

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC REVIEW OF THE STUDIES ON MIGRATION

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ABSTRACT: Recent years have witnessed abundant growth of interest in Migration by a number of scholars drawn from various disciplines viz; Economics, Geography, Sociology, Demography etc., which has resulted in voluminous literature on the subject. However, there is hardly any attempt made to review the literature and to give a synoptic view of it. A modest attempt is made here. Even though the paper incorporates the review of the studies in different disciplines the main emphasis is given on the studies pertaining to geographical aspects.

INTRODUCTION

Migration is an interdisciplinary subject par excellence and because of its inter disciplinary nature, the subject has caught the attention of a number of scholars from various disciplines. As a result, the literature on migration is voluminous and has grown especially in recent years. An attempt is made in this paper to review the literature on migration and to give a critical appraisal of it. The paper is divided into three parts: The first part gives a brief sketch of theories/models on migration. The second part deals with the migration studies at the macro level and the third part pertains to the migration studies at the micro level.

MIGRATION THEORIES/MODELS

Any study on migration is a futile exercise if it is not built on a sound theoretical foundation. Hence, a skeleton view of some of the well known theories and models on migration formulated by various scholars from time to time, is attempted here.

Ravensteins Law of Migration: The first

systematic attempt towards the conceptualization of migration mechanism was made by Ravenstein as early as 1885. He formulated a number of laws governing migrations, the important among them are:

- a) Distance is an important parameter affecting movement, people more often than not, have a tendency to move over short distance.
- b) Villagers are more migratory than the natives of the towns.
- c) Improvement in the level of technology has a positive effect on migration.
- d) Each stream of migration produces a counter stream.
- e) Males are more migration prone though females seem to dominate short distance migration.
- f) Economic motives predominate among the factors which influence migration.

Other Models: There are several other theories that followed Revenstein's work. The more important ones are:

Lee has developed a theory which provides a general frame work of the spatial movements of population. He divided forces which exert influence on migration perception into 'pluses', 'minuses' and 'zeros'. These forces are associated with the areas of origin and destination. A combined structure of the L. F. R. model was first developed by Lewis in 1954 and later expanded by Ranis and Fei in 1961. This model is based on the assumption of dual economy comprising subsistence agricultural and modern industrial sectors where labour force moves from agriculture to industrial sector. According to Sjaastad who provided the human investment theory of migration' in 1962, the decision to migrate is an investment decision which involves costs and returns, distributed over time. Further, costs and returns have been divided into money and non-money costs and returns. A calculation of expected costs and returns during one's life span at origin and destination areas will influence the decision to migrate.

Todaro's (1976) model is relevant mainly in case of rural urban migration. According to this model decision to migrate depends on the expected difference in urban and rural wage structure. Todaro also pointed out that traditional sector is characterised by low wage of temporary nature resulting in lower earning which leads to rural-urban migration. The theory of least effort was developed by Zipf (1949) who states that the distance between two locations determines the migration pattern. This has been extensively used in geographical studies. Gravity Model was developed by Rreilly in 1929 and expanded later by John and Stewart. According to them migration is influenced not only by distance between origin and destination areas but also by the number of opportunities available. The intervening opportunities model was developed by Stouffer in 1940. The model is in fact an improvement over the gravity model.

Stouffer unravels the fact that the number of persons moving to a given area is directly proportionate to the number of opportunities available at that distance and inversely proportionate to the number of intervening opportunities.

Hagerstrand has proposed the spatial interaction model in 1967. He based his model on the concept of personal information field and mean information field. He termed individual movement pattern as personal information field and average of the individuals pattern as mean information field. According to this model mobility is related with the frequency of contacts and spatially adjacent nodes have higher frequency of contacts which in turn result in more mobility pattern between short distance

nodes. Wolpert introduced behavioural element into the migration model which he proposed in 1964. He states that the combined parameters of space, time and behaviour play important role in inducing migration but he also admitted the supremacy of economic factors.

