
UNIT 1 THEORIES AND TYPOLOGIES OF MIGRATION

Mondira Dutta

Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Definition and Scope of Migration
- 1.4 Models and Theories of Migration
- 1.5 Determinants of Migration
- 1.6 Classification of Migration
- 1.7 Gender and Migration
- 1.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.9 Unit End Questions
- 1.10 References
- 1.11 Suggested Readings

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The first Unit of this Block on Migration will introduce you to the phenomenon of migration, i.e., what is meant by migration, how it happens and how migration affects the place from where people move out. The Unit also explains how migration impacts the new place where people settle in. Also, you will read about the factors that govern this phenomenon. Lastly, you will now read about relationship and impact of migration on women.

Let us look at the objectives of reading this Unit.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to:

- Define and discuss scope of migration process;
- Study various theories involved in the trends of migration;
- Identify the factors prevailing at the origin and destination for a movement to take place; and
- Discuss the migration processes in relation to gender.

1.3 DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF MIGRATION

You read earlier about migration in relation to urbanisation in Unit 2, Block 3 of this Course. In this Unit we will read about migration and its various aspects in detail along with its impact on gender.

Migration or the movement of population from one place to another is a product of social, cultural, economic, political and /or physical circumstances. The most striking feature of migration is that it can increase or decrease the population size and change its structure drastically at a given point of time. It also has a drastic impact on fertility and mortality of a place. For example, when the male population migrates, the females are left alone which will bring down the fertility rates.

The Multilingual Demographic Dictionary in collaboration with the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) describe migration as a form of spatial mobility, involving change in the usual place of residence and that implies a movement beyond an administrative boundary.

A migrant is a person who has changed his/her usual place of residence to another at least once during the migration interval (usually, interval may be one year, five years, ten years or inter censal period).

Box No. 1

Migration is usually defined as a geographical movement involving a change from the usual place of residence. Migration involves two sets of places, the place of origin and the place of destination along with two sets of population. Every move is an out-migration with respect to the place of origin and an in-migration with respect to the place of destination.

The change in the usual place of residence can take place either on permanent, or semi-permanent or temporary basis. The relatively permanent movement of people across territorial boundaries is referred to as **in-migration** and **out-migration** within an administrative boundary. When the boundaries are across international borders it is referred to as **immigration** and **emigration**. The place of in-migration or immigration is called the **receiver population**, and the place of out-migration or emigration is called the **sender population**. Migration involves two sets of places as it involves two sets of population, the place of origin and the place of destination. The place of origin is the place from where the person always moves, i.e. the starting point. For migrants the place of origin is either an area of residence or an area of residence from which the last move was made. The place of destination is usually the area where the move terminates. For migrants the place of destination is the area of residence at the end of the migration interval. '**Migration Stream**' is the total number of moves made during a given migration interval that have a common area

of origin and of destination. In practice, however, it is a body of migrants having common areas of origin and destination.

‘Migration’ in simple terms could be the movement of people from one place to another. In other words, migration is the movement of people across a specified boundary for the purpose of establishing a new or semi-permanent residence. The **United Nations Multilingual Demographic Dictionary** (United Nations, 1956) defines ‘Migration’ as a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another. It generally involves a change in residence from the place of origin to place of destination or place of arrival. Such migration is called **permanent migration** and should be distinguished from other forms of movement which do not involve a permanent change of residence.

The definition of the **Federal Office for Migration and Refugees** on the other hand states that migration occurs when a person changes the location of their usual place of residence. As per the **International Organisation for Migration (IOM)**, ‘migration’ is movement of a person or group of persons, whether between or within a country between two places in its territory.

Box No. 1

*The **International Organisation for Migration** is an intergovernmental organisation. It was initially established in 1951 as the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) to help resettle people displaced by World War II.*

It is the principal intergovernmental organisation in the field of migration. IOM is dedicated to promoting humane and orderly migration for the benefit of all. It does so by providing services and advice to governments and migrants.

IOM works to help ensure the orderly and humane management of migration, to promote international cooperation on migration issues, to assist in the search for practical solutions to migration problems and to provide humanitarian assistance to migrants in need, be they refugees, displaced persons or other uprooted people. The IOM Constitution gives explicit recognition to the link between migration and economic, social and cultural development, as well as to the right of freedom of movement of persons.

IOM works in the four broad areas of migration management: migration and development, facilitating migration, regulating migration, and addressing forced migration. Cross-cutting activities include the promotion of international migration law, policy debate and guidance, protection of migrants’ rights, migration health and the gender dimension of migration.

In addition, IOM has often organised elections for refugees out of their home country, as was the case in the 2004 Afghan elections and the 2005 Iraqi elections.

The **concept of migration** includes all types of population movements involving a change of habitual residence, regardless of their cause, their composition, duration, and including in particular the movement of workers, refugees, displaced persons and uprooted persons.

In most of the countries, it has been observed that industrialisation and economic development have been accompanied by large scale movement of people from farm areas to towns, from towns to other towns and from one country to another (Bogue, 1961). Most of the Asian and Latin American countries experienced such a situation after the boom in information technology sector. Contrarily, William Paterson observes that such conceptualisation is inadequate as it implies that man is sedentary, everywhere remaining fixed until he is induced to move by some force (Peterson, 1969, p. 289).

Those who have tried to generalise about migration phenomena or have attempted to study the factors affecting internal migration movements have adopted two distinctly different approaches (Bhende and Kanitkar, 1978).

- The first approach is mainly a situation oriented in terms of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. It attempts to study the condition at home which compels a person to move out of their place of origin as well as the conditions and situation outside that attract a person from the current place of residence to move out.
- The second approach attempts to formulate empirical generalisations and describes patterns of migration, preferably in the form of mathematical models which are valid as universal laws.

Box No. 2

Migration is such a complex process that it becomes difficult to separate it from any other type of human movement. The Kampala Convention also known as ‘Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons’ (IDPs), 2009, defines migration as “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised state border”.

Refugees according to Article 1 (2) of the 1951 Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, are “person, who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a social group or political opinion, outside the country of his origin and is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (United Nations, 1956).

Attempt the following exercise to assess your understanding of the last section.

Check Your Progress:

1) Define 'Migration' in a simple way.

2) What is understood by:

- in and out migration
- receiver and sender population

Let us now read about various theories that govern the phenomenon of migration

1.4 MODELS AND THEORIES OF MIGRATION

Let us first discuss models of migration.

Migration can be broadly divided on the basis of **two analytical models** - the macro and the micro analytical models. Some of the prominent models

involved in macro analysis include Ravenstein Model (Gravity Model), Zipf Model (Model of Least Effort) and Stouffer Model (Intervening Opportunity Model). The major Micro Analytical Models is Lee's Model. Some of these models are an extension and up gradation of basic models such as that of Ravenstein, Zipf, Lee, Todaro, etc.

Ravenstein studied patterns of migration in the UK in 1880s using the Census birth-place data. In his model, Ravenstein talked about 'migration phenomena' which revolves around the streams of migration. According to him migration is a continuous process resulting in more balanced re-distribution of population. However, for each migration stream there is a counter stream. The model is actually based on the series of predictive statements. The basic example of the streams of migration is when an individual migrates from his/her place of origin to a specific destination; he/she forms a link between the two places and then the other people from the same place start to come to same destination, leading to social capillary movement.

- *Most migrants move relatively short distances creating an inverse relationship between the number of migrants and distances travelled.*
- *People who move long distances are largely unaware of opportunities available at the destinations and tend to move to larger urban centers.*
- *Migration occurs in stages, leading to stepwise migration. Ravenstein Migration occurs in stages, leading to stepwise migration.*

Look at the following to understand step wise migration.

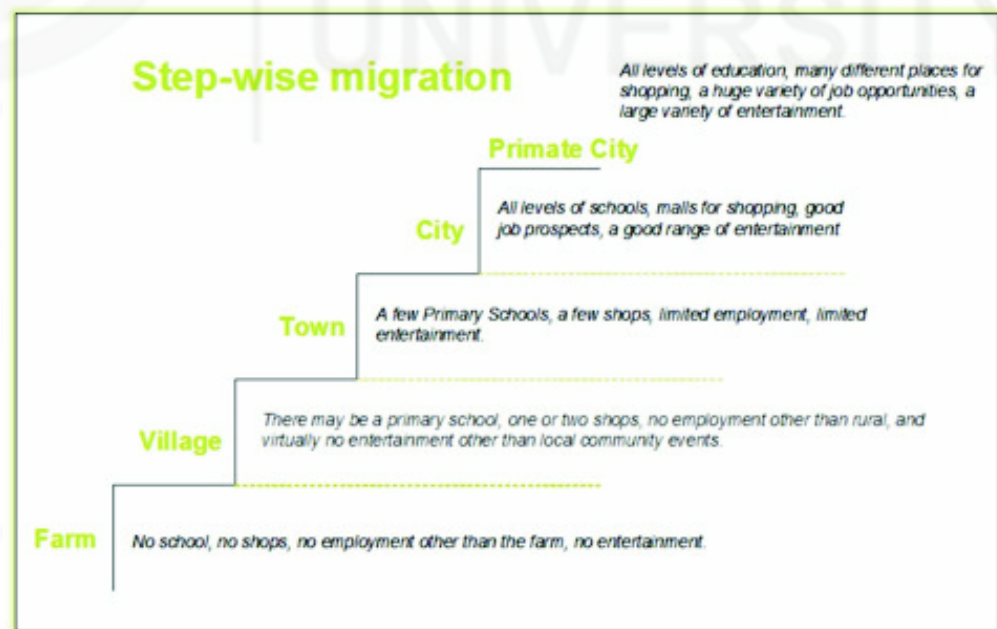


Fig. 1.1

Source: http://geographybylizz.wikispaces.com/file/view/Stepwise_migration.jpg/30549045/Stepwise_migration.jpg

Based on the exponential growth of cities people in the rural areas are much more likely to migrate than those in urban centers. With technological advancement magnitude of migration increases. According to Ravenstein, women are more likely to migrate within their country for a relatively shorter distance than men. Men are more likely to emigrate than women. Most migrants are adults.

Everett Lee has conceptualized the factors associated with the decision to migrate and the purpose of migration into the following four categories (Lee, 1969):

- 1) Factors associated with areas of origin
- 2) Factors associated with the areas of destination
- 3) Intervening obstacles
- 4) Personal Factors

Lee elaborates all these four categories by pointing out that, in each area, there are numerous factors which act to drive away the people from the area or to hold people in the area or to attract the people to it (Bhende and Kanitkar, 1978).



Fig. 1.2

SSource: Everett S Lee, (1969), "A Theory of Migration"

Intervening obstacles may prevent migration from taking place, or may reduce the number of people moving away. The intervening obstacles/factors could be negative, positive as well as neutral in nature such as religion, services, misinformation, political differences, government policies, immediate job opportunity, travel cost, language etc. Lee found that in the place of origin as well as destination, intervening obstacles, life cycle, social as well as personal characteristics of individuals are the main factors leading to migration or spatial mobility. His hypothesis was that migration depends upon volume and stream of migration as well as characteristics of migrants.

The '**Volume of Migration**' in a given territory varies with the diversity of the area. A higher degree of diversity (spatial/racial/ethnic) results in higher migration. The volume is also affected by the level of difficulties in between and trends in business cycles like recession or boom. Hence, the volume as well as the rate of migration varies with the state of progress. '**Stream of Migration**' on the other hand is high if the major factors that contribute towards migration are 'push factors' and particularly if they are more compelling than the 'pull factors'. For every major stream there is a counter stream. The efficiency of streams will be higher depending upon the intervening obstacles being strong and during better economic conditions and vice versa. The efficiency of streams and the counter stream is weaker if the area of origin and destination are similar.

The characteristics of migrants tend to be similar to the characteristics of population at the places of origin and destination. Migrants responding primarily to pull factors are not under compulsion to move. The propensity to migrate in this case is not very high. However, the propensity to migrate becomes higher in case of strong response to push factors. So, migration tends to be 'bi-modal' interplay of both push and pull factors.

Stouffer in his '**Intervening Opportunity Model**' argued that distance is a surrogate for the effect of intervening opportunities. The migration stream from the place of origin to the place of destination is assumed to be inversely related to the number of intervening opportunities. In other words, number of persons moving for a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at the destination and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities. So, the nature of place is more important than distance. Stouffer further revised his own model as '**Competing Migrant Model**'.

Todaro Model (1971) talks about the economic factors that are most influential among the push-pull factors. Individual migrants necessarily weigh the economic costs versus benefits. Thus, Policy makers can slow rural migration by creating investment and new employment opportunities in the rural areas.

The Gravity Model is based on Newton's Law of Gravitation and was expanded by William J. Reilly in 1931. As per the model, the number of people moving between places 'A' and 'B' is equal to the population of 'A' multiplied by the population of 'B' divided by the square of the distance between them. In other words, movement of persons between two urban centers would be proportional to the product of their population and inversely proportional to the square of the distances between them. The potential number of migrants will be bigger where the population of the place of departure and arrival are large. This model was further modified to include social factors.

After reading about different models that govern the pattern of migration it is important at this point to assess your understanding of the last section.

Check Your Progress:

- a) *What are the major characteristics involved in Ravenstein's theory of Migration?*

- b) *What is Intervening Opportunity Model as propounded by Stouffer.*

Let us now learn about factors that determine migration

1.5 DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION

Migration influences and gets influenced by various natural and man-made factors resulting in a number of **Push and Pull factors**. The push factors operating at the place of origin can be a high natural rate of population growth creating population pressure on the existing resources; exhaustion of natural resources; droughts, floods and natural calamities such as earthquakes and famines; and acute social, religious and political conflicts compelling people to migrate to other places for reasons of safety. Every year many people migrate because these push factors, such as natural

calamities are common in a large country like India. The pull factors work at the places of destination and attract the migrants through establishment of new industries, provision of new opportunities for gainful employment; facilities for higher education in the cities etc. Every year thousands of people get pulled to the big urban cities like Mumbai and New Delhi, which register the highest percentage of migrants from across the country.

Some variables may operate either as a push or a pull factors, for example, the variable of technological change which results in the establishment of a number of attractive factors in urban areas or which provides modern agriculture machinery to rural areas and frees the person from their bondage to agriculture land. Both these factors can be further classified based on social, economic, political and environmental factors.

