

CHAPTER-II

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CHAPTER-II

REVIEW OF ECONOMICS OF MIGRATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION :

There has been substantial growth of theoretical literature concerned with labour migration. The study of population migration has been a rapidly developing branch of several academic disciplines. Economists, sociologists, historians, psychologists, demographers and geographers all find that the residential movement of the human population is of importance to their respective subjects. Emigration is a sub-process within the wider process of migration which generally refers to the movement or shift of people from their native place to a new place. Complementary to the process of emigration is immigration which means reaching the place of destination. Migration thus consists of two sub-processes emigration and immigration of which the first refers to moving out of the place of origin and the second to moving into the place of destination.

Migration is one of the components of population change and it is a basic social process. It is one of the mechanisms by which a population grows or declines in size. Migration is also a necessary element of normal population adjustment and equilibrium. As Durkheim¹ has shown, in the

early stages of social growth, it has been the foremost factor in the division of labour and specialization of functions.

Migratory behaviour has been studied in relation to characteristics of places of origin and destination. A basic thread which runs with many variations through many of the migration studies is the analysis of push-pull factors. The most popular approach of economic theorists in this regard has been to stress the differential economic advantages of the place of destination and as a corollary to stress the differential economic disadvantages at the place of origin. According to this twin approach migrants tend to move to areas where their income is maximised (i.e. higher wage or salaries) and migrants tend to leave the areas where their income is very low or they suffer from partial or total unemployment or from social problems.

In the theory of migration E.S. Lee, has emphasised the role of pull factors or those associated with the destination areas and push factors or those associated with the areas of origin, intervening obstacles such as ethnic barriers, distance, cost and personal factors.²

Lee has made four sets of factors associated with the act of migration i.e. (i) factors associated with the

place of origin, (ii) factors associated with place of destination, (iii) intervening obstacles and (iv) personal factors.

It is thus clear that, what we call push or pull factors are in fact, a function of the socio-economic structure, the culture and the perception of the individuals concerned. Even within the same general cultural content, the push and pull factors may exert a differential influence on persons with different structural base. It is at this point that the possibility of selectivity in migration becomes paramount.

According to Ashish Bose, migration analysis based on push or pull factors tends to be an over-simplification. He has argued that push and pull factors must be interpreted in the overall demographic context. Under conditions of high rate of natural increase, not only in the rural areas but in the urban areas as well the push factor operates in urban areas also.³ Thus it is the degree of push and pull factors which becomes important for the present purpose. Probably the push factors continue to be dominant rather than pull factors in all the rural areas.

As stated by S.A. Stouffer the degree of migration would be inversely related to the distance between the two places as also the extent of intervening opportunities but directly related to the opportunities in the two places.⁴

It is becoming increasingly clear from recent writings on migration that source (origin) and destination areas are both likely to have attracting and repulsing elements and that these will be weighted differently by different persons depending on where one is and how long he has been there, and that each element will be valued differently by different individuals.

J. Clyde Mitchell states that single factor explanations of migration are totally inadequate and that the listing of all possible motivations is also not very useful. He sees the need to link together and relate the multiple causes in a logical framework and suggests a classification of which the major headings are the "Nexus of centripetal tendencies" and "Nexus of centrifugal tendencies" sub-divided by 'social', 'psychological' and 'economic' factors considerations.⁵

Bogue stated that such selectivity was represent in internal migration and that variations in selectivity should be explained by combining both conditions and population at origin and destination.⁶ There seems to be a general agreement that three key variables, namely employment, income and rapid population growth, determine the extent and pattern of migration flows. Migration flows from areas where employment opportunities are stagnant where income is low and where the rate of population growth is high.

Conversely they are attracted to areas of new industrial development, regions of higher per-capita income and areas where the disparity between birth and death rate is less.⁷

John Parr has found outmigration as a means of easing the difficulties faced by depressed areas, particularly the difficulties created by unemployment. He says that outmigration of labour and of the population generally is one of the most common adjustments of social and economic changes, often it is the most desirable one.⁸

However, in the case of depressed areas there exists a great resistance to movement. To say that outmigration of labour might solve the unemployment problem of a depressed area is a dangerous over simplification since this can be the indirect cause of unemployment. One adverse feature of outmigration is selective character of the outmigrants, and because of this, the area is sapped of its vital, more needed, elements which has been noted by Gunnar Myrdal as one of the back-wash effects.⁹ Such losses tend to make the area less attractive for prospective, incoming industry in addition to creating obstacles to the expansion of existing industries.