The model, formulated in 1975 by World Bank Staff, tries to explain the variables which affect migration in terms of mathematical equation: Accordingly

$$M_{ij} = f(Y_i, Y_j, u_i, u_j, Z_i, Z_j, d_{ij}, C_{ij})$$

where,

i = place of origin

j = place of destination

M_{ij} = variable explaining migration

Y = income level

U = unemployment rate

d_{ij} = distance between i & j

z = degree of Urbanisation

c_{ij} = Friends and relatives in place of destination (World Bank Staff working paper 1975)

The foregoing brief account of the models/theories of migration mechanism points that migration is a complex process, and is determined by a variety of factors such as geographical, social, economic and political. The complexity of the process of migration becomes more and more acute with the changes occurring in the society over time. As a result, any model of migration is found to be wanting in one or other aspect.

STUDIES OF MIGRATION ON METHODOLOGY CONCEPTUALIZATION AND AT MACRO LEVEL

There are a number of studies dealing with methodological or conceptual problems on migration both in India and outside. Among the early studies on internal migration in India reference must be made to those of Zachariah (1964) and Davis (1951). Both the studies are based on census data and have examined migration pattern at the national level. Zachariah has made detailed analysis of the pattern of internal migration in the Indian sub-continent during 1901 - 31 and identified the areas of population gain and loss. His major contribution lies in his evolving a methodology for estimation of migration. Davis has tried to explain the immobility of the major part of Indian population in terms of illiteracy, dominance of primary occupation, diversity of language, culture, caste system etc. Since both these studies have concentrated on broad analysis of pattern, magnitude and causes of migration at the macro level, they do not give a detailed account of the process of migration mechanism at the micro level.

Cherunilam (1987) Prabakara (1986) Sinha et al (1989) provide conceptual background to the study of migration. Cherunilam has analysed the important dimension of both internal and inter-national migration and has given analytical account of the factors behind migration and their consequences. The study

is based on secondary data from census reports, UN and world bank publications. Sinha et al dealt with the definition, types and causes of migration. A detailed account of the trends of migration in different parts of the world in different periods of history is also given. Prabakara throws some light on redistribution of population through internal migration. This study also uses census data.

Rao (1981) pointed out some of the important dimensions of sociology of migration. He argues "Staying out and moving about are related to peoples conception of space and time. People invest meaning to a place or territory in which they live and they also attach meaning to their movements. In this process they develop a set of symbols of both rootedness and mobility". Kalam (1991) has examined with an anthropological perspective the reasons behind mobility and moorings. He has given an interesting conceptual background of the situations which bind an individual to animate and inanimate objects that surround him thereby fixing him in a multifaceted nexus. Mukherji (1981) discusses with reference to India how labour migration occurs in LDCs as a result of spatial disorganisation of the economy. The study also examines the possible future trends in rural - Urban migration, urbanisation and unemployment situation in India, during 1971-2001. The study makes known that the mobility of the people is induced by poverty, underdevelopment and spatial disorganisation. It also suggests that to relieve the country from underdevelopment and spatial disorganisation a major requirement is to reorient the country's spatial - economic structure and spatial linkages to her domestic market. Joshi (1987) also examines various issues, dimensions, profile and legal issues relating to migrant labour.