The social factors that influence migration are cultural richness, better welfare programs, better schools, infrastructure, strong social network (as in case of Bangladeshi migrants), presence of friends and relatives who have already moved, motivation to build religious community, marriages etc. All these are pull factors which attract a person to migrate. On the other hand, cultural discord, and restrictions on practice of religion can be pushing factors to help a person in deciding to flee from his/her place of residence.

According to Kingsley Davis, the following factors have been mainly responsible for the mobility of the Indian population: predominance of agriculture, the caste system, early marriage and the joint family system, diversity of language and culture, lack of education and others (Davis, 1968). Better economic opportunities for acquiring farms for self and children, cheap purchase of farmland, instant wealth, more job opportunities, higher pay, prepaid travel (from relatives) are some of the prominent economic factors, that act as pull factors, whereas, a lack of employment or entrepreneurial opportunities, shortage of farmland, difficulty in starting new business etc., are some examples of push factors.

Political freedom like right to select government, right to execute all fundamental rights etc. also plays an important role in motivating people to migrate. But in adverse political conditions like oppressive legal conditions, military draft, warfare, expulsion by armed force or coercion, lack of political or religious freedom enforce a mass migration as experienced time and again in case of international conflicts. An example of such a migration is the Afghans from Afghanistan into the neighboring countries. Such a phenomenon is experienced also during nation building process. For example, at the time of Indian independence both Hindus living in Pakistan and Muslims living in India migrated to India and Pakistan respectively.

Environmental Migration led by environmental factors is caused by natural calamities and disasters like famine or drought, flood, tsunami, earth quake

Now, attempt the following exercise to assess your understanding.

1) What is meant by the Push and Pull factors in migration studies. Give one example of it.

- 2) Give examples of in and out migration in India.

239

1.6 CLASSIFICATION OF MIGRATION

Classification of migration depends broadly upon three factors namely **motivation**, **distance** and **time**. The motivation and distance are inter-related. Migration can be sub-divided into two types on the basis of long-distance and short distance migration. Migration can also be classified as:

Internal Migration corresponding to any movement towards a change of place of residence with temporary or permanent motive within a geographical or administrative boundary. Internal migration involves both inter and intra state/district migration, where interstate/ inter-district migration means migration of people across state or district boundary. On the other hand, an intrastate and intra-district migration is within the state or the district respectively. Movement of Indian women after marriage to her husband's place is a good example of internal migration involving no crossing of international borders.

International migration occurs when movement of persons involve crossing the national borders. Movement of youth from India to USA, European Countries as well as Gulf countries in search of jobs can be categorised under this type of migration. The term **immigration** and **emigration** refer respectively to movement into or out of a particular territory, and are used only in connection with international migration. From the perspective of a migrant, immigration is the act of visiting a State whose nationality has not been acquired; also the migrant does not have the intention of settling there. Tourists and students going to other countries for a relatively short time are covered under this category. Emigration is leaving one's country or region to settle in another.

In-migration refers to movement into a particular area, while **out-migration** refers to movement out of a particular area, both referring to movements within a country, that is, internal migration. Each move is either immigration or an in-migration with respect to the place of destination and emigration or out-migration with respect to the place of origin and departure.

Most commonly referred in migration studies, are the agriculture labour cycles - or the **seasonal migration**, that is, moving for a short period of time with cattle and family. The nomadic population such as 'Gujjars' and 'Bakarwaals' move with their goats and sheep from valleys to higher places on the mountains. Seasonal migration can also be categorised as short term migration. In this type of migration a person moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year (12 months) except in cases where the movement to that

country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends or relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage. A **long term migration** according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is the movement of a person or a group of persons to a country other than that of his or her or their usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence.

Sequential Migration is a form of migration where migrant's decision has not been taken into consideration at all. Most of the children of migrating families can be seen as best examples where they do not have any say in the decision made by their elders. Another example is the wife who accompanies her husband.

Rural - Rural Migration is caused by the disparity between rural development forces where the flow of migration is from less developed rural areas to more developed rural areas eg., tea garden workers in Assam, agriculture workers from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar working in Punjab and Haryana. But this does not always hold true as the movement of a rural woman after her marriage from her birth place to her husband's place can also be characterised as rural-rural migration.

In recent times, **rural to urban migration** has become more common, as more people move to urban areas in search of jobs. Rural-urban migration has become a single potent factor for urbanisation. The rural-urban migration results due to a rapid industrialisation process.

Movement of a person or a group of persons motivated by economic and welfare needs leads to **urban-urban migration**. Jobs, better infrastructure like housing, schools etc. attract people from small town towards metros or big cities. This is more prominent in the developing countries with growing urbanisation. Urban-urban migration can also be studied in the backdrop of 'Step Migration' as propounded by Ravenstein:

Small Town → Cities → Big Cities/Metros

Darbhanga → Patna → Delhi

Urban-Rural migration refers to the movement of people from urban areas to rural areas. It's also called **Counter-Urban Migration** or **Return Migration**. This phenomenon is more prevalent in advanced nations although during recent times, this is observed in the case of developing countries also. It is when people move from an urban place (cities, built up areas, e.g. Delhi) to a rural place (countryside, other sparsely populated places, e.g. Noida/ Greater Noida).

Main types of migration trends include:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>I) Rural-Rural Migration</i> | <i>v) In and out migration</i> |
| <i>II) Rural-Urban Migration</i> | <i>vi) Long term migration</i> |
| <i>III) Urban- Rural Migration</i> | <i>vii) Sequential migration</i> |
| <i>IV) Urban-Urban Migration</i> | <i>viii) Skilled/semi/unskilled migration</i> |

There are, in addition, two other types of migration namely **‘Skilled’** and **‘Semi/Unskilled Migration’** that need to be mentioned. For example, the highly educated professionals like managers and IT professionals go abroad to seek employment and the labourers migrate in search of employment to bigger cities.

Check Your Progress:

1) Differentiate between the following forms of migration:

- *Immigration and emigration*
- *In-migration and out-migration*
- *Long-term migration and short term migration*
- *Step and return migration*

In the last section of this unit we will look into the gender dimensions of migration.

1.7 GENDER AND MIGRATION

Let us now read about how gender influences migration and what are the various discourses that bind inter-linkages between gender and migration.

Understanding the inter-linkages between gender, space and mobility is a recent area of enquiry within feminist research. Particularly, in the discourse of gender and development emphasis has been given to in the aspect of gender, migration and livelihood. Feminists are using **intersectionality as a research tool** to build gender perspective in the area of migration. Feminist sociologists, philosophers and psychologists have used intersectionality as an analytical tool to understand gender in relation to social institutions, practices and processes. Intersectionality aims at analysing the pattern in which hierarchical social arrangements such as caste, race, gender, ethnicity etc. contribute to producing inequalities in the society. According to **Rita Afsar (2011)**, three features of intersectionality will be useful to comprehend the interconnections between gender, space and mobility. The three conceptual elements of intersectionality are as follows;

- Gender relations being an important form of social differentiation influence migration.
- Gender being a fluid category in itself can bring diverse experiences with regard to space; and
- Intersectionality framework treats gender as an active agent in the migration research.

Therefore, we can conclude that gender relations can influence process, cause and outcome of migration. It can create cultures and personalities in various spaces and finally gender relations can contest and challenge institutionalised inequalities in the migration research. In most of the migration studies, gender oppression and vulnerabilities are reflected, however it is important to project migrant women as agents for social change. Emphasising women's agency and migrant women's coping strategies in the oppressive socio-economic situation is the scope of gender-migration research.

Cecilia Tacoli and Richard Mabala (2010) argue that gender and generation are important factors which influence the process of migration and mobility in rural and urban contexts. Migration and mobility are inherently complex processes encompassing types of movements, demography and cultural experiences. They reflect socio-economic, cultural and political transformations at local, regional and global levels. For example, increasing urbanisation can lead to transformation of economic structure, livelihood pattern of the population, restructuring of urban infrastructure and so on, and gender becomes an important factor to shape these processes. To

quote, “gender and generational relations are key elements that both shape and are shaped by these transformative processes” (Tacoli and Mabala, 2011, p. 390).

Box No.4

Gendered understanding of migration and mobility expands the scope of research in multiple directions including household members’ access to resources and political decision-making, nature of livelihood strategies, evolving gender relations and analysing inter-household conflicts on the basis of class, caste and ethnicity.

Sylvia Chant (1998) in her article ‘Household, Gender and Rural-urban Migration: Reflections on Linkages and Considerations for Policy’ talks about the concept of gender selective migration and discusses how gender selective population mobility brings household diversity in different regions, eg., increasing female headed households in South Asian region. She makes a distinction between *de jure* female-headed household and *de-facto* female headed household. Both these forms of households are determining factors for women to migrate from rural to urban areas.

The *de jure* female headed household occurs due to widowhood, separation and being unmarried. Women in the *de jure* female headed household often resort to migration for their survival in cities. The *de facto* female headed household occurs due to male migration to urban areas. In such cases, women are left with poor economic resources, less access to credit and training and low level of decision-making that makes them more vulnerable. In this context, women in the *de facto* female headed household sometimes perceive migration as a way of escaping from poverty. Understanding migration and mobility from a gender perspective will expose you to multifaceted areas including intersectionality as a research tool, socio-cultural transformation, political decision-making and policy intervention. You are going to read some of these issues in succeeding units of this Block.

1.8 LET US SUM UP

Migration is a process involving temporary or permanent movement of people producing change in both the areas of origin and destination. The reasons of these changes depends upon several variables. Migration, involves two areas, origin and destination. The effects may be positive in the areas of destination, while being negative in the areas of origin, or the other way round, or similar in direction for both the areas. The direction of the effect depends upon the socio-economic, demographic, and politico-cultural conditions of the areas, as well as on the magnitude of net migration and the extent to which net movement is selective of particular age-sex and

occupational groups. Any population which experiences high rates of migration (in or out) automatically has its age-sex structure altered in the future. The ethnic, racial and cultural composition of the population changes through the continued in-migration and out-migration of people of different characteristics. It affects the family and kinship structure as well as social roles and values.

1.9 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Define migration and discuss its salient features with examples.
- 2) What are the main types of migration? How can it be classified?
- 3) Explain the main theories involved in studying the migration process?
- 4) What are the factors that affect migration? Discuss with the help of examples.

1.10 REFERENCES

Afsar, Rita (2011). Contextualising gender and migration in South Asia: Critical Insights. *Gender, Technology and Development*. 15:389, DOI: 10.1177/097185241101500304.

Bhende, Asha A. and Kanitkar Tara (1978), op cit, Pp 390.

Bogue, Donald J., (1961) “*International Migration*”, in Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan (Eds.), *The study of Population*.

Cecilia Tacoli and R.Mabala (2010). Exploring Mobility and Migration in the Content of Rural Urban Linkages: Why Gender and Generation Matter. *Environment and Urbanisation*. 22(389). DOI: 10.1177/0956247810379935.

Chant, Sylvia (1998). Households, gender and rural urban migration: reflections on linkages and Considerations for policy. *Environment and Urbanisation*, Vol 10, No.1.

Davis, Kingsley (1968). *The Population of India and Pakistan, Principles of Population Studies*. New Delhi: Himalaya Publishing House. Princeton University.

Lee, Everett S. (1969), “*A Theory of Migration*” in J. A. Jackson (Ed.). *Migration*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peterson, William, (1969), *Population*, New York: MacMillan.

United Nations, (1956), *Multilingual Demographic Dictionary*, ST/SOA/SER. A/29, Population Studies No. 29, New York.

http://geographybylizz.wikispaces.com/file/view/Stepwise_migration.jpg/30549045/Stepwise_migration.jpg

1.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

Afsar, Rita (2011). Contextualising gender and migration in South Asia: Critical Insights. *Gender, Technology and Development* 15:389, DOI: 10.1177/097185241101500304

Chant, Sylvia (1998). Households, Gender and Rural Urban Migration: Reflections on Linkages and Considerations for Policy. *Environment and Urbanisation*, Vol 10, No.1.

Cecilia Tacoli and R.Mabala (2010). Exploring Mobility and Migration in the Context of Rural Urban Linkages: Why Gender and Generation Matter. *Environment and Urbanisation*. 22(389). DOI: 10.1177/0956247810379935.

UNIT 2 MIGRATION, INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Mondira Dutta

Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Migration and Inequality
- 2.4 Seasonal Labour Migration and Inequality in India
- 2.5 Migration and Social Change
- 2.6 Gender, Social Change and Inequality: An Interface
- 2.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.8 Unit End Questions
- 2.9 References
- 2.10 Suggested Readings

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration is the movement of an individual across the administrative boundary, with or without the will of the person concerned. Migration has become a universal phenomenon in modern times. Due to expansion of transport and communication, it has become a part of the worldwide process of urbanisation and industrialisation. In most countries, it has been observed that industrialisation and economic development has been accompanied by large-scale movements of people from villages to towns, from towns to other towns and from one country to another.

From a demographic point of view, migration is one of the three basic components of population growth for any region, the other being fertility and mortality. But whereas both fertility and mortality operate within the biological framework, migration does not. It influences the magnitude, composition and distribution of population. More importantly, migration influences the social, political and economic life of the people changing the cultural mosaic of the place.

According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), about 42 million migrants live outside their home communities who have been forced to flee for getting some respite from conflict, repression and violence. Refugee Migration has many causes and takes several forms. This includes people who cross international borders in search of refuge as well as those who are internally displaced. Also of concern are stateless persons, populations affected by natural disasters, those living in areas that are or

will be affected by climate change, and those involuntarily resettled as a result of development projects.

The social system of the country can have a significant effect on the migration pattern of the people from various back ground. It is also the determinant of the economic condition of the people which in turn leads to inequality. At the international level the global inequality is based on wages, labour market opportunities or lifestyles. Millions of workers and their families move each year across borders and across continents, seeking to reduce what they see as the gap between their own position and that of people in other, wealthier, places. In turn, there is a growing consensus in the development field that migration represents an important livelihood diversification strategy for many in the world's poorest nations. This includes not only international migration, but also permanent, temporary and seasonal migrations within poorer countries, a phenomenon of considerable importance across much of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Yet, it is also clear that migration - and perhaps especially international migration - is an activity that carries significant risks and costs. As such, although migration is certainly rooted, at least in part, in income and wealth inequalities between sending and receiving areas, it does not necessarily reduce inequality in the way intended by many migrants. Much depends on the distribution of these costs and benefits, both within and between sending and receiving countries and regions. Also important in terms of the aggregate impact of migration on sending societies is the selectivity of migration itself. Clearly, if most migrants were to come from the poorest sections of society, and they were to achieve net gains from migration, this would act to reduce economic inequality at least, all other things being equal. But, migrants are not always the poorest, they do not always gain, and other factors are not equal.