Parr suggests the following two approaches to the solution of the problems of depressed areas -

- a) encouragement to new economic activities that is, policy of bringing work to the workers and

- b) market adjustment which involve the movement of workers out of labour surplus areas.¹⁰

Anderson (1956) suggested that the push-pull concept focussed attention on the net migration rates of places to determine, whether an areas is operating primarily in terms of pull as indicated by net in-migration or push as indicated by net outmigration.¹¹

The push-pull concept was further discussed by Landis (1946). He distinguished between voluntary and compulsive moves, voluntary moves tend to be directed towards resources or values which place migrants on a higher socio-economic plane. Compulsive migration on the other hand results in seeking relief even at the expense of status.¹²

Berg¹³ has listed the major migration determining factors as -

- 1) the intensity of preference for money income against leisure in the village,
- 2) the level of his income from village production,
- 3) the effort price of income earnable in the village and
- 4) the effort price of earnings outside the village.

In the study of internal migration four types of migration streams are generally discerned. These are, (1) Rural to rural, (2) Rural to urban, (3) Urban to urban and (4) Urban to rural.

In view of highly accelerated growth of urbanization rural to urban migration and its consequences on the communities of origin and destination have been widely studied, but not enough attention has been paid to the study of causes and consequences of rural outmigration which sometimes is quite substantial and important.

2.2 INDIAN EXPERIENCE :

In India major analysis in the field of internal migration has been done at the state level from birth-place statistics. Zachariah made detailed investigation into internal migration in the Indian sub-continent during 1901-31 and 1941-51 in order to measure and describe its magnitude as also to assess its contribution to the process of population gains or loss.¹⁴

A few city surveys sponsored by the Research Programmes Committee, Planning Commission and conducted during the fifties relate to large cities and describe the characteristics of the immigrants.¹⁵

In a study of migrants to Greater Bombay, M.S. Gore has analysed the neighbourhood pattern and has indicated that while a large majority of chawl and block residents were satisfied with the neighbours and neighbourhood, a big majority of hutment dwellers were either indifferent or dissatisfied.¹⁶

The focus of attention, thus in the above mentioned studies by and large was more on the characteristics of the migrants and causes of migrations.

2.3 HISTORICAL STUDIES I

Historically, migrant labour has assumed two forms international (or internal) and international (external), the former involving movement within a national boundary the latter involving movement across national boundaries. The term international migration (Emigrants) refers only to those who leave for foreign countries to take-up remunerable jobs. Individual decision to emigrate largely depends upon the two principle economic motivations (1) Maximisation of income earning expectations, (2) Minimization of unemployment or the waiting period to secure an income earning job. Brinley Thomas stated that "the varying wage rates/salaries may be due to variation in the levels of income of the two countries. It would be one of the reasons why the major emigration flows are from poor to rich nations."¹⁷

Besides the above economic factors there are a variety of other factors like age, sex, education, experience, relative links etc. which can influence emigration. There are a few units which offer free travel and other facilities at the time of appointment. This can also encourage emigration to a certain extent.

In much of the western Europe (particularly Germany and Switzerland) there is direct recruitment of migrant labour into low-grade jobs. Economic subordination is paralleled by disadvantages in other spheres, such as housing, education and political rights. These factors have led castes and Kosack to argue that migrant workers should be viewed in terms of this common social and economic situation, which is independent of their particular group characteristic (skin, colour, language, religion). According to him the immigrants are the most under privileged and exploited groups of society.¹⁸ The position of migrant labour from the new commonwelath in the British class structure, has been second rate in legal and political relations to the native society.

International or internal migration of labour covers only those movements of individual and groups of individuals in search of gainful employment that takes place within the national boundaries. From the earlier migration studies we have a general description of typical workers who migrate

from rural to urban cities. They are generally young, better educated than the average. Various econometric works confirm that people migrate for economic gains from poorer areas to areas with better income and employment opportunities (Brigg, 1973).¹⁹ Similarly, wage levels between two places are significant variables affecting population movement between two localities.

