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## UNIT 2 DISPLACEMENT AND MIGRATION OF TRIBALS

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### Contents

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Displacement
- 2.3 Consequences of Displacement
- 2.4 Migration
- 2.5 Patterns of Migration
- 2.6 Causes and Consequences of Migration
- 2.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.8 Key Words
- 2.9 Further Readings and References

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### 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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Displacement and migration are two major sociological phenomena. By the end of the chapter you are supposed to have an understanding of :

- Displacement and its implications, primarily for the marginalized communities, who completely depend on their land for livelihood;
- The need of a comprehensive rehabilitation policy in the country;
- Migration and its kinds; and
- Relationship between displacement and migration.

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### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

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Displacement is more than physical dislocation. It is being uprooted and dismemberment of the socio-economic webs of life with traumatic experiences. It results into a spiral of impoverishment. Displacement threatens the existence and identity of people. There is a process of dispossession in displacement. It is estimated that in the last 65 years after independence of India there are more than 60-70 million displaced persons in the country. According to a study, it is also estimated that only about 24 per cent of the displaced are rehabilitated and more than 75 per cent are left in the lurch. There is an inter-relation between displacement and migration.

Migration is not a new phenomenon and it is not going to end in the near future. Ever since the existence of humanity, human beings have been and are still migrating. Existing anthropological and archaeological literature indicates that the early human beings migrated from one place to another for security, sustenance and stability. In various periods in the history of mankind, ranging

from the Vedic period through the colonial period to the contemporary times, migrations in varying degrees has been taking place. In the contemporary world the phenomenon of migration has been quite common.

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## 2.2 DISPLACEMENT

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The history of Indian economic and industrial development is a never ending story of displacement of people. A few years ago, available reports indicated that more than 21 million people were internally displaced due to development projects in India. Although they only make up eight percent of the total population, more than 50 per cent of the displaced were tribal peoples (HRW, January 2006). Until 1990, about 85.39 lakhs tribals had reportedly been displaced due to industrialization and development projects like dams, power projects, nature conservation, etc., but their rehabilitation and resettlement always remained a neglected subject. For example, tribals constituted 8.2 per cent of the total population of India, according to the 2001 Census. But they also constituted 55.1 per cent of the total displaced persons as a result of so-called development projects (*ACHR Weekly Review*, December 2006). These figures must have gone much higher now which need to be updated.

“Development” according to the Constitution is “that process of governance which, while respecting human rights of all persons, secures to all Indians freedom from material impoverishment” (Baxi 1997:164). Baxi believes that in the planning process in India the spirit of the constitution has been betrayed – people are no partners in the process of decision making regarding the construction of dams, size, areas of submergence, environment impact, cost-benefit analysis, allocation of resources, designs including safety designing, epidemiological impact analysis, contracts for construction, flow of benefits to certain classes/sectors, displacement, rehabilitation, etc. All these are considered to be the domain of the administration. Development should have a more ‘representative’ character. There should be a people-orientate development (*Ibid.*, 164-67). Involuntary relocation of sites of community existence is always problematic as the consequent dislocation of human beings is much too high. Land Acquisition Act 1894 talks of “public purposes” and “compensation” for acquisition of land. “But when whole villages are submerged, people who have no land are also displaced” (*Ibid.*, 169). Money compensation is one component but not necessarily the most decisive one of “rehabilitation”.

### The Affected People

It is important to ask ‘what’ and ‘how’ of displacement, but more important is the question ‘why’ and ‘whose’. Displacement is a process where poorer sections are ‘pushed’ out of their own habitat. It is a situation where the marginalized people have no other choice but move from their own village or place of origin to another place. The local inhabitants lose their command over the resources. Given the number of displacements, types of displacement and the plight suffered by the displaced, many are now asking: whose nation is it? Whose good is being served? Is it for the planners, administrators, implementing agencies or upper middle class or marginalized sections of the society? (Fernandes 1997) Planners and administrators invariably capitalize on and manipulate the relatively weaker socio-economic and political position of the Displaced Persons (DPs). Their numbers are underestimated. They are