Let us read the objectives of this Unit.

2.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to:

- Identify the various patterns of human migration;
- Discuss the causes and consequences of migration; and
- Elaborate upon the role of various agencies in migration.

2.3 MIGRATION AND INEQUALITY

The Unit investigates the inequality issues, and extends the analysis to cover the role of caste and social identity for the labour market. The major cause of rural-urban migration is the inequality among the people, based on the interpersonal and inter-household inequality within and between

villages. The inequalities *within* sending areas are also crucial in generating migration - more unequal villages send more migrants. Migrants come from the most productive age groups and as a result, unequal power structures within villages go unchallenged. Migrants from wealthier backgrounds also do better. These facts ensure that migration enhances inequality.

Based on the range of different types of migration, and the varied economic, social, cultural and political contexts within which migration occurs, it is difficult to draw any overarching conclusions about its impact on inequality. Indeed, examples can be found of migration both increasing and decreasing inequality. Inequality needs to be defined in broader terms than simply income or wealth. Inequality, like poverty, is multi-dimensional, and can be measured at individual, household, regional and international levels. There are socio-cultural dimensions to inequality, as well as inequalities in access to power. All aspects of inequality are highly gendered. In other terms inequality is the role played by a variety of political, economic and social-cultural institutions, since these are often crucial to the ways in which wealth, power and opportunity are distributed within societies.

Inequality is clearly a major driver of migration. Indeed, international migration is a powerful symbol of global inequality, whether in terms of wages, labour market opportunities or lifestyles. Millions of workers and their families move each year across borders and continents, seeking to reduce what they see as the gap between their own position and that of people in other, wealthier, places. According to the UN there were 191 million international migrants in 2005, increasingly concentrated in the more developed regions of the world. Similarly, internal migration within poorer countries, whether permanent, temporary or seasonal, reflects both perceived and actual inequality of opportunity between places. It is not just inequality between sending and receiving areas that promotes migration. Inequality within sending areas can also generate migration, since more unequal villages tend to produce more migrants than less unequal villages.

Let us examine the relationship between migration and social change. Migration *is*, of course, change and it can lead, in turn, to further transformations both in sending and receiving societies. Here we restrict the scope of analysis to migration across national borders, although several of the points made below may apply as well to long-distance domestic movements. As a *form* of change, international migration has been analysed as a consequence of a diverse set of causes, both in the source and receiving countries.

Looking first at international migration from across the region, evidence from both Pakistan and Bangladesh suggests that inequalities are increased, as relatively wealthy individuals and villages that have more access to long-distance migration enhance their position in relation to the poor. However, in-depth evidence of the relationship between migration and inequality in

an ethnographic study of movement from Talukpur, a village in Sylhet, Bangladesh, to the UK tells a more complex story. Here, Gardner (2001) argues that 'access to *bidesh* (abroad) has increasingly become the pole around which inequalities are clustered. Not only has it helped to create them, but so too has it become a metaphor for thinking about them'. Her argument relates not only to economic inequalities, but also to broader social and cultural cleavages, with migration becoming one of a number of analytically distinct measures of status and power. Yet although inequality has increased between wealthier households and the very poor, it has decreased between the wealthiest - the elite that used to hold positions of power - and the many poorer households who were often previously dependant on this elite for economic and social support, but have now become much better off.

One reason for this is that the original migrants from Talukpur were by no means the wealthiest - indeed, some were even landless, with land traditionally being the major indicator of wealth in rural Bangladesh. In practice, migration brought with it considerable changes to landownership in Talukpur. Those who already owned land often acquired more fields and moved from being small to large landowners, whilst some of those without land managed to transform their position to become amongst the most prosperous households in the village. In this context, access to international migration, specifically to London, came to result in as much social and economic power as ownership of land. Migration brought more than simply money, in the form of remittances; it also brought with it 'cultural capital' and social prestige. In turn, remittances were also fed into other areas of life, with a wider impact on political, social and economic power. Indeed, inflation in all sectors of the economy (labour, commodities and technology) has made it difficult for small plots of land to be economically viable.

As elsewhere in Bangladesh, many *Sylhetis* have lost their land and this phenomenon has been intensified in '*Londoni* villages'. Yet as polarisation grows between migrants and non-migrants, there increasingly appears to be no clear fit between economic position and status classification. The conspicuous consumption of foreign goods, while being the principle differentiation in the village between migrant and non-migrant households also, according to Gardner, 'reflects the economic dependency of the *desh* on aid and remittances from overseas and the hegemonic power of international capitalism'. While laying claim to some of this power the migrants are unwittingly pointing to the larger inequalities that structure our world.

In addition to intra-village inequality, some observations can also be made about increased inequality between migrant and non-migrant villages in Sylhet. In particular, villages that have experienced high levels of '*Londoni*' migration are now startlingly distinct, filled with stone houses, sometimes

two or three stories high, and showing extensive material wealth in contrast to the impoverishment of much of the rest of rural Bangladesh. Education is another clear sign of the increasing inequality between villages, with 'modern' education a major sign of prestige in Talukpur, and levels of literacy in the village much higher - over twice the national average for men, and one and a half times the national average for women - mainly a result of migrant households' increased wealth. Growing temporary migration to the Gulf may also be having similar impacts on inequality, as the poor remain largely excluded from such flows.

Turning to **Kerala**, a rather different research project - the *Kerala Migration Study* - also provides rich evidence on aspects of the relationship between international and internal migration and inequality in sending areas. Based on a sample survey of some 10,000 households conducted in 1998, it is probably the largest study of its kind in the region. It shows that Kerala experienced a massive increase in migration, which became one of the most prosperous 'industries' in the state. The authors (Zachariah, Mathew and Rajan, 2000) assert that 'migration has contributed more to poverty alleviation and reduction in unemployment in Kerala than any other factor', with the proportion of the population below the poverty line declining by 12 per cent, and the unemployment rate fell by 30 per cent. Some support for this comes from the fact that in 1998, remittances made up nearly 10 per cent of the State's GDP, twice over what the state received from the central government by way of budget support, and well over the combined export earnings of the state's two major industries, sea food and spices.

The *Kerala Migration Study* compares opportunities and living standards between non-migrant households, inter-state migrants who stayed in India, and international migrants, most of whom went to the Gulf. As in other cases, it shows that migration is generally selective of young, educated men, although the proportion of women in both emigrant and inter-state migrant flows was found to be rising. Interestingly, it shows migration patterns that differ remarkably between different religious and ethnic communities - thus Muslims were twice as likely to migrate internationally to the Gulf as the average, whereas Syrian Christians were twice as likely to migrate within India as the average. In contrast, members of scheduled castes were less likely to migrate to either destination. Also, although degree holders were much more likely to migrate than non-degree holders, the reverse was true for those whose fathers were educated.

Unfortunately, the study does not allow us to look directly at changing economic inequality, since the economic position of migrants and migrant households prior to migration is not recorded. It does show that those who migrate do better than those who do not. For example, migrant households had higher levels of food consumption, were more likely to have electricity, to own land, and to have invested in land improvement, and were more

likely to use private hospitals. However, per capita remittances also appear to follow the educational level of migrants prior to departure, with the most educated sending home the highest amounts. This is reflected in a better performance of Syrian Christian internal migrants, who tended to be better educated, compared to Muslim migrants to the Gulf, whose educational levels were lower.

2.4 SEASONAL LABOUR MIGRATION AND INEQUALITY IN INDIA

The following case study concerns the complex, and in some respects contradictory story to be learned from recent studies of internal migration in West Bengal and Western India. In **West Bengal**, in relation to seasonal labour migration it is found that 'overall, the workings of this segment of the labour market are likely to increase inequality as employers' surplus-accumulating production is facilitated - especially that of large-scale employers, whilst most migrant workers are working hard to stay in the same place.' Remittances play a crucial role in the context of growing inequality especially for the landless households, noting that there are very few cases in which seasonal migration has led to individual upward economic mobility. In Murshidabad district in particular, men usually travel unsolicited, and without prior agreement with an employer and thus face great uncertainty. Almost all migrant households use their cash remittances for food and loan repayments. Seasonal migrants are excluded from government provision of health services and education when away for work. Combined with the nature and intensity of the work and the living conditions, this means that the health of the migrants suffers more than those who stay behind.

However, this form of seasonal migration in West Bengal has also increased the migrants' aggregate power in the labour market and changed long-standing relations of power more in favour of the labourers themselves. For example, in Puruliya District, there has been a significant shift in relations between the landowning and labouring classes. The increased access to seasonal out-migration for agricultural and other manual workers has contributed to the diversification of livelihoods by these workers and a consequent loosening of their obligations to the landowners. The result has been labour shortages during peak agricultural seasons, leading to changes in the terms of land and labour contracts in the region to the advantage of labourers. These labour market adjustments have allowed workers more choice regarding their employers, giving them more power to gain increased benefits or higher wages.

In contrast, in **Western India**, the scope for such worker choice is much more limited, since employers often act together. This is the case in Bardoli

taluka in South Gujarat, where sugar cultivators maintain a 'highly organised recruitment process', reducing the extent of benefits derived by labourers. Meanwhile for a small minority of Bhil migrant households in tribal Western India, there are benefits in the form of saving, investing and meeting contingencies, for the poor majority, migration is again a defensive coping strategy that simply allows them to combat the extreme economic vulnerability. The uniformly poor appearance of Bhil villages disguises significant differences in wealth, status and power within them, which have a bearing on the organisation and outcome of seasonal labour migration.

In this region, the success of migration is highly dependent on access to recruiter networks or kin and without these networks the migrant is often left with the worst paid, less reliable forms of labour and are in the most vulnerable positions. Indeed, more generally, the system of recruitment here amplifies debt and dependence and prevents most migrants from working their way out of debt. In this context, Bhil migrants working for the same amount of time end up with very different outcomes. For most, many years of seasonal migration have not led to any long-term increase in assets or reduction in poverty.

Migration can also lead to a loss of social position and status if the migrant is absent for a long time and fails to take part in important village events. This will increase marginality from credit and social networks. However, in a few cases migration can increase a household's earning capacity and its creditworthiness and allow new investments in machinery or land or in social networks to increase social position. For a very few, migration provides the means for upward mobility. For a number of households with greater livelihood security. The report states that labour migration strengthens their position, especially where labourers can become (through kin networks) gang leaders and 'recruiters'.

There are several reasons why different outcomes in terms of inequality can be observed between the two studies of rural-rural migration in West Bengal and rural-urban migration in Western India. In West Bengal, migrants travel in groups to labour recruiting areas where employers and employees collect and here bargaining for wages and benefits takes place. If the migrants are lucky enough to arrive on a day with a high employer to employee ratio then their bargaining power can be quite high. Indeed, there are even cases that are reported of migrant labourers foot-dragging or walking out of a job, in the knowledge that alternative opportunities might exist.

In contrast, for the tribals in western India seasonal migration is from rural to urban areas. Within the urban informal labour market work is highly differentiated along 'ethnic' lines and the Bhils occupy a distinct employment sector that is low paid and unskilled. They are unwilling or unable to risk

competing in other labour markets, and instead are recruited directly from their villages. In this situation, much more than in the case of West Bengal, it is neighborhood and kin networks that are involved in the structures of employment and this reduces competition between employers and keeps wages low. It also removes the opportunity for mobility that is seen in the West Bengal case and ensures the employer a carefully selected, accountable and amenable dependent workforce.

The degree to which workers can make choices in the West Bengal labour market would not be possible in such a structured casual labour market with a socially and economically dependant workforce as in Western India. Thus, unlike West Bengal, the high demand for casual labour does not translate into stronger bargaining power for Bhil migrants. This means that it is also less likely that migration can have an emancipatory effect. On the contrary, Mosse *et al.* argue that 'through migration these workers move into a world in which hierarchical distinctions (Bhil/non-Bhil; tribal/non-tribal) are more keenly felt, generalised and amplified; a world in which the culture of poverty is newly experienced as *jati* (caste/'ethnic') discrimination'.

Box No. 1

Migration in the Western India case appears to have done little to emancipate Bhil women. Gender structures tend to remain intact and women have to continue domestic roles alongside waged labour. Women and older people have a limited participation in labour migration and the enhanced dependence on migrant earnings increases male authority in the household, increasing dependence on men for cash and health care. In this case, migration may amplify gender inequalities.

In this situation, links to recruiters and their kin are crucial and the labour recruitment process can ensure unequal access to earning. Those who have no stable relationships or networks necessary to get regular work are pushed into the most casual and poorly paid work. Also without such networks, the migrant will have problems finding living arrangements, they are more vulnerable to intimidation, under or non-payment of wages and isolation and loneliness.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) What do you understand by inequality amongst the migrants?

2) *Write distinctive features of seasons labour migration and inequality.*

3) *Give example from India where the people have migrated because of inequality.*

Let us now discuss relationship between migration and social change.

2.5 MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As a *cause* of social change, migration has been analysed from a cultural perspective that emphasises its potential for value/normative transformation and from a structural perspective that highlights its demographic and economic significance. Studies of change vary in scope, focusing at the **micro-level** of individuals and families; the **meso-level** of communities and regions; and the **macro-level** of nation-states and the global economy. Just as the scope of analysis varies, so does the *depth* of the processes of change attributed to migration. Effects may simply scratch the surface of society, affecting some economic organizations, role expectations, or norms. On the other hand, they may go deep into the culture, transforming the value system, or into the social structure, transforming the distribution of power. Such profound transformations are precisely what opponents of

migration in receiving societies fear and what they have traditionally railed against.

The power of migration to effect change either in sending or receiving regions and countries depends on three main factors:

- a) *the numbers involved*;
- b) *the duration of the movement*;
- c) *its class composition*. Concerning the first, it is obvious that small displacements have little causative power, seldom going beyond the lives of those involved and their immediate kin.

In the United States and Europe today, the fears expressed by opponents of immigration commonly portrays a rising out of the poorer nations and overwhelming the social systems and the culture of the developed world. Such fears are readily contradicted by the numbers -scarcely 200 million migrants in a planet of 6 billion, with only a minority going to the advanced countries and by the capacity of the host societies to fend off drastic change. Concerning the second factor, circular flows of short duration tend to produce less durable change than permanent displacements. Under certain conditions, cyclical movements may *reinforce* the existing social structures rather than change them. This may occur, for instance, when migrant workers' earnings help support the development of rural productive structures at home, thereby strengthening their long-term viability. Similarly, temporary labour migration to Western Europe in the 1960s and 1970s helped significantly its economic expansion without making much of a dent into European social structures or cultures until the compulsory end of the program turned temporary workers into permanent migrants.

Permanent out-migration can significantly alter the demographic structure of sending societies, as when entire regions are depopulated. Permanent migrants can also have a stronger influence on sending regions by weakening local productive systems, and changing the culture in the direction of out-migration as the sole normative path to upward mobility. A settled permanent immigrant population of any size will also have a greater impact in the culture and social structure of host societies, as is evident with the transformation of circular to permanent immigration among Turks, Moroccans, and Algerians to Western Europe and with the end of cyclical labour migration across the U.S.-Mexican border, paving the way for a permanent unauthorised migrant population in the United States.

Also, the composition of migrant flows affects the change potential of migration in unexpected ways. One may argue that movements composed of persons with higher human capital would have a greater impact on receiving societies because of the greater capacity of such migrants to express themselves and protect their cultural traits. In fact, the opposite

tends to happen because educated migrants have greater flexibility and capacity to adapt to the receiving culture, being often fluent in its language. Greater human capital translates into better opportunities in the labour market and easier entry into the host society's economic mainstream. On the contrary, flows composed of poorly-educated workers can have a more durable impact because of their initial ignorance of the host language and culture and the tendency, especially among migrants from rural origin, to adhere tightly to their customs. Sizable flows of migrant workers tend to give rise to visible cultural-linguistic concentrations, generally in marginal areas of host societies. Such 'ghettos' go on to become natural targets for nativists who paint them as tangible evidence of migrants' inferior cultural or even biological endowments.

Lastly, flows that are class-diverse comprising both high and low-human capital migrants are most likely to give rise to institutionally complete ethnic enclaves in receiving countries. This is so because skilled immigrants are able to set up enterprises using the mass of their co-ethnics as both a market and a source of labour; in turn, less educated immigrants find in these ethnic enterprises an alternative source of employment opportunities and even a "training mechanism" to learn themselves the ropes of small business management.

Institutionally-complete enclaves represent the most visible manifestation of change wrought on host societies by migration. The duration of such formations varies significantly, however. In the United States, they tend to last no more than two to three generations because the very success of immigrant entrepreneurs pushes their descendants into positions of advantage in the host country's economic mainstream. In Germany and other European countries, according to some accounts, immigrant enclaves appear to last longer.

Box No. 2

The archetypical enclave was that created by the Jewish exodus out of Czarist Russia in New York City. At the start of the twentieth century, almost two million Russian Jews migrated to America from the Pale of Settlement where they had been confined by the Czarist regime and where they were subjected to repeated pogroms. Unlike Italians and other migrant workers of the time, Russian Jews were class-diverse. Skilled artisans and merchants abounded among them and they used their resources to set themselves up in business, starting as humble peddlers and gradually rising in the capitalist hierarchy. By the mid-1930s, an institutionally-complete Jewish enclave had developed in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, where religious and cultural institutions proliferated, an ethnic press in English and Yiddish flourished, and where the needle trades became the 'great Jewish métier'.

A few years later, children of these now prosperous migrants were literally taking the East Coast universities by assault, with the City University of New York serving as the main focus for their educational and professional aspirations. By the 1960s, the Jewish Lower East Side was a memory, but members of the Jewish third generation had by then become ensconced in the city's upper professional and business ranks, their education and incomes significantly surpassing those of other ethnic groups, including Anglo-Americans.

A more contemporary example is provided by the Cuban exodus to Miami. Like the Jewish one, this emigration out of the island was class-diverse, led by the old upper and middle strata escaping political revolution. Successively lower layers of the island's population followed the elites, all clustering in South Florida. In a few years, an ethnic enclave began to take hold and by the 1990s, it had consolidated into a cultural, religious, and political complex buttressed by over 72,000 Cuban-owned firms. By 2000, the incomes of Cuban exiles arriving in the 1960s and 1970s were at par with those of native whites and those of Cuban business-owners were the highest in the region. The exiles also had the highest rates of self-employment of any ethnic group in the area. Second-generation Cubans, while also displaying high average incomes, had much lower rates of business ownership, an indication that, like the Jewish second generation, they were leaving the original enclave to seek mobility in mainstream professions.

The pace of cultural and political ascent of Cubans was, if anything, swifter than the early Jewish rise out of Lower Manhattan. Today, Spanish has joined English as the language of business and everyday discourse in Miami. The mayors of all large cities, including Miami proper and Miami-Dade County are Cuban, as are the area's three federal congresspersons; Miami's delegation to the Florida State legislature is almost uniformly Cuban, being comprised of both former exiles and their children.

Attempt the following exercise to recaptulate your learning.

Check Your Progress:

Write how migration based on social change in turn changes the society of the receiving population.

2.6 GENDER, SOCIAL CHANGE AND INEQUALITY: AN INTERFACE

Since, we have already looked at the relationship between migration and inequality, it is important to understand the impact of migration on the women and their social environment. Migration can lead to inequality or change in the social mobility ladder for women. According to Michael B. Whiteford (1978) migration is a liberating process as the moving from one form of social constraints opens up possibilities of social change for both women and men. Although migration plays an important role in the lives of women by creating opportunities for them to improve their material and social conditions, it involves complexity when it comes to altering gender roles. As you have read in other units of this block, migration literature has mainly focused on male experiences and relegated the role of women in migration literature has mainly focused on male experiences and relegated the role of women in migration process.

According to Wasudha Bhatt (2009), “relegating women to the role of dependants (United Nations 2005), even though women are the principal wage earners in many poor migrant house holds. There is a compelling need to understand female migration, not only as a poverty-reducing strategy but also as a vehicle for economic diversification, upward mobility and essential gateway to personal growth and well-being” (p.90).

Wasudha Bhatt in the discussion on the “economic vs. social consideration” analyses the gender aspect of migration process which reflected that the culture of migration has become an inevitable part of India’s social fabric. Further, she has brought the aspects of disintegration of family structure and deepening of social inequality. For instance, due to out-migration from rural to urban, village was no longer seen as the reference point for cultural identity and acquired a cosmopolitan character that deepens the existing social inequality at the village level. Rural-metropolitan migration is acute in states like Odisha and Rajasthan; as a result, more and more migrant workers are landing up in odd jobs. In such a situation, the conditions of women are vulnerable as they face sexual exploitation along with other related problems.

There is a body of literature which looks at the male migration and its impact on the women’s lives. One of the features of migration in the developing countries is increasing male migration and leaving behind their family and wives at home. **Sonable Desai** and **Manjistha Barter** (2014) write that literature on male migration has analysed its impact on women

in two years. Many women experience autonomy in the absence of their male partner in domains of decision-making, mobility and exploring livelihood options. The situation of male migration has fostered women's autonomy, self-esteem and role expansion in absence of their husband. The men also take up domestic responsibilities. This trend of exchanging gender roles is seen to be temporary and works only in absence of male operate as *de facto* household heads and take up additional responsibilities including supervision of agricultural tasks (Desai and Barter, 2014, p. 338). On the contrary, other studies focused on women's financial burden and increasing work burden. One of the studies showed that in the rice production belt of eastern U.P., women's work load is likely to increase to compensate their husband's labour in case of male migration (Paris *et al*, 2005 in Desai and Barter).

When remittances are not enough to meet the needs of the family left behind in the village, women assume the role of sole breadwinner in the household. The migration studies discuss the various dimensions of social change including women's empowerment, expanding livelihood options, rejecting female seclusion, and a partial change in the gender-segregated roles. In the context of social change and migration, it is important to focus not only on female migration but to incorporate discussions on male out-migration and its impact on women's lives. The increasing female-headed households in the contemporary times can be cited as an obvious consequence of male out-migration. How women perform different gender roles in the absence of males is a matter of social enquiry.

Now let us look at some cases to understand the dynamics between gender, migration and social change. Most of the studies in relation to gender, migration and social change have looked into the aspect of changing gender roles and the conception of mothering. Dreby's (2006) study on migration mothers and fathers from Mexico found that the gender roles with respect to parenting and motherhood have not been altered even in the context of transnational migration. Similar observations have also been made with regards to the Philipino migrants. Even if women migrate and send home remittances, men have not been able to redefine the concept of fatherhood. In case of Mexican migrants, father's relationships with their children is directed by their economic status as breadwinners and mothers continue to be judged by the emotional ties which they have built up from distance (see Trask, 2014). Female migration in this case has not helped in reconceptualisation of motherhood, however, the concept of motherhood has incorporated the aspect of breadwinning as a form of gender role for migrant women. Women's role as primary caretaker is still seen as the core concept of motherhood. To quote Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997), rather than replacing caregiving with breadwinning definitions of motherhood, they appear to be expanding their definitions of motherhood to encompass

breadwinning that may require long-term physical separations. For these women, a core belief is that they can best fulfill traditional caregiving responsibilities through income earning in the United States while their children remain 'back home'. (cf.Trask, 2014, p.133). The traditional conception of motherhood may not have changed due to women's engagement in paid work but certainly adding of new identities to the concept of motherhood can be described as change. In a similar sense, **Nicholson** (2006) states that migrating mothers do not only provide financial support to their family but they also create new vision through their experiences. Migrant mothers create elements of hope, opportunity and change for their children. When we talk about social change in relation to migrant women, it can be inferred that changes have come within various social institutions such as family and marriage with regard to decision-making, informed choice and gender roles.

2.7 LET US SUM UP

Immigration helps to achieve a more efficient allocation of resources, and hence improves the welfare of nations. However, the rise in allocative efficiency is often considered to be fairly small. The controversy starts with concerns about the distributional effects of immigration: (i) Is immigration detrimental, that is, do immigrants depress the wages and increase the unemployment of the natives, often enter into poverty within the receiving countries, and deprive the sending regions of their most motivated and talented workers? (ii) Is it possible that immigration is just not large and significant enough to cause such damage to be noticeable? Or: (iii) Is immigration *de facto* beneficial, because most empirical studies fail to identify any negative effects on the natives, immigrants are typically faring better in the receiving countries than at home, and the sending countries' population benefits from remittances and labor force from the induced scarcity in the home labor markets? And: (iv) What is actually the objective, equality among natives or among natives and immigrants together?

There are a number of organisations which try to answer the above questions through various reports and publications to understand the plight of the migrants in the best way possible.

2.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Define social change and discuss the interrelationship between gender, migration and social change.
- 2) How do inequality, gender and women's migration relate to each other. Discuss with suitable examples or case studies.

2.9 REFERENCES

Bhatt, Wasudha (2009). 'The Gender Dimension of Migration in India: The Politics of Econtemporary space in Orissa and Rajasthan'. *Development in Practice*, Volume 19(1).

Black, R., Ammassari, S., Hilker, L.M., Mouillesseaux, S., Pooley, C., and Rajkotia, R. (2004). *Migration and Pro-poor policies in sub-Saharan Africa*, Department for International Development. London, Nyberg-Sorensen N, Hear NV, Engberg-Pedersen.

Desai Sonalde and Banerji Manistha (2014). Negotiated Identities: Male Migration and left-behind wives in India. *Journal of Population Research*, Vol. 25(3), New Approaches to Household Diversity and Change (October, 2008).

Gardner, Katy (2001). *Global Migrants, Local Live: Travel and Transformation in Rural Bangladesh* Oxford University Press: Oxford

Portes, A. (2006). Institutions and Development: A Conceptual Re-Analysis. *Population and Development Review* 32 (June):

Singh, D.P. (1998). Internal Migration in India: 1961-1991, *Demography India* 27(1).

Trask, B.S. (2004). *Women, Work and Globalisation: Challenges and Opportunities*. New York, London: Routledge.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (1951) Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees.

Whileford Michal, B. (1978). Women, Migration and Social Change: A Columbian Case Study *International Migration review* Vol 12, No.2.

Zachariah, K., Mathew, E., and Rajan S.I. (2000). *Socio-Economic and Demographic Consequences of Migration in Kerala*, Centre for Development Studies, Kerala.

2.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

Bhatt, Wasudha (2009). 'The Gender Dimension of Migration in India: The Politics of Econtemporary space in Orissa and Rajasthan'. *Development in Practice*, Volume 19(1).

Desai Sonalde and Banerji Manistha (2014). Negotiated Identities: Male Migration and left-behind wives in India. *Journal of Population Research*, Vol. 25(3), New Approaches to Household Diversity and Change (October, 2008).

UNIT 3 MIGRATION AND VULNERABILITIES TO TRAFFICKING

Mondira Dutta

Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 Gender, Migration and Trafficking: A Background
- 3.4 The Palermo Protocol
- 3.5 Vulnerability Indicators of Human Trafficking
- 3.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.7 Unit End Questions
- 3.8 References
- 3.9 Suggested Readings

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Globalisation has ushered in a rapid economic development and opening up of greater opportunities especially for the South Asian region. At the same time, it has also led to an uneven access to infra structural facilities such as health, education and participation in the decision making process. This uneven distribution of income and wealth is found not only between regions but also between groups of population. A rising prosperity among the middle class has exacerbated inequalities, exclusion and discrimination, compounded with the lack of any meaningful social protection which has left behind the poor and disadvantaged. Combined with gender based discrimination, violence and low status of women and girls this has created situations of severe vulnerabilities for sexual exploitation and trafficking which has emerged as the single biggest symptom of such a situation.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to:

- Define what is trafficking;
- Establish the inter-linkages between gender, migration and human trafficking; and
- Explain the nature and forms of vulnerabilities for women migrants in the context of human trafficking.

3.3 GENDER, MIGRATION AND TRAFFICKING: A BACKGROUND

The South Asian region suffers from several forms of human rights abuse. This is even more conspicuous in the context of women's security and human rights disrupting the entire social fabric of the region. The region continues to face civic unrests, political instabilities and abject poverty. Trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation is one of the heinous crimes. Such instances of Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) are considered as the most widespread violations of human rights. It can include physical, sexual, psychological and economic abuse, and it cuts across boundaries of age, race, culture, wealth and geography. It takes place in the home, on the streets, in schools, the workplace, in farm /fields, refugee camps, during conflicts and crises.

Lets us understand the inter-linkages between gender, migration and human trafficking. Historical records and social mapping of human trafficking shows how migration is one of the primary determinants of female trafficking. The experiences of Western Europe in the past reflected that women and young girls were trafficked for exploitative work. **Thanh-dam Truong** has discussed three trends in the sex-trafficking which were prevalent in western Europe in different time periods.

- The first wave of sex trafficking involved adult women from South Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and West Africa.
- The second wave involved young women sometimes under-age from China, the Baltic, and the Central and Eastern Europe
- The third wave involved women from the Balkans and the Scandinavian countries who became the victims and agents of sex-trafficking.

These trends show how sex-trafficking has led to international migration of women that equally placed them in exploitative category. "It is, therefore, important to identify and locate the causes, consequences, and structural variations of sex trafficking, which seems to be integral to the history of global capitalism but still remained under researched until recently" (Truong, 2003, p. 33). Analyzing these inter-linkages will probably help to understand the nature of vulnerability for women. Let us now understand the nature of vulnerability for women migrants.

Box No.1

Trafficking has many manifestations from the most universally prevalent forms of domestic and sexual violence, to harmful practices, abuse during pregnancy, so-called honour killings and other types of femicide. The gender based discrimination combined with violence has led to situations where women and girls are particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Trafficking has thus emerged as the single largest illegal trade after drugs and arms trade.

Human trafficking is a worldwide crime involving the exploitation of men, women, and children for others' financial gain. It is a major systematic violation of fundamental human rights especially for children and women. It obeys no boundaries. Trafficking is not limited to sexual exploitation alone, but covers a wide social canvas such as 'forced', marriages, bonded labour markets such, as sweat shops, agricultural plantations, organ trade, entertainment industry and, domestic service. Ever increasing population, larger socio-economic changes at the global level and moral corruption in the society contribute towards human trafficking.

Human trafficking can take various forms over a period of time and it rests with the core principle, i.e., "using coercive force to sell a person for exploitative use" (Ryle, 2012, p. 489). In India, the most obvious forms of human trafficking is bonded labour or debt bondage. According to Robyn Ryle (2012), human trafficking can be referred to as a modern slavery and has differential impact on both women and men. For instance, in the global south women and children face the increasing burden of inequality due to their social location and cultural constructions. Therefore, they become vulnerable to human trafficking. Factors like feminisation of poverty and economic vulnerabilities of female-headed households are critically pushing women in the network of human trafficking.

As per United Nations data, roughly between 700,000 and 2 million women are trafficked every year across international borders (refer Ryle, 2012, p. 489). Due to women's embodied labour (read Unit 3: 'Labouring Body' of MWG 004), women work either as domestic servants or engage in prostitution. In both these forms of labour, women suffer from various forms of violence and the obvious form is sexual violence. The experiences of the trafficked women reveal the specific nature about the gender-based violence that is encountered by the trafficked women in this global economy. Let us now look at some cases for further reflections on this issue.

Box No. 2

Experiences of Women who Escaped from the System of Enslavement

Robyn Ryle in her book Questioning Gender reported the experiences of women and girls who were caught in the web of human trafficking and later escaped. In 2003, a multistate prostitution ring found a 17 year old girl. The girl was abducted from the bus stop in downtown Cleveland, Ohio. The girl was kept in a room with other women and forced into prostitution by her captors. The girls used to work as prostitutes and were sometimes sent to the mall to sell jewellery and trinkets. The younger girls were escorted and threatened by the older women. All the girls were controlled by the system of reward and punishment. If they obeyed the orders they were rewarded and if they disobeyed they were threatened.

The story of Hilda Dos Santos is worth reading in the context of vulnerability, violence and human trafficking. She was working as a domestic servant in United Nations. Once the employer stopped paying her and used her as bonded labour. She did all the house work including cleaning, cooking and taking care of the pets. She was given leftover food to eat and beaten if she made any mistake. Once she injured her leg while working in the house and it got infected. The employer denied any medical care or financial assistance to her. She escaped with the help of a neighbour when she developed a tumor in her stomach. Later, legal intervention was made to save Hilda.

Another case is that of Shanti Devi. She was 39 years old when she left her village in Bangladesh. She was supporting her family independently as the head of the household. A man from the neighbouring village lured her in the name of giving a job in India. In India, she was sold to a pimp for Rs.2000. The moment she realised the situation she was in, she managed to escape and took shelter in the Bangladeshi slum. With the assistance from a Non-governmental Organisation, she was sent back to her country.

Source: Questioning Gender, p.490

The above cases depict the conditions under which women and girls are trafficked and exposed to a specific form of violence. These two cases are contextually different from each other, however, have been able to provide insight into the causes of trafficking and the inherent vulnerabilities of women. Victims are often lured or abducted from their homes, subsequently forced, through various means, to work in prostitution, agriculture and manufacturing settings and other trans-national crimes. Thus, Human trafficking is a result of structural gender inequalities that make women part of the excluded and discriminated groups in the region. In addition to inflicting grave personal damage upon its victims, trafficking undermines government authority, fuels organised criminal groups and gangs, and imposes social and public health costs. Although the crime of human trafficking can take different forms in different regions and countries around the world, most human trafficking cases follow a similar pattern; that is, traffickers use acquaintances or false advertisements to recruit men, women, and children in or near their homes, fraudulent marriages and other tempting offers of jobs and then transfer them to and exploit them in another city, region, or country.

Human trafficking has been prevalent in areas that are experiencing abject poverty, food insecurity, insensitive social and cultural milieu and displacements due to natural and man-made disasters. The world today is a witness to mass exodus of people migrating from one place to another due to conflict, war, natural calamities, ethnic cleansing, terrorism and

insurgency or simply in search of livelihood options. Women and girls are a prey to being trafficked especially when they migrate to unknown destinations.

Vulnerability to trafficking and vulnerability to migration have a distinct similarity with regard to the causes and exploitation of process. However it is important to note that all migration among women and girls do not necessarily lead to trafficking. **Trafficking is not a single violation but part of a continuum of violations and is the cause and the consequence of human rights violations.** Therefore, responses must not be limited to addressing the act of trafficking or its purpose. These are not the only violations that need to be addressed. Promotion and protection of human rights, especially of the trafficked person must be central to all responses. Prevention by addressing the root causes is fundamental to fulfillment of due diligence. It is important to adopt the 'safe migration procedures' for a migrant that would reduce the factors of vulnerability to trafficking.

Before reading further, assess your understanding of what you have read in this unit by taking up the following exercise.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) *What are the most common methods adopted by the traffickers to lure a person into getting trafficked?*

In the following section you will read about affirmative actions by United Nations to arrest the problem of human trafficking.

3.4 THE PALERMO PROTOCOL

In 2000, UN Convention Against Transnational Organised Crimes was formulated in Palermo, Italy. It is referred to as **UN Palermo Protocol** which was ratified by 116 countries by December 2007 to accept the protocol as an instrument of international law. It reached an agreement on a definition that identifies three critical components of human trafficking.

- **The act-what is done:** “recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons”;
- **The means- how it is done:** “threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or giving payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim”;
- **The purpose—why it is done:** “exploitation, which includes exploiting the prostitution of others, sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery, or similar practices and the removal of organs” (UNODC, 2000b, Article 3) (refer Alvarez and Alessi, 2012).

The purpose is predominantly one of exploitation including “prostitution of others, sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery or similar practices, removal of organs or other types of exploitation”. Josephine Butler, a British feminist associated human trafficking with sexual exploitation through the campaign known as *White slave trade*. Butler founded the **International Abolitionist Federation** in 1875 and initiated international conventions and campaigns to fight against human trafficking which was only understood in relation to prostitution. Feminist writers like N. Ray criticised the approach of linking human trafficking only to prostitution by which the international conventions, agreements and initiatives ignore other aspects of labour and sexual exploitation (cf. Alvarez and Alessi, 2012, p. 144). By the 1970s, the feminist movements incorporated human trafficking in the agenda of violence against women. In the Third World, the violence against women movement not only focused on sexual violence but also against militarised prostitution, sex tourism and mail-order bride business. Thereafter, human trafficking became the full fledged agenda of the international women’s movement and strangely placed in the forums like 1975 World Conference on Women, 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing (Ray 2006 in Alvarez and Alessi, 2012).

The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime was signed in Palermo, Italy. The convention was supplemented by two protocols:

- the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children and
- *The Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air.*

The first of these protocols is sometimes referred to as the **Trafficking Protocol** and more usually as the **Palermo Protocol**.

“Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.....” (www.palermoprotocol.com). The UN Protocol on Human Trafficking, 2000 has become the framework for formulating anti-trafficking policies and counter-trafficking measures across the world.

Many theorists and researchers questioned the UN Protocol on the account of its paradoxical nature. The Protocol emphasised the protection of sex worker’s rights on the basis of recognising their work as a form of labour. However, it leaves the aspects of victimisation, violence and oppression of sex workers in the periphery. **Jordan** questioned the very essence of UN Protocol on Human Trafficking. She argues, “since the essence of trafficking according to the Protocol, is transporting someone for the purpose of exploitation, and exploitation is in turn defined as some form of ‘unfree’ labour, it does not add anything to the already existing international instruments regulating slavery, forced labour, child labour, and debt bondage” (c.f. Baye and Heumann, 2014, p. 82). However, the Violence Against Women (VAW) perspective was questioned by the feminists on the account that the perspective **didn’t include violation of women’s right in the context of forced labour and had underscored trafficked women as powerless subjects.**

Several non-consensual approaches emerged in the debates, frameworks and conventions of human trafficking. Alvarez and Alessi analyse the documentary film on human trafficking *Dying to Leave* by Aaroo Wolf. The documentary reflected the multifaceted experiences of trafficked women and men as migrant workers. The aim of the film was to raise social awareness about the vulnerabilities of migrant workers who often become the potential victims of human trafficking. Alvarez and Alessi (2012, p.147) stated that it is important to supply information or raising public awareness about trafficking but linking human trafficking with sexual exploitation and

HIV infection is neglecting issues concerning labour rights, conditions of vulnerability, situation of repatriated trafficked victims and so on.

The authors stated the example of Nepal where a study was conducted on mapping the community perception about trafficking. The study revealed how the country's information, education and communication sectors are reflecting the interlinkage between human trafficking, prostitution and HIV infection to discourage women from migrating to other countries in search of employment. The study shows that this interlinkage is further escalating the problem of repatriated trafficked women including stigmatisation and ostracising the women with the fear of HIV infection. The affirmative framework on human trafficking needs to look at structural problems such as illiteracy, poverty, underemployment and the intensity of vulnerability for socially marginalised communities.

According to **Marion Mansberger** (2011), besides prostitution, women and girl children are victimised in multiple ways. Some of the **common forms of victimisation are domestic servitude, slavery, forced labour, illegal adoption, forced marriage, human egg harvesting, surrogate motherhood and ritual killings**. The author quoted the research paper 'Give girls a chance: Tackling child labour, a key to the future' in which it was discussed that in domestic servitude girl children are often abused. Forced-marriage is also an important area which can be linked to trafficking, gender and migration.

The **United Nations Report on the Violation of Basic Human Rights of Child Brides** estimated that 49 countries face the problem of child marriage and it is prevalent in some of rural Asia, (Mansberger, 2011). Although, human egg harvesting is not recognised as an aspect of human trafficking but research can be initiated to explore the links between human trafficking and human egg harvesting. The practice of surrogacy is prevalent in India and other developing nations. **Jennifer Lahl**, national director for the **Center of Bioethics and Culture Network** states "young and vulnerable women are lured into the scheme to make easy money, sometimes in a country other than their own due to legal issues" (Mansberger, 2011, p. 615). In recent years countries like Thailand, Vietnam and Romania are looking at experiences of trafficked surrogate mothers as a form of crime. In 2011, the officials in Thailand revealed the network of business that was illegally providing Vietnamese surrogate mothers. In our discussion on gender, migration and trafficking, much broader understanding of human trafficking is required to include evolving forms of violence and vulnerabilities for women and girl children.

International and regional legal instruments have clarified obligations of States to prevent, eradicate and punish violence against women and girls. **The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against**

Women (CEDAW) requires that countries party to the Convention take all appropriate steps to end violence. However, the continued prevalence of violence against women and girls demonstrates that it is yet to be tackled with all the necessary political commitment and resources. One needs to take particular notice of the violence faced by the nation's women and girls each and every day for no other reason than who they are. They are attacked because they are female.

Political instability and economic compulsions are reasons for young girls from Nepal, Bangladesh, Myanmar and even as far as Uzbekistan, to be sold to traffickers. Within the context of South Asia, India happens to be the country of origin, transit and destination for trafficking of women and children. The vulnerable population mostly includes the women, children and those below poverty line with high levels of debt bondage, illiteracy and facing closure of economic options. Others include the potential second generation of trafficked children who are extremely susceptible to exploitation. There is a considerable degree of internal trafficking of women and children within India. India has emerged as a major alternative market for child sex tourism after Thailand. There are studies which show that Goa, Kerala, Kovalam, Varkala, Cochin and Karnataka have been the destinations for child sex tourism. For instance, "In Kovalam, about 80 per cent of hotels are mentioned to live on sex tourism" (Winkler, 2011, cf. Mansberger, 2011).

The non-governmental organisations and other civil society organisations have been instrumental in implementing the anti-trafficking measures on the ground. They have been influential in creating the awareness among the community members, developing the capacity to build linkages among the members of the border **vigilance committees** and providing shelter and protection to the rescued trafficked victims. The NGOs are strategically located on either side of the international borders imparting knowledge and awareness constantly.

The vigilance committees consist of local civilians mainly created along the borders who take the responsibility of keeping a vigil on any potential suspicious characters that may be moving about in the village. The strategy adopted for border vigilance committee includes making girls, boys, women, men, teachers, rickshaw pullers, a barber, shopkeepers as members and giving them orientation to report suspicious movements or fraudulent marriage cases to the core committee of the vigilance. The core committee also makes people understand the significance of safe migration. They are imparted training from time to time and have been successful in nabbing innumerable culprits on several occasions. The vigilance committee members contact the NGOs in case they suspect any unsocial elements wandering about.

Let us now read about indicators that make a group or an individual susceptible to human trafficking.

3.5 VULNERABILITY INDICATORS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

All identified indicators of vulnerability to trafficking can be categorised under four major categories - **Social-Demographic, Cultural, Economic and Environmental**. These are further subdivided into micro level indicators.

3.5.1 Social and Demographic Indicators of Vulnerability to Trafficking

The following factors have been seen to be instrumental in trafficking

a) Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Population

The overall situational location of Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) population in India indicates their concentration is in physically inaccessible areas which have culturally and socially hostile environments and restrains them from an inclusive participation in the socio-economic development processes. Majority of North-East India, Central plateau region of Jharkhand, Orissa, Chattisgarh and Maharashtra and Western region consisting of central and western districts of Madhya Pradesh, Northeastern region of Gujarat and Thar region of Rajasthan have a high concentration of tribal communities which are vulnerable to allurements and thus prone to human trafficking. Similarly large areas of rural Telangana (especially Khammam and Adilabad districts) and Rayalseema in Andhra Pradesh, North Eastern Karnataka also are most vulnerable.

b) Female Illiteracy

The regions with high female illiteracy along with high ST and SC population and food insecurity are more vulnerable for human trafficking. Majority of areas in North-Eastern India especially Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Assam, northern districts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar adjacent to Nepal, Maoist infested regions of Jharkhand, Orissa and Chattisgarh, North Western Gujarat, Western and Southern Rajasthan, Central regions of Rajasthan and Central parts of Telengana and Rayalseema region in Andhra Pradesh are vulnerable in terms of female illiteracy. At the same time higher female illiteracy coupled with social and cultural tradition of seeking their economic support, enhances the vulnerability to being trafficked like in the case of North-Eastern states of India.

c) Age Specific Sex Ratio

The age-specific (10-24 years) sex ratio of girls and women is low in the northern districts of Bihar, central Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, southwest Bengal, western Rajasthan, central belt of Madhya Pradesh and parts of Gujarat and Maharashtra. A study (Dutta M, 2011) revealed that several districts like Murshidabad, north 24-Parganas and south 24-Parganas have an extremely low age specific sex ratio. The study showed that there was a high concentration of girls and women from the same age group belonging to these districts in the Sonagachi red light area of Kolkata.

d) Crimes Against Women

The **National Crime Record Bureau** presents a higher proportion of crime against women in parts of North-eastern states of India, Maoist infested regions of Jharkhand, West Bengal, Chattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh (Telengana and Rayalseema region) and Orissa. Other areas with higher proportion of crime against women are seen in western Rajasthan, northwestern Gujarat and central Madhya Pradesh. Areas around National Capital Region of Delhi especially bordering Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan also registered higher rates of crime against women due to dowry deaths and urban crimes especially molestation, rape and sexual assault. Several pockets in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka have also reported crime against women.

e) Prevalence of HIV/AIDS

The trafficked women are vulnerable to HIV/AIDS and ultimately these trafficked victims already infected with HIV/AIDS pose serious threat in the native areas after they return home. Significant prevalence rates are found in Nagaland, Mizoram, parts of Telangana, Rayalseema and Coastal Andhra Pradesh, Southern Maharashtra and in the urban areas and their adjacent districts like in the case of Mumbai, Pune, Hyderabad, Bangalore and Chennai.

In Bihar the mobile sex workers were found to be engaged in flesh trade with the truck drivers along the Asansol and Nalanda highway.

Jharkhand is a predominantly tribal state where women have relative freedom and are also given respect. Over the recent years there is complete collapse of the tribal economy in Jharkhand especially because of deforestation and unemployment. Men are seldom at work, often drink and remain idle. In a tribal society girls often disappear for few days without parents having to worry for them. The girls are neither discriminated against nor are they kept under a strict vigil. Parents are also often responsible for sending their daughters outside for domestic work in return for quick money. There is no provision of any registration. Agencies have good network and after initial payment they have often sold them to pimps in brothels.

Orissa is one of the poorest states in India, hence, more prone to trafficking of girls. There is evidence of trafficking not only for sexual exploitation, but also for organ trade. There are even cases of women who are mentally challenged in the age group of 10-30 vanishing forever. Studies have shown that the Kalahandi - Bolangir - Koraput (KBK) districts - the poorest districts in the state of Orissa have rickshaw-pullers who have been trafficked from Nuapada to Jhansi (UP), for organ trade. Such instances have been found in Phulbani as well. Trafficking takes place all along the route from Sambalpur to Jharsugudah.

Karauli district in Rajasthan is notorious for prostitution of young girls with the sanction of the society. In Karauli women are brought from Bengal, UP, Bihar, Hyderabad and Delhi. In Churu, wives of migrant workers get sexually exploited. In Dhaulpur located close to MP-UP, prostitution has become a commercial business. The district of Tonk is located on the National Highway 11 and is famous as a sex hub. It is an area with high concentration of Rajnat community. The trafficking route is from Udaipur to Gujarat. Once in Gujarat they go back and forth from Dungarpur to MP. The districts of Bhilwara, Chittaurgarh, Pratapgarh and Rajas and are areas with high presence of HIV/AIDS.

In West Bengal some pioneering studies by NGOs show how women in the tea gardens migrate to Bihar, Haryana and UP exposing themselves to the hazards of trafficking. A conducive environment combined with consumerism promotes such large scale trafficking of women who get sexually exploited for trying to achieve a better standard of living for themselves and for their children. The Aila hit areas from Hindolganj to Canning right up to Howrah emerged as most vulnerable. Girls from Murshidabad district and North 24 Parganas seemed to be a majority among the women interviewed from the red light area of Sonagachi. A lot of the women were from Bangladesh as well. Sonagachi hosts some of the women referred to as the 'Agrawali' (Bedia community girls) who come here for earning a livelihood.

It is important here to assess your understanding of the sections that you have read till now.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) *Identify social and demographic indicators that are responsible for enhancing the vulnerability factor among women and children.*

2) Write a paragraph on 'The Palermo Protocol'.

In the following section you will read about the cultural factors that are indicators of human trafficking.

I) Cultural Component

There exists a wide range of cultural groups who practice illegal sex trade. The men from these groups usually live off their daughters/sisters income and even arrange customers for their own daughters and sisters. The Lambada community of Andhra Pradesh is one such group referred to as Sugalis in Rayalseema region. The Matama community in Rayalseema, the Joginis in Telangana and Basavi in Andhra Pradesh practice prostitution as a way of life. Studies reveal that it was quite a common sight to note that a Bedia girl who was practicing prostitution was actually rearing her two siblings back home and was quite confident that they will look after her in her old age, or a young mother who insisted that her little one will not be in the same livelihood option as she has. The Devadasis are mainly concentrated in Karnataka and are also found in Andhra Pradesh in the name of Kalavanthulu. The Joginis are mostly concentrated in the Rayalseema and parts of Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh. Marriages among different cultural groups are a common practice. The Dommaras do not get married to a Dommara or the Rajnuts of Rajasthan do not marry within their same community. The Bedia man may marry a Kanjar. There is a high concentration of Rajnuts in Rajasthan and some districts in western Bihar. The Bedia community is concentrated in Uttar Pradesh with pockets of Bedia-Kanjar and Nat-Kanjar located in western UP and Rajasthan.

Vulnerability Indicators*Social and Demographic**I) Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Population*

- *Female Literacy Rate*
- *Age Specific Sex Ratio*
- *Crimes Against Women*
- *Prevalence of HIV/AIDS*

II) Cultural

- *Sanctions Communities*
- *Traditionally practicing*

III) Economic

- *Population Below Poverty Line*
- *Seasonal work opportunities*
- *Food Insecurity*

IV) Environmental

- *Natural Disaster Prone Areas*

II) Economic Factors

Here, we will discuss some of the economic factors that make a person or a section of population prone to trafficking.

a) Population Below Poverty Line

Most of the poverty stricken areas are located in the Central, Eastern and North-Eastern belt of India comprising of North-Eastern states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Telangana and Rayalseema region of Andhra Pradesh. Majority of these areas are the tribal belts where people own fewer land resources and are dependent on agricultural and other labour activities making them vulnerable to trafficking. Other poverty stricken areas are concentrated in some pockets of Central and North-Eastern Karnataka, Southern Maharashtra, Central Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. These areas are also found to be prone to human trafficking.

b) Main and Marginal Agricultural Labourers (Male & Female)

Majority in the poverty stricken areas are without agricultural land and are mostly dependent on daily wages in agricultural activities. As these agricultural activities are seasonal, their earning opportunities are fewer, thereby making these people vulnerable to human trafficking. A

significant proportion of these workers are marginal agricultural labourers, having even more limited income opportunities and restricted to fewer agricultural seasonal months. Wages received are too meagre to manage their basic needs in the family; therefore such groups are susceptible to traffickers' allurements as they lack awareness of the existing trafficking networks. Both male and female main agricultural labourers depict a concentration in majority of the districts of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, eastern Uttar Pradesh, central Maharashtra, western Gujarat, parts of Rajasthan and north-east Tamil Nadu. Most of these areas have a high concentration of SC and ST population also.

c) Food Insecurity

Studies conducted in the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa and Chattisgarh indicate that nearly 80% of these states have food insecurity due to poor agricultural institutional and infrastructure services. A significant proportion of this population is without food security throughout the year.

III) Environmental Factor

The Kosi belt of Bihar and Brahmaputra and Ganga flood plain areas in Assam, Meghalaya and West Bengal are all hazard prone areas. These areas are inundated year after year due to floods leaving a large number of people displaced. Similarly drought situations in Central parts of India, Rajasthan, and Gujarat also force people to look for external support. The coastal belts similarly are also prone to inundation of saline water due to cleaning. Thus, making the native population more prone to trafficking.

3.6 LET US SUM UP

The unit provides an overall picture of vulnerability and migration. It tries to identify various forms of human trafficking which are affecting women more and are reflected as vulnerability indicators. The unit tries to build the feminist perspective in the analysis of human trafficking and migration. As we have read in other courses of MAWGS programme, women are structurally placed in a disadvantaged position thereby making them more vulnerable to migration and also trafficking. Inter-sectionality is an important approach to explore the interconnections between gender, migration and human trafficking. Finally, the unit explores various forms, conditions and vulnerabilities of human trafficking.

3.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Define Trafficking and discuss it in relation to gender and migration.
- 2) Identify and discuss the economic and social indicators that make women and girls vulnerable to trafficking. Use case studies to substantiate your answer.
- 3) Are gender, migration and trafficking interrelated? Discuss from a feminist lens.

3.8 REFERENCES

Alvarez Maria, Beatriz and Alessi Edward, J. (2012). 'Human Trafficking Is More Than Sex Trafficking and Prostitution: Implications for Social Work'. *Affilia*. 27 (142).

Baye, Eneze Modupe-Oluwa and Silke, Heumann. (2014). 'Migration, Sex Work and Exploitative Labor Conditions: Experiences of Nigerian Women in the Sex Industry in Turin, Italy, and Counter-Trafficking Measures'. *Gender, Technology and Development*. 18 (77).

Dutta, Mondira. (2011). A Study on 'Mapping Vulnerability to Trafficking of Women and Children in India', sponsored by UN Women and the National Commission for Women, March 2011 New Delhi: UN Women.

Mansberger, M. (2011). 'Critical thoughts on Human Trafficking and How to Include the Subject in a Mainstream Education System in India'. *Social Change*, 41: 611. DOI: 10.1177/004908571104100408.

<http://www.palermoprotocol.com/general/the-palermo-protocol> accessed on 22nd July 2012.

Robyn, Ryle, (2012). *Questioning Gender: A Sociological Exploration*, Sage: LA

Truong, Thanh-Dam (2003). 'Gender, Exploitative Migration, and the Sex Industry: A European Perspective'. *Gender, Technology and Development*. Vol. 7 (31), DOI: 10.1177/097185240300700102.

3.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

Baye, Eneze Modupe-Oluwa and Silke, Heumann. (2014). 'Migration, Sex Work and Exploitative Labor Conditions: Experiences of Nigerian Women in the Sex Industry in Turin, Italy, and Counter-Trafficking Measures'. *Gender, Technology and Development*. 18 (77).

Mansberger, M. (2011). 'Critical thoughts on Human Trafficking and How to Include the Subject in a Mainstream Education System in India'. *Social Change*, 41: 611. DOI: 10.1177/004908571104100408.

UNIT 4 MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Mondira Dutta

Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 Migration, Development and Gender: Linkages
- 4.4 Cost and Remittances of Migration
- 4.5 Skilled Migrants
- 4.6 Implication of International Labour Migration
- 4.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 4.8 Unit End Questions
- 4.9 References
- 4.10 Suggested Readings

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of development can be used only when there is a holistic approach to it. The migrants who have left their place of origin must also be included in development. A migrant can be seen as added human power to the work force and also as the added burden on the community. Migration can help advance the development of the community if the community can live with the changes migration brings to it. For some time now there has been a growing debate on the relationship between migration and development that has originated from the discussion on relationship between refugees and development assistance.

The debate has largely been developed with a 'northern' (European, North American) perspective with core concepts largely representing ideas commonly accepted in Europe and North America. For instance, it is a common assumption that migration can be significantly reduced once the origin countries reach a higher level of development. However, empirical evidence suggests that the relationship between migration and development is much more complex and that development often leads to more rather than less migration.

It is important to adopt a broad concept of development. Development is often associated with economic growth, leading to a decreased need to migrate. However, one should go beyond this narrow view and consider people's understanding of both. The comparison generated insights for the migration and development debate, including the expected role of migrants and their associations and the position taken by governments in origin and

destination countries. The actual wellbeing and the capability of the migrants to lead their lives have to be discussed. For instance, migrant expenditures on consumption goods and the construction of houses are often seen as 'non-productive', but as long as they contribute to the wellbeing of people and communities, they could be seen as 'development'.

Comprehensive evaluations of the links between migration and development, remittances and migrants' initiatives on development in the countries of origin are needed to underpin the various positions in the debate with sound empirical data. These evaluations must take into account the many social, cultural, economic and political dimensions of development and how these affect people's livelihoods.

Government support for the initiatives of migrant associations can be seen as promoting development via migrants, rather than encouraging the involvement of migrants in a coherent development strategy.

Let us read the objectives of this Unit.

4.2 OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the linkages between gender, migration and development;
- Analyse remittances from a gender perspective; and
- Critically understand the conceptualisation of women as skilled workers.

4.3 MIGRATION, DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER: LINKAGES

The linkages between migration and development are often suggested by the migrant involvement in development activities. The involvement is not always problem-free; there is a risk of shifting responsibility for creating conditions for national development away from governments towards individual migrants and migrant associations. Not all migrants (and non-migrants) are willing to become entrepreneurs or 'development workers'. This expectation and other such fixed ideas among policy makers do not capture the mixed motivations for migrants involving themselves in development in origin countries. Projecting these policy hopes and expectations onto individual migrants is likely to be a recipe for policy failure. Although many migration and development activities focus on rural areas and agricultural activities, migrants' activities and investments are increasingly concentrated in urban areas. It seems naïve to counter this general trend of urbanisation. Migrants' lives span two or more different 'worlds' and they are deeply immersed in both. This position allows them

to make important contributions to development, which is not always recognised. Migrants bring added value to development not only as 'development agents' but also by bringing new perspectives into the debate. Migrants can serve as pressure groups with the aim to improve public debate and encourage government reforms. For example, poor countries do not have the resources to establish the broad coverage of education and health facilities that are required to achieve the goals on education, gender and health. Children have to travel from their villages in order to pursue all but the most basic education, quality being as, if not more, important to parents than local availability. The distribution of health facilities too, means that people have to travel even for basic treatment. Inequalities in the distribution of services are often as important as the unbalanced distribution of employment opportunities in explaining local population movements.

Our analysis has so far focused on the long run steady state. In the short run, with unanticipated migration, emigration of educated workers is a net loss to the home country. As time goes by, however, successive cohorts adapt their education decisions and the economy-wide average level of education partly or totally catch up, with a possible net gain in the long run. On the transition path, additional effects are likely to operate. In particular, there is a large economic and sociological literature emphasising that the creation of migrants' networks facilitates exchanges of goods, factors, and ideas between the migrants' host and home countries.

Almost all forms of non-forced migration is demand-driven. When people get to know about opportunities elsewhere, and that itself is a function of education, they tend to move towards them. Hence, as countries develop, migration tends to increase. Over the longer term, as societies and economies progress through a demographic transition from higher to lower fertility and mortality, they may also move through a migration transition from net emigration to net immigration. However, this development sequence does not imply that outmigration ceases, simply that the net flow reverses. Developed States such as of Maharashtra and Delhi, for example, are major states of in-migration. The types of migrants coming into the state of Maharashtra are from the under-developed states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and other BIMARU states. Poor isolated parts and areas often have low rates of migration whereas those actively participating in the global system are characterised by high levels of migration and mobility.

Migration is one of the more obvious manifestations of globalisation. In the context of migration, globalisation and development, women have emerged as global workers. Let us look at the situation of 'global women' as a product of globalisation. To quote Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild (2011), "thanks to the process we loosely call 'globalisation', women are on the move as never before in history' (p. 238). Because of

increasing global inequality, female labour is migrating from the poor countries to the rich ones to work as nannies, maids and sex workers. The gendered specific work of women is transferred from the global South to global North in which migrant women have been able to support and lift up their families from desperate poverty. According to Ehrenreich and Hochschild this form of female negotiation can be referred as a 'worldwide gender revolution'. And because of gender revolution, female migrant workers from the Third World are not only improving their family's material conditions but also finding the situation liberating as well. The migrant female workers are also seen as independent breadwinners for their family. The global inequality has pushed women out of their homes for paid labour and at the same time they are faced with innumerable challenges as workers. Migration has both positive and negative implications for female migrant workers. Some of the negative implications are:

- The female migrant workers are women of colour therefore subjected to racial discrimination. Added to this, the nature of their work as nannies, maids and sex workers make them invisible from the public eye.
- Female migrant workers often face stereotypes when they return home. They are represented as victims, immoral, others, drain on a society and commodities (Pyle, 2011, p. 253).
- Women workers often experience discrimination in their host countries with regard to wage, workplace harassment and negative representations. But the problems get intensified for women migrant workers. Parrenas found that in Los Angeles and Rome, Filipina domestic workers have faced problems like painful separation from their families, reduced occupational status, social exclusion from their host countries and quasi-citizenship (Pyle, 2011, p, 254).
- The women workers who transnationally migrate for providing care work face multiple forms of discrimination based on gender, ethnicity and religion because of their status as trafficked workers. For instance, Ball documented the experience of Filipina nurses in Saudi Arabia which revealed that the nurses face discrimination as females in the occupations that cross taboos of touching between unmarried members of opposite sexes (Pyle, 2011).
- Female transnational workers also face occupational closure on the basis of their nationality and racial identity. For instance, Indonesian nurses are encouraged for the most challenging jobs in Taiwan as compared to Filipinas. In Singapore, Filipina nurses get one or two days off from the work in a month, however Indonesian and Sri Lankan nurses may not be entitled to get such privileges. Similarly, nurses of

racial minority are less likely to be promoted for training and promotion (Cf. Pyle, 2011).

- Women who migrate to work as live-in domestic workers face the problem of social isolation. According to Pyle (2011), within the household, their identities are often reduced from social beings to mere commodities.
- The working conditions of migrant women are a matter of concern. For instance, domestic workers are not provided with adequate food to eat, insufficient sleeping time and provided no space for maintaining privacy. Apart from these issues, they succumb to physical and sexual abuses. Waldman reported that about a hundred bodies of Sri Lankan women are sent back home every year. Similarly, about a hundred maids die every year in Singapore by falling from high-rise buildings. The reasons could be suicide or slipping from windows while cleaning or hanging clothes (Pyle, 2011).
- Families of migrant women face care deficit in the absence of the mother or female members in the family.

These are some of the common challenges faced by female transnational migrant workers. It is essential to also look at women workers as having agency for resisting the difficult situation. Therefore, it is important to read the stories of some transnational female migrant workers who struggled to reassert their identities in relation to their work. According to Cheng (2004), Filipina and Taiwanese female employers struggled to reconstruct their positive identities in relation to the ideologies of care work. Further, women migrant workers also feel empowered while seeing the improvement of the material conditions of their families. Migration allows women to provide improved housing for their families, finance a small business, repay the family debt, and could educate their children (Barber 2000; Gamburd 2000; Frank 2001, cited in Pyle, 2011).

4.4 COSTS AND REMITTANCES OF MIGRATION

An important socio-economic literature has emerged recently to analyse the consequences of the constitution of migrants' networks on migration patterns. It outlines a cumulative theory of migration, noting that the first migrants usually come from the middle ranges of the socio-economic hierarchy, and are individuals who have enough resources to absorb the costs and risks of the trip, but are not so affluent that working abroad is unattractive. Family and friends then draw on ties with these migrants to gain access to employment and assistance in migrating, substantially reducing the costs and risks of movement to them. This increases the attractiveness and feasibility of migration for additional members, allowing them to migrate

and expand further the set of people with network connections. In the discussion on cost and remittances of migration, it is important to understand the gender dimension. According to **Jean L. Pyle** (2011), women are considered to be a valuable 'labour export' as prior research studies have shown that women are more likely to send remittance home as compared to the male migrants. **Marieme S. Lo** (2008) critically looks at the gendered and social impacts of remittance in Senegal. She argues that remittance can have both positive and negative impacts for women as remittances intersect with the power structure of the household which reproduces the economic dependency and vulnerabilities for women. To quote Lo "remittances appear to stabilise gender orders and hierarchies, except for women who can reinvest remittances strategically to enhance their economic independence, use remittances as an opportunity to renegotiate gender hierarchies and exert more decision making power in household management" (2008, p. 426).

In the discussion on migration, development and remittances, it is essential to discuss the social and human cost of remittances as women's questions are rooted in the social structure. It is difficult to assess the gendered dimension of remittances primarily in a quantitative pattern. As **Bach** (2011) stated, remittances are beyond the act of transfer of money as it is inextricably linked to poverty reduction and alteration of gender division of labour in the global market. According to Wong (2006) remittances trace and spur shifts in self-understanding and geographies of belonging, as marginalised communities become inexorably intertwined with global urban centers across great reaches of time and space. In the process, the relation between senders and receivers becomes a space for negotiation, reproduction, and transformation of established gender roles (Wong 2006, cf. Bach 2011, p. 139).

Deirdre McKay (2005) in her study on the agricultural villages of Philippines found that cultural norms, ecological dynamics and livelihood patterns are fundamentally altered due to female emigration. Practice of cash crop cultivation has replaced the culture of subsistence farming. The study reflected that some women migrants used the remittance money to acquire property in their own names and to form a new economic identity for themselves. The new identity is based on the changing identities of the men left at home. The author gives the following example: Nardo (the husband) used Gloria's (the wife's) remittances to become self-employed as a producer of a commercial crop, yet his class transformation depends on Gloria's networks overseas and the support of her family" (cf. Bach 2011, p. 140). The practice of sending remittances back home becomes part of her new identity as adventurous, capable and modern and also gets connected to other migrant women who are also acquiring a new identity of female self-actualisation.

As explained earlier, the role of migrants' networks is to diffuse information on job availability and provide hospitality and help in job search. Hence, past migration progressively raises the expected return to education (net of migration costs) and, therefore, domestic enrollment in education. The rise in the optimal number of individuals engaging in education has also increased their share amongst the educated workers in the country. In this sense, migrant networks have positive effects on human capital formation and serve to mitigate the short-run detrimental effects of the brain drain.

In particular, low-skilled migrants may embody two fundamentally ambiguous identities. On the one hand, they are often at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in the destination countries, which can leave them in vulnerable and exploitative situations. On the other hand, they may be part of local elite in origin countries, which places them in a position of privilege.

Observations on migrant associations' development initiatives through 'collective' remittances, migrant or 'home town' associations often support small-scale infrastructure projects in local communities to improve general wellbeing. These initiatives have a limited impact on local economic growth. Evaluations of collective remittance projects are urgently needed because there are few independent evaluations of the success of such projects and the factors influencing positive and negative outcomes.

There are a lot of costs connected to migration, direct expenditures and forgone earnings during the migration process, and also psychological costs. The restrictive attitude of many western countries vis-à-vis immigration also results in higher migration cost. More has perhaps been written about remittances than any other aspect of migration and development. Less well appreciated is the fact that remittances reflect the origin of the migrants themselves and these are highly concentrated and flow back to a relatively small number of towns and villages in the countries of origin. It is not clear that migrant projects support initiatives that respond to the most urgent needs identified by the communities. In highly politicized contexts, projects may fulfill the needs of migrant elites, which may lead to greater inequality rather than contributing to local development. Migration and governments in origin countries Governments have tended to have a laissez faire attitude towards migration and, in some cases; migration may have contributed to economic dependency.

The reliance on remittances and migrants' support for local projects might have been a disincentive to the formulation of broader national development strategies. Similarly, the majority of the migrants from Pakistan to the United Kingdom came from the mainly rural district of Mirpur in the north of that country. Much of the migration from India to the Middle East has been from the southern state of Kerala (Zachariah, Mathew and Rajan 2003) and migration from China has been dominated by three southern coastal

provinces, Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang, and from very specific parts of those provinces. In Peru, virtually 82 per cent of households receiving remittances were found in the more developed coastal provinces rather than to the poorer Sierra, with fully 57 per cent in the capital, Metropolitan Lima (IOM 2008). Only just over 5 per cent of households receiving remittances in Peru were in the rural areas. The immediate effect is to reinforce or increase inequalities between rural and urban and among rural areas. Thus, unlike aid, or official development assistance, which can be targeted at particular groups and specifically towards the eradication of poverty, remittances are flows of an entirely different nature. They are focused on the specific areas of origin of migration that might involve neither the poorest areas nor the poorest people within those areas.

Before reading further take up the following exercise.

Check Your Progress:

- 1) *List negative implication of migration for female workers.*

- 2) *How do remittances help in the cost of migration?*

4.5 SKILLED MIGRANTS

Another type of network effect consists in the creation of business and trade networks; such a 'diaspora externality' has long been recognised in the sociological literature and, more recently, by economists in the field of international trade. In many instances indeed, and contrarily to what one would expect in a standard trade theoretic framework, trade and migration appear to be complements rather than substitutes. Interestingly, such a complementarity has been shown to prevail mostly for trade in heterogeneous goods, where ethnic networks help overcoming information problems linked to the very nature of the goods exchanged. How the relationship of substitutability or complementary between trade and migration impacted by the skill composition of migration, however, remains unclear.

The emigration of the highly skilled was, and to a large extent still is, seen as negative for the countries of origin as they lose the people most likely to be able to generate development. The available data suggest that, in terms of absolute numbers, the sources of skilled migrants lie primarily in the developed world itself and in a relatively small number of middle-income developing countries in East and South Asia. However, assessing the loss of skilled as a proportion of the skilled workforce of any country does show that small island countries and a number of sub Saharan countries are highly affected, and it is in these countries that a brain drain may be found.

In discussions of brain drain the issue of specific place of origin of the migrants looms large. If the skilled are concentrated in the largest urban areas, then their emigration is not going to make much impact on the poor rural areas where the need may be greatest. Some 90 per cent of doctors in Haiti are supposedly concentrated in Port-au Prince. Several oft-neglected aspects of the brain drain debate remain. First, are highly skilled professionals the most appropriate personnel for the conditions where the development needs are greatest? For example, the need for health personnel with basic skills may be greater than for those trained to international standards for modern hospitals. Second, pay and conditions in developing countries may lead to a migration from the sector, but not from the country. Although some 32,000 vacancies for nurses existed in South Africa around the beginning of the twenty-first century, some 35,000 registered nurses were found to be inactive or unemployed in the country (OECD 2004).

In the discussion on migration and skilled labour, it is worth reading about the phenomena of feminisation of labour and the global care chain. You must have read about the phenomena of feminisation of labour in the earlier courses MGW 002 and MWG 004. Now we will look at feminisation of labour in relation to skilled labour and international migration. As Western

countries formulate their immigration policies to attract right kind of people, the competition for skilled workers gets intensified. It is seen that more women are pushed into the sphere of care work. This is the global care chain that involves care for people at home or in institutions for wages. Feminist scholars have critically debated the conception of care economy and tried to demystify the ideological assumption between women's bodies and the care work.

The literature on gender, migration and political economy has analysed the concept of global care chain. According to **Pauline Gardiner Barber** (2011), within the global care chain, when women's work shifts from the socially accepted domain of reproduction to the marketplace, they are seen as skilled labourers in the care economy. There is a trend towards 'transfer of care' from developing countries to developed ones with growing emphasis on the aspect of global care deficit in the home countries of migrant women. The Philippines has become the major home to export nurses to the global economy. Over 70 percent of Filipino nursing graduate find jobs abroad. As an effect of female out-migration from Philippines, around 50 percent of people in Philippines lack access to healthcare facilities (Barber, 2011). The migration of female skilled labourers has given rise to conceptual understandings at two levels such as: 'transfer of care' and 'deficit of care'.

Countries like Philippines have maximum representation of women workers among the international migrants. In the year 2003, 73 percent of work contracts were issued to women from Philippines (Ramirez et al. cf. Bach 2011). Women are transferred to the Northern countries as homecare helpers, domestic workers and nurses. Certainly, the inclusion of reproductive work in the global production has created market to purchase women's reproductive work for wages. At the same time this growing political economy has also reinforced class, race and gender inequalities in the global labour market (cf. Bach 2011).

Gender-segregated occupation is very much part of the national and international labour market as you have read in the course MWG 004. In electronic and textile factories, young women are absorbed as line workers due to their eyesight, dexterity and assumed docility (refer Bach, 2011). Women from the developing countries migrate to developed countries for various reasons: family, domestic labour, sex work, entertainment and hospitality, professional jobs, trading and entrepreneurship and factory work. Women's inclusion in specific work also shapes the national policies on migration of host countries of migrants and receiving countries. Some countries such as Mexico and Philippines target women workers as they maintain the continuous flow of remittances (Fitzgerald 2009, in Bach, 2011). The brief discussion highlights the importance of linking gender, migration and development of a country.

Lastly, the place of training of the skilled is rarely considered, mainly because of problems of available data. While many of the skilled from a middle-income country such as India or the Philippines with long traditions of education are likely to be trained in the country of origin, the same is not the case for poorer countries of origin where institutions for advanced training do not exist. It has been estimated that some 55 per cent of those from Latin America and the Caribbean who are living in the United States were trained in the United States; even more than 40 per cent of those from China and India in the United States had been trained in that country. Over two-thirds of foreign scientists conducting research in the United States in 1999 had been trained in the United States.

Hence, many of the brains are refined, if not created, in countries of destination. It is also clear that, at the local level too, the children of villages in poor areas have to move to larger settlements in order to pursue their education to secondary level and beyond. Thus, training at all levels tends to occur at progressively higher levels of the settlement hierarchy, a process that is facilitated by migration.

Given that many of the best and brightest, as well as wealthiest, members of any country or community live outside their natal areas, the diaspora, or community of those living outside, has been seen as a resource that can be tapped or “leveraged” for the development of home areas. Unquestionably, diaspora groups such as the Overseas Chinese or the Viet Kieu have played and continue to play a significant role in the development of China and Vietnam respectively. However, in both these cases, we are dealing with strong “developmental” states. There is something for overseas migrants to either invest in, or return to, if they so choose, to participate in the current rapid economic growth. It is unreasonable to expect overseas migrants to participate in failed states and economies of origin and, on their own, to be able to promote development in home areas. They need to work within some effective structures if they are to have an impact on their countries of origin. It must always be remembered that not all in the diaspora need work for the best interest of governments in home areas and may actively seek to undermine political structures at home. The diaspora is highly heterogeneous. Essentially it is a homogeneous entity that seeks to work for the development of country of origin.

Take up the following activity to assess your understanding of the last section that you have just finished reading.

Activity

Give an account of real life skill migration you have come across in your neighbourhood.

In the ensuing section you will read about implication of international labour migration on the country of original and also on the destination country.

4.6 IMPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION

It is not certain that migrants find employment at the destination or that their human capital is transferable. Thus, at least upon entry, immigrants tend to be confined to the unskilled segment of the labour market. Expected and actual difficulties in job search result from lacking knowledge of institutions, languages and habits in the host country. But estimates have suggested that when developed economies took in migrant labour the remittance play a role in reducing poverty at the country of origin.

It has been estimated that the massive labor migration from the state of Kerala in southern India to the Gulf States contributed to a 12 per cent reduction in poverty in that state (Zachariah, Mathew and Rajan, 2003). Convincing evidence of the impact of remittances on poverty alleviation is also available from Latin America. Yet, despite the volume of remittances received by Kerala the state has not experienced a parallel increase in economic growth, actually declining in rank by gross state domestic product between 1980 and 1998. Remittances may improve human capital but, in doing so, may lock certain populations into dependence upon further migration.

In the Gulf States and throughout much of East and Southeast Asia, labor migration is the norm, with migrants not allowed to settle in destination economies. This means that states are hosting temporary populations with no rights to long-term residence, let alone citizenship. The rights of migrants, not just to entitlement to fair wages and working conditions and access to basic services, but also to bring their families, emerge as major issues. In the developed economies of North America, Australasia and Europe, with their more developed rights legislation, the issue of admitting temporary workers as opposed to prospective citizens raises fundamental and sensitive questions that are not easy to resolve. As these economies are essentially democracies with open political systems, the voices of specific citizen interest groups are often raised against immigrants, and immigration has become a major political issue in some destination societies.

Prior to 2006, the multi-dimensional aspects of international migration had been addressed in the outcome documents of numerous international conferences and summits, convened by the United Nations. Both the World Population Plan of Action, adopted at the 1974 United Nations World

Population Conference, and the Recommendations for Action, agreed at the 1984 International Conference on Population, addressed relevant aspects of international migration, including its relationship with development, the protection of migrant workers, irregular migration, and forced displacement. In the Program of Action, adopted by the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994, is one of the most comprehensive texts on international migration adopted by the international community to date. Subsequently, most major United Nations conferences and their outcome documents, including the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), the United Nations Millennium Declaration (2000), and the World Summit Outcome (2005) have addressed relevant aspects of international migration (IOM, 2008).

Since Cairo conference the issue of international migration and development has been a sub-item with biennial periodicity on the agenda of the second committee of the General Assembly. For several years, the second committee considered the possibility of convening an international conference on international migration and development. This debate resulted in the decision, in December 2003, to convene a high-level dialogue on international migration and development with a non-binding outcome.

Over 80% of the world's refugees are hosted by developing countries and remain within their region of origin. Of these, the majority is in so called **protracted refugee situations** (PRs), being confined to camps, settlements or located in urban areas for over five years and facing severe restrictions on their access to rights because of the absence of opportunities for durable solutions such as repatriation, resettlement, or local integration.

Targeted development assistance (TDA) is needed where donor states can provide overseas development aid to host countries of first asylum as a means to enhance refugees' access to protection and durable solutions. Its central characteristic is an integrated development approach, which focuses on the needs of both refugees and host communities, through, for example improving livelihood opportunities, service provision or infrastructure. Its aim is to enhance refugees' access to rights, self-sufficiency, and, where possible, local integration. Under certain conditions, the use of targeted development assistance by developed countries to developing countries refugee hosting regions can enhance refugee protection and access to durable solutions in refugees' regions of origin, while simultaneously addressing the concerns of both developed and developing countries.

There are a range of examples from the past, successful and unsuccessful, which provide insight into the conditions under which TDA can effectively

enhance access to protection and durable solutions, while meeting the concerns and interests of both donors and hosts. During the 1980s, the notion of **'Refugee Aid and Development'** was applied in both the **International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA)** and to the **International Conference on Refugees in Central America (CIREFCA)**. During the early 2000s, the concept was revived and applied to situations in Zambia and Uganda. As well as having significant human rights implications, PRs pose a range of problems for states. For Southern host states, they may create tensions with local communities due to competition for scarce resources, and may be perceived as a security threat in the absence of international burden-sharing.

In situations like Central America in the late 1980s and early 1990s, an integrated development assistance approach based on promoting self-sufficiency and local integration was successful in enhancing refugees' rights while meeting the interests of donors and hosts. For developed countries, TDA has the potential to reduce irregular secondary movements, to eliminate potential sources of terrorist recruitment, and to reduce the long-term humanitarian budget. For developing countries, TDA has the potential to benefit local host communities; to contribute to the development of underdeveloped border regions, and to reduce social conflict and insecurity.

Successful TDA requires a number of political ingredients. Past practice suggests that it requires a significant, reciprocal commitment by both donor and host states. Northern states will need to commit to provide significant additional development assistance that does not substitute for existing budget lines that would otherwise benefit country nationals and an integrated approach that targets both refugees and citizens.

Southern states meanwhile need to be willing to offer self-sufficiency and possibly local integration; a commitment to enhance refugee protection capacity. In order to facilitate political agreement, a neutral arbiter and a credible negotiation process will be required. Successful TDA requires a number of practical ingredients. Most notably these include institutional collaboration between UNHCR and development actors; joined-up government and new budget lines that can transcend government department divides; and, most crucially;

The right kinds of interventions, which are based on an integrated approach, focus on livelihoods, use pre-existing community structures, and use evaluations to monitor and follow-up on project implementations.

If these pre-conditions can be fulfilled, it may be possible to work towards a new North- South 'grand bargain', which can enhance refugees' access to protection and durable solutions, while meeting Southern states' concerns with development, and Northern states' concerns with security. Concrete

steps that are required in order to fulfill the promise of an integrated development approach towards refugees include, a systematic analysis of the lessons from the past practice of applying development assistance to enhance refugee protection.

Independent consultations with donor and host states to better understand states' concerns and interests in order to identify the basis of mutually beneficial 'win-win' cooperation. At the national level, more coherent coordination between ministries of development, home affairs, and foreign affairs, including the creation of new inter-ministerial budget lines for 'development assistance and refugees'.

Development actors such as UNDP and the World Bank should recognize the important potential role played by refugees in national development, and the possible 'binding constraint' they pose on development when neglected. The GFMD should recognize that refugees are an important component of the wider 'migration and development' agenda.

UNHCR should play a catalytic role in facilitating inter-state and inter-agency dialogue on development assistance and refugees as an important component of its ongoing work on protracted refugee situations. The first step to fulfilling this potential will involve putting the development-refugee nexus back on the agenda within government ministries, international organizations and international dialogues. It represents an important component of discussions on migration and development, protracted refugee situations, and the external dimension of asylum and immigration policy, and should be an important aspect of all of these debates.

Putting the issue back on the agenda will require that development actors at the national and international levels are sensitized to the fact that refugees are not simply a 'UNHCR issue' but also require wider engagement by the development community. It will require that states that are already actively committed to the use of TDA - such as the Danish Government - play a leading role in facilitating and promoting wider debate on the important role that it can play in relation to enhancing refugee protection. The development of initiatives that use targeted development assistance to promote refugee protection and durable solutions could take place on a bilateral level, an interregional level, or a multilateral level. In practice, most North-South partnerships in this area are likely to be bilateral (as, for example, the partnership between Denmark and Uganda was) or inter-regional (as many EU-African discussions are). However, a multilateral dialogue in the context of the GFMD or the High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection Challenges might provide a context within which an overarching discussion of 'best practice' could take place and basic principles agreed upon.

4.7 LET US SUM UP

Migration can help advance the development of the community if the community can live with the changes migration brings to it. Government support for the initiatives of migrant associations can be seen as promoting development via migrants, rather than encouraging the involvement of migrants in a coherent development strategy. Migrants bring added value to development not only as ‘development agents’ but also by bringing new perspectives into the debate. Migrants can serve as pressure groups with the aim to improve public debate and encourage government reforms. Migration networks can then be viewed as reducing the costs, and perhaps also increasing the benefits of migration. Another type of network effect consists in the creation of business and trade networks; such a diaspora externality” has long been recognized in the sociological literature and, more recently, by economists in the field of international trade. Remittances may improve human capital but, in doing so, may lock certain populations into dependence upon further migration.

4.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain the linkages between Migration, gender and development. Give suitable case studies to substantiate your answer.
- 2) How do the cost and remittance relate with migration? Use case studies and examples having specific focus on female labour to provide a gender perspective.
- 3) Discuss the impact of globalization and international migration on women.

4.9 REFERENCES

Bach, Jonathan (2011). ‘Remittances, gender, and development’. In Marianne H. Marchnad and Anne Sisson Runyan (Edts.). *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites, and Resistances*. London and New Your: Routledge.

Barber, P. G. (2011). ‘Women’s work unbound: Philippine Development and Global Restructuring’. In Marianne H. Marchnad and Anne Sisson Runyan (Edts.). *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites, and Resistances*. London and New Your: Routledge.

Ehrenreich, B and A.R. Hochschild (2011). ‘Global Women’. In Nalini Visvanathan, Lynn Duggan, Nan Wiegersma and Laurie Nisonoff (Edts.). *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*. London: Zed Books.

Lo, Marieme S. (2008). 'Beyond Instrumentalism: Interrogating the Micro-dynamic and Gendered and Social Impacts of Remittances in Senegal', *Gender, Technology and Development*. 12 (413).

OECD (2004). *Migration for Employment. Bilateral Agreements at a Crossroad*, OECD, Paris.

Pyle, J.L. (2011). 'Globalization and the Increase in Transnational Care Work: The Flip Side'. In Nalini Visvanathan, Lynn Duggan, Nan Wiegersma and Laurie Nisonoff (Edts.). *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*. London: Zed Books.

World Migration (2008). *Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy*. IOM, Geneva.

World Migration Report (2011). *Communicating Effectively About Migration*, International Organization For Migration 2011.

Zachariah, KC, ET Mathew and S Irudaya Rajan. (2003). 'Impact of Migration on Kerala's Economy and Society' *International Migration*, 39(1), pp.63-88.

Zachariah, K.C. and S Irudaya Rajan (2009). *Migration and Development, The Kerala Experience*, New Delhi: Daanish Books.

4.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

World Migration Report (2011). *Communicating Effectively About Migration*, International Organization For Migration 2011.

Zachariah, K.C. and S Irudaya Rajan (2009). *Migration and Development, The Kerala Experience*, New Delhi: Daanish Books.