that they Push certain classes or racial, religious groups who are mostly not suited to the condition in the place of destination. In the second type pressure from place of origin is accompanied by need (Pull in the place of destination).

Push factors are sometimes labelled as '*Centrifugal or impulsive*', and Pull factors '*Centripetal or attracting*'. Prothero²⁵, recognized both these forces working in migration of population in South Saharan Africa. He described lack of non-agricultural opportunities in rural areas form a major Push. While many advantages and amenities in urban areas constitute Pull for migrants. In another study of labour migration in Africa, south of Sahara, Mitchell²⁶ describe the process of migration as the interaction of "*nexus of centrifugal tendencies*" and "*nexus of centripetal tendencies*" under the former he categorise a number of Push factors, while in the latter a number of Pull factors were included. Push and Pull theory is seen from another angle from MacDonald²⁷ who found that all the Push factors were operating in some rural areas of Italy, still a large proportion of population did not migrate though free to do so. He found that labour militancy played an important part in keeping the population at home as an alternative to migrate.

There is yet another approach which visualises the Push from home in purely socio-psychological manner. In a study of migration in Iowa Zappo²⁸ presented a theory which recognises the achievement of individual and future aspirations. He says that it is the discrepancy between ones "achievement" (present level of living) and "aspired achievement" (aspired to level of living) which generates migration greater the discrepancy higher the chances of migration. To determine the discrepancy he

constructed a "*Pressure index*" which is the ratio between expected maximum income divided by scale of income.

However the Push and Pull theory has long been one of the most important theories in migration. And there is no doubt that it is proved to be very useful device for listing all the factors affecting the given migrating movement²⁹ and has produced a lucid and convincing exposition of underlying factors in migration.³⁰ But it has a serious limitation which curb its utility to a great extent. It does not explain "why... some migrate and some not".³¹ There is another difficulty with Push and Pull analysis which emerges when an attempt is made to characterise the combined effect of all the factors at predominantly either Push or Pull.³² Some scholars have avoided this difficulty by observing that many Push and Pull factors can be mated into pairs, each pair representing two different values of one single variable.³³ Following this like reasoning some scholars have concluded that Push and Pull dimension is a subjective characteristics of migration.

Lee's³⁴ conceptual model on migration which incorporate Push and Pull factors at both origin and destination, tried to overcome this limitation. He proposed that each person is constantly exposed to the factors at a place of origin some of which inhibit migration (negative factors) and others which encourage (positive factors) it. By the same way numerous positive and negative impulses come from different potential destinations. Furthermore, between origin and destination stands a set of intervening obstacles in various forms like distance, Physical barrier, language and cultural differences etc. The decision to move or not to move result from the evaluation of all these factors. Such evaluation is not carried out objectively but by exposure to different kind of conditioning and bias-Migration thus takes place when one decides that it is preferable to move rather than stay and when the difficulties of moving seems to off set by expected reward.

The model proposed by Lee has been very successful in explaining the mechanism of migration i.e. why one decide to migrate and how migration takes place but it fall short in explaining why one choose a particular destination. In this respect Wolpert's³⁵ '*Place Utility*' or 'concept of relative attrac-

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tiveness' defined as "the net composite utility defined from individuals integration at some position in place" can be helpful. Perceived utility of a particular place should be greater than the utility (or disutility) of the rest of potential destination and home area for a migration to take place. If a relatively better area is not available person will remain in the same place.

Till now we have been discussing various laws, theories, models, and hypothesis of migration. Review of all these shows that after Ravenstein, scholars mainly concentrated on distance and opportunity as an explanatory factor for migration, which gave birth to 'Graisly model', theory of 'Intervening opportunity', and 'Competing migrants'. Later came the theory of Push and Pull to explain the cause of migration. Based on which Lee developed his models which is one of the best known. However the overall success made so far in migration theory is not very impressive. A theoretical framework which can include all the hypothetically relevant factors of migration and can specify the interaction with each other in empirically testable form and thereby serve as guidance to future research work is not yet produced. This poses a challenge for migration researchers.

Now we will pass on to discuss two other important aspects of migration: differential migration, and consequences of migration.

II. **Differential Migration and Consequence of Migration**

Differential migration is the selectivity of certain persons or the tendency of certain group to be more migratory than others. The reason of selectivity has been described by Lee,³⁶ under the framework of his model. He said that persons respond differently to the set of negative and positive factors at the place of origin and destination. They also have different abilities to overcome the intervening obstacles. It is therefore necessary that migration be selective.

In migration studies scholars have repeatedly tried to establish "universal" migration differentials, which would apply in all countries, and all times. But the attempts remained fruitless.³⁷

Even the mostly found age selectivity has certain exceptions, one of the most obvious of which is migration of persons to areas of better climate, which usually is selective of old and retired persons. However there is no denying of the fact that certain differentials like age, sex, marital status, occupation, and social status, which are found to be important in particular place and time.

Trewartha³⁸ while talking about differential migration said age of the migrant is the universally accepted differential. The reason is their great adaptability to new condition and entry into labour force. Migration is also likely to be sex selectivity but whether those who move out are largely males or females depend on variety of reason. There is no universally applicable rule. In less developed countries migration is predominantly male. Migration selection operates also in terms of marital status. The usual generalisation in that migration is weighted on the side of single young adult. In the less developed countries it is predominantly unmarried males who migrate, but in developed countries married seems to be as mobile as single. Further some occupational groups seem more likely to migrate than do others. Skilled and semi-skilled are those who migrate more than unskilled. Migration selection also operate in respect to intelligence, mental health, educational attainment and race.

There are a number of empirical studies on the selectivity of migrants, which give sometimes similar sometimes contradicting results.³⁹ But first of all these studies clearly shows that migrants are superior than the non-migrants in various socio-economic and physical attributes, in the places of origin and the while inferior than the non-migrants in the places of destination.

Lee distinguished between negative and positive selection of migration streams and presented following hypothesis which are worth testing:

1. Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected.
2. Migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected or, where the minus factors are overwhelming to entire population group, they may not be selected at all.