

**“Intra Regional Migration among the SAARC Countries:  
Emerging Geo-Political Patterns”**

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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**



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**CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the Dissertation entitled "Intra Regional Migration among the SAARC Countries :Emerging Geo-Political Patterns" submitted by Seema Kumar in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or of any other University. This is his bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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**To my  
Father & Mother  
with love**

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*Seema Kumar*  
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## INTRODUCTION

Population movements between different countries has been an enduring feature of the socio-economic geography of human affairs. The negotiations from the old world to the New Constituted the first truly large voluntary migrations in recorded history. After the Great Age of Discoveries 15th to 18th centuries, man has become more mobile, migrating from one region to another and from one country to another. Consequently at present caucasoid sub races have sub-merged the aboriginal and native people in Americas, and Oceania. Similar is the case in Asia, Africa and the islands of Pacific, Indian and Arctic oceans. The attraction of the New World, commencing in the 18th century continues even today, particularly with respect to the developed realm of the World. However change in immigration laws combined with increasing inequalities between wealthy and poor countries has fostered a diversification of the sources of migrants to the New World as well as Australasia. However, North America and Australasia have not been the only areas of the globe exerting a force of attraction for the more mobile element of the World's population. In the post-second World War era, the rapid industrial growth of Western Europe was greatly assisted by the flow of labour from the Mediterranean countries. The UK's post war reconstruction and industrial development drew large quantities of labour from Ireland and the Commonwealth, while Sweden's growth can in part be attributed to Finnish immigrants.

"Migration is almost as characteristic of Homo Sapiens as tool making and culture building. Man is the most widely distributed social animal on the earth surface. From their probable origin in Africa, human groups had spread out to occupy all the major land areas of the earth excepting Antarctica about 20,000 years before present, long before the beginning of agriculture or written history. Thus, migration is a geographical phenomenon that seems to be a human necessity in every age."<sup>1</sup>

The interregional movement of labour characterizing Europe's post-war migration history, has also been important to economic growth elsewhere in the world. For almost a century the development of South Africa's agricultural mining and industrial sectors has attracted foreign workers from countries in Southern and Central Africa. The development of agriculture, mining and industry in Zimbabwe has attracted over the years foreign workers, principally from Malawi and Zambia. In West Africa, Nigeria, in particular, but also cote-d' Ivoire and Gabon, have drawn workers from countries elsewhere in West Africa.

In South-East Asia, Singapore and Malaysia have served as a magnet for workers from other Asian countries. The plantation and construction sectors of the economy of peninsular Malaysia employ several hundred thousand Indonesians. The East

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<sup>1</sup> Majid Hussain (1999) Human Geography Rawat Publications, New Delhi, p.151.

Malaysian states of Sarawak and particularly, Sabah, have also attracted large numbers of workers from neighbouring Indonesia and the Philippines. In Singapore the immigrant non-citizen labour-force constitutes in excess of 15 percent of the work-force. If we include foreign-born citizen workers as well, then over 22 percent of Singapore's work-force is comprised of immigrant labour.

In Latin America the direction of intra-regional migrations has been towards Venezuela and Argentina, though in the last few years the degree of attraction of these countries has been greatly diminished because of recessionary conditions.

However, it is in the oil-exporting countries of the middle East which, over the last decade, have generated an ambit of labour attraction both wide and strong. These countries have served as an economic oasis for millions of the working poor of the middle East and all of South, East, and South-East Asia.

Migration has been defined differently by different people. In its most general sense "Migration is defined as the permanent or semi-permanent change of residence of an individual or group of people over a significant distance".<sup>2</sup>

With more than 150 million international migrants World wide, the scale of international migration gives renewed importance to an age old phenomenon. Throughout history, people have been forced to migrate than ever before to a large

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number of countries. The present century is likely to continue to witness large scale migrations, both voluntary and forced which will most probably follow the patterns established in the twentieth century.

International migrants come from all over the World and travel to all parts of the World. The largest number of international migrants are in Asia; Europe and North America with almost equal numbers, followed by Africa, Latin America and Oceania with progressively fewer numbers. More than half of the international migrants live in developing countries with migration often occurring within the same continent. The most rapid growth in the number of migrants tends to occur because of refugee crisis. "An interesting new trend is the increasing female population in international migration with women constituting 47.5 % of all international migrants".<sup>3</sup>

International migrants belong to two broad groups.

-voluntary migrants.

-forced migrants

Voluntary migrants include people who move abroad for employment, study, family reunification, or other personal factors. Forced migrants leave their countries to escape persecution, conflict, repression, natural and human made disasters, ecological degradation, or situations that endanger their lives, freedom or livelihood. Among

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p.151.

them are individuals compelled to move by government or other authorities, often in the process referred to as "ethnic cleansing". However distinguishing between voluntary migrants and forced migrants can be sometimes difficult. Voluntary migrants may feel compelled to seek new homes because of pressing problems in their countries; forced migrants may choose a particular refuge because of family and community ties or economic opportunities. These migrations may be often inter-related. Forced migrants who settle in a new country may bring family members to join them. Similarly, voluntary migrants after migrating from their own countries may not be able to return back to their home countries because of changed situations thus turning them into forced migrants.

Taking a general world wide view of migration and its role in the development of world history and culture, my study basically deals with the migration of people within the SAARC nations.

The trends of migration and particularly the causes of migration and the motives behind migration in SAARC nations are totally different in comparison to the other international migrations in the World.

As a migration region, the South Asian region is one of the most complex in the world today. For their part, South Asian Governments continue to rely on migration

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<sup>3</sup>World migration report, 2000, IOM publications, p.1.

to resolve employment pressures and on remittance income to fuel their economies. Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have begun to recognize the need to diversify their labour migration programmes; although they have not focussed on optimizing the talents and resources of returning migrants at home. Some other South Asian nations still rely on Middle-East destinations almost exclusively, particularly for lower skilled migrants. Governments cautiously balance conflicting goals to maximize labour exports and to seek fair and just treatment for migrants.

"Although Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have high participation in temporary labour migration, permanent settlement abroad is common only among Indians and Pakistanis. About 1.5 million persons of Pakistani origin are estimated to reside in North America and the United Kingdom and some 220,000 Bangladeshis in the United Kingdom. Indian professionals and technical workers migrate in large numbers more or less permanently to jobs in Australia, Canada the UK, and the US. An estimated 15 million Indians live outside their country."<sup>4</sup>

Migration in this region presents a variety of forms that reflect the complexity of the region. Because of its complex and peculiar characteristics I have chosen SAARC as my area of study.

South Asian Association for regional Cooperation (SAARC). Prior to its

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.7.



formation South Asia was the only major World region without any group for multi-governmental cooperation. The organization was launched at Dhaka, Bangladesh on December 8, 1985 during the first high level meeting of the participating governments political leaders. The constituent members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation are

- Bangladesh      - Bhutan                      - India
- Maldives -Nepal                      -Pakistan
- Sri Lanka

The SAARC was formed with a purpose<sup>5</sup> -

- "to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and the improve their quality of life".

- "to promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia".

- "to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields".

- "to cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes".

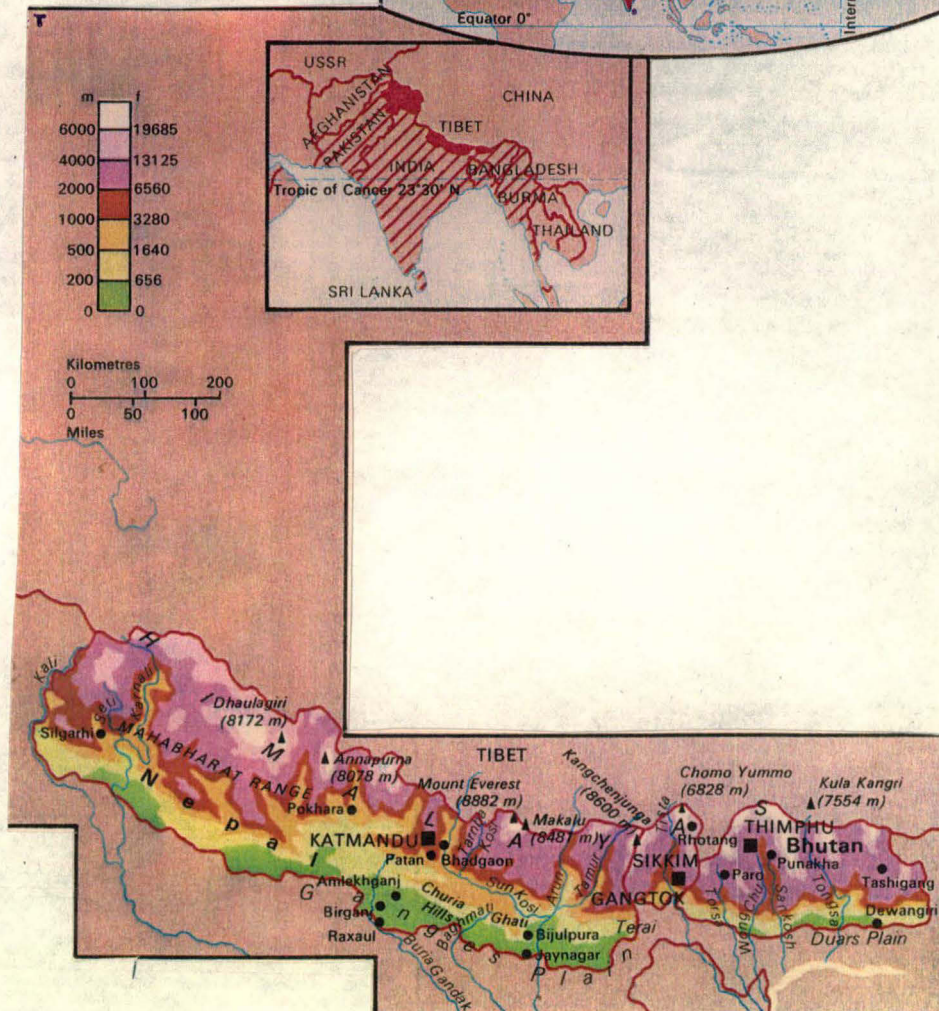
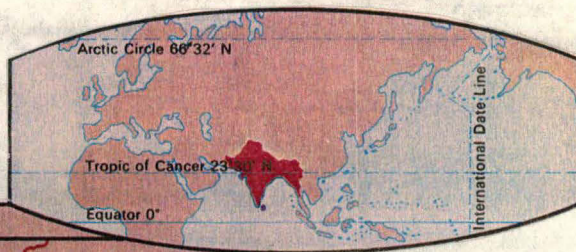
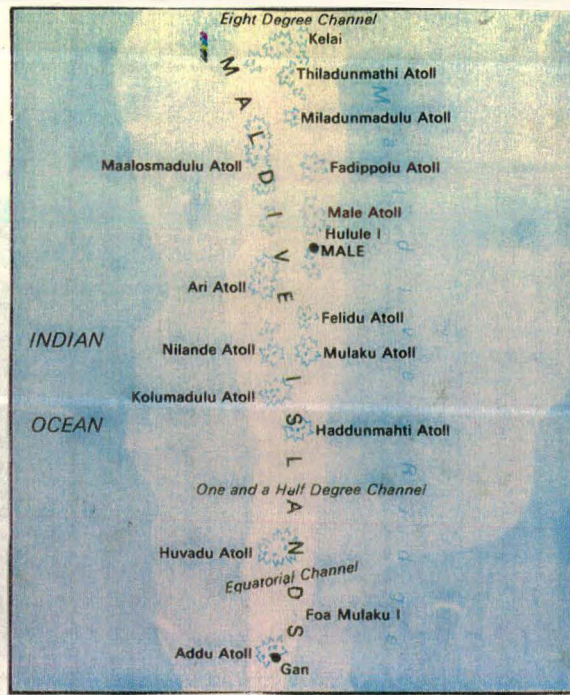
Traditional commercial contacts and colonial legacies brought different streams

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<sup>5</sup> Political Handbook of the World, 1998 (ed.), Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller, CSA Publications Binghamton



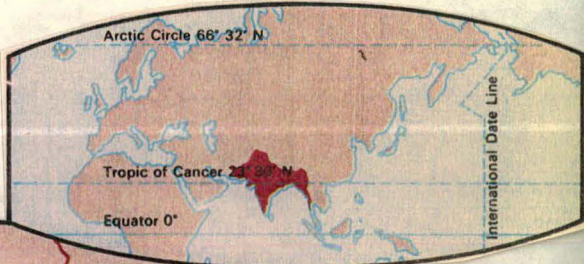




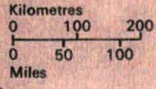
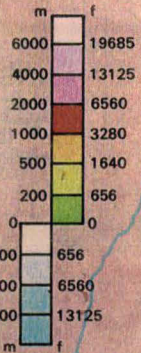




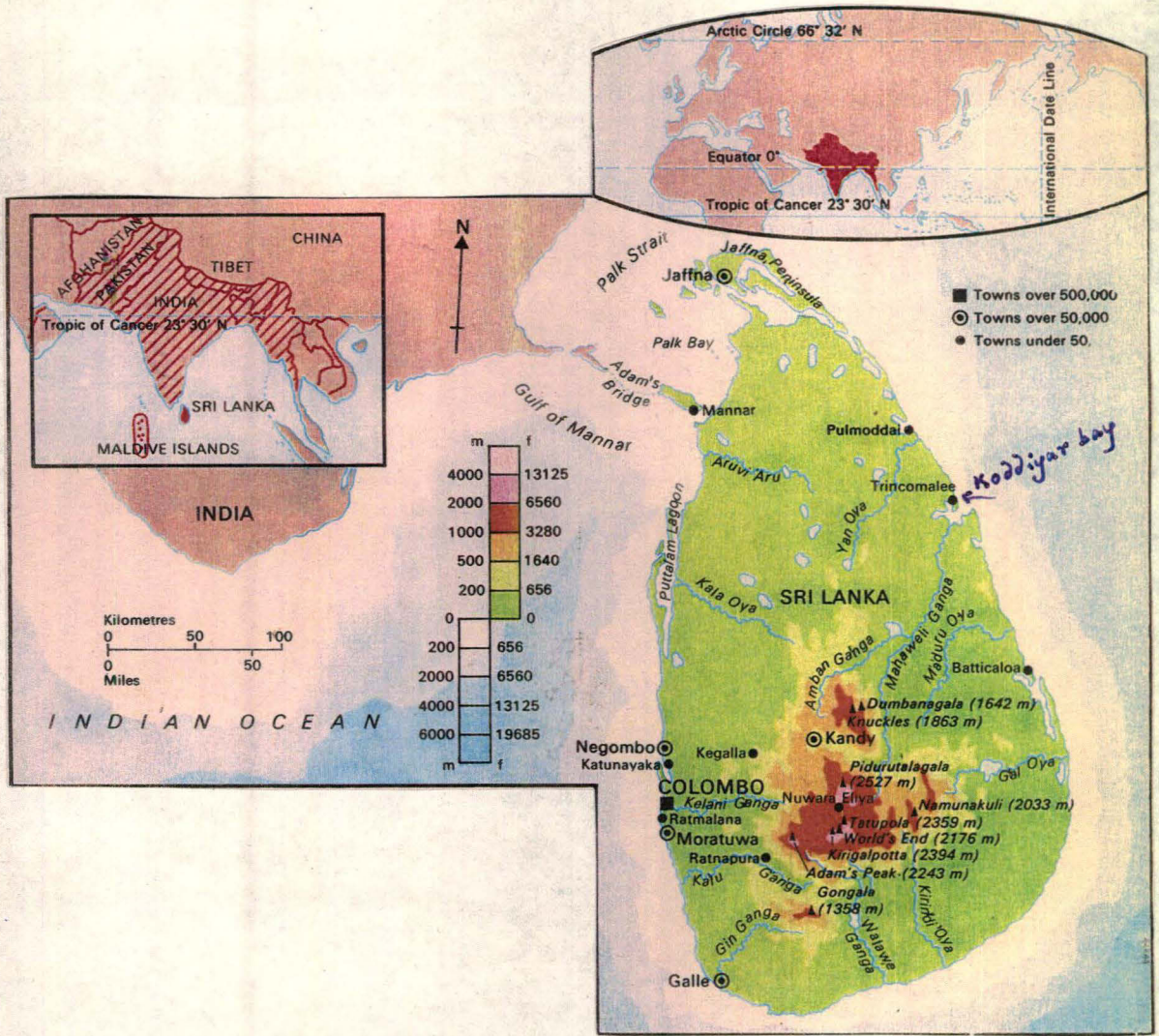




- Towns over 1,000,000
- ⊙ Towns over 500,000
- Towns under 500,000







of migrants to the region, establishing large diaspora communities in the society. Populations movements continued as a response to the demand for labour or labour shortage created by rapid development. As a migration sub-system, the region receives migrants from both neighboring countries and more distant nations.