Several push and pull factors seem to operate behind the long and continuous immigration of farm labourers into urban/industrial centres. This leads to excessive growth of population in urban/industrial sectors and pressures are rapidly built-up in this part of the economy.²⁰

In general, the term migration is used to denote the movement of workers from the agricultural to non-agricultural (mainly industrial) sector. Migrant labour is primarily but not exclusively agricultural. It is generally engaged in harvesting activities and is mostly manual, repetitive, easily learned and demanding of almost no skill. Migrant labourers pick cotton, grapes, tea or tobacco leaves. They also harvest corn, small grains or wheat. Similarly they work in brick-making units, quarries or stone crushing units. Because all of these activities require physical strength and call for much bending and reaching, migrant labour is also called 'stoop labour'. Most of these unskilled labourers come from the adjoining villages.

2.4 CAUSES OF MIGRATION :

The causes of this migration are complex. The main cause of this migration is the pressure of population not only on land but upon villages and its resources. On the other hand, there has been a gradual and fast decline of the village handicrafts and cottage industries which earlier provided employment to a large number of village people. Consequently, the number of people depending on agriculture has increased to such an extent that the holdings have become uneconomic, leading to unemployment, poverty and indebtedness in the villages. Petty cultivators and artisans, who are unable to earn enough income for their living and are indebted to the local money lenders migrate to the cities to find employment in the factories. Low income, indebtedness, lack of employment opportunities and domestic disputes represent the push factors whereas better economic prospects and attraction of city life, represent the pull factors. Push and pull factors infact represent the forces of supply and demand of labour in a spatial context.

Although push and pull factors operate together, it can be found out as to whether push factors are dominant or pull factors. In other words, the causes of migration are generally studied in terms of push and pull factors. If migration is the result of a deterioration in the level of

income working and living conditions the workers are, as it were, pushed to the towns. On the otherhand if migration is the result of an improvement in the level of income and employment opportunities in towns, the workers are as it were, pulled to the towns.

2.5 WHO ARE THE MIGRANTS ?

The question which naturally arises is as to who these migrants are ? From the above discussion it follows that the migrants belong to the economically and socially lowest section of the villages. It is the class of landless agricultural labourers who are first and most affected by a deterioration in the agricultural sector. Here the push factor is most dominant.

Next in order is the class of share croppers and small farmers who came to towns in search of work because of a loss in share cropping; failure of crops or to earn more to tide over some temporary difficulty. Here the pull factor is dominant.

In addition, non-economic factors may also be important causes of migration. The social causes include lack of facilities for higher education, need for medical assistance and lack of other social services. Out-dated social and institutional arrangements constitute one important cause of migration.

The joint family system has also facilitated such migration. Family worries and quarrels also compel some villagers to migrate to cities and seek employment in the factories.

2.6 THE DYNAMICS OF MIGRATION :

Besides the argument that man migrates because he is inherently restless and nomadic by nature, some further explanation for the migration phenomenon is needed and this has been sought in the concept of push and pull.²¹

Migrants may be pushed by circumstances in their region or origin, for instance exhaustion of natural resources. Conversely they may be pulled by attractions in the region of destination, for instance better employment opportunities or improvement in economic conditions.

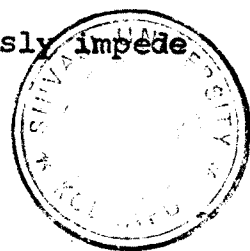
Some investigators have tried to explain all migrations by push factors only where as others have stressed pull factors exclusively. It is undoubtedly true that push factors sometimes suffice to bring about migration (such as in the case of famine). In other instances pull factors may be entirely responsible for a migratory movement (such as in gold-rush). In most cases, however, both push and pull factors play a role. In highly developed countries, exceptions to the rule that inter-regional economic differences form a pre-requisite for migration are rare. Only where

economic development has not progressed very far, do push factors alone sometimes suffice to bring about migration. In Asia and the middle east and more recently in Africa this kind of push migration has occurred. According to some authors, atleast agricultural crises produced rural-urban migration stream far in excess of what would be warranted by economic opportunities in the cities. The authors who adhere to this view speak of over urbanization.

2.7 DISTANCE AND DIRECTION OF MIGRATION :

Communication evidently is important for migration because obviously if inter-regional differences are to bring about any sizable migration, conditions in the region of destination must be known in the region of origin. The communication factor is principally responsible for the inverse relation between volume of migration and distance. This inverse relation was discovered by the British statistician. Edward R. Ravenstein, whose first law in his classic "The Law of Migration" published in 1885 stated that the great body of migrants proceeds only a short-distance.²²

Not only geographical but also technical distance (by which is meant distance as influenced by the available means of transportation and communication) and social distance are important for migration. Aspects of social distance such as religious and language differences may seriously impede migratory movements.