The UN surveys manuals on migration provide basic information as to the method of

collection of data, supervising, training the interviews, processing of migration data etc. The tenth manual in the series (1982) contains many papers which discuss the methods and techniques most suitable for the analysis of data collected from national migration surveys. In addition to the series on conceptual background there is also a UN series of reports on many countries in the ESCAP region. These reports deal with the macro-analysis of migration, urbanisation and development using the census data. The report on Malaysia (1982) brings out that net migration from rural to urban areas was low and migration tended to be mainly short distance and intra-state much of which is mainly for marriage reasons. The Malaysian Government's efforts for creating a dynamic and broad based agricultural sector, good infrastructural network in rural areas and in turn, education and other things have yielded good results and the gulf between rural and urban was not such as to encourage a large scale movement of people from rural to urban. The Srilankan study (1980) throws light, among other things, on how development of irrigation accompanied by government support for resettlement in the more sparsely populated areas of dry belt attracted migrants from overcrowded wet zone. The report on Indonesia (1981) indicates that mobility has become institutionalised among some special groups such as Minangkaball of West Sumatra. However most mobility in the country is in response to a complex set of interacting forces though economic consideration dominates overwhelmingly in shaping the volume, direction and nature of mobility.

White et al (1980) give not only theoretical background of migration studies but also seek to examine how particular changes in population distribution affect the organisation of human society. The case studies in the volume include studies on East Arabia, Bolivia,

England and France. These case studies deal with population movements at a variety of spatial scales and show the specific ways in which migration has affected the organisation of human society.

Udayakumar (1989) has attempted to conceptualise the process of migration, transport network and rural development with reference to Mysore district in Karnataka. He argues that the distance differentials and wage differentials act as complementary to each other in the migration process.

Simmons et al (1977) have ably reviewed the available literature on migration in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Regarding the studies on Asia, they pointed out "although there already seems to be a library full of literature on internal migration in Asia much of it is repetitious. Study after study compares and contrasts migrants characteristics and patterns of movement without dealing with their causes and consequences". They have cited McGee's (1972) insistence that more emphasis be placed on the 'processive' element - or structural changes that lead to the decision to migrate. However one can notice a number of studies in Asia after 1977, some of which even have structural perspective.

Gosal et al (1975) have in their paper examined the magnitude of internal migration in India, discerned the pattern of migration among different sectors, identified areas of in and out - migration and tried to predict future trends. This study encompasses the entire country based on census data. The continuing dependence of most of the people on agriculture inadequacy of employment opportunities outside agriculture owing partly to a low level of industrialization, high incidence of illiteracy and strong family ties are important factors cited by them for immobility of relatively high proportion of population in India. They have also identified major flows

of population towards urban industrial concentration, plantations, newly developed agricultural lands, multipurpose project sites and other areas with developmental activities and mining areas. They also predicted that intra-state migration rate is likely to rise where as inter-state migration may not appreciably improve and this has proved correct upto 1981.

Premi (1989) analysed the pattern of inter-district migration in India with special reference to Rajasthan. He has described the principal population movement at macro level using census data, and identified factors for net in and out migration. He has found that a large proportion of both the male and female migration would be from the bordering district and it is mostly female migration which is short distance.

We also have a number of studies (Alam et al 1987, Paul 1989, Singh 1986) focusing on the issues of rural - urban migration, its causes and consequences. Alam et al deal with patterns and trends of migration and urbanisation in India both in historical and contemporary perspective. The study also discusses the problems and process of migration and urbanisation in the U.S.S.R. Singh has studied the characteristics of rural - urban migrants in terms of age, sex, marital status, occupation and education in three states of India viz. Kerala, Bihar and West Bengal. The study relies on census data. Paul's study tries to understand the process of rural-urban migration in Punjab by highlighting facts about migration establishing relationship between migration and its determinants.

It is evident from the foregoing review of literature on migration that some studies (Cherunilam, Prabakara, U.N. Survey manuals, Sinha) are informative in nature. They deal mainly with definition, scope, historical background and broad pattern of migration at

national and international levels. Hence they better serve the purposes of text-book requirement on the subject. Two well known studies (Zachariah, Davis) provide a good conceptual background but they are demographic studies. Rao's and Kalam's study deal mainly with sociological and anthropological perspective of population mobility.

There are studies with spatial perspective, (Gosal et al Premi, White et al, ESCAP reports on countries) but these studies deal with the macro level patterns of migration on the basis of census data. Mukherji's study attempts to provide a conceptual framework and to give a highly generalised account of population migration at the National level. There are also studies (Alam, Paul, Singh) which concentrate on the process of migration and urbanation. None of the studies mentioned above, however, try to unravel in detail the reasons behind the complex process of migration mechanism at the micro level.

AREA STUDIES AT MICRO LEVEL

The studies on migration at micro area level are numerous and the decade 1980 saw proliferation of such studies which only reflects the importance given in the academic circle to this vital subject. Most of these studies are based on primary survey and have focused attention on rural - rural migration which was in fact a neglected aspect hitherto. A brief review of some of these studies is attempted in the following pages.

Rao (1981) deals with rural - rural migration in three districts of Karnataka viz., Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwad which come under the command area of two river projects viz. Malaprabha and Ghataprabha. Nearly 50% of the migrants, according to this study, move to neighbouring villages. Most of the migrants are cultivators and belong to economically active age group. Srivastava *et al* (1981) ex-

amine socio-economic life and patterns of seasonal and daily movements of Kolsa scheduled caste people in patha area of Bundelkhand in Uttar Pradesh. Poverty is found to be a forceful factor in this movement. Najma Khan (1961) discussed the pattern and important characteristics of rural out-migration in twelve villages from six districts of U.P., the study reveals that migrants are mostly young literates who have changed their occupation from agriculture to non-agriculture thereby reducing the ratio of dependence on agriculture.

Oberai *et al* (1983) made an extensive study on the determinants and socio-economic implications of internal migration. The study is based on the primary data collected in 26 villages of Ludhiana district of Punjab and Ludhiana city. The study examines a number of questions which have a bearing on policy design. The study reveals that there is not much difference in the incidence of migration between landless and landowning households. The importance of economic incentive appears to be strong reason behind migration. Remittances are observed to flow fairly regularly and more than 50% of the out-migrants send remittances and it is being received by all income groups in the villages. The study also suggests that outmigration of relatively more dynamic members from the farming households does not adversely affect the process of adoption of new technology nor is the farm output reduced. On the whole, the study reveals that migrants do succeed in increasing their individual and household welfare as a result of migration. In another study of the same kind, Oberai *et al* (1987) examined a number of questions more or less similar to Ludhiana study. This study encompasses three states viz. Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh. Some of the conclusions drawn in the Punjab study have been reaffirmed in the later study. The second study suggests

that migration generates substantial benefits for both origin and destination areas in addition to benefits secured to migrants themselves. The study also reports that out-migration from rural areas is largely a survival strategy. Further the study points out that out-migration leads to improvement in land and labour productivity, the adoption of modern agricultural technology and reduction in rural income inequalities. The study hence cautions policy makers against adopting anti-migration policies without adequately examining the causes and consequences of migration in a particular context.

Vidyasagar (1986) analysed the pattern of rural-rural migration that occurred as a result of agricultural colonisation in Tungabhadra command area of Karnataka. Focusing on one village as the place of origin, the study examines mainly the labour migration from a village in dry tract of Bellary District in Karnataka. His findings are; the occurrence of migration is decided by poverty line and land-man ratio (LMR) is the main index to mark poverty line; Monetary transfer from destination to origin is almost non-existent since most of the earning is used for necessities like food and clothing. We have other studies also on the same area. Raju (1989) dealt with migration pattern from west Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh to Tungabhadra region. A distinct feature of this study is that the investigations were done both at origin and destination areas. A village was surveyed in the origin area to study both migration and non-migration behaviour and to account for it. The out migrants of that village, who were settled in a taluka in Bellary district, were interviewed at destination to understand the post-migration adjustment. Further an enquiry was also made into the causes and consequences of return migration. This study reveals that the migration is selective and purposive in character. Pull factors rather than

object poverty were responsible for migration which he termed as development migration. The migration, he found, is also associational and caste oriented in the sense that households belonging to the same caste and village at origin, have also associational location and community social life at destination.

Sahu (1985) has examined the impact of irrigation on crop intensity and labour force and the extent to which these changes encourage in-migration. He has studied the Hirakud command area selecting four villages two each from wet and dry areas on the basis of cross-section method. He found that the wet villages, consequent on the introduction of irrigation, have received migrants who constitute about one third of the total population in these villages. The reasons for this migration have been found to fit in very well within the "Push and Pull" framework. In-migration was found to be responsible for the increase in non-cultivating households, diversification of caste structure, and decrease in literacy rate. Further, no out-migration is reported from wet villages, whereas dry villages have experienced some out-migration.

Mukerji *et al* (1986) have made an assessment of the demographic consequences of the Girna irrigation project in Maharashtra. Even though the study is concerned mainly with fertility and mortality, it found that the command areas gained population through in-migration.

Vlassaff (1986) has assessed three studies on demographic impact of development project in Thailand, Philippines and Bangladesh. Thailand's study points out that the reforestation programme has slowed down the rural urban migration. A study conducted in a village in Bangladesh revealed that the agricultural development process has had a dramatic positive impact on per acre yield of rice production. The literacy level also increased,

which, in turn affected the fertility behaviour. Philippines study examining the impact of green revolution and family planning on two rural municipalities brings out that out-migration of adults in search of urban jobs was experienced especially from high income households. Fertility fell dramatically, educational level and income distribution increased. These three studies indicate that progressive agrarian policies which provide increased employment opportunities in the rural areas can help curbing rural out-migration but there are exceptions like findings in Philippines study. This made Vlassoff to remark that no single theoretical model of economic or demographic response to development is adequate to explain the complexity of rural behaviour in the third world countries.

Another study dealing with demographic consequences of development is by Basu *et al* (1979). This study tries to understand the relationship between agricultural development and demographic behaviour. The study was conducted in some agriculturally developed and underdeveloped villages in Gujarat. The study while giving emphasis on fertility behaviour, also tried to test the hypothesis that on the 'one hand agricultural development would tend to create more employment in the village thereby reducing out-migration and on the other hand the development would tend to increase out-migration for the richer sections of the village whose children move out to cities for education as well as for white-collar jobs'. The findings of the study do not however visualize any far reaching impact of the green revolution on the nature and rate of out-migration. Rodgers (1989) in studies conducted in India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh pointed out that migration does not seem to be a major response to poverty except in special circumstances.

Wong (1981) tried to attribute to agricultural change and its regional effect, the variations

associated with net-migration in Srilanka. The study has shown high positive relationship between agricultural change and net migration while the effect of regional influence on migration does not appear to be significant. Thapa (1989) deals with the relationship between socio-economic change and rural migration in Nepal. She has found that proliferation of low return non-farm work pauperizes the household which finally decides to migrate. Households with access to land are less likely to migrate, but most of them send individual migrants instead. Access to land determines family size and not vice versa. Remittances from individual migrants strengthen the households ties to the place of origin.

Sinha (1981) analysed the different aspects of changes in migration pattern in Ghana. The study observes that uneven distribution of natural resources and its exploitation has a close relationship with the migration. Migration takes place from north to south, and rural - urban migration was found to be main cause for rapid urbanisation. Dupant (1987) has studied three middle sized towns in a plantation region of West Africa with the objective of checking whether these towns carry out a traditional step function for migrants, and to find out the role of these towns in the spatial redistribution of population. She found that though these towns attract large number of migrants they are incapable of settling this population and hence become out-migration centres, thereby acting as step-centres between rural and large urban centres.

MIGRATION OF TRIBALS

Badgaiya (1986) has made an attempt to examine the large scale out-migration of tribes in the context of the widespread economic and political forces sweeping the territory of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas in the 19th Century. He found colonialism

responsible for a large scale political and economic alienation of the tribals. Colonialism also brings along with it new instruments of exploitation of the natural and human resources. Plantations, mines and factories are opened which to some extent, brought a distortion in the traditional occupational distribution by transferring labour force from traditional agriculture to plantations as it has happened earlier in Africa and Latin America. Choudhury *et al* (1986) have tried to investigate the socio-economic and demographic aspects of migration of tribals from Chotanagpur to West Bengal which has been occurring from second half of the 19th Century. In answering a question as to why did the tribals not migrate to growing urban centres where new economic opportunities were available the authors have said that the direction of the migration stream depends not only on the value placed on the opportunities at the destination, but also on the nature of ecological compatibility that may exist between the places of origin and destination of migration.

Singh (1989) dealt with the pattern of out-migration and its impact on socio-economic conditions of Khutouna block in north Bihar plain. He has attempted to find out the causes for out-migration, assess the differential economic development between the migrant and non-migrant families and unravel the changes that have occurred in socio-economic life due to out-migration. The main findings are that the out-migration has contributed to an increase in the sex ratio and literacy rate of out-migrant families. Economic factors are the main reasons causing out-migration and out-migrant families are economically better off and have broadened their social network. Ramachandran (1989) analysed the correlation between education and rural out-migration pertaining to a backward district in Karnataka viz. Tumkur. The inability of the rural economy to absorb educated population has

been explained as an important reason for the high propensity of the schooled rural people to migrate. Joseph (1988) has made an interesting study of the peasant migration from Travancore to Malabar in Kerala. He has adopted a historical structural approach for analysing the evolution and the implication of movement of the people arising out of socio-economic transformation that took place in the region. He has observed that a subsistence economy prevailed in Travancore till the end of the 19th century upto which no out-migration took place. The subsistence economy gave way to a developing economy in the first quarter of the 20th Century which resulted in the out-migration of peasants with moderate capital funds in search of suitable land for cultivation. Malabar on the other hand was dominated by tenant farmers under the absentee landlordism. These tenants who had been steeped in abject poverty due to existence of an oppressive land tenure system migrated to distant areas in search of employment.

Mehta (1990) discusses migration mechanism and its spatial manifestation in the Bist Doab region of Punjab. She found that the process of out-migration increased immediately after independence, but its tempo has decreased after 1961. Out-migration from rural areas was highly age-selective, most out-migrants being in the working age group of 16-49 years. Emigrants to other countries comprised the largest proportion of out-migrants in recent years. Remittances have certainly helped the out-migrants' families staying in the villages. Nagaraj (1991) attempts to examine the pattern of migration in Dakshina Kannada district in Karnataka, which he calls a mobile society. He has made an indepth study of two villages in the district representing different socio-economic structure. He attempts to study the interaction between the rural socio-economic structure along with the

changes in it on the one hand, and the process of migration on the other. He has inferred that the role of backward semifeudal relations acts as a constraint on migration particularly of the long term type, while the breakdown of these relations and the consequent weakening of the informal support system act as a conducive factor in inducing mobility. However he also argues that the concept of semifeudal relations as constraint on migration should not be viewed and interpreted mechanically but it is the whole gamut of relations and conditions associated with a backward socio-economic structure with the agrarian relations playing a central role in this that act as constraint both tangible and intangible on the mobility of a population.

Racine (1990) attempted to understand not only why people migrate but also to know why do they not migrate despite the hardship of village life. The study appears to be the first of its kind in India which deviates from usual migration studies that generally concentrates on why people migrate. He has surveyed two villages - one each from irrigated and unirrigated tract - in Mandhya district of Karnataka to understand the villagers rationale behind migration and retention. He has identified various patterns of mobility practised which act as alternatives to a definite migration. He also brought about the importance of socio-economic dynamics and Government policies that govern heavily the rural population.

Folke (1966) examined the relationship between plantation development and population growth in Coorg and Nilgiris on South India. He revealed that though the connection between plantation development, in-migration and population growth cannot be exactly measured, the census data between 1951-1961 brings to light numerous developments which are associated with the evolution of plantations particularly in Coorg which in

turn affect the population growth and immigration process.

Mahadev (1984) attempted to give historical background of plantation development, type of labour involved, source region of the seasonal workers, methods of procurement of labour and the socio-economic background of the labourers. The study is based on the sample survey of a few coffee estates in the area.

SUMMARY

The above presentation of the review of the literature on migration at micro area level points that there are a number of studies dealing with the impact of development on migration (Sahu, Mahadev, Fujiwara, Raju, D. N. Basu et al, Mukherji, Vasudev Rao, Wong, Vlassoff). In many of these studies irrigation is found to have acted as an external stimuli of development which in turn engineered in-migration. These studies, on the whole, lead us to conclude that structural changes in the local economics, which occurred as a result of irrigation or other Government sponsored development schemes have acted as pull factors in luring in-migrants. The studies made by Badgaiya and Choudhury explain the impact of structural changes which cause out-migration of tribals in Chotanagpur area. Joseph, with historical and structural approach has discussed the pattern of evolution of migration stream from Travancore to Malabar areas in Kerala. Studies like Singh, Oberai et al, Najma Khan, Ramachandran, Mehta, Vidya Sagar etc., have elaborately discussed the causes for out-migration from the villages and its implications on origin and destination areas. Some of these studies, Vidyasagar, Srivatsav, for instance, explain poverty as an important variable behind out-migration whereas studies like one made by Rodgers contradict this view. However, almost all these studies found economic factors mainly responsible for out-migration. Racine

while accounting for migrant and non-migrant behaviour in the context of wide spectrum of changing socio-economic condition, highlights the importance of other forms of mobility, such as seasonal migration, as alternative to permanent out-migration. Mahadev provides a good background of the spatial pattern and economic characteristics of plantation labourers, while Folke relates plantation development and population growth giving emphasis on migration.

These studies have thus analysed the pattern, causes, and characteristics of in-migration in migrants and out migration out migrants, and in some cases non-migrant behaviour. Most of these studies have adopted either structural or historical perspective or both, while some studies included spatial approach also. There is hardly any study using integrated approach of all the three perspectives i.e., historical, structural and spatial. Further, most of these studies concentrate on the process of either out-migration from or in-migration to an area and hence do not effectively deal with the spatial dynamics of population mobility of any specific region. It is essential to deal with this aspect since the structural changes of any region, over time, make the region more attractive or less attractive or unattractive. Moreover, the changes that occur in the surroundings of given destination also modify the pattern of mobility. Keeping this in view and set in the spatial, structural and historical perspective, Shivalingappa (1992) has attempted to understand the spatial dynamics of population mobility in the context of overall rural changes in the Western Ghats and in their surroundings. The study was conducted in three distinct rural systems namely The Western Ghats Rural System; Dry Farming Rural System to the east of the Ghats and the Western Foothills of the Ghats, albeit the main concentration was on the Western Ghats. The study has revealed that the Western Ghat area

dominated by plantation economy has been receiving migrants both permanent and seasonal from the surrounding rural systems since a very long time. However, the volume, pattern and direction of the migration stream into this area has been undergoing a radical change with the overall transformation that has taken place not only in the Ghats but also in the surrounding areas. Besides, the rate of out migration from the Ghats for urban jobs appears to be gaining momentum recently. Further migration of seasonal labour force from the foothills of the Ghats has decreased drastically owing to the improvement in the local economy of the foot hills, whereas seasonal migration stream from the dry belt

is found to have broadened due to deteriorating living standards in this area. More of such studies are required to be done on different areas with different geographical characteristics so that the impact of rural development policies on population redistribution could be better assessed. This would help geographers to build a general perspective also on the geographical environment, development policies and population mobility patterns.

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