The literature studied under my area of study can be classified into the following heads;

-Migration studies

-Migration studies specifically related to Asian region

-country specific studies.

First of all, I will consider the literature related to Migration, as a general experience.

Daniel Courgeau<sup>6</sup> in his article 'Migration theories and behavioural Models' presents a probabilistic formulation of the decision making process, leading to a rigorous treatment of migration behaviour for projection purposes. Aggregate-level models may be applied to migration flows for which the objectively measured characteristics of areas of department and destination act as subjectively measured characteristics and stimuli. Individual-level models use event history methods of analysis to

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University, New York.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel Courgeau, Migration theories and behavioural models. International Journal of Population Geography, vol.1, no.1, Sept. 1995. pp.19-27. Chichester, England.

introduce a great variety of characteristics of the subject on the decision to move. They lead to projections using micro-stimulation models. The macro and micro-behavioural models are also integrated. The use of aggregate and individual characteristics simultaneously leads to more efficient and sophisticated projection models, the factors affecting behaviour at the micro-level can't be inferred from aggregate studies.

Francisco<sup>7</sup> in his article 'Urban aspects of labour migration : Situation in the countries of origin', analyses the role of urban growth in patterns of international labour force migration as well as the effect of this migration on the development of the countries of origin, especially on their cities. It gives the idea that international migrants are either peasants or highly qualified personal, and that qualified workers are increasingly involved in international labour movements and a great part of them come from cities. Hence the large cities of the countries of origin will become more integrated to international migratory systems.

Francesco Cinti<sup>8</sup> in 'The emigration of population groups from the newly independent

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<sup>7</sup> Francisco, Alba, Urban aspects of Labour Migration: the situation in the countries of Origin, Estudios Demograficosy Urbanos, vol.9, no.3, Sep.-Dec.1994. pp.629-56, Mexico City, Mexico.

<sup>8</sup> Francesco Cinti the emigration of population groups from the newly independent states in recent years: some new trends in internal migration and in migration policies in the main countries of destination, Instituto di



states in recent years : Some new trends in internal migration and in migration policies in the main countries of destination' is concerned with the emigration from the states that formed the former USSR to the countries of Western Europe. The first part examines the situations in the countries of origin. It analyses migration trends within the USSR before its break up and the push factors influencing emigration. The second part discusses the characteristics of emigrants from the post-Soviet states since 1989 and the migration policies of the receiving countries. The third part concerns the characteristics of those migrants who chose Italy as the country of destination.

Guillermina Jasso<sup>9</sup>, in 'Deriving implications of comparison theory for demographic phenomena; a first step in the analysis of migration', describes the use of comparison theory to generate testable implications about demographic phenomena, and to illustrate, derive some implications of comparison theory for migration behaviour.

Using two strategies for deriving predictions, known as micro-model and macro-model strategies, we obtain a variety of theoretical results for the three types of actors

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Recerche sulla Popolazione Working Paper, no.0595, (1995).57, (14)pp.Consiglio Nazionale delle Recerche, Istituto di Recerche sulla Popolaziene (IRP) , Rome, Italy.

<sup>9</sup>Guillermina Jasso. 'Deriving implications of comparison theory for demographic phenomena: a first step in analysis of migration' *'Sociological' Quarterly*, vol.37, no.1, Winter 1996, pp.19-57, Berkeley, California.

in migration situations - the migrant, others in the origin country, and others in the destination country for bilateral relations between origin and destination countries, and for the effects of the societal valued goods and the income distribution and its inequality on the differential propensity to emigrate among rich and poor.

Sharon M. Lee<sup>10</sup> in her paper 'Issues in research on women, international migration and labor' discusses several themes that are useful in organizing research on women, migration, and work, and consists of four parts. It begins with a review of migration types and highlights the importance of specifying migration systems when examining women migrants and work. The main theoretical approaches in migration and labor are discussed in the second part of the paper. This is followed by a section on several dimensions critical for research on women migrants. In particular, it shows that the effects of gender, race and ethnicity, social class, cohort, and history should be explicitly considered because the migration and labour market experiences of women migrants profoundly differ from that of men.

Phillip Martin and Jonas Widgren<sup>11</sup> in 'International Migration : A Global

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<sup>10</sup> Sharon. M. Lee, Issues in research on Women, International Migration: A Global Challenge. Population Bulletin, vol.51, no.1, April 1996. 48 pp. Population Reference Bureau: Washington, D.C.

<sup>11</sup> Phillip. Martin and Jonas Widgren, International Migration: A Global Challenge. Population Bulletin, vol.51, no.1, April 1996. 48 pp. Population Reference Bureau: Washington, D.C.

Challenge' explains that most people never move from their home country and explores the reasons why some people decide to emigrate and the factors that help them make the journey to another country. It reviews the upsurge in the number of refugees since the 1970's and looks at the major immigration trends in each geographic region today. He also considers the ways that national governments can control or manage migration, in particular through trade, investment, and intervention. The authors stress the need for countries to cooperate with each other to manage international migration flows and to integrate the immigrants within their borders.

Assaf Razin and Efraim Sadka<sup>12</sup> in 'Resisting migration: the problems of wage rigidity and the social burden' says that like any trade activity in well-functioning markets, migration tends to enhance the efficiency of the allocation of resources. With non-distortionary income distribution policy instruments which can compensate losers, migration generates income gains. But the gains tend to be typically rather small. However, when the labour market is malfunctioning and wages are rigid, migration exacerbates imperfections in the market. Consequently, it may lead to losses to the established population which can be quite sizable.

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<sup>12</sup> Assaf Razin and Efraim Sadka. Resisting Migration: The Problems of Wage Rigidity and the Social Burden. NBER Working Paper, No.4903, Oct. 1994. 16 pp. National Bureau of Economic Research: Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Thang-Dam Truong<sup>13</sup>, in 'Gender, international migration and social reproduction: implications for theory, policy, research and networking' aims to contribute to the development of an analytical framework that provides the space for the understanding of female migrants as reproductive workers in a cross-national transfer of labour. It first provides some hypothetical guidelines for the explanation of female migration in the context of reproductive labour. Based on data, a discussion on the case of Japan is presented to highlight the main issues and problems concerning female migrants as reproductive workers. Finally, implications on policy making and networking at the international and national level will be analysed and discussed, taking into account the specific ideological, political and socio-economic constraints.

B.Waldorf<sup>14</sup> in his paper. 'The internal dynamics of international migration systems' provide a conceptualization of international migration networks, which can be used to identify and integrate the internal components of migration systems, and formalize the relationships in an analytic model of the internal network dynamic.

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<sup>13</sup> Thang Dam Truong. 'Gender, International Migration and Social Reproduction: implications for theory, policy, research and networking. Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, vol.5, no.1, 1996. pp.27-52. Quezon City, Philippines.

<sup>14</sup> B. Waldorf. The internal dynamics of International Migration Systems. Environment and Planning A. vol.28, no.4, April 1996, pp.631-50, London England.

With the use of the operationalized model, and micro-level and macro-level data for guest workers in Germany during the period 1970 to 1989, test the relative influence of internal network variables versus external forces on the attraction of immigrants over time has been empirically tested which suggest that as the system matures network variables have an increasing impact on the attraction of immigrants, while the impact of economic factor declines.

William J. Carrington; Enrica, Detragiache; Tara, Vishwanath,<sup>15</sup> in his article 'Migration with endogenous moving costs', studies a dynamic model of labour migration in which moving costs decrease with the number of migrants already settled in the destination. With endogenous moving costs migration occurs gradually over time. Once it starts, it develops momentum, and migratory flows may increase even as wage differentials narrow. In addition, migration tends to follow geographical channels, and low-moving-cost individuals migrate first. These patterns are consistent with historical evidence from the Great Black Migration of 1915-1960.

William H. Frey<sup>16</sup> in 'Immigration impacts on internal migration of the poor:

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<sup>15</sup> William J. Carrington, Enrica, Detragiache: Tara Vishwanath. Migration with endogenous moving Costs. American Economic Review; vol.86, no.4, Sept.1996, pp. 909-30, Nashville, Tennessee.

<sup>16</sup> William H. Frey, Immigration Impacts on Internal Migration of the Poor : 1998 Census evidence for U.S. States. International Journal of Population Geography,

1990 census evidence for U.S. States', presents migration data from the 1990 U.S. Census to assess immigration and internal migration components as they affect state poverty populations. New immigrants waves are heavily focussed on only a few 'port-of entry' states which suggest that these immigrants have begun to impact upon internal migration into, and out of these 'high immigration states', and have also altered the national system of internal migration patterns.

Bruce Moon<sup>17</sup> in 'Paradigms in migration research: Exploring moorings as a schema', suggests that migration can be studied by considering theories of human motivation which, in the field of social psychology, represents a theoretical progression from the behavioural and cognitive approaches. It says that by combining theories of human motivation with the developing understanding of cultural influences, we may get a linkage between the personal realm of migration and the regional institutional framework of politico-economic structure within which people make their decisions.

Moon Joong Tcha<sup>18</sup> in 'Altruism, conflict and the migration decision' uses a

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vol.1, no.1, Sept.1995. pp.51-67 Chichester, England.

<sup>17</sup> Bruce Moon. Paradigms in Migration research; Exploring "Moorings" as a schema. Progress in Human Geography, vol.19, no.4, Dec.1995. pp.504-24.

<sup>18</sup> Moon Joong Tcha. Altruism, Conflict and the Migration decision. International Regional Science Review, vol.13, no.3, 1995. pp.289-312. Morgantown, West

dynastic model with inter-generational altruism to analyse rural-urban migration during times of high unemployment rates and low expected income, and to explain the higher mobility of young generation. Different dynastic utilities between generations lead to conflicts between generations on migration decisions, and predict the higher mobility of the young generations.

K.N.S. Yadava, S.N.S. Kushwaha, G.S. Yadava<sup>19</sup> in their paper 'Some models for patterns of urbanization, migration and development', aims to study the pattern of urbanization and the evolution of the relationship between rural-urban migration and the degree of economic development taking gross-national product into consideration.

The second part of my literature review basically deals with the studies relating to the Asian region.

Lin Lean Lim and Nana Oishi<sup>20</sup> in his paper 'International labour migration of Asian Women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns', says that the

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Virginia.

<sup>19</sup> K.N.S. Yadava; S.N.S. Kushwaha; G.S. Yadava. Some models for patterns of Urbanization, Migration and development. *Janasainkhya*, vol.10, no.1-2, Dec. 1992, pp. 61-74, Kariavattom, India.

<sup>20</sup> Lin Lean Lini and Nana Oishi, International Labour Migration of Asian Women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journals*, vol.5, no.7, 1996 pp.85-116, Quezon, Phillipines.

feminization of women in international labour migration has been the most pronounced in the case of Asia, with women moving in their own right as economic migrants and faced with regulatory and social constraints, gender discrimination and exploitation in countries of origin and destination. Asian countries, both sending and receiving have been experimenting with gender-sensitive migration policies and programs. This paper describes the characteristics of Asian female labour migration, examines policy dimensions and suggests action to bridge the gaps between the policy dimensions and implementation.

'Migration and labour Market in Asia':<sup>21</sup> prospects to the year 2000', contains a selection of the papers prepared for a seminar on the impact of economic growth on Asian Labour Markets and on international migration. It analyses the major structural changes in the labour markets of several Asian countries and their impact on the scale, nature and direction of migration flows. It examines the orderly movement of workers, the status of immigrants, and the forms of international cooperation that would help to generate more job opportunities in sending countries, the only adequate response to increasing migration.

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<sup>21</sup> Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECA) Paris, France, Migration and the Labour Market in Asia: Prospects to year 2000. OECD Documents, ISBN 92-64-14775-6, 1996, pp.270. Paris, France.



Nasra M. Shah<sup>22</sup>, 'Emigration dynamics from and within South Asia' is a synthesis of current knowledge of the dynamics that govern emigration from and within the South Asia region, defined here as Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. An attempt is made to outline some of the main reasons why observed flows are occurring, and how the future might be envisaged, especially in view of governmental programmes, policies and priorities. Analysis covers permanent migration, labour migration, refugees, asylum seekers, illegal and/or undocumented migration in the context of South Asia, Contract labour migration has become the predominant type.

The next part of the literature survey is concerned with the migration studies which deal with any specific country and its migration patterns.

Farooq-i-Azam<sup>23</sup> in 'Emigration dynamics in Pakistan' says that Pakistan has had substantial experience of overseas migration and is counted among the world's leading manpower exporting countries. At the individual level, migration overseas is a mixed experience bringing prosperity to the family but also affecting both the

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<sup>22</sup> Nasra M. Shah; Emigration dynamics from and within South Asia International Migration, vol.33, no.3-4, 1995, pp.559-625, Geneva Switzerland.

<sup>23</sup> Farooq-i-Azam, 'Emigration dynamics in Pakistan' International Migration, vol.33, no.3-4, 1995, pp.729-65, Geneva, Switzerland.

family and the migrant during prolonged periods of separation. At the macro-level, overseas migration is viewed as generally positive, generating substantial foreign exchange for government and relieving some unemployment pressure. In the process, however, Pakistan has come to depend on a few countries to regularly absorb the bulk of its migrant labour. The political consequences of such dependencies could be disastrous, as Yemen learned in the wake of the Gulf crisis in 1990. Further, as shown by recession in the mid-1980's, overseas migration is a fragile and unpredictable phenomenon and cannot form the basis of a longer term policy of development.

Katy, Gardner<sup>24</sup> in 'Global migrants, local lives: travel and transformation in rural Bangladesh', this anthropological study examines the impact of international migration on the Sylhet region of Bangladesh. From this region, many individuals have migrated overseas, particularly to the United Kingdom. The study focuses on the economic and social changes that emigration and remittances from abroad have led to in the society of origin.

Junichi Goto<sup>25</sup>in, 'The impact of migrant workers on the Japanese economy:

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<sup>24</sup> Katy, Gardner, *Global Migrants, Local Lives: Travel and Transformation in Rural Bangladesh*. 1995, pp.301, Clarendon Press: Oxford, England.

<sup>25</sup> Junichi Goto 'The impact of Migrant workers on the Japanese Economy: Trickle Vs. Flood', *Economic Growth Centre Discussion paper*. no.749, Jan 1996. pp.43. Yale

trickle Vs. flood,' analyses the economic impact of temporary and un-skilled migrant workers in Japan, who are illegal according to the current Japanese immigration law but who have been dramatically increasing in recent years. It reveals the impact of the admission of migrant workers on the welfare of the host country which has often been neglected in the orthodox theory: (i) cheaper foreign labour effect; (ii) trade barrier effect, (iii) non-tradable income effect; and (iv) non-tradable consumption effect.