The difference in physical as well as social distance is the main distinction between international and internal migration (that is migration within a country).

Edward G. Ravenstein's second law of migration was concerned with the routes followed by internal migrants. Migration by stages then, is a process whereby a general migration over long geographical distances may take place, even though industrial migrants may cover only a short distance at each move.²³

Since migrants tend to cover not only short geographical distances but also short social distance, there is also what may be called migration by steps i.e. migration from rural areas to the big cities via small and medium sized towns.

Many studies in Germany, the United States and Sweden have indicated that migrants from rural to urban areas tend on the average to have higher intelligence, education and socio-economic status.

With regard to family status and family composition a general finding is that married couples without children or with only very young children migrate much more than do couples with older children.

A recent phenomenon is the selective migration of highly trained persons - engineers, physicians, scientists - from less developed countries to more developed countries

(and sometimes from the less affluent developed nations such as Great Britain to the more affluent such as U.S.A.). This is called brain-drain.

Migratory selection according to ethnic origin or race is evident in many societies. This results from cultural or social factors.

2.8 TYPES OF HISTORICAL MIGRATIONS :

Over the ages there have been many migratory movements which various authors have tried to classify under a few-broad headings.

2.8.1 Primitive Migrations :

Primitive migration probably the oldest type of human migrations is that resulting from such push factors as people's inability to cope with natural forces or their flight from a stronger foe i.e. tribal migration. Sometimes described as forced or induced migration.

2.8.2 Free Migration :

When there are neither push factors nor political forces inducing people to emigration nor as yet a migration tradition based on intensive communication between regions of origin and destination, the migration that takes place is known as free migration.

2.8.3 Chain Migration :

Through the mechanism of chain migration, the pioneer movement noted above can easily lead to migration on a large scale. Chain migration is based on the effects of letters from early migrants to relatives and friends at home. Visits home also exert a strong influence. These personal contacts form a most potent means of communication. Once the 1st migrants have induced some relations to follow them, these too in turn communicate with relatives and friends. Thus a migration chain is started that may operate for scores of years and result in the movement of thousands of people.

2.8.4 Mass Migration :

Chain migration played a key role in bringing about a new phenomenon during the 19th Century which is described as long distance mass migration i.e. from Europe to North America 1820 to 1970.

2.9 NATURE OF MODERN MIGRATION :

The development of extensive mass communication systems in modern societies has made migration less dependent on the personal messages and individual promotions that had played such a large role in earlier chain migration.

Modern migrants tend to get their information concerning the region of destination from news papers, television, official agencies such as labour exchange or immigration offices and so-forth.

2.9.1 Rural-Urban Migration :

The principal current of modern migration all over the world is toward urban areas. Of course, cityward migration is not a new-phenomenon. Only with the industrial revolution, however, did cityward movements begin to pre-dominate in the pattern of migration. Further the number of migrants who make out for very short periods of time is relatively very large. Many of them are really casual movers who return to their place of origin after a short journey. The temporary nature of this migration and the desire of the workers to maintain close touch with their villages are explained by the opposing forces of attraction of the city life and instability, seasonal work nature, chronic housing shortage living conditions in the new employment. This prevents and insecure them from settling down and bringing their families from the villages. Similarly, famines also act as a cause for temporary migration.

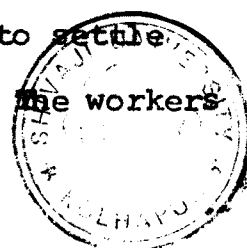
Philpott has argued that "the migration is perceived as a temporary state mainly to gain money which will ultimately result in a return to the home society."²⁴ This

is an important aspect of migration concerned with the possibility of return home.

Most of the unskilled factory workers come from the adjoining villages and continue to keep contact with their village homes. The majority of these workers come from the adjoining rural areas and the problem is that this migration is not permanent but only temporary in nature.²⁵

The view of the Royal Commission on labour that the contact with villages must be maintained, therefore, is also not very correct in the changed circumstances of today. It has been noted by Labour Investigation Committee (1946) that a large number of workers are getting accustomed to urban conditions and the charm of the city life especially cinemas, electricity, schools, college for their children etc. are a great force on account of which they have lost attraction for the village life. Hence it seems more desirable that the conditions in the industrial areas should be improved and the causes which compel the workers to go back to the villages should be removed.