treated indifferently and only minimal cash compensation, if at all, is paid to them. They are rarely granted security of tenure or alternative developed land. Often after a painful and traumatic period of establishing a new lifestyle, they are again informed, they must move again to make way for yet another project. Apart from the immediate economic loss, displacement also brings about social, cultural and psychological dislocation. The physical displacement of the people leads to their uprooting from their socio-cultural base which is no less pathetic than the dispossession of land. They lose their traditional mechanism of social control, and as a result social tensions increase among them (Fernandes, 1997).

The history of the tribals has been one of displacement without rehabilitation. If the history of Jharkhand is traced in the Muslim, British and post-colonial periods one is amazed as to how involuntary displacements have taken place down the centuries with no rehabilitation or without adequate rehabilitation. One of the excuses by various governments is that there is no policy on rehabilitation. Nevertheless, what is a matter of grave concern is the attitude of partisanship to a few haves at the cost of the have-nots. It is precisely this approach that is discriminatory against the weaker sections, especially the tribals.

The alienation of land was one of the main reasons of the many tribal uprisings all over the country. In 1793 the British passed the Permanent Settlement Act to get as much revenue from land as possible. This Act, common in Bengal, Awadh and Madras presidencies, gave zamindars absolute propriety right on land. There were middlemen created to collect revenue from their respective areas. Therefore, water, land and forests, hitherto considered being community owned natural resources, became private property of individual owners. The new landed class was naturally happy with these new arrangements, since it enabled them to establish recorded rights over land (NCAS 2002:3). So far there was no ownership of the land but only the right of revenue collection "since, land ownership was considered to be private, the state could collect revenue from these lands but it could not take over the land as and when it desired" (*Ibid.*). On the other hand, there was an increasing need for land for railways, roads, other government projects, for forest produce to support British industries. It was to establish rights over the ownership of land that the British created the Land Acquisition Act 1894. This Act facilitated the British control by destroying local people's rights over the country's natural resources (*Ibid.* 4). The draconian Act of 1894 continued till as recently as 1984 when few amendments were made.

Land is sacred to the tribals because that is the only resource they have for their sustenance. About 70 per cent of India's population, most of whom are tribals, primarily depends on land-related work and agricultural production. Thus, land for them is a means of livelihood and the basis of socio-economic relationship. Alienation from land and displacement have threatened the livelihood of millions. People are displaced without any consultation or participation in the development process. Furthermore, they are denied their rightful share in the gains of the development project that displaces them. A very large number of the displaced belong to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and women are the worst sufferers. Moreover, rehabilitation is still not an integral part of any displacement plan (*Ibid.*:v).

### Check Your Progress I

**Note:** Use the space provided for your answers.

- 1) What is your understanding of displacement and migration?

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- 2) Why are the victims of displacement and forced migration often the marginalized sections of the society?

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## 2.3 DISPLACEMENT AND LIVELIHOOD

Victims of displacement are deprived of compensation for the loss of their land because they do not possess any documents to claim that the land indeed belongs to them. Moreover, even if the lost land does not belong to them, tribals' dependence on forests, land, river and other natural resources, sustain them. If they are expropriated their support system is also eroded. Hence, there is an adverse impact of displacement on tribals.

Negative impacts of globalization and industrialization through the corporate are affecting the tribal and other deprived communities across the country, especially those located in tribal areas. These communities are being threatened with massive mining, industrialization, hydro projects leading to large-scale displacement. These regions are also a homeland of large number of tribal and the so-called Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). The survival rights of these groups related to food and livelihood, and customary practices reflecting the community's identity, goes beyond the state administrative boundary. The recent development interventions have led to major setback for the existence of all these people threatening their very survival.

### Displacement as a Norm

There is no national comprehensive rehabilitation and resettlement policy. It is still in the draft form and by the time this unit is printed, the new policy may or may not see the light of the day. Whatever be the case, the most disturbing part of the Rehabilitation Policy is its concept of displacement as a norm and not as an exception or the last resort. The Policy is meant only for the Project Affected Families (PAFs) and not for the affected without the project in question. The "Resettlement zone" for one group of people in fact is the "displacement zone" for another. The land required could be for any company, a body corporate, an institution, or any other organization for whom land is to be acquired either for its own use or "in public interest".

The administrator's responsibility is the acquisition of "adequate land" for the project and also for settling the PAFs. It implies that more and more land has to be acquired irrespective of the consequences. The Policy fails to address the problem of culture, religion, social organization and community life.

One of the important issues around Rehabilitation and Resettlement is the 'development paradigm' (Fernandes 1997: 22). Displacement is considered inevitable for development. Displacement is not taken as the last resort. Even in the cases where displacement is the last resort, rehabilitation is only secondary. This is basically a denial of people's ownership to land and their right to live in dignity. Land is the only possession of the tribals. If that is taken away from them there is nothing left. The principle of *terra nullius*, viz. nobody's land hence that of the State, is applied. Even the private property of the individual can be acquired any time by the State. This principle of 'eminent domain' is the guiding principle of land transactions (*Ibid.* 23). The policy does not seem to recognize the historical, customary and cultural rights of the tribal community in practice though it does mention them in letter. According to Fernandes any policy should recognize the historically established rights of the people over their livelihood, including land, natural resources and knowledge, etc. This entails recognition of their rights to land, livelihood and survival. Fernandes opines that the lands should be treated as a community resource. It implies therefore, that if the government or a company acquires such lands it must pay full compensation to the traditional residents, and rehabilitate them totally (*Ibid.*).

The policy is insensitive to the multiple displacements. There is no assurance that the PAFs from earlier projects will not be displaced again. The policy is insensitive to the disruption of traditional culture and ecological and environmental degradation. There is no assurance that the DPs persons from other projects in the region will be resettled and rehabilitated first before the newly displaced are rehabilitated. The Policy is not gender sensitive. It does not take into account the trouble the women go through in such situations without the rehabilitation first.

### **Inner Contradiction**

The notion of 'development' by dispossessing tribals of their land is contradictory in terms. The Government is aware of the "traumatic psychological and socio-cultural consequences" besides deprivation and displacement of their lands, livelihoods and resource-base. The stress, however, seems to be on "compulsory acquisition of land for public purpose" and the inevitability of displacement. The policy talks of minimizing large scale displacement "to the extent possible" but does not say anything about efforts to 'prevent' displacement altogether. Though the Policy seeks to handle the issue of displacement with "utmost care" the text that follows hardly reflects any desire to stop displacement. The Policy also acknowledges that "cash compensation" does not really enable the victims to obtain cultivable land, homestead and other resources which they "had to surrender to the State". It is also aware that the landless agricultural workers, forest dwellers, tenants and artisans, etc., those dependent of the "acquired assets", though severely affected, are not eligible for cash compensation, but offers mighty little for them.

### **No Participation in Decision-making**

At present people have no consent in the setting up of the project. The affected people are not even involved by the government in the discussion concerning



the policy. Till now no project has recognized this right. Fernandes says, “Displacement is taken for granted. The assumption is that the people, most of them poor and powerless, should adjust themselves to the situation once a decision to displace them is taken” (1997: 24). This is the right of the displaced, potential victims and those who might accommodate them subsequently. They have the right to information in the regional and local languages regarding the project.

As per the ‘cost-benefit analysis’, due to displacement there is destruction of the livelihood of the poor. This happens because of the non-participatory decision-making. Though lots have been said about the socio-cultural aspects in the rehabilitation policy, it appears as if only the marketable commodities of the economy are taken into consideration. Fernandes (1997) suggests that while calculating/assessing the economic value of assets lost, for the purpose of compensation, the concept of “replacement value” of all quantifiable assets should be used in the place of “present depreciated value” of assets carrying ownership titles alone. He further says that the policy should recognize the social and psychological trauma caused by dislocation and displacement, and focus on mechanisms to compensate and relieve the distress thus caused. Efforts have to be made to prepare the oustees for a new life, economically, socially and psychologically. The policy should also include a mechanism for making the host population appreciate the problems of the oustees, and to accept them.

The policy does not say anything about a proportionate pre-determined share in its ownership as well as benefits with the DPs. The policy for rehabilitation does not give such participation in the benefits on a long term basis. No benefits come either in terms of long term jobs, share in the product, stock ownership, literacy programme, capacity building, etc. The policy does not look beyond compensation though it tries to give impression of being holistic. Fernandes (1997: 26) points out that displacement in the name of national development has become a mode of transferring CPRs from the communities to whom they are a life support system to the corporate sector to whom they are a source of profit or raw material to produce consumer goods for the middle class. “Thus a clear distinction exists between the class that gets the benefits and those who pay the price of “national development”, particularly the tribals and Dalits. This is a process of impoverishment of the CPR dependent and landless communities.

The Maharashtra experience of displacement and rehabilitation, according to Dhagamwar (1997:172-73), has been the non-participation of the victims who are mostly the poor, uneducated or even illiterate, and very frequently tribals. There is no information about the project, leave alone any consultation. They are not even informed about their displacement and resettlement in any satisfactory manner. The government does not exert itself to gather adequate information on the population to be displaced. Inadequate compensation is paid tardily and grudgingly. Those paid are only a small class who own land. Others are not compensated for the loss of livelihood but only for the loss of houses. They are the landless labourers, artisans, women and other users of CPR, e.g. cowherds and nomads. Wherever alternate land is offered, the price is higher than the compensation paid. The oustees have to pay the difference between the two amounts. No compensation is given for CPR. The resettlement is at worst non-existent and at best unsatisfactory, unimaginative and unsympathetic. The oustees are not welcomed in the new places by the original population. No attention is paid to the emotional trauma caused by the upheaval. No efforts are made to

give the people a life which is similar to the one from which they have been uprooted. The definition of displacement is narrowly restricted to actual physical transfer. Dhagamwar argues for a policy and institutional change regarding the attitude to displacement and rehabilitation.

### **Lack of Database**

The absence of a database is one of the reasons for poor rehabilitation. The project needs accurate data on their number and type if it is to resettle them properly. Besides, the performance of the displacing agency that is put in charge of rehabilitation is judged not by its extent or quality but by the speed and economic efficiency with which it implements the project. Since most DPs are voiceless, they ignore their rehabilitation. Moreover, most of them are Common Property Resource (CPR) dependants or sustain themselves by rendering services to the village as a community (Dhagamwar 1989:172-173) but the *Land Acquisition Act, 1894* (LAQ) has an individual *patta* as the basis of compensation. Exceptionally the CPR dependants may be compensated but not the landless who depend on the village as a community. Even individual owners are given only monetary compensation. Often intermediaries appropriate it (Viegas 1992). The issue of compensation is contentious in the Fifth and Sixth Schedule areas where the customary law is given constitutional recognition. Their essence is community ownership.

Moreover, even if the financial aspect is attended to, the psychological consequences such as alienation from one's culture and community and insertion into a new work culture are ignored. As a result, many of those forced into a new work culture and economy, often outside their region, fall into bondage or become victims of absenteeism and alcoholism (Mankodi & Gangopadhyay 1983:81). However, most decision-makers view the project in isolation and make no long-term plan for the region. It often results in multiple displacements as it happened to the Rihand dam DPs of Madhya Pradesh (Ganguly Thukral 1989: 47-48), the Soliga tribals of Mysore (Cheria 1996) and the DPs of Orissa villages (Fernandes and Raj 1992: 25).

### **Problems around the Rehabilitation Policy**

There is absence of an adequately comprehensive Rehabilitation Policy in India although a rehabilitation policy was promulgated in February 2004, and a second one on October 31, 2007. The Government of India is now working on a Rehabilitation Bill, but it is not sure as to when it will take the form of the law.

Until now, only Maharashtra has a rehabilitation law for all DPs, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka have laws, MP and Rajasthan have policies for irrigation, Orissa has a comprehensive policy and Coal India and the National Thermal Power Corporation have their own policies. No North-eastern State has a rehabilitation policy. In Asom fewer than 10 projects rehabilitated their DPs 1947-2000 (Fernandes and Bharali 2006). Jharkhand does not have a Rehabilitation policy either despite rampant displacement taking place all over the state. The proposed study is meant to be a contribution to the formulation of a new policy not only for Jharkhand but also for the whole country.

### **Need for an Alternative Policy**

The New Tribal policy is being revised and most changes it suggests are acceptable. Based on Art. 21 that recognizes the right of every Indian to a life

with dignity, it considers rehabilitation a right of the DPs/PAPs and a duty of the requiring agency to rehabilitate them. It also accepts some other principles enunciated by the civil society during the process around the policy in the 1990s. One of them is prior informed consent and the other is that the lifestyle of the DPs/PAPs should improve after the project because they pay its price. It has provisions to ensure gender justice and has a focus on the tribals. It deals with many past shortcomings such as compensation, land for land, the definition of the DP/PAP and jobs. It suggests that it should apply to the DPs of ten years before its promulgation. Ways have to be found of identifying them.

The failure to evolve a just rehabilitation law or policy reinforces the view that the decision-makers ignore the DPs/PAPs because most of them belong to powerless groups. Besides, in the absence of a law, even those who understand the consequences of displacement without rehabilitation are unable to take many steps in favour of the DPs. Therefore, before undertaking any project, an extensive study has to be conducted on its viability taking into account its entire social, environmental and economic cost.

### Cost-benefit Analysis

Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) estimates and totals up the equivalent value—financial, social, cultural, religious, environmental, psychological, and so on—of the costs and benefits of projects to establish whether they are worthwhile. These projects may be development projects, such as dams, highways, infrastructure, mining, industries, defence, and wild-life, or can be capacity building training programs, education programme, health care systems, employment schemes, and so on. The idea is to assess whether the amount allocated and spent on a project is worth the cost in terms of benefit to the groups or persons it is meant for. There are systematic methods for measuring such costs and benefits.

Collaboration is needed at the level of respect and dignity. Choice of the individual has to be respected. Communities have to enter into relationship of collaboration with one another and not of domination. Hence, there should rather be a demand of a 'Displacement Policy', viz. one which asks for alternate ways of project planning that would minimize displacement or avoid it altogether. The new Policy, however, looks like a clear design for land acquisition and nothing else. A policy is policy all the same. Unless it is converted into a law there is no binding on the part of the government or of the enforcing authorities. Every community has the right to develop and grow – using the framework to enter into discovery, develop itself by making use of what is available.

### Check Your Progress II

**Note:** Use the space provided for your answers.

1) What is the relationship between displacement and livelihood?

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2) What are the problems of displacement and rehabilitation?

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## 2.4 DEFINING MIGRATION

According to M. S. Rao, Migration is a shift in the place of residence for some length of time. While it excludes short visits and tours, it includes different types of both voluntary and involuntary movements. Examples of involuntary movements are migration under such crisis as war, transfer of population, riots, floods, droughts and earthquakes. It also includes marriage migration, virilocal, uxorilocal or neolocal and transfer migration. There are other situations of migration where movement is part of people's earning a livelihood. These are nomads, shifting cultivators, itinerant traders and salesman, artisans and labourers. Transhumance is a special type of migration between two sets of settlements in different seasons (Rao, 1986: 19-20).

Internal migration is related to the international migration either overseas or overland. The latter creates imbalances in certain region in labour supply and internal migration comes as an answer. For instance, in Punjab continuous waves of overseas migration to England, United States, Canada, and now to Gulf countries have created shortage of labour and this gap is filled by migrants from Jharkhand, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Migrants from Jharkhand include significant percentage of tribals. However, international migration needs to be studied in its own right. There are immigrants from Tibet who have been rehabilitated in different parts of India. There are also migrants from Nepal and Bangladesh - both legal and illegal, and they need to be studied from the point of view of adjustments. Another aspect of international migration is the question of return migration and repatriation of Indian overseas migrants. For instance, there were about 80,000 Tamil repatriates in Tamilnadu in 1986 (Rao 1986:25).

International migration is a part of global social system of 'flows' of communications, capital, resources, goods and services which have development consequences for both sending and receiving countries including social and economic conditions, population stocks and population flow (Van Arsdol, 1989: 391).

Rao observes that there are two aspects of migration. First, what happens to the migrants in the place of destination, how they adjust themselves and the kind of social consequences that follow? Second, what are the feedback effects of migration in the place of origin of the migrants? The continuing interaction process between the place of origin and place of destination is an essential aspect of migration study. In the view of Rao, a cultural interpretation is important in gaining deeper understanding of the process of migration. Of all the social scientists interested in migration, economists have been the foremost in advancing theories to explain migration flows. Migration is considered to be a function of labour reallocation in response to market demand so that the demand and

supply of labour are always in equilibrium. Migration is also considered as an investment in human capital involving cost-benefit analysis at different levels. At the individual level, it is argued that migration is based on careful calculation involving money and non-money (psychological cost). While some economists do consider the importance of non-economic factors in explaining migration, others assume that the individual is a rational economic man interested in maximization of profit or utility. And it is the poor who move out attracted by higher wages. The limitation of this theory is that it does not explain why, among people placed in the same economic circumstances, some migrate and others do not. Secondly, it does not explain why people who are economically sound also move to other cities. So economic consideration does not wholly explain why people migrate. They provide only the necessary conditions for people to migrate, the sufficient conditions are provided by non-economic factors which explain how migrations occur (Rao, 1986: 29-30).

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## 2.5 PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

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The pattern of migration in India can be divided into various analytical categories on the basis of causal factors, which force migration, census figures and duration of migration. In this regard, Rao (1986: 20) has divided the pattern of migration into three categories:

- 1) **Involuntary Migration:** migration under crisis such as war, transfer of population, riots, floods, droughts, earthquakes, construction of the hydel projects. It also includes marriage migration, virilocal, uxolocal or neolocal and transfer migration.
- 2) **Voluntary Migration:** means people move out in search of livelihood. It includes nomads, shifting cultivators, traders and salesman, artisans and labourers.
- 3) **Transhumance Migration:** it is a special type of migration between two sets of settlements in different seasons.

Rao has constructed the category of migration on the basis of the causal factors, while Malavika Karlekar (Schenk-Sanbergen 1995:24) has constructed four migration streams on the basis of census figures, namely: (1) rural to rural, (2) rural to urban, (3) urban to rural, and (4) urban to urban. In turn, these four streams signify the direction of the flow of the people.

Irrespective of the direction of the flow of the people, Malavika Karlekar has categorized migration into four sections on the basis of time spent by the migrants outside their place of residence (Schenk- Sanbergen, Loes, 1995:25-26):

- 1) **Permanent Migration:** migrants move from the area of birth for a lifetime though some contact with the place of origin is maintained through visits on the occasion of marriage, death and other ritual occasions within the kin group. Some of them might send the remittances to the dependent family members.
- 2) **Temporary Migration:** migrants who remain out of their home for few months in a year come under this category.
- 3) **Seasonal or Circular Migration:** It relates to short term stay, normally under a year, outside the place of residence by those at the subsistence level and it is likely to be repeated in the coming years as well.

- 4) **Return Migration or Relay Migration:** Different members of the same family migrate in turn outside their place of residence to earn some money for the family. This feature is common among the Mexican peasant families.

### Migration from the Tribal Areas

In the light of the above various categories of migration, the migration of tribals from the central and eastern India has been divided into three categories: (1) Seasonal migration (circular migration) to the nearby towns; (2) Yearly or permanent migration to large cities; and (3) Relay migration - family members going out in turns to earn the livelihood.

The migration of tribals from their regions or place of origins is not voluntary in India. In fact, they are forced out due to ecological degradation, landlessness and land alienation, unemployment and poverty. However, the propelling factor in such migrations is to ensure survival for himself/herself and the family.

#### Check Your Progress III

**Note:** Use the space provided for your answers.

- 1) What are the patterns of migration?

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- 2) What is specific about migration of tribals?

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## 2.6 CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

Everett S. Lee has emphasized the role of pull factors or incentives associated with the destination areas, push factors or those associated with the areas of origin, intervening obstacles such as ethnic barriers, distance, cost and the personal factors to explain the migration of people from one area to another. The pull factor includes employment opportunities in the cities and the push factor includes labour surplus with low productivity in the rural areas, disguised unemployment and the exploitative relationships that exist in the villages. This theory has been utilized to explain the rural-urban migration in India (Premi, 1980: 10). But it has been criticized for over simplification of the migration analysis as push factor can also operate in the urban areas. So, a migrant looks at both, the positive and negative factors at the place of origin as well as the place of destination before finally decided to migrate.

Labour equilibration model by W.A. Lewis (1954) and J.C.H. Fei and G. Janis (1964) has also tried to provide an explanation for migration; the model works on the assumption of a dual economy that of labour attempting to move out from subsistence, low or zero productivity economy to the fast growth capitalist, urban sector with higher wages. However, the critics suggest that labour productivity is not zero in the rural areas; moreover, it is the structural factors relating to the mode of production, which lead to low production rather than little work in the villages (ISI, 1993: 14).

Harris and Todaro considered migration to be a function of labour allocation in response to the market demands, so that the demand and supply of labour are always in equilibrium. According to this theory, labour mobility occurs in direct response to the expected wage differential between rural and urban areas. The theory further elaborates that if wage differential between the rural and urban sectors is in excess of equilibrium, the inter-sectoral transfer will continue until there is equality. The theory goes on to say that given higher wages in the urban areas, people would be attracted from low-income underdeveloped regions in numbers much larger than the available employment opportunities on the chance of getting a job (Rao, 1997: 30). The assumption of this theory is that the individual is a rational economic person interested in the maximization of profit or utility and it is basically poor who migrate as attracted by the higher wages. The premise of this theory is on the economic factor while the non-economic factors have not been given adequate attention. This theory would fail to explain why, among the people placed in the same economic circumstances, some migrate and the others do not. In addition, there is a question as to why people who are well off also migrate to the cities.

Samuel A. Stouffer has developed the hypothesis of migration and intervening opportunities. He argued that degree of migration would be inversely related to the distance between the two places as also the extent of intervening opportunities but directly related to the opportunities in two places (Premi, 1980: 10). Premi has thus argued that source and the destination areas are both likely to have attractive and the repulsive elements, that these will be weighed differently by different individuals.

J. Clyde Mitchell has theorized the idea in a more comprehensive way. He has stated that a single factor explanation of migration is totally inadequate and that listing all possible motivations is also not very useful. He has seen the need to link together and has related the multiple causes in a logical framework and suggested a classification whose major headings are “the nexus of a centrifugal tendencies” and “the nexus of the centripetal tendencies” sub divided by social, psychological and economic factors (as cited in Premi, 1980: 11).

Premi has identified employment, income and rapid population growth, as the three key variables, which determine the extent and pattern of the migration flows. Migrants flow from areas where employment opportunities are stagnant, income is low and rate of population growth is high. Conversely, they are attracted to the areas of new industrial development, regions of higher per capita income and the areas where the disparity between birth and death rate is low (*Ibid.*).

Rao (1986: 31) has also pointed out that isolated variables cannot adequately explain the reason for migration. Hence, he has taken the multi-dimensional approach for the analysis of migration. In this way, Rao has identified the

following key factors in the multi-dimensional approach: historical development of the region; wider economic and political conditions, which regulate and condition the nature of employment opportunities; economic and social conditions in the place of origin; at individual level: level of skills, family circumstances, process of socialization and the personality factors; and presence of the resource network such as social network, which acts as the most effective channel of communication that favours decision making in migration.

### **Consequences of Migration**

The consequence of migration is no less important. The consequences of migration may be analyzed in the framework of changes at the place of destination and changes at the place of origin (Rao, 1986: 29). The impact of migration (Malavika Karlekar in Schenk-Sanbergen 1995: 51-64) on the people at the place of destination can be analyzed in the following dimensions, namely: (1) Wage discrimination and exploitation; (2) Sexual harassment; (3) Vulnerable migrant child: girls in particular; and (4) Destruction of culture, kin networks and social relations.

Croll (1986), while analyzing the migration of rural women to the urban centers in China, has argued that domestic workers are necessary as it releases the urban women from their domestic responsibilities to gain access to paid employment outside the home. Furthermore, domestic workers are required in China to allow other women to increase their contribution to production and the modernization programmes in the country. However, a study by Neeta Lodha (2003: 371) shows that tribal women who migrate to the urban centers for employment in the lean season face several problems. The tribal women mainly work on the construction sites on the basis of daily wages. Lodha's study has demonstrated that minimum wages for the tribal men and women are not uniform and tribal women are both sexually and economically exploited. Moreover, presence of infant children obstructs to the tribal women's economic participation.

As a result of shift to the urban areas, tribal women suffer from 'Cultural' as well as 'Knowledge' and are unable to adjust to the individualist life pattern in such areas. It may be added here that women enjoy relatively high social status in the tribal societies. The research by Lodha reveals that women are the main decision makers in the household work and partial decision makers in the activities related to the agriculture and livestock/poultry. However, the shift to the urban areas for employment reduces the status of women in the families as they lack awareness of the new working environment, credit facilities, market and savings (Lodha, 365-372). The illiteracy of the tribal women along with lack of any technical knowledge has completely removed women from the decision making process in the family and made them completely dependent on the men-folk. Women in such circumstances suffer from being uprooted from their traditional locale and milieu and face a sense of socio-psychological insecurity.

The impact of migration on the people at the place of origin can be analyzed on the following dimensions, namely (1) Effect of male migration: improvement in the socio-economic condition of the family, but increased burden on the women; and (2) Effect of female migration: improvement in the socio-economic condition of the family, position of women in the family and in the community.

Rao and Kumar (1997), while highlighting the impact of migration on the women folk, pointed out that male migration actually enhances both physical and financial burdens on the women in terms of overwork leading to poor health and



indebtedness. In the absence of male, women have the sole responsibility to looking after the children, cattle and doing the household chores. Further, the cash remittances from the male members are irregular and the need to run the household on a daily basis till such time as cash remittances arrive puts additional burden on women. As a result, women have to look for jobs as the wage labour in the surrounding villages, which puts her at the risk of physical and economic exploitation of the outsiders.

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## 2.7 LET US SUM UP

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This unit has attempted to highlight the characteristic features of displacement and migration and their inter-relationship. These are sociological phenomena, although some of them are voluntary and others involuntary. This unit highlights lacunae of the Government policies regarding rehabilitation and resettlement. There are inner contradictions in those policies. The victims do not have any participation in the decision making process. There is a close relationship between displacement and migration which can be derived from the unit. Displacement is one of the many factors responsible for forced migration. There are many patterns of migration, which has been dealt with briefly in the unit. Apart from the causes of migration the consequences of migration are also analyzed. These consequences have social, cultural, economic, social and psychological implications.

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## 2.8 KEY WORDS

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**Globalization** : Increasing unification of the world's economic order through reduction of barriers to international trade, such as tariffs and export fees.

**Industrialization** : The process of socio-economic transformation of a human group from an agrarian society to an industrial one.

**Rehabilitation** : The process of restoration of the earlier state of displaced/affected persons/families in a new habitation.

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## 2.9 FURTHER READINGS AND REFERENCES

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