Godfrey Gunatilleke<sup>26</sup> in his paper 'The economic, demographic, socio-cultural and political setting for emigration from Sri Lanka' says that during the colonial period, South Asia provided a significant supply of migrant labour to the colonies. The global economy under the colonial system created an international labour market in which persons in the work forces of colonies at relatively higher levels of development found economic opportunities in less developed colonies which did not have an adequate supply of literate and educated manpower. Compared with India, Sri Lanka participated in migration to the colonies on a very limited scale and mainly to one destination (Malaysia) by one ethnic group (the Sri-Lanka Tamil Community).

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University , Economic Growth Centre: New Haven, Connecticut.

<sup>26</sup> Godfrey Gunatilleke (1995) 'The Economic, Demographic, Socio-cultural and Political setting for emigration from Sri Lanka', *International Migration*, vol.33, no.3-4, pp.667-97, Geneva, Switzerland.

Raisul A. Mahmood<sup>27</sup> in 'Emigration dynamics in Bangladesh' studies the trend in international migration in Bangladesh, with a focus on movements to the United Kingdom, the Middle East and North Africa, and Japan. Aspects considered include socio-economic background of migrants, channels of migration, occupations, economic development, quality of life, population size and distribution, labour force, literacy, urbanization, internal migration, and socio-political factors.

Mahendra K. Premi and M.D. Mathur<sup>28</sup> in their paper 'Emigration dynamics: the Indian context' investigates emigration dynamics in India. Aspects considered include demographic and socio-cultural settings; emigration to industrialized countries and to the Middle East; characteristics of emigrants; return migration; financial flows; community, family, and individual factors; and the political setting.

Alice Goldstein and Sidney Goldstein<sup>29</sup> in 'Migration motivations and outcomes:

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<sup>27</sup> Raisul A. Mahmood (1995) 'Emigration dynamics in Bangladesh', *International Migration*, vol.33, no.3-4, pp.699-728. Geneva, Switzerland.

<sup>28</sup> Mahendra K. Premi and M.S. Mathur (1995) *Emigration dynamics; the Indian Context*, *International Migration*, Vol.33, no.3-4, pp.627-66, Geneva, Switzerland.

<sup>29</sup> Alice Goldstein and Sidney Goldstein (1996) *Migration Motivations and outcomes: Permanent and temporary migrants compared*, pp.187-212. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado/Oxford, England.

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permanent and temporary migrants compared', says that fuller understanding of migration requires attention to the many forms of movement, to take into account both temporal and geographic factors-streams of migration, types of mobility, and conditions at places of origin and destination, and to the characteristics of the migrants.

This paper explores some of these factors, especially to assess the level of satisfaction with place of destination of men and women who are the temporary or permanent migrants.

Surendar S. Yadava and K.N.S. Yadava<sup>30</sup> in their study 'Migration, urbanization and economic development in India' makes an attempt to quantitatively link the rural urban net migration rate over time with the processes of urbanization and development in India, especially economic development. For a number of rural-urban natural increase differentials the estimated values of urbanization, using the proposed models, are found quite close to the observed pattern of urbanization based on economic development.

All these studies have been relevant to my topic and study area.

Substantial migration from the SAARC countries among themselves has continued to the present day despite occasional interruptions due to war, depression

and government policies. In carrying out the analysis of this inter-regional migration, I have the following aims and objectives.

- To study the theoretical perspectives on migration which will include writings of scholars from time to time, mainly to explain the mechanism of migration and motivational factors behind it.
- To study the magnitude and direction of migration and its impact on the population growth and distribution at different regions
- Causes of migration and characteristics of migrants.
- Adjustment and assimilation of migrants.
- Migration and its impact on the social, economic and political life of the origin country and the destination country.

**Hypothesis:**

Intra-regional migration among the SAARC nations is leading to societal apathy, specially among the countries experiencing immigration. Immigration in some countries like India has more geo-political significance rather than socio-economic.

**Methodology:**

The proposed study is based on secondary sources which consists of data, published documents and

agreements. Analytical, descriptive and exploratory approach has been undertaken.



## CHAPTER II

### NATURE AND VOLUME OF INTRA-REGIONAL MIGRATION IN SAARC COUNTRIES

The pattern of human settlements on the globe shows that the population is very sparse in the Arctic and sub-arctic regions, in deserts and semi-deserts, and in the more mountainous regions. On the other hand, coastal plains and river valleys in the tropical and temperate zones have generally had larger and denser populations than the less hospitable regions of the earth. The climate, the topography, the soil fertility and the flora and fauna of the environment must always have played a very prominent part in determining man's distribution over the earth.

Although most parts of the World must at first have been settled by the slow and age-long penetration of small tribal groups of hunters, gatherers and fishers into adjacent areas as a natural response to the need for more of the goods essential to life, we now know that there must have been quite different types of migration at different times and in different regions before the dawn of history, as there have been since that time.

Of the three major components of population change, migration is the most difficult to conceptualize and measure. The definition of birth and death, at least for statistical, if not ethical, purposes, is clear cut, but migration, is "a physical and social transaction, not just an unequivocal biological event."<sup>1</sup> The fact that migrant is a

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<sup>1</sup> W. Zelinsky (1971). The hypothesis of the mobility transition  
Geographical Review, vol.61, p.233.



person who travels" is the only unambiguous element in the entire subject".<sup>2</sup>

The term mobility is the most general concept in the field. Spatial mobility, including all types of territorial movements, should be differentiated from social mobility, term used by sociologists for changes in socio-economic status. But all types of spatial mobility can't be classified as migration.

Table 1 A classification of spatial movements of population

	Recurrent	Non-Recurrent
Local	A	C
Extra-Local	B	D

Source : O. Duncan (1959) Human Ecology and population studies, in Hauser and Duncan (eds.), p.699

Of the four categories of spatial mobility shown above, only category D would universally be accepted as migration. Category A largely comprises commuters, involving no change in resident. Category B includes the movement of seasonal or temporary workers, some seasonally nomadic pastoral groups and also students moving termly between family home and college; such movements are often designated a circulation which covers, "a great variety of movements, usually short-term, repetitive, or cyclical in character, but all having in common the lack of any

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<sup>2</sup> G. Barckay (1958) Techniques of population analysis, Wiley, New York. p.243.

declared intention of a permanent or long-lasting change in residence"<sup>3</sup> Category C embraces, above all, intra-urban residential relocation, the dominant category of residential movement within developed countries like Britain. Whether or not intra-urban residential movement should be regarded as migration is a crucial question. Some like Lee who define migration as "a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move"<sup>4</sup> A distinction is drawn between local movers and migrants by the erection of a migration defining distance or boundary.

According to Bogue<sup>5</sup> migration is "change of residence that involve a complete change and readjustment of the community affiliations of the individual. In the process of changing his community of residence, the migrant tends simultaneously to change his employers, friends, neighbours, parish membership and many other social and economic ties. The local mover, by contrast, may simply move across the street to a house a few blocks away. Very likely he retains the same job, breaks no community ties, and maintains most of his informal social relationships."

The crossing of a civil boundary of some kind is a crude means, and often in terms of data availability, the only means of distinguishing a migrant from a local mover. Geographers have emphasized that migration numbers and rates are strongly influenced by the size, shape and internal population distribution of the areal units

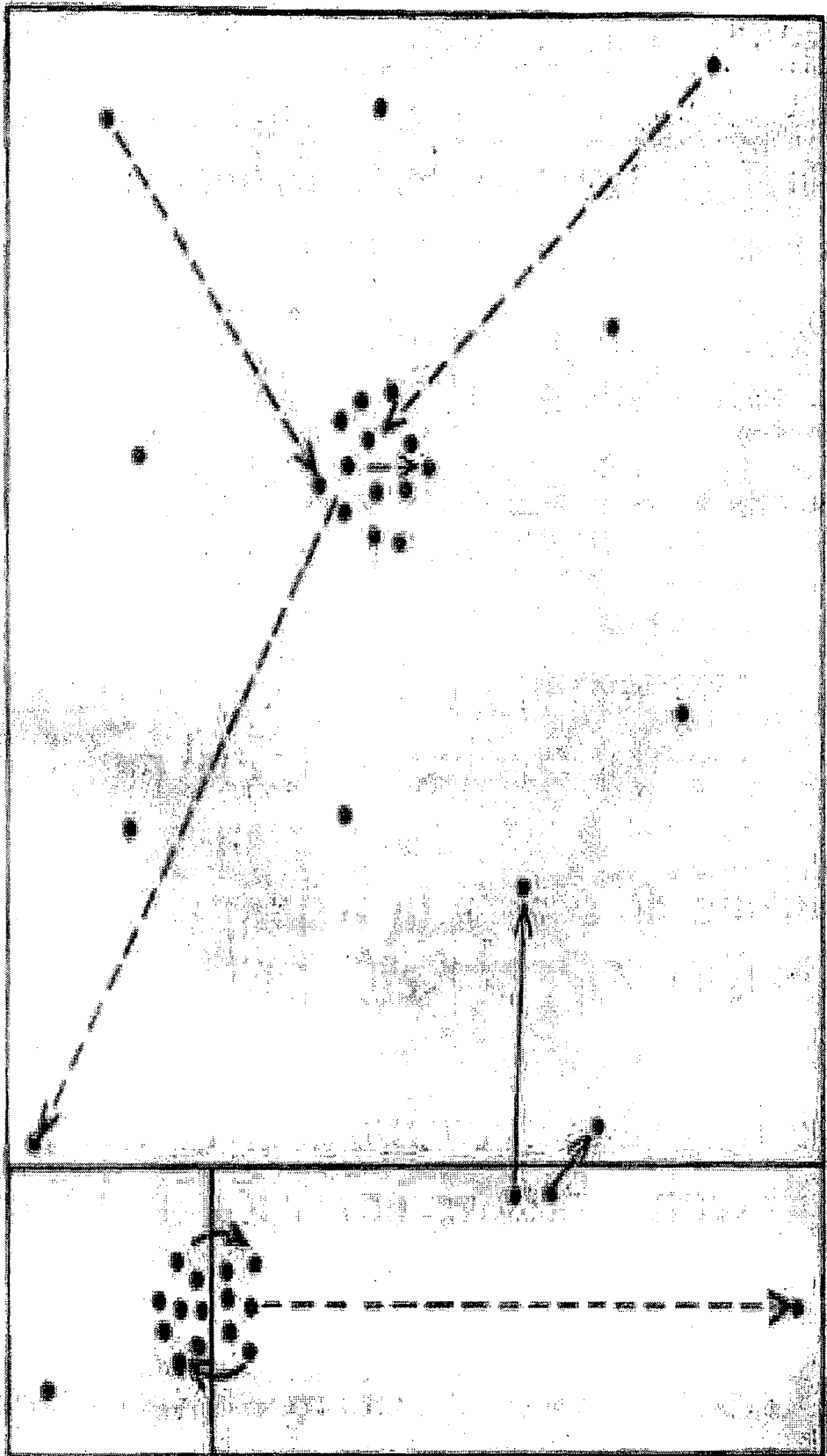
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<sup>3</sup> Op.cit Zelinsky, 1971, p.226.

<sup>4</sup> E. Lee (1966) A Theory of migration, Demography, vol.3, pp.49.

<sup>5</sup> D. Bogue (1959) Internal Migration, in Hauser and Duncan (eds.) p.489.

FIGURE 1



*The effect of areal size and population distribution on the classification of spatial mobility as migration (continuous line) or local movement (broken line)*

employed in migration analysis. The larger and more compact an area, the fewer will be its migrants and the greater its internal movers.

### **Types of Migration:**

International migratory flows are characterized by a diversity of types. Most of the migration to the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand is permanent in character and often comprised of family migration for settlement and more recently, the refugee settlement. The attractiveness of these countries as destinations for aspiring migrants results in a substantial amount of undocumented or clandestine migration. Canada, Australia and New Zealand incur the problem of illegals more in the form of over stayers i.e. those who enter on a tourist or student visa and fail to abide by the conditions of their admittance.

The European countries experience a considerable amount of illegal immigration, the United Kingdom from South Asia, the Caribbean and South America, France from North and West Africa and the Germany from Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia.

In South-East Asia, much of Malaysia's foreign labour-force is undocumented while many of Singapore's foreign workers are illegally recruited.

In Latin America the flow of labour from Columbia to Venezuela and from Bolivia to Argentina is for the most part undocumented. Within the African continent porous national frontiers and regional inequalities have given rise to substantial flow of illegal migration.

Although temporary migration has always been a factor in international

migration flows but it has grown rapidly in significance in the last few decades. Currently it accounts for a very substantial portion of total international migration.

Temporary migration also characterizes some migration flows in Asia. "Singapore has more than 9 percent of the labour force made up of non-resident temporary workers".<sup>6</sup> While, temporary migration has been global in its distribution, it has assumed its most significant growth in the last decade as a result of the historically unparalleled development of middle east oil-exporting countries.

The forms of migration as discussed above are different forms of voluntary migration, usually motivated by economic considerations. However, much international migration, particularly in recent times, has been 'forced' or 'impelled'.<sup>7</sup>

All types of possible migrations can be classified into the following heads depending upon the criterion used.

On the basis of the crossing of international boundaries migration is divided as

- international
- intra-regional

On the basis of time criterion, migration may be ;

- temporary
- permanent

On the basis of the number of people involved migration can be;

- individual migration

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<sup>6</sup> World Migration Report (2000), IOM Publication.  
<sup>7</sup> Terms were coined by Peterson (1969) pp.289-301.

- mass migration

If we consider the distance travelled by the migrants migration is classified as

- long distance migration
- short distance migration

According to the social organization migration can be - family migration

- clan migration
- individual migration

On the basis of causes of migration, it can be divided as ;

- economic
- social
- political
- religious

Lastly, migration can be ;

- voluntary migration
- forced migration

#### **Determinants of migration;**

Trends and patterns in international migration in recent decades have been influenced by several major developments, some of global significance and others confined to individual countries.

- Robust economic growth in the OECs countries in the 1950's and 1960's and more recently, in oil-rich and newly industrialized economies of the Third World has greatly influenced the direction and magnitude of population flows. The continuous existence of major differences in opportunities and standards

of living between industrialized and developing countries have helped to sustain these movements.

- The intense competition and hostility between the superpowers during the cold war era and the geopolitical realignment that followed the end of East-West tensions, have in various complex ways shaped migratory flows, preventing movements in some cases and giving rise to them in others
- Rapid population growth in developing countries at a time of slow population increase and progressive population ageing in industrialized societies has continued to shift the demographic balance in favour of the third world, contributing to the growing potential & actual magnitude of South- North movements

Both forces internal to the relatively poor and less

developed countries & their external relations with the relatively rich & more developed countries contribute to the growing inequalities between poor & rich countries & therefore also gives rise to the desire to migrate. But the supply side forces can be weakened by legal restrictions on immigration into the developed countries. Therefore the extent to which the desire to migrate will be materialized depends on the demand for immigrants in the receiving countries.

#### **Supply Side determinants;**

Voluntary migration is particularly a response to social & economic inequalities between nations. The empirical evidences indicate that bulk of current international migration is from developing or undeveloped countries to the developed countries.

The factors which are responsible for this desire to emigrate are;

- a massive post II world war growth in the populations of developing countries without corresponding rise in employment opportunities
- the adoption by less developing countries of a structure and content of formal education which is less than conducive to development but certainly conducive to mobility
- the communications revolution by which even the poorest of the third world are becoming increasingly familiar with the vastly higher material living standards in the developed countries
- a rise in family income of large numbers within the less developed countries particularly relative to the cost of international travel
- growing inequality between the developed & developing countries

**Determinants on demand side;**

From a global perspective, constraints on international migration are not binding on the supply side, rather its important to explain what determines the level of immigration acceptable to the relatively developed countries i.e their demand for immigrants. The foreign labour can be economically advantageous to a country for several reasons;

- Labour immigration can reduce shortages in particular occupations ensuring a more complete use of industrial capacity and hence improving profitability.
- Expansion of industrial capacity by ensuring that industries will have a sufficient supply of labour to man the newly created capacity.
- By increasing the supply of labour it can prevent wage inflation in those



industries suffering from labour shortages.