In the opinion of Labour Investigation Committee most of the workers in industrial towns are landless labourers and they resort to the village occasionally for purpose of rest and recreation, social ceremonies etc.²⁶ However, labour drawn from great distances tends to settle down permanently in the towns or work site area. the workers



of lower castes also do not want to go back to the villages. Landless agricultural labourers also desire to live permanently in the town or work site areas. Such types of workers can be described as permanent immigrants.

The Labour Investigation Committee pointed out that stability of labour could be brought about by the improvement of working and living conditions generally in the industries in which such workers were called upon to work. The Committee quoted the opinions of the 'All India Trade Union Congress' (AITUC) and many employers in this connection. All agree that a stabilised labour force is very desirable in the interest of the industry but the housing conditions, wages conditions of work and living and welfare measures and other facilities for the workers must be improved before this temporary migrating character can be checked.

2.10 CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT LABOUR :

Immigrant labour must be distinguished from other forms of employment with similar characteristics and similar problems. The problem of developing a committed labour force is more difficult than that of recruitment. Commitment of the labour force depends upon a large number of factors, but the main responsibility lies with the management. Whether or not a fully committed labour force develops depends upon the attitude and policies of the employers.

Four stages have been recognised in the commitment of workers.²⁷ First the 'Uncommitted worker' who is only a temporary member of the industrial society and accepts industrial employment to tide over some temporary difficulty and goes back to the village after working for a short time. Second, the 'Partially committed' or 'Semi committed worker' who looks at industrial employment as something permanent but at heart he is villager and maintains his contact with the villages. Third the 'Generally committed worker' who has adjusted himself to the industrial way of life, who depends entirely upon industrial employment for his livelihood and does not have any contact with the villages and last the 'Specifically committed worker' who is permanently attached to a particular enterprise and a particular occupation.

As industrial worker in India is mainly of rural stock and has been maintaining link with the villages and has shown a great lack of regularity in attendance and punctuality of work it is often concluded that there is a very low degree of commitment among industrial workers in India.

The casual labour in which a worker shifts often daily from employer to employer is also different because the casual labour does not change his residence. Seasonal or part-time labour offering the work employment only on a seasonal or occasional basis is again different in that it

does not involve either a change of residence or frequent changes of employers. In that sense also there is very low degree of commitment among casual and seasonal workers in the country.

2.11 ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND LIVING
CONDITIONS OF MIGRANT WORKERS :

In all employment relationship the matching of unemployed workers and job vacancies is a haphazared and complicated process, but the labour market for migrant workers is notably disorderly (untidy).

With minor exceptions, employers do not systematically recruit migrant labourers and have no regular personnel specialists or procedures. Eventhough most labourers migrate year after year, they do not enjoy re-employment rights, are not organised in unions and have little access to systematic means of job seeking. They tend also not to avail of the available services of public employment exchanges.

Middlemen, job brokers, labour contractors, crew leaders, arise out of this fundamental disorganisation of the migrant labour market. The labour contractors in addition to bringing the workers together, transporting them, supervising them, and dispensing their pay, search out for employers and negotiate wages and working conditions.

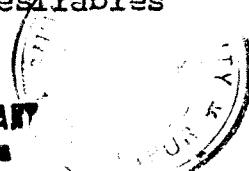
In some areas the contractors have made themselves so essential that without them, workers cannot find employment and employers cannot get workers.

Migrant workers are often cheated even of the low wages they earn. They work long hours and under exacting requirements.

Housing amounts to hardly more than a roof over the head, often tar or tent. Tuberculosis, infant and maternate mortality, desentery, enteritis, small pox and typhoid are all more prevalent among migrant labourers than among the general population.

Literacy levels, social cohesion and political participation rates are always exceptionally low among migrant labourers, while crime and all others indexes of unacceptable social behaviour are high.

The fact that the migrants are here today and gone tomorrow makes the regulation of their working and living condition difficult. Local, State and National authorities generally acknowledge the existence of serious problems associated with migrant labour. The International Labour Organisation has consistently prodded Governments to expand their legislation in this area. Efforts are being made to develop regulatory standards protecting workers during their journey, to discourage migratory movements of undesirables



and to stabilize workers and their families near their place of employment.