- It can postpone and ease the costly structural transformation towards more capital-intensive production which the emergence of labour shortage can necessitate. This reduces the country's cost of remaining internationally competitive.
- Receiving country can adjust its labour supply to accord with business cycles, avoiding the need to support from the public purse large numbers of unemployed.
- It gives to labour importing countries access to labour power without having to incur the costs of rearing, educating and training that labour power.

Besides, all these determinants, there are certain other factors, which to a considerable extent, effect migration. The causes of migration may be numerous and these may range from natural calamities, climatic change, epidemics, drought to social, economic cultural and political.

-Technology; Higher level sophistication in technology may support the people in migrating to new areas. For example in 14th and 15th centuries, the Europeans had better navigation ships and they discovered America, Australia and numerous unknown areas.

-Economic Reasons ; Man's need to cultivate the virgin lands inspired him to migrate to distance areas. Because of these reasons only were the slaves transported to plantation areas.

Heavy pressure on land also force people to out migrate and settle in economically beneficial areas. Non-availability of proper jobs and unemployment

also compel people to leave their homes for areas with better employment opportunities.

-Over Population; An area with excess population in comparison to existing resources and available technology will experience migration. Over-population is the most important cause of emigration in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

-Social and Religious Causes; The desire of human beings to stay, work and enjoy with the people of his ethnic, social and religious groups is also an important cause of migration. For example muslims are moving out from Myanmar to Bangladesh. Climate, education and other facilities are also responsible for migration at a local level.

-Political Causes: Political refugees is a very common phenomena in the world now a days. These are all forced migrations which are induced because of political factors. Exchange or expulsion of minorities by different countries is also a form of forced migration. The slave trade highlights the role of forced migration in human history.

-Demographic Causes; A large number of demographic factors are responsible for migration. These include age, rate of growth of population, gender etc.

-Diffusion of Information; Education, cultural contacts and spatial interaction leads to greater spread of information among the people which in turn increase the job opportunities and lead to greater exposure of people to the outside world.

-Rise in the level of Aspiration: Education and increasing levels of technology leads to increasing aspirations of the people which in turn force them to rise higher on the social ladder and enjoy better amenities and opportunities.

-Government Policies; It is the main factor which control the number of people entering or going out from any particular nation.

Thus after reviewing the determinants of migration, we can conclude that basically, there are three major determinants of individual migration intentions.

-commitment to family, job and place

-resources for moving

-community resources

People intend to move if they confront limited chances of maintaining or improving their current living conditions. These limited chances are reflected in the level of community resources. Individuals ability to bear moving costs (both economic and non-economic) facilitates this intention to move whereas commitment to family job and place deters them from intending to move. Individual migrations are therefore the result of these three factors. The model and indicators representing each dimension are illustrated as follows.

Fig 2

### **Migration Theories**

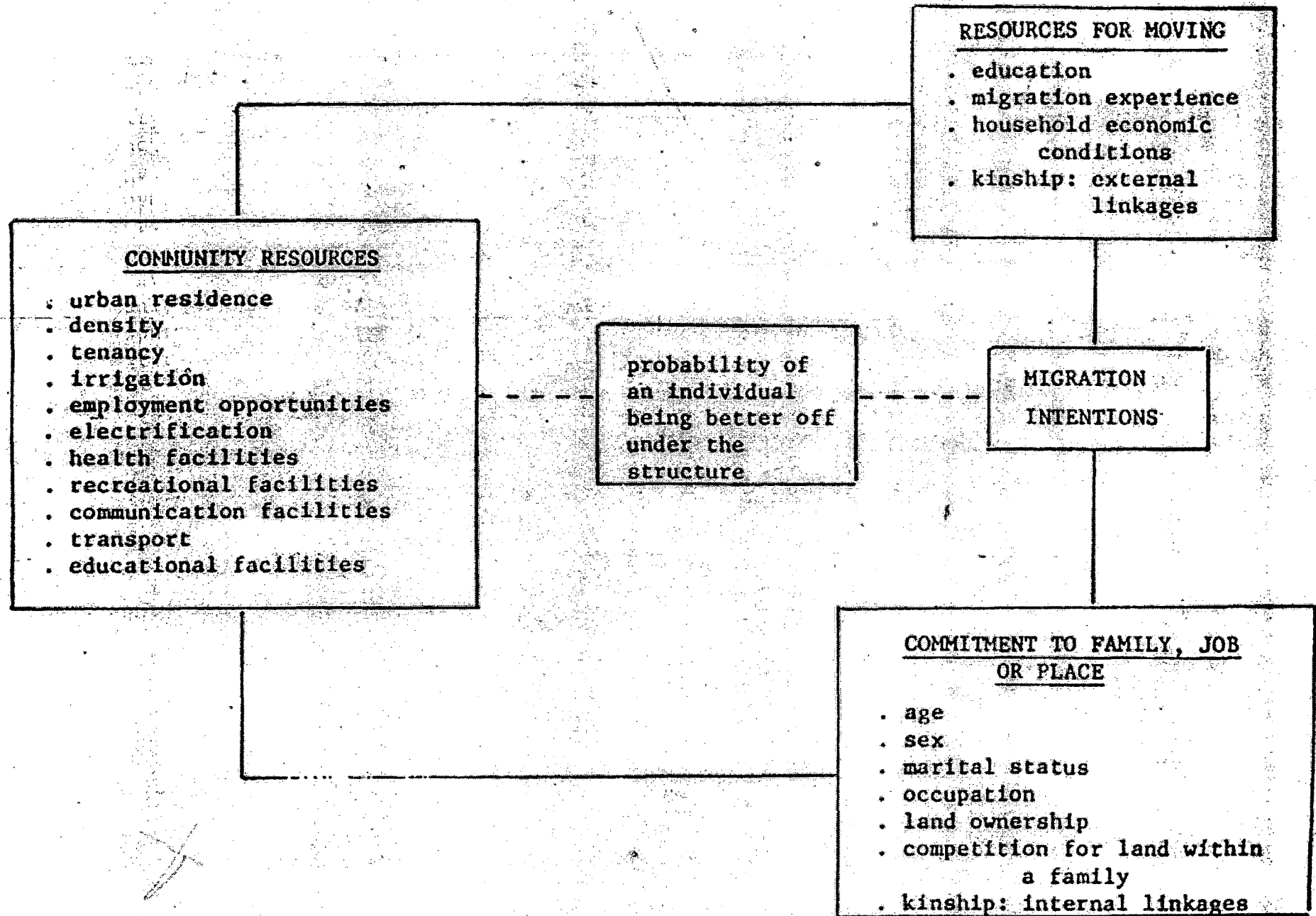
A significant division exists between, on the one hand, migration models derived from social physics which interpret aggregate behaviour as the outcome of impersonal macroscopic laws and, on the other hand, micro-analytical perspectives which examine individual migrant behaviour as the expression of decision-making which need not be economically or spatially rational.

### **Macro-analytical models;**

A common theme of macro-analytical migration models is the search for

FIGURE 2

CONCEPTUAL MODEL: DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION INTENTIONS



regularities which are capable of mathematical expression. These models generally have a ecological basis, in that migration is measured between areas and is thought to reflect the comparative attraction powers of potential origins and destinations.

Some of the macro-analytical models are described as follows.

The first formal statement of the critical role of population size and distance in fashioning migration patterns was made by Ravenstein (1885)<sup>8</sup> in his 'laws' or generalizations of migration which he derived inductively from an analysis, using census birthplace data, of inter-country movements within Britain in the nineteenth century:

1. The great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance and their take place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces 'currents of migration' setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants.
2. its the natural outcome of this movement of migration, limited in range, but universal throughout the country, that the process of absorption would go on in the following manner:

The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, flock into it, the gaps thus left in the rural population are fulfilled up by the migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom. Migrants enumerated in a certain centre of absorption will consequently

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<sup>8</sup> Ravenstein (1885). The Laws of Migration, Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, vol.48, pp.198-9.

grow less with the distance proportionately to the native population which furnishes them.

3. The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption and exhibits similar features.
4. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter current.
5. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preferences to one of the great centres of commerce and industry.

(Ravenstein, 1885).

### **Classical gravity model.**

In the 1930's and 1940's the role of population size and distance in determining interaction of all sorts became formalized in what is known as 'gravity models'. They are based on Newton's Law of Universal Gravitation, which states that two bodies in the universe attract each other in proportion to the product of their masses and universally as the square of the distance between them. Zipf's population/Distance hypothesis<sup>9</sup> is representative of the classic gravity model of social interaction pioneered also by W.J. Reilly, E.C. Young, J.Q. Stewart and W. Warntz. Zipf regarded the movement of goods, information and people within the social system as an expression of his 'principle of least effort' whereby inter-community movement is such as to minimize the total work of the system. He expressed the amount of movement (M) between any two communities (i&j) as being directly proportional to the product of their populations (P) and inversely proportional

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<sup>9</sup> G. Zipf (1949) Human behaviour and the principle of least Effort, Heafner, New York.

to the shortest transportation distance between them. (D)

$$P_i P_j$$
$$M_{ij} = K \frac{P_i P_j}{D_{ij}}$$
$$D_{ij}$$

K is the proportionality constant

Population size at origin is an acceptable index of people anxious to move and, at destination, of opportunities available. Similarly, distance deters migration because of the difficulties and expense of travelling, the wish to maintain social contacts at place of origin and the limited information available on long distance opportunities.

#### **Intervening Opportunities Model:**

An American social psychologist, Stouffer, introduced his influential intervening opportunities hypothesis in 1940. He argued that linear distance was less important a determinant of migration patterns than the nature of space; that distance should be regarded in socio-economic rather than geometric terms; and that because migration is costly, socially as well as financially, a mobile person will cease to move on encountering an appropriate opportunity.

His basic hypothesis was that "the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> S. Stouffer (1940) Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance, *American Sociological Review*, vol.5, p.846.

This may be expressed in a formula as

$$y = k \frac{Dx}{x}$$

where y- expected number of migrants from a place to a particular concentric zone or distance band around that place.

Dx-the number of opportunities within this band

x-the number of opportunities intervening between origin and midway into the band in question.

The actual opportunities to prospective migrants could be housing, employment or environmental; they are the kind that have attracted migrants and are measured by them.

In 1960 Stouffer<sup>12</sup> refined his intervening opportunities model and came to realize that the take up of opportunities in place B by inhabitants of place A through migration is inversely proportional not only to the opportunities intervening between A & B but also, as a further recognition of the variability of space, to the number of competing migrants from elsewhere. His refined formula took the form,

$$y = k \frac{X_0 \cdot X_1}{x}$$

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<sup>11</sup> F., Strodbeck (1949) Equal opportunity intervals : A Contribution to the method of intervening opportunity analysis, American Sociological Review, vol.14, pp.490-7.

<sup>12</sup> S. Stouffer (1960) intervening opportunities and competing migrants, Journal of Regional Science, vol.2, pp.1-26.



$$X_B \cdot X_C$$

where during a particular period,

$y$ - the number of migrants from city 1 to city 2

$X_0$ - all out-migrants from city 1

$X_1$ - opportunities in city 2, measured by total immigrants

$X_B$ - opportunities intervening between cities 1 and 2 measured by total immigrants to a circle having as its diameter the distance from city 2 to city 1.

$X_C$ -migrants potentially competing for opportunities in city 2, measured by total out-migrants from all cities within a circle having as its centre city 2 and as its radius the distance between city 2 to city 1.

Figure 3

#### **Micro-analytical Models:**

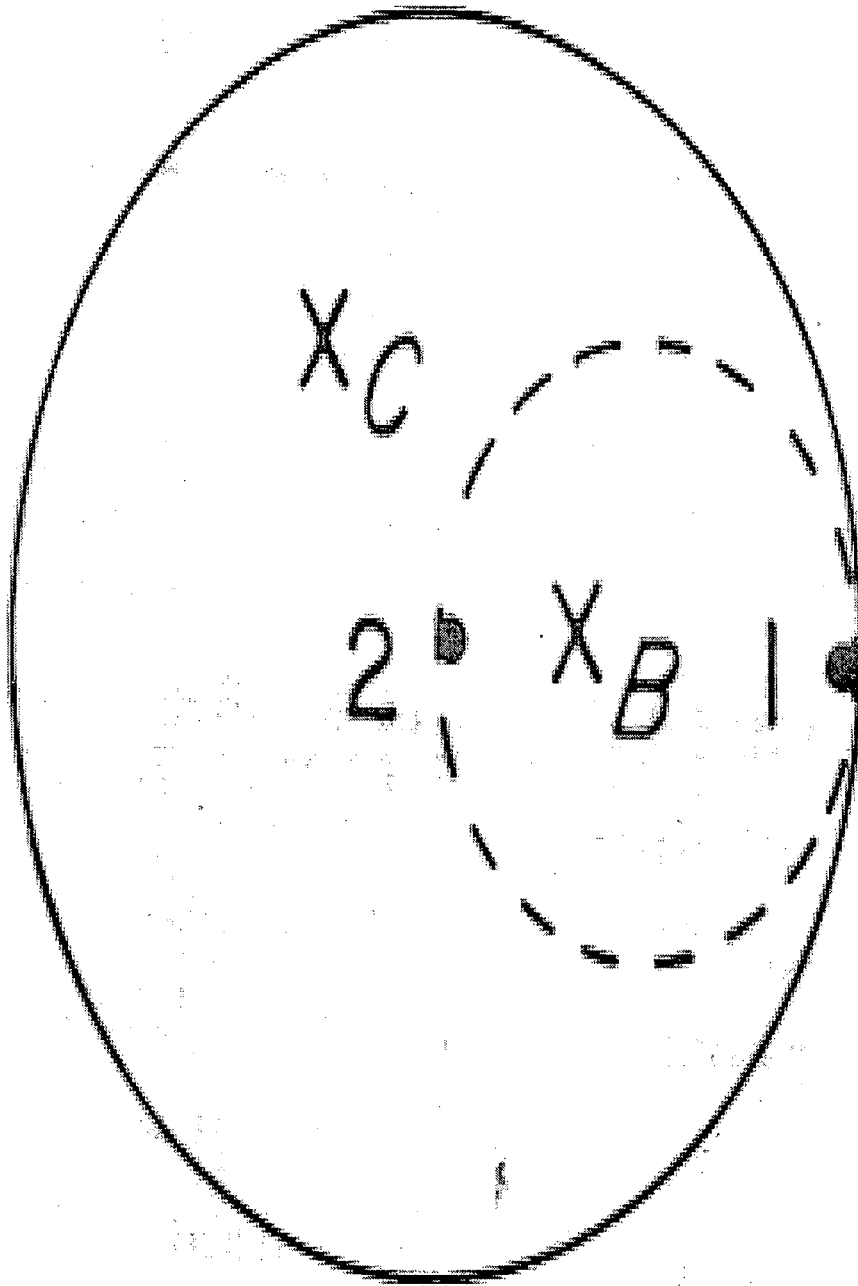
As a reaction to the impersonal, mechanistic nature of the macro-analytical models, growing attention was paid to the decision making process among individual movers and occasionally for control purpose, of stayers. "A migration pattern is a composite expression of the aspirations, needs and perceptions of real persons and mobility behaviour is one of several means by which individuals can seek well being or utility maximization."<sup>13</sup> The focus of micro-analytical models is on the behaviour of individuals rather than on the characteristics of places and populations, and there is a ready recognition that prospective migrants may perceive and respond to

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<sup>13</sup>

Huw Jones (1990). Population Geography. Westview, Boulder and London pp.199.

FIGURE 3



Schematic representation of the areas (circles) relevant to intervening opportunities ( $X_B$ ) and competing migrants ( $X_C$ ) for a migration flow between city 1 and city 2 (according to Stouffer's refined 'Intervening Opportunities' formula).

environments with a varying degree of rationality. The behavioural migration models deal with people rather than places and processes rather than patterns, while their more loosely framed and conceptual nature makes them more flexible but less precise.

The first study of migration process was that of Rossi (1955)<sup>14</sup> on intra-urban residential mobility in Philadelphia. He concluded that the major process involved was the way in which families adjusted their housing to the needs which arise at specific stages of the life cycle.

Germani (1965)<sup>15</sup> regards migration as the outcome of objective factors working within a normative and psychological context. His objective factors are the characteristics of potential places of origin and destination and the nature of contact between them. The normative context embraces the norms, beliefs and values of the society at origin and the psychological context takes into account the attitudes and expectations of specific individuals.

Lee<sup>16</sup> sees the migration process as involving sets of perceived factors relating to origin and destination, and a set of intervening obstacles.

Fig 4

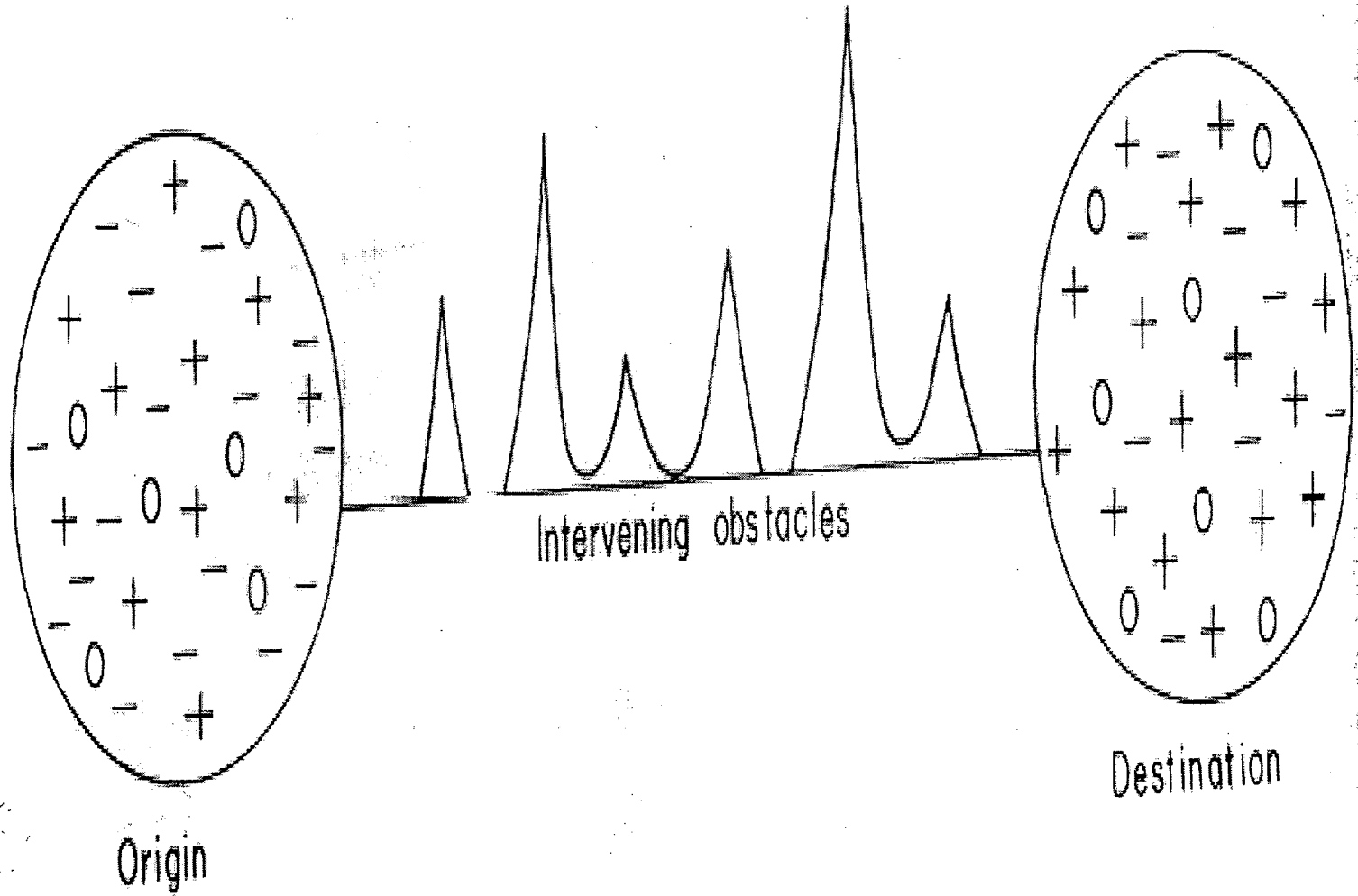
The set of factors and obstacles will vary among individuals in relation to life-cycle, socio-economic and personality characteristics. This is a refinement of the simple 'push-pull' view of migration, in which people are seen as being driven out of

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<sup>14</sup> P. Rossi (1955) *Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility*, Free Press, Glencoe, IU.

<sup>15</sup> G. Germani (1965) *Migration and acculturation*, in P. Hauser (ed.) *Handbook for social Research in Urban areas*, UNESCO, pp.159-78.

FIGURE 4



Origin and destination factors and intervening obstacles in migration. Attracting factors are shown as plus (+), repelling factors as minus (-) (and neutral factors as zero (0))

some areas by low wages, unemployment etc. and pulled to other areas by their superior opportunities.

A further change comes with the adoption of micro-economic perspectives in the so called human capital model of migration. It attempts to measure the largely economic costs and benefits of migrating between particular locations, allowing for the expected period over which the likely net benefits of any migration investment will be enjoyed.

Wolpert (1966)<sup>17</sup> conceives of migration behaviour as embracing above all the evaluation of place utilities. These measures a persons level of satisfaction with respect to particular locations within that limited portion of the environment - one's action space-that is relevant to decision behaviour.

Brown and Moore<sup>18</sup> (1970) suggest that the migration process comprises two major phases. The first involves the development of a state of dissatisfaction or stress, which can be reduced by an adjustment of needs, by a restructuring of the environment or by migration. Given a desire to migrate the second phase involves the evaluation of place utilities within the households search space.

The following model emphasises a developmental or biographic analysis of action to explain behaviour in terms of a sequence of stages along an extended time line. Stress is not only a function of objective characteristics like inadequate

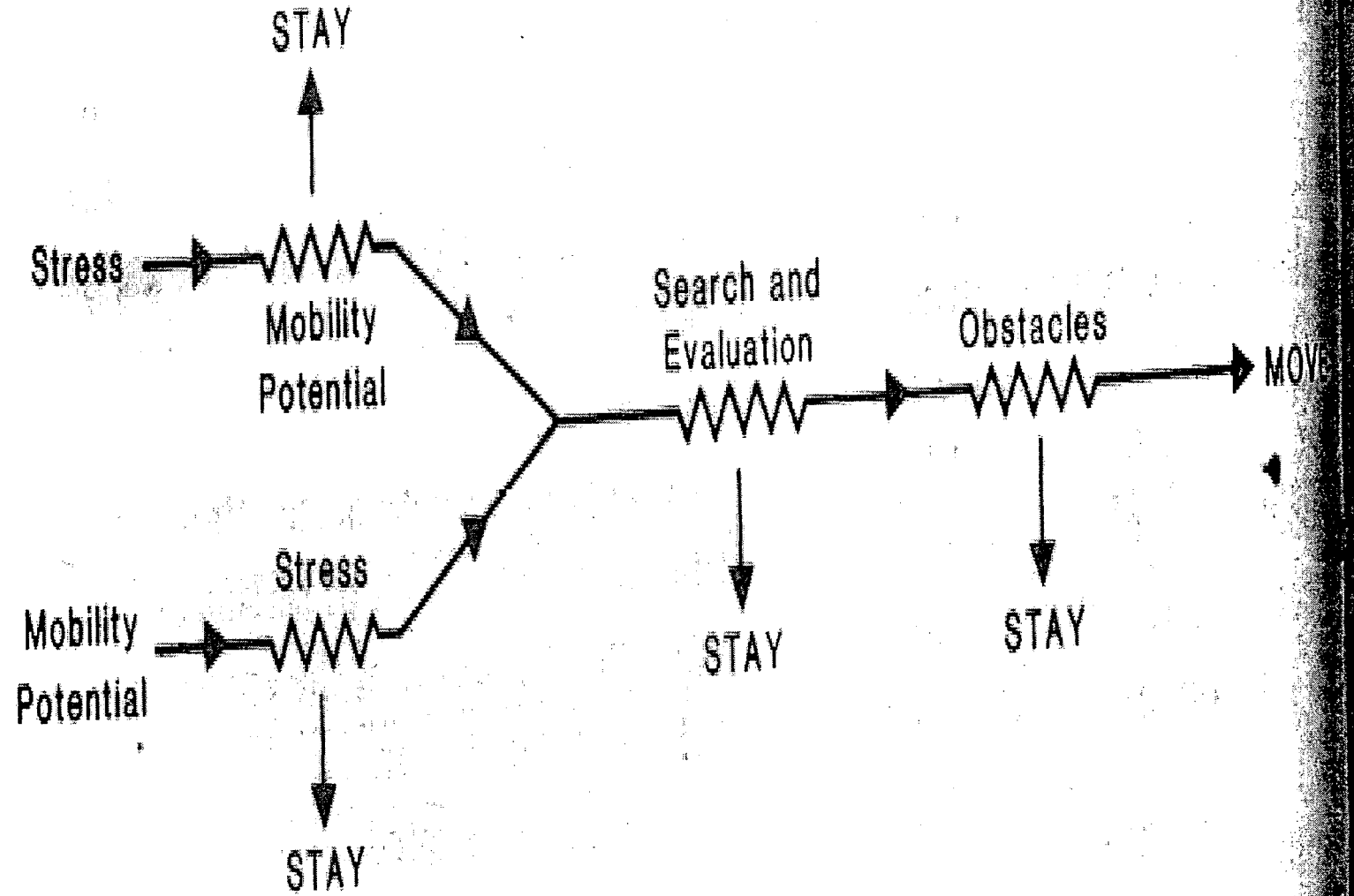
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<sup>16</sup> E; Lee (1966) A Theory of Migration, Demography, vol.3, pp.47-57.

<sup>17</sup> J. Wolpert (1966) Migration as an adjustment to environmental stress, Journal of Social Issues, vol.22, pp.92-102.

<sup>18</sup> L. Brown and E. Moore (1970) The intra-urban Migration process: A perspective, Geografiska Annaler, vol.528, pp.1-13.

FIGURE



*A longitudinal representation of the migration process.*

housing, unsatisfactory employment or environmental decay, it also reflects the ability to consider escape from such conditions by migration. Persons with low migration potential (determined largely by age, socio-economic status, etc.) could well rationalize the same features which others find intolerable.

It is also possible to conceive of mobility intentions being pursued by people of high mobility potential-the so called chronic movers-quite independently of any significant level of stress.

Morrison (1973)<sup>19</sup> suggests that the population may be regarded as a continuum of migratory potential. At one end are the highly mobile households with low decision thresholds (needing very little stress to make them move), while at the other end are the virtually immobile households with high decision thresholds.

#### Fig5

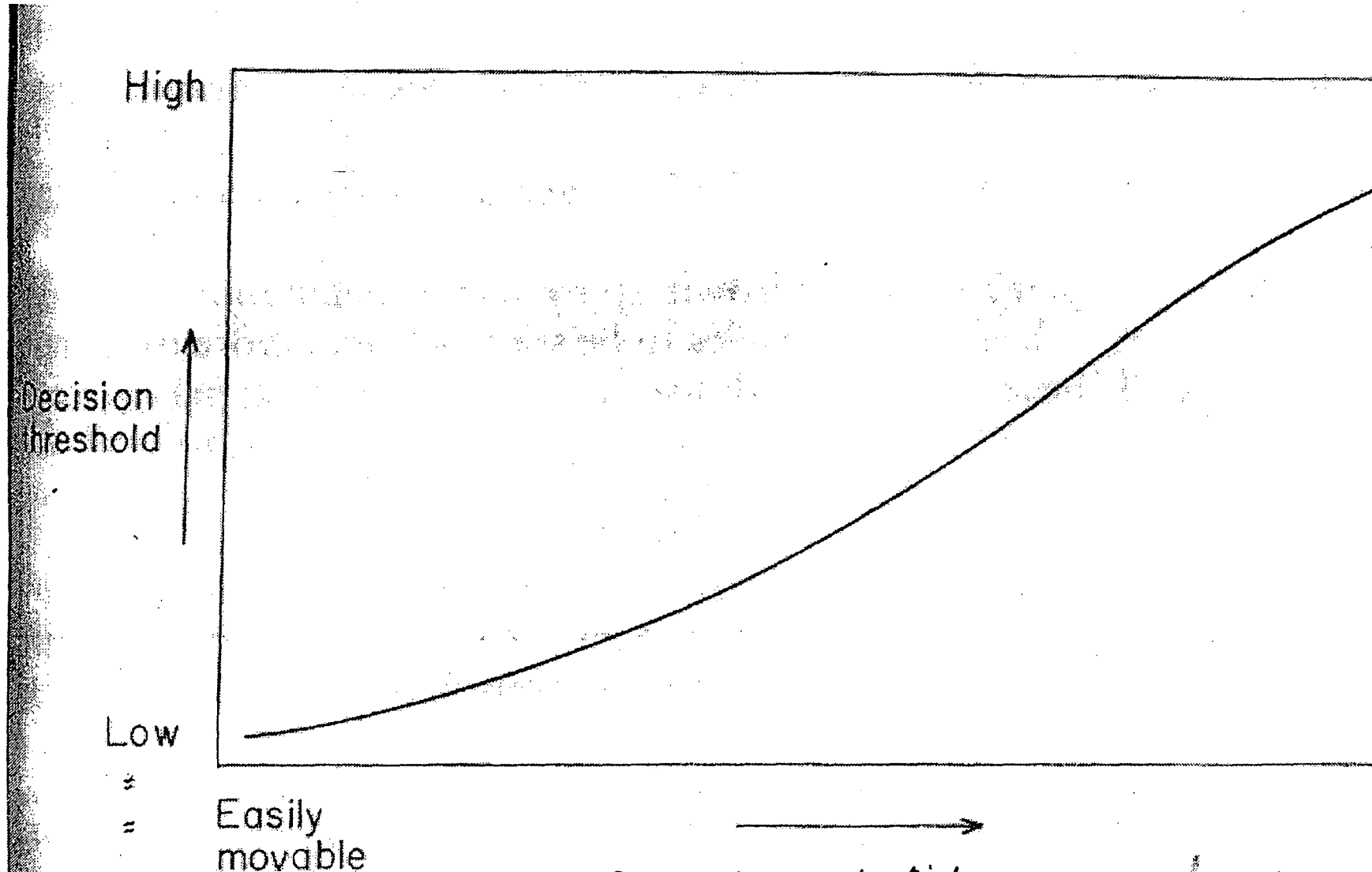
The macro and micro analytical models of migration provide only partial explanations of migration. They deal with the proximate or intermediate determinants, rather than the fundamental determinants which lie in the creation of spatially uneven development in the first place. They also fail to address adequately the pivotal role that migration has played in socio-economic formations and transformation. An attempt to break out of this impasse was Zelinsky's (1971)<sup>20</sup> model of the mobility transition which he saw as interacting with the demographic transition.

#### Fig6.

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<sup>19</sup> P. Morrison (1973) Theoretical issues in the design of population mobility models, *Environment and Planning*, vol.5, pp.125-34.

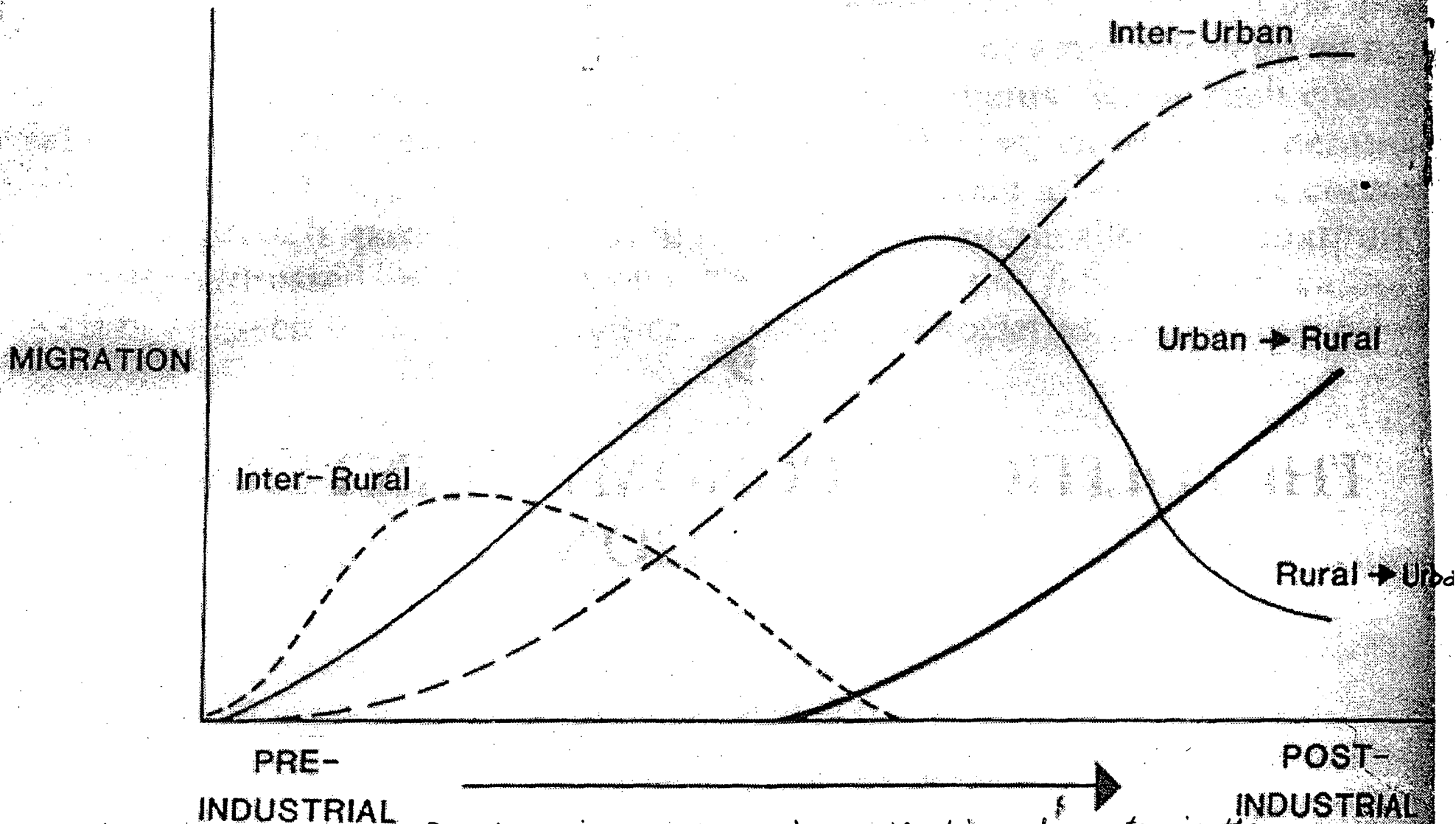
FIGURE 5



A continuum of household moving potential  
Source: Short (1978), Figure 5



FIGURE 6



A schematic representation and extension of the major Migration elements in the Mobility Transition Model, Zelinsky (1971)

This was based on "definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space time during recent history and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernization process; in particular, a transition from a relatively sessile condition of severely limited physical and social mobility towards much higher rates of such movement always occurs as a community experiences the process of modernization".<sup>21</sup>

This model explains the links between development theory and demography in terms of Rostow's stages of growth and modernization theory, on the basis of a linear progression from what Zelinsky calls pre-modern traditional society to super-advanced society. As modernization proceeds, various forms of migration and circulation, ebb and flow, with different types of movement succeeding one another as the dominant wave.

All these migration models cumulatively, to a certain extent explain the migration patterns that exist within the SAARC region. The migration patterns that prevails between these countries cannot be explained totally by any single model of migration because in the present day circumstances the level and type of migration between nations is governed by a large number of factors which may range from socio-economic to political. The existing migration patterns within the SAARC region is a complex network resulting due to the peculiar situations in the countries of origin and destination.

The demographic role of migration is manifest when one considers that a

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<sup>20</sup> W. Zwlinsky (1971) The hypothesis of the Mobility transition, Geographical Review, vol.61, pp.219-49.

<sup>21</sup> Op.cit pp.221-2.

community can gain population only through birth and immigration and can lose population only through deaths and out-migration. Within countries the differences between communities in both birth and death rates tend to be smaller than differences in migration rates, so that the principal mechanism of internal population redistribution is migration. This has become particularly evident in recent decades with the reduction of mortality and fertility differentials and the establishment of quasi-zero population growth conditions in most developed countries. The wider significance of migration derives from its cause and effect relationship with social transformation. Every society that has undergone structural transformation has simultaneously experienced a major redistribution of its population.

The demographic profiles of the various SAARC countries have been discussed as follows;

### **Intra-SAARC Migration**

If labour were completely mobile across international borders, there would be migration from countries with limited capital per worker and loose labour markets to countries with abundant capital and tight labour markets. Within Asia, there is ample evidence that such a pattern has evolved and intensified, despite tight control of labour migration by governments. International labour movement is much smaller in relation to stocks of labour than are the corresponding international flows of capital in relation to capital stock. There has been a marked acceleration in the scale of labour movements within Asia and increase in intra-Asian movements.

### **Pattern of Labour Migration**

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The pattern of South Asian Migration has shifted over the years, especially as income levels in the region have risen. As a result migration is now chiefly an intra-Asian phenomena. In the past, labour movements from Asia particularly from China and Japan, was to the US and other industrial countries, a process which began in the late nineteenth century. Until recently and for nearly 100 years, Asia had been a region of net emigration, with little immigration.

As with international trade and capital movements, labour flows are two way. The SAARC countries with surplus labour and limited capital tend to be labour exporters: hence, there is net emigration. In countries with large capital stocks and low levels of unemployment and underemployment, there is net immigration or labour importation. For example, Philippines-a country where income stagnated for many years, and which has a high level of unemployment and underemployment is the largest net exporter of labour in Asia and the second largest in the World after Mexico.

Many low-income countries in SAARC region, where labour markets are loose, are also important suppliers of labour to the World market. Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka are all large suppliers of mainly unskilled contract workers.

The ratio of emigrants to immigrants varies widely across countries in SAARC region. Within these diverse groups of countries, international labour balance and current labour migration experiences can be divided into three categories:

- countries that are primarily labour importing
- those that are primarily labour exporting
- and those that import certain types of labour and export others.

In the aggregate, SAARC still constitute a net emigration region. Nevertheless many countries in this region have made dramatic improvements in their living standards over the past two decades and are quickly becoming net labour importers as the rate of immigration grows relative to emigration.

Statistics of current migration situation in the SAARC countries are given in the tables.

## **TABLES**

## **FIGURES**

### **Causes of Labour Migration**

Although opportunities in the host countries also play a role, to a larger extent migration reflects internal labour market-conditions in the sending country. Simply, there will be a more emigration (immigration) where labour markets are loose (tight). There is, in turn, a close relationship between inter-country differences in these external labour flows and the fact that countries are at different stages of what has been called the migration transition.

"The migration transition is usually defined as a switch from positive net emigration to net immigration. This is sometimes also referred to as the switch from being a labour-exporting to a labour-importing country, although in the strictest sense, the term refers to all migrants-workers and non-workers alike".<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, the net movements into SAARC countries are changing rapidly because of the speed of the economic and demographic changes in the region.

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<sup>22</sup>

Lin Lean Lin (1990) International Labour migrations in Asia; patterns, policies and implications, international migration; regional processes and responses, ILO.

**Table 1. Growth of Muslim Population Inter-Censal Decades 1881-1931**

	Muslim population	Natural incr	Net Migrat	Net migration from Bengal (all religions)
1881	214510			
1891	240352	9097	16745	19700
1901	248249	9210	17107	20126
1911	356022	35652	72121	84848
1921	583686	23493	189171	222554
1931	943352	86054	218260	256776

\*less by 15,000

+ less by 12,000

Sources: Dinesh Kotwal: Insurgency in Assam, its demographic dimensions.

**Table 2 Growth Rate**

YEARS	ASSAM	INDIA	BANGLADESH
1901-1911	16.99	5.75	9.1
1911-1921	20.48	0.31	5.4
1921-1931	19.91	11	7.06
1931-1941	20.4	14.22	17.6
1941-1951	34.98	21.51	0.1
1951-1961	34.95	24.8	29.93
1971-1981	23.85	23.85	31.83
1981-1991	23.85	23.85	22

Source: Insurgency in Assam; the demographic dimensions - Dinesh Kotwal

**TABLE NO 3 (BANGLADESH)**

Years	Share of Remittances to GDP (%)
1980	2.2
1985	4
1990	3.7
1993	4.2

**TABLE NO 4 (INDIA)**

Years	Share of Remittances to GDP (%)
1980	1.6
1985	1.1
1990	0.7
1993	

**TABLE NO 5 (PAKISTAN)**

Years	Share of Remittances to GDP (%)
1980	8.9
1985	8.7
1990	5.5
1993	3.3

**TABLE NO 6 (SRI LANKA)**

Years	Share of Remittances to GDP (%)
1980	3.5
1985	3.9
1990	4.6
1993	5.4

TABLE NO 7

Bangladesh	1976-79	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Asia	133	672	1083	451	561	801	839	556	296		
Middle East	68012	29815	53839	62186	58229	55921	76785	68004	54500	67404	100434
Africa	143	284	17	78	42		1		9		
Others	818	30573	848	90	384	32	69	98	198	717	1286
Total	69106		55787	62805	59216	56754	77694	68658	55003	68121	101718

TABLE NO 8

India	1976-79	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Middle East				224257	217971	198520	160396	109498	12182	165880	120561
Others				15288	7024	7402	2639	4070	3544	3964	6225
Total				239545	224995	205922	163035	113568	125356	169844	12786

TABLE NO 9

Pakistan	1976-79	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Middle East	426198	115922	151522	137269	119641	93434	82250	57774	66076	81409	
Asia	14	2	2	2		26	10		31		
Africa	259	6	11	12	9	11	8			31	
Others	3456	2467	1546	252	381	69	65	228	79	105	
Total	429927	118397	153081	137535	120031	93540	82333	58002	66186	81545	

TABLE NO 10

Sri Lanka	1976-79	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Middle East	57300	28600	57400	22450	18085	16024	16254	16587	15271	17793	
Asia									627	989	
Africa									108	164	
Others									121	27	
Total	57300	28600	57400	22450	18085	15753	12374	15809	16127	18973	11079

TABLE NO 11

## Emigration from India to Other SAARC Countries

Year	(Number of Persons)					
	Pakistan	Banglades	Nepal	Sri Lank	Bhutan	Maldives
1990	160881	196475	33421	64419	2488	7543
1991	159139	216741	31154	76544	2343	12418
1992	198730	215316	34200	83843	24469	13118
1993	57629	237556	32873	74769	2126	11870
1994	44619	266442	33674	94676	18445	14986
1995	37586	281693	45151	123891	2421	16280
1996	53144	285516	47957	122472	2403	17670
1997	92125	329498	48622	122138	3056	16164
1998	67773	286016	57832	114279	3059	16675
1999	72874	366003	5842	121920	4497	20801
2000	56809	417611	46816	127004	4209	21940

Source : Central Foreigners Bureau, New Delhi

TABLE NO 12

## Immigrants to India to Other SAARC Countries

(Number of Persons)

Year	Pakistan	Banglades	Nepal	Sri Lank	Bhutan	Maldives
1990	155849	223177	26803	68395	2750	8412
1991	182940	27318	27524	73371	2722	11188
1992	1904495	252430	30754	75558	2376	12870
1993	53631	297558	31568	74237	2315	12346
1994	47177	295165	36497	91362	2162	15221
1995	35167	320091	41395	124042	2476	14998
1996	57921	327772	43546	124092	2592	18129
1997	97097	361079	42293	123136	3039	15807
1998	70183	321677	39814	115036	3425	16623
1999	73899	394663	40293	121473	5029	21384
2000	56448	436772	41588	129849	4370	21878



TABLE NO 13

## Movement of passengers into and out of Sri Lanka 1951-1984

	Sri Lanka		Indian Estate Labour		Other Indians		Pakistani	
	Arrivals	Departure	Arrivals	Departure	Arrivals	Departure	Arrivals	Departure
1951	13873	13699	54721	58591	51936	65128		
1952	16230	17851	57297	58451	53016	66565		
1953	14061	14400	41921	46342	44972	54235		
1954	14031	14467	27127	25366	42992	52760		
1955	13946	14426	902	3231	34884	55039	1096	983
1956	16320	17917	2363	4693	32033	46191	1210	1127
1957	18024	17902	1072	4975	26283	33988	1442	1365
1958	17445	19689	94	1412	19509	30814	2254	2196
1959	22443	22885	36	1551	25786	31328	1269	1151
1960	22041	22047		263	26760	31972	763	723
1961	19386	20518	4	46	18373	27545	581	619
1962	15436	16617		1	19682	28653	720	589
1963	14786	15970	7	1575	13253	20645	606	598
1964	12582	13417		1832	13695	21442	761	876
1965	11385	13088		409	10436	14471	853	757
1966	21190	23098		1276	13807	17295	1262	932
1967	28008	29665		2585	16058	19222	805	698
1968	29775	32157		1484	16904	20979	304	390
1969	28153	30979		4842	20455	23904	424	432
1970	26989	28015		9125	23773	24548	558	546
1971	21049	24756		24077	13612	19351	533	451
1972	26624	32971		31249	15254	19697	795	827
1973	35188	42305		39138	15134	19308	1471	1438
1974	38874	44833		42687	15301	19667	1033	1126
1975	46999	53865		22867	20171	22612	1993	2024
1976	46442	53322		44249	21889	24388	2530	2510
1977	52992	66900		38148	20351	22784	1445	1415
1978	102142	117075		28112	25591	27107	1757	1855
1979	100603	122197		22360	39009	41305	2748	2165
1980	98736	137797		17831	47668	48094	2570	1228
1981	142427	185035		24058	61288	53751	3705	1295
1982	162036	214466		28272	98379	97881	5462	2310
1983	180729	244955		22327	96301	103607	4670	1892
1984	227389	283290		32019	49495	50993	5967	2712

As the migration transition proceeds, shortages emerge in particular sectors. After domestic reservoirs of flexible labour are exhausted, employers press their governments for access to foreign workers and countries permit the entry of foreign workers.

All the South Asian countries are designing new policies to meet these evolving conditions in their labour markets, which are quite similar to those faced in the past by the industrial economies. /

### **Special Features of South-Asian Migration:**

Much of the emigration, particularly low skilled workers in South Asia is temporary in nature and is undertaken for the purpose of augmenting family incomes.

In South Asia, remittances are a major source of foreign exchange earning in both Bangladesh and Pakistan, remittances make an important contribution to export earnings and to national income.

### **Table 3.4, 5, 6**

Survey of return migrants in the labour-exporting countries of Asia indicate that these workers move from the home country to the host country for a short period only, covering two to five years.

Immigration in all the high income, labour importing South Asian countries has been strictly controlled and very selective. There is evidence of a strong convergence of basic immigration policies for all these countries. These countries are seeking skilled workers to take up short-term employment in specific sectors.

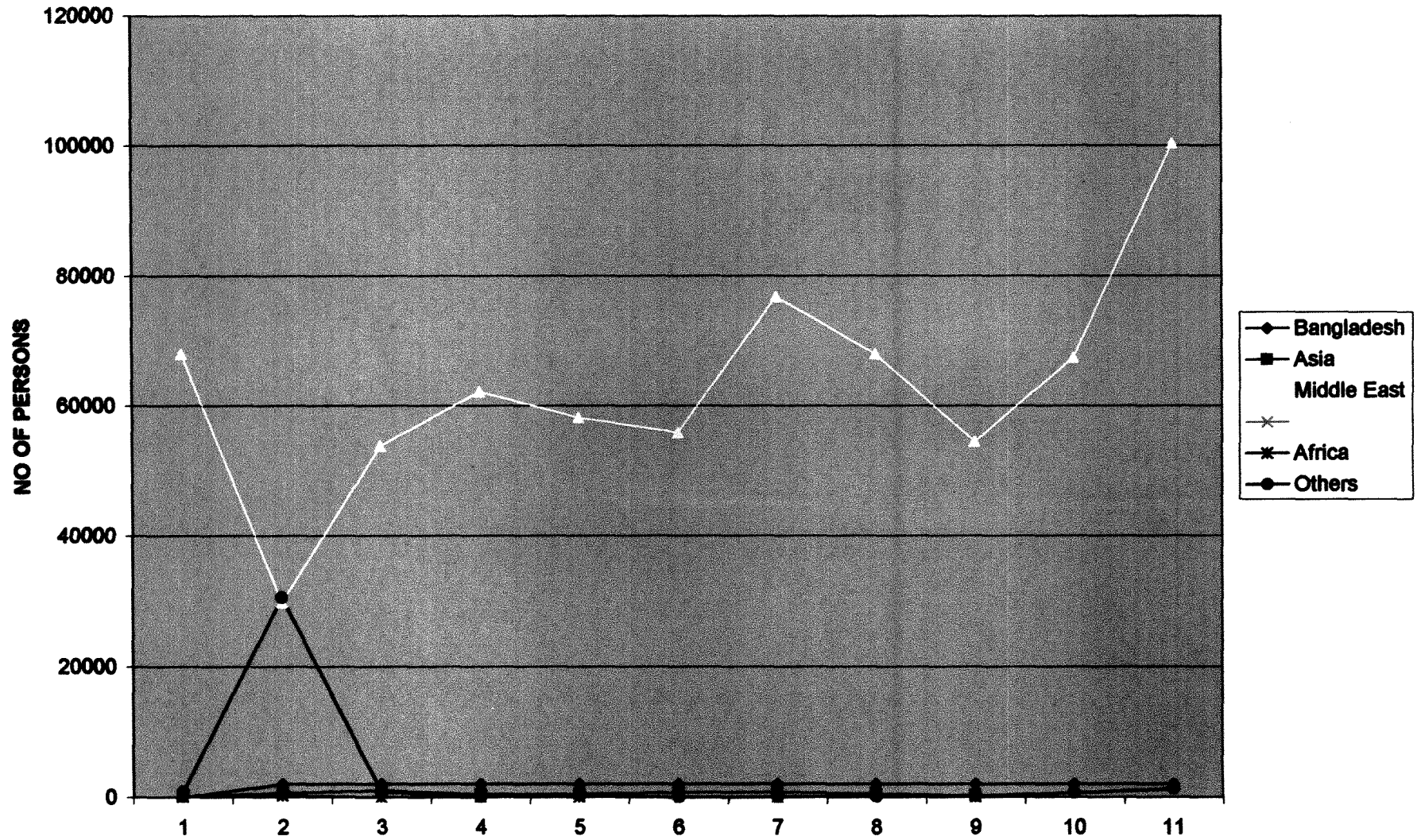
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Because of tight restrictions on immigration in all Asian Countries, there is a large and growing number of illegal migrants throughout the region. Labour flows in South Asia are probably larger than elsewhere in Asia. The borders between Indian and Bangladesh and between India and Nepal have always been virtually open, allowing seasonal exchanges of labour.

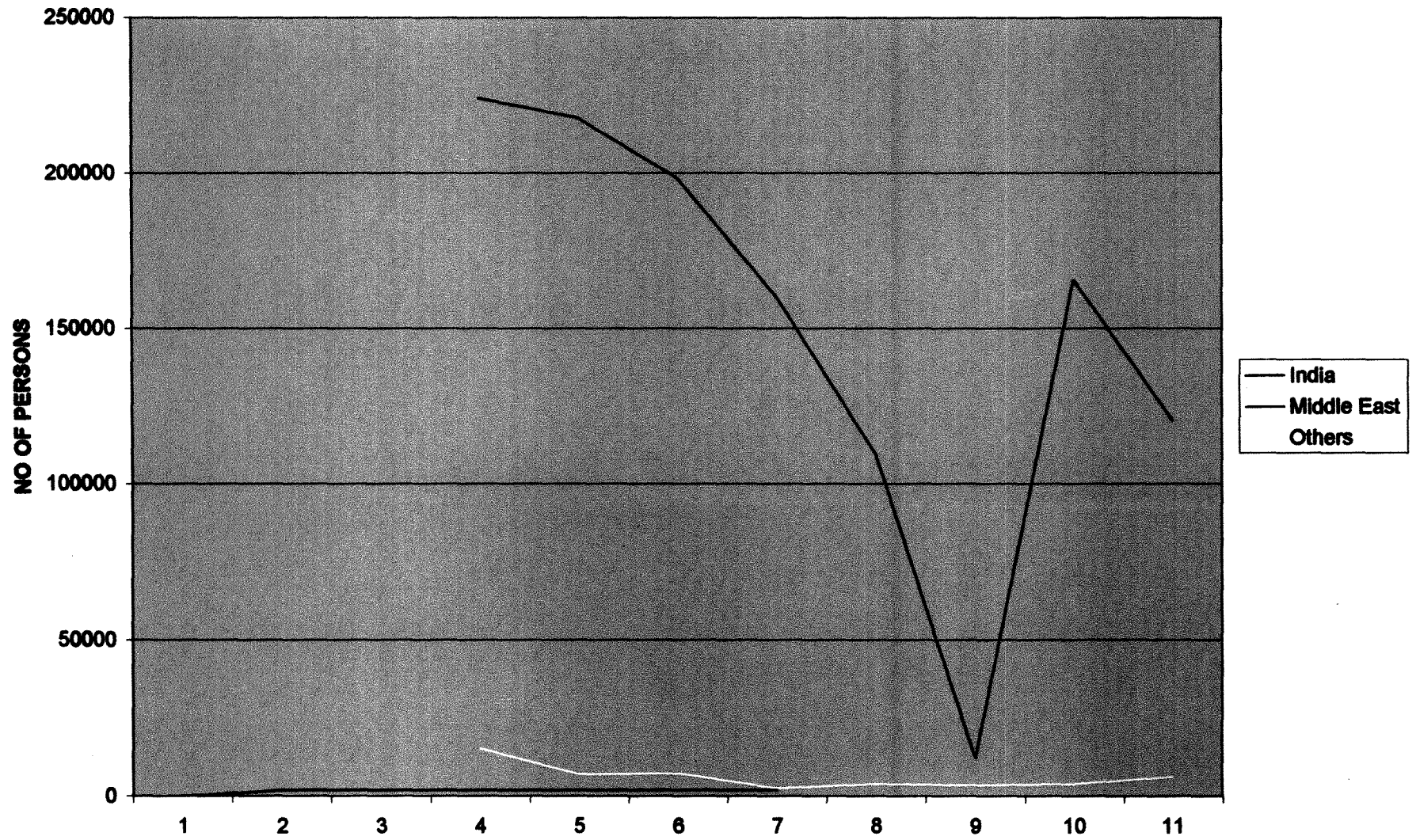
As a result, there is a large amount of illegal immigration, primarily of unskilled workers, who flow into occupations that local residents are reluctant to fill. There is also a close proximity as well as cultural and language ties between the countries of SAARC region.

The strong upward trend in migration within Asia and the concomitant rise in illegal migration raises an important question of the desirability of labour movements.

# BANGLADESH LABOUR MIGRATION 1979-82

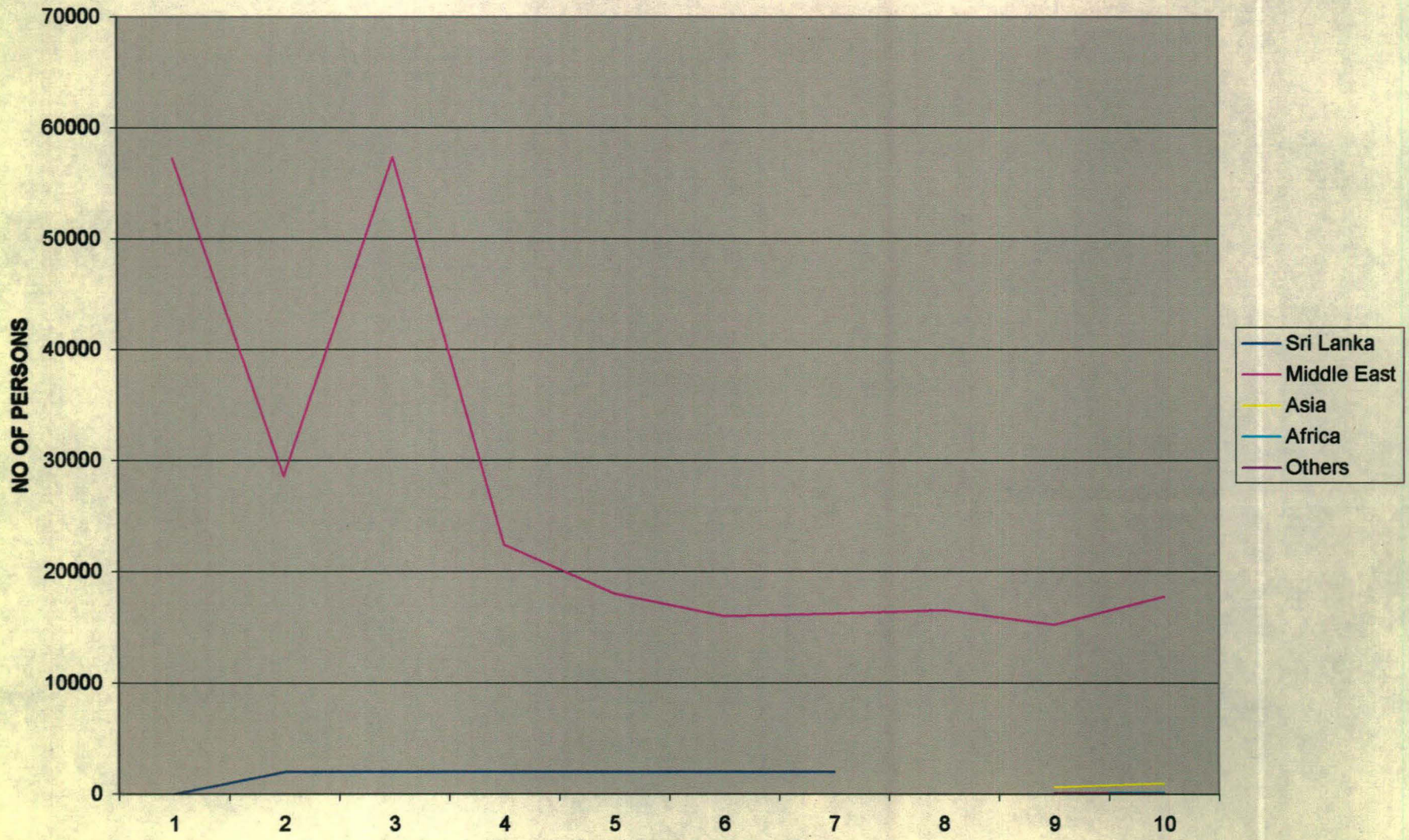


# INDIAN LABOUR MIGRATION 1979-1982



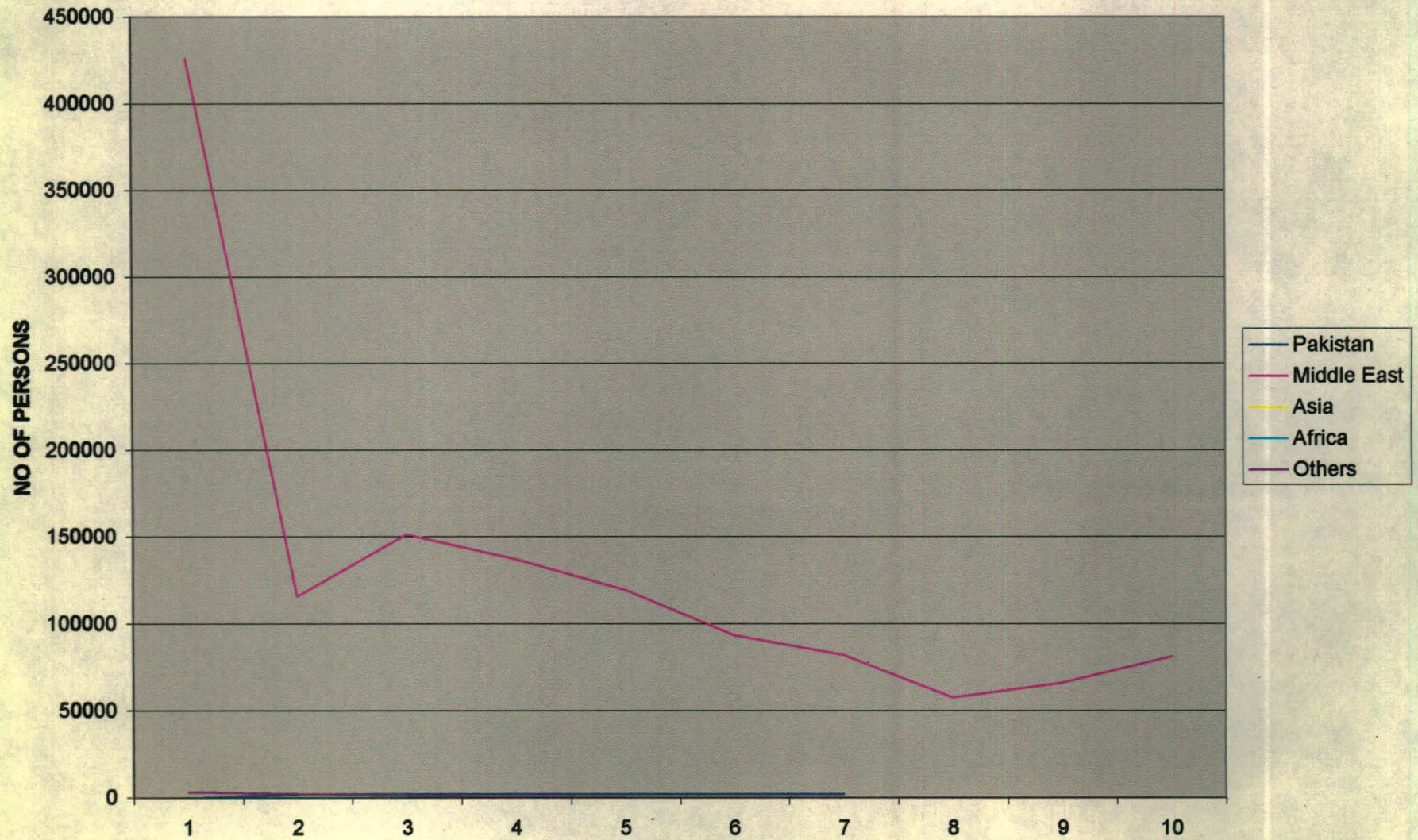


### SRILANKA LABOUR MIGRATION



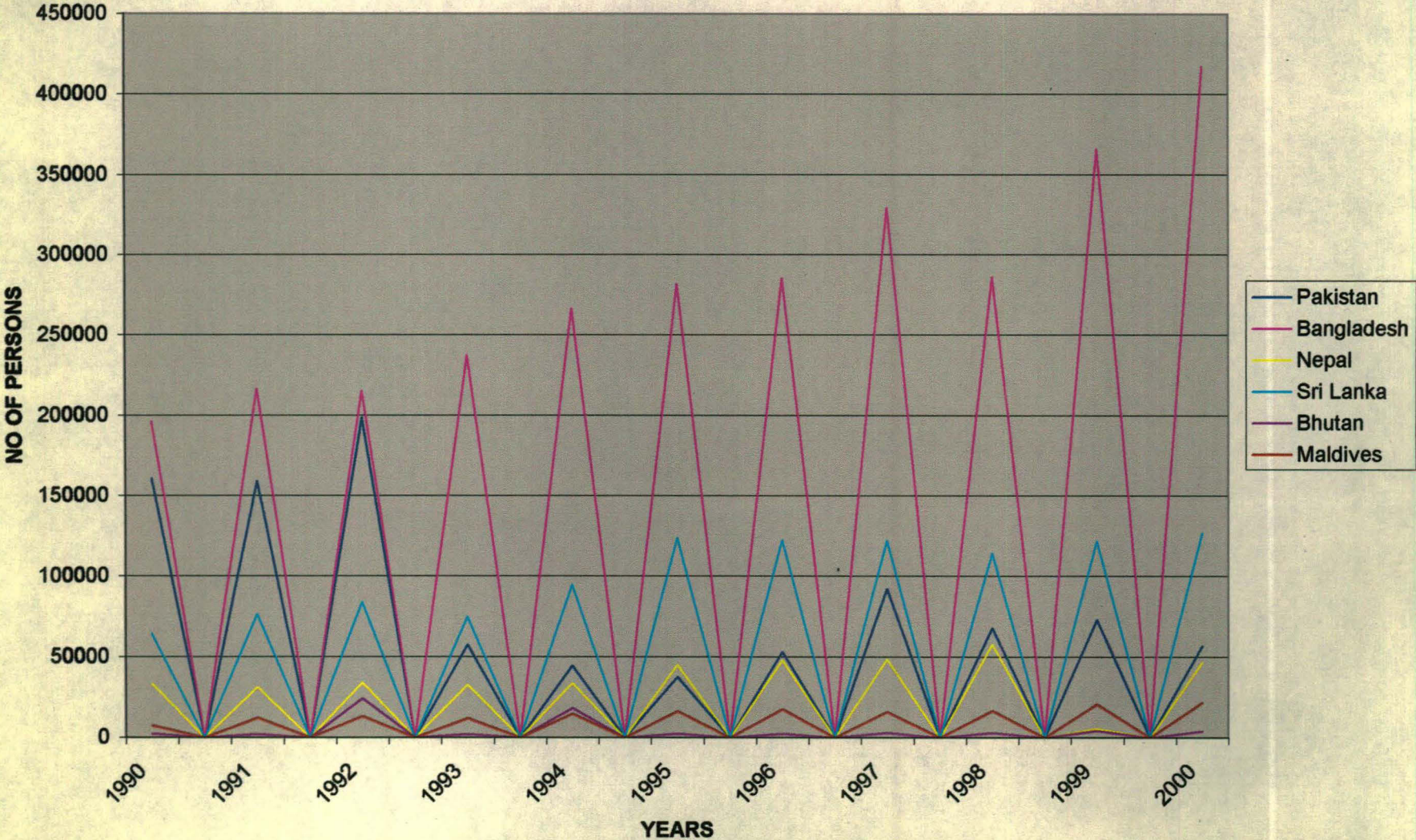


## PAKISTANI LABOUR MIGRATION



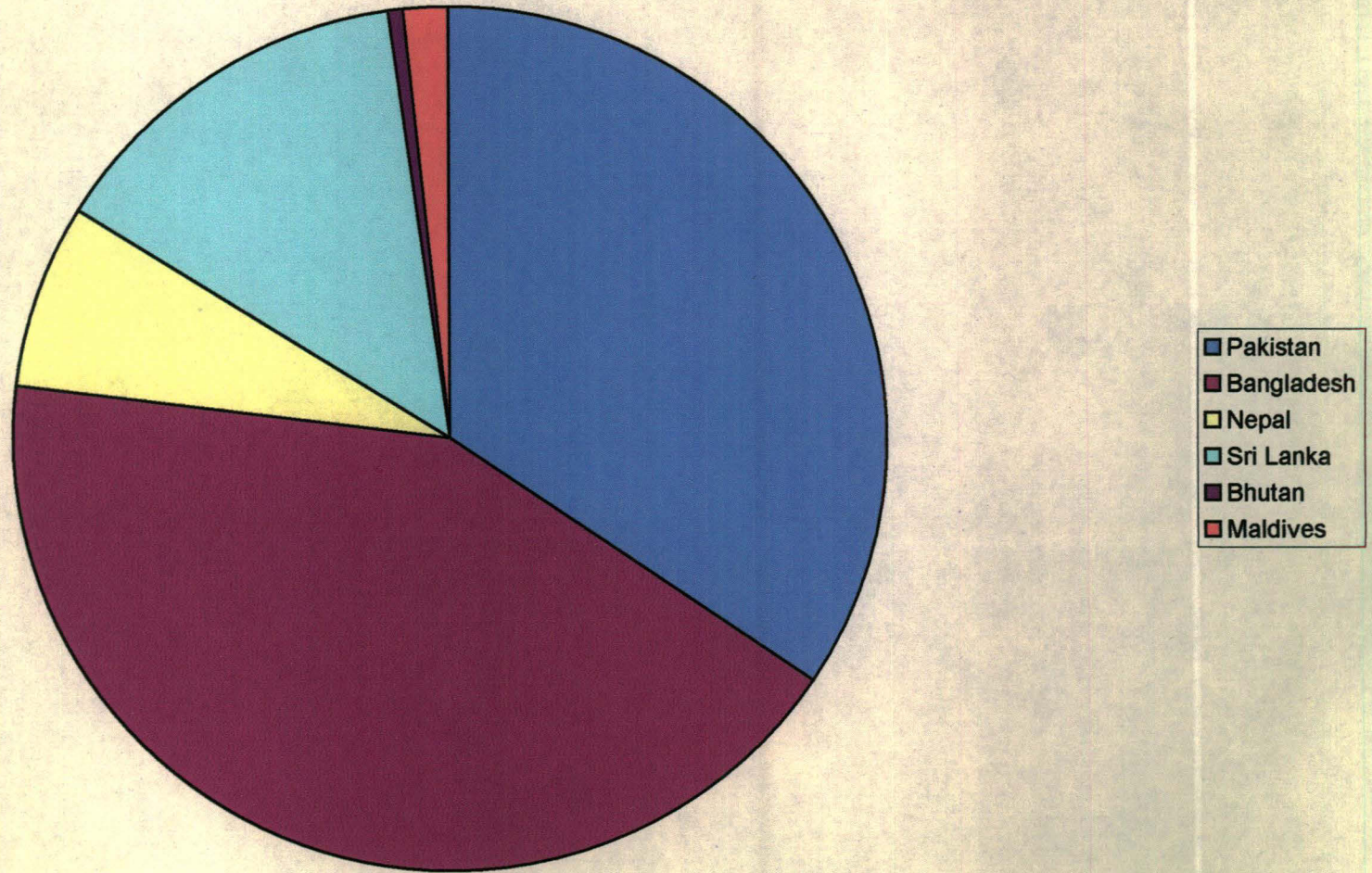


# EMMIGRANTS



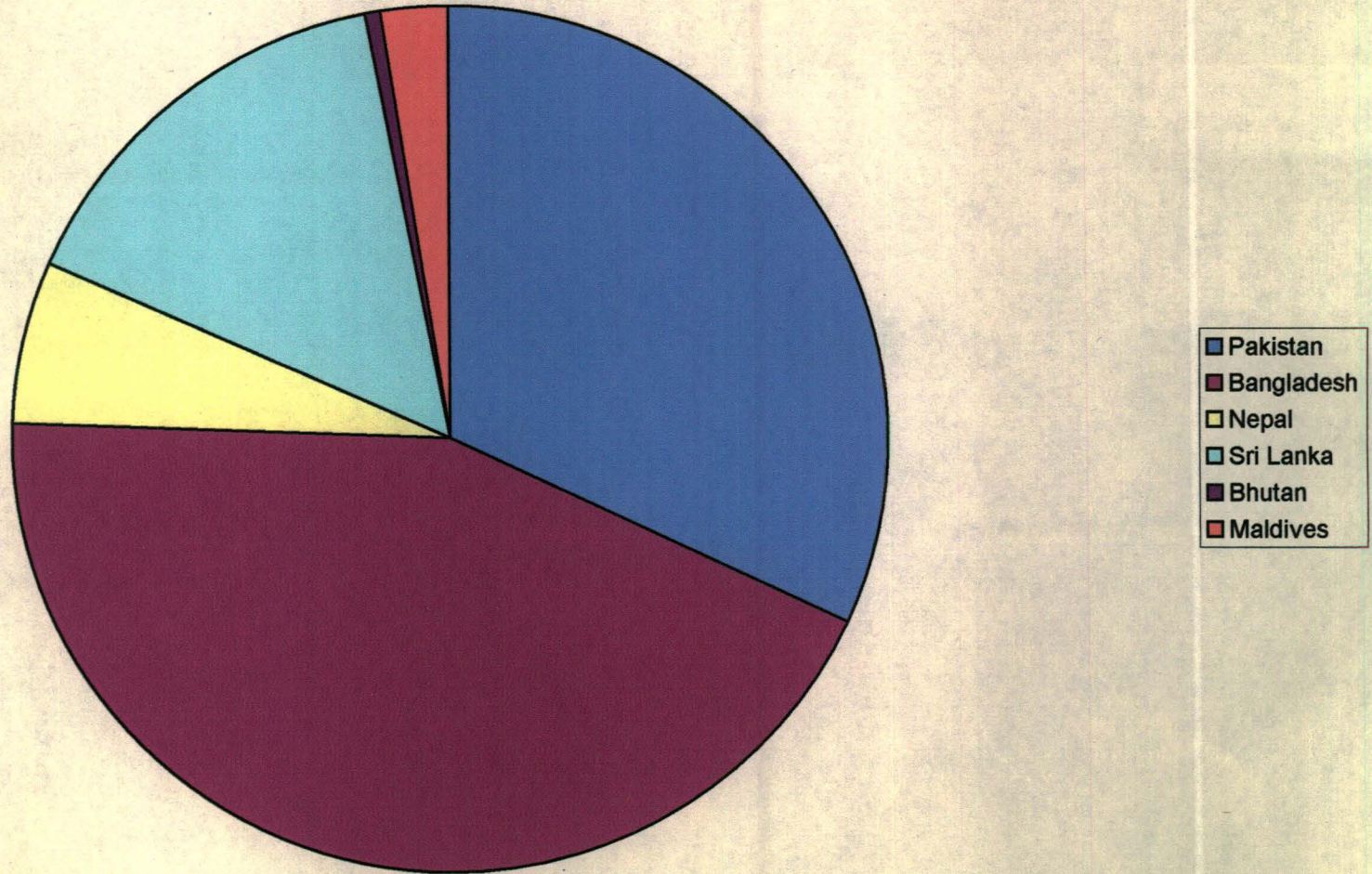


### EMMIGRANTS FROM INDIA 1990



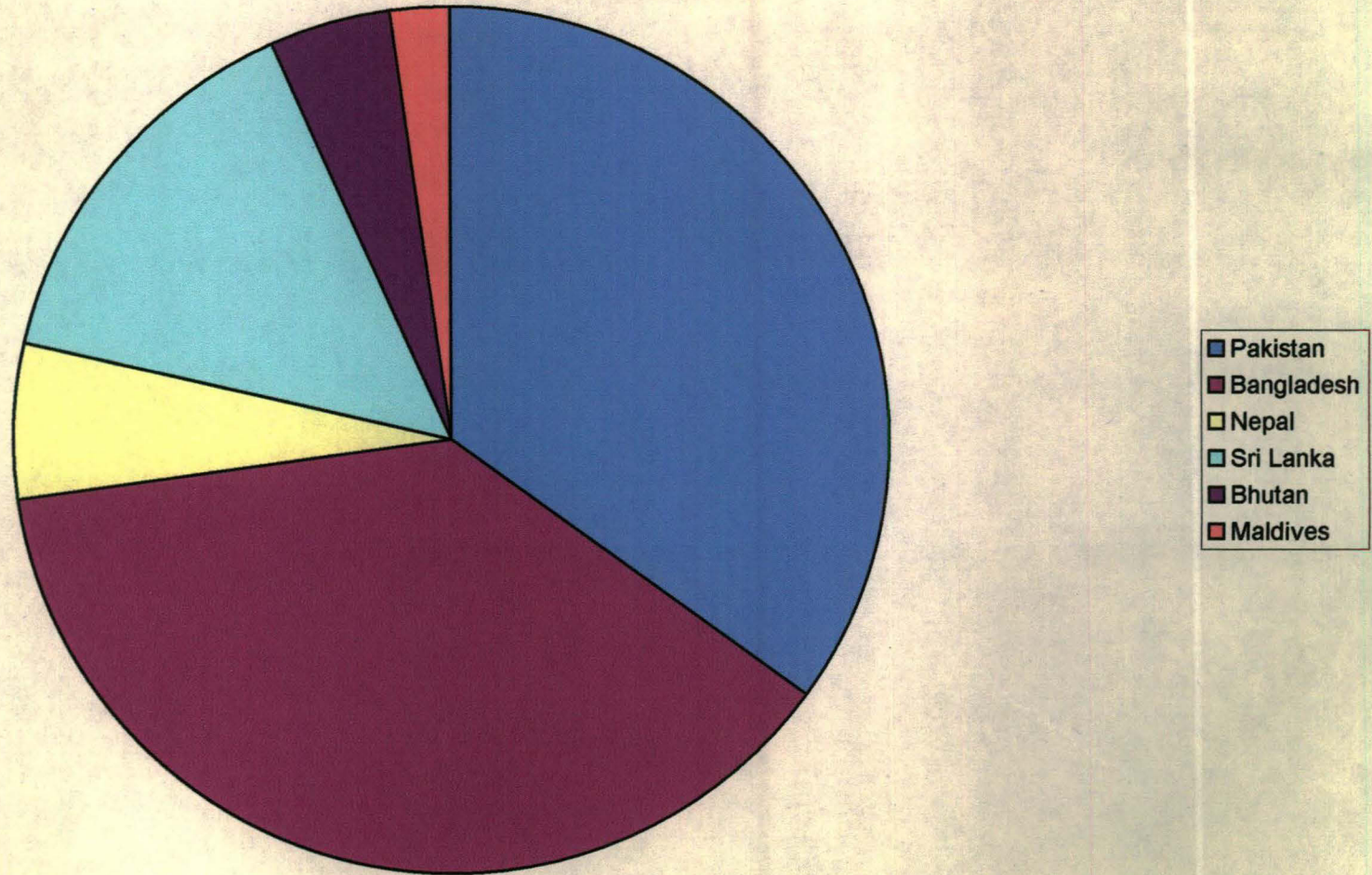


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