"The task of providing migrant workers with Governmental protection and assistance is full of complex difficulties. Regulatory legislation ideally should be applied at the 'home base' of the migrants as well as along the stream of migration and at the place of employment.²⁸

On the one hand mechanisation and permanent migration are reducing the number of migrant labourers, while on the other hand, relocating them is difficult because their low educational attainments and lack of skills force them into urban poverty.

Total employment is always limited in a year. Most migrants work less than one quarter of the working days. Child labour is widespread and the children that do not work are not adequately provided for, they often do not go to schools as in most places schools are open only to residents or not easily accessible for the immigrants.

Recently I.L.O. has adopted a move to safeguard migrants workers rights by proposing new global standards for protecting migrant workers against loss of social benefit.²⁹

During last two-three years efforts have been made by I.L.O. to introduce certain common practices in the member countries regarding socio-economic security of the imigrant labour mainly with reference to social security, medicine, sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, unemployment and family benefits etc.

Despite the fact that the number of bilateral agreements on social insurance have grown there is still considerable lack of cooperation between states and this had caused problems to migrant workers.

2.12 UNORGANISED NATURE OF MIGRANT LABOUR :

No reliable statistics is available in respect of employment in unorganised industries. This group of workers includes those who cannot be identified by a definition but could be described as those who have not been able to organise in pursuit of a common objective because of constraints such as (1) casual nature of employment, (2) seasonal nature of employment, (3) ignorance and illiteracy, (4) scattered nature of establishments. Such illustrative categories are (a) contract labour including construction workers, (b) casual labour, (c) labour employed in SSI, (d) bidi and cigar workers, (e) labour in brick-making industry, (f) seasonal labour, (g) sweepers and scavengers, (h) workers in tannaries, (i) tribal labour, (j) other

unprotected workers. The number of workers in unorganised industries in the country as a whole may, thus be placed at about 2 crores.³⁰

2.13 EVIL EFFECTS OF THE MIGRATORY CHARACTER :

The migratory process, which is an integral part of modern industrialisation and economic development, is also instrumental in social change and dynamics. But then there are certain evil effects of migratory character.

As a result of migration as already pointed out the efficiency of labourers is lowered because the workers are not able to get full training due to the fact that workers go back to the village and often do not return. The frequent absenteeism is also one of the causes of lower efficiency.

Another evil effect of such migration has been the fact that the health of the immigrant workers is often subjected to a very heavy strain in big cities and towns. The labourers in factories in big cities have to live generally in dark narrow and congested quarters in various bustees or Zhopadpattis lacking sanitation as opposed to the huts and cottages with open air and sunshine near the fields in villages. Thus the changes in the climatic conditions and conditions of work seriously impair the health and efficiency of labour. The unhealthy and unattractive housing conditions force the workers to leave their families in the villages and

stay alone in the industrial areas. This leads to greater disparity in the ratio between the two sexes. Thus deprived of the happy pleasures of the family life the workers in the city easily indulge themselves in various unhealthy and immoral practices such as drinking of intoxicants, gambling, and immorality owing to sexual starvation which has high incidence in the industrial areas. There is rapid spread of venereal diseases. Labour mobility is an important advantage in the industrial development process in most of the less developed countries, but it must be purposeful mobility i.e. from unemployment to employment from unskilled work to skilled work from low wage jobs to higher wage jobs.

Thus whether migration is desirable or undesirable depends upon the effects of migration.

1.14 ADVANTAGES OF MIGRATION :

This temporary character of migration has also its advantages. The villages and agriculture also gain by this migratory character. The factory work provides an outlet for the surplus population of the village and the pressure of population on land is reduced. The industries serve as an insurance against the uncertainties of agriculture. The workers also send their earnings to the village and many times they are invested in the improvement of agriculture.

Besides, as observed by the Royal Commission on agriculture,³¹ the life of the city quickens the minds and enlarges the outlooks of a far greater number of labourers who bring to the village, the wider knowledge and new ideas of freedom and independence which they imbibe in the towns. This has led to many social reforms in the villages have become possible. The villages have been able to liberate themselves from the fetters of custom and prejudices to a certain extent.

The present study has tried to examine in this theoretical frame work the information regarding nature, extent, degree and composition of migration and the present socio-economic condition of the immigrant labour in brick-making units in Sangli district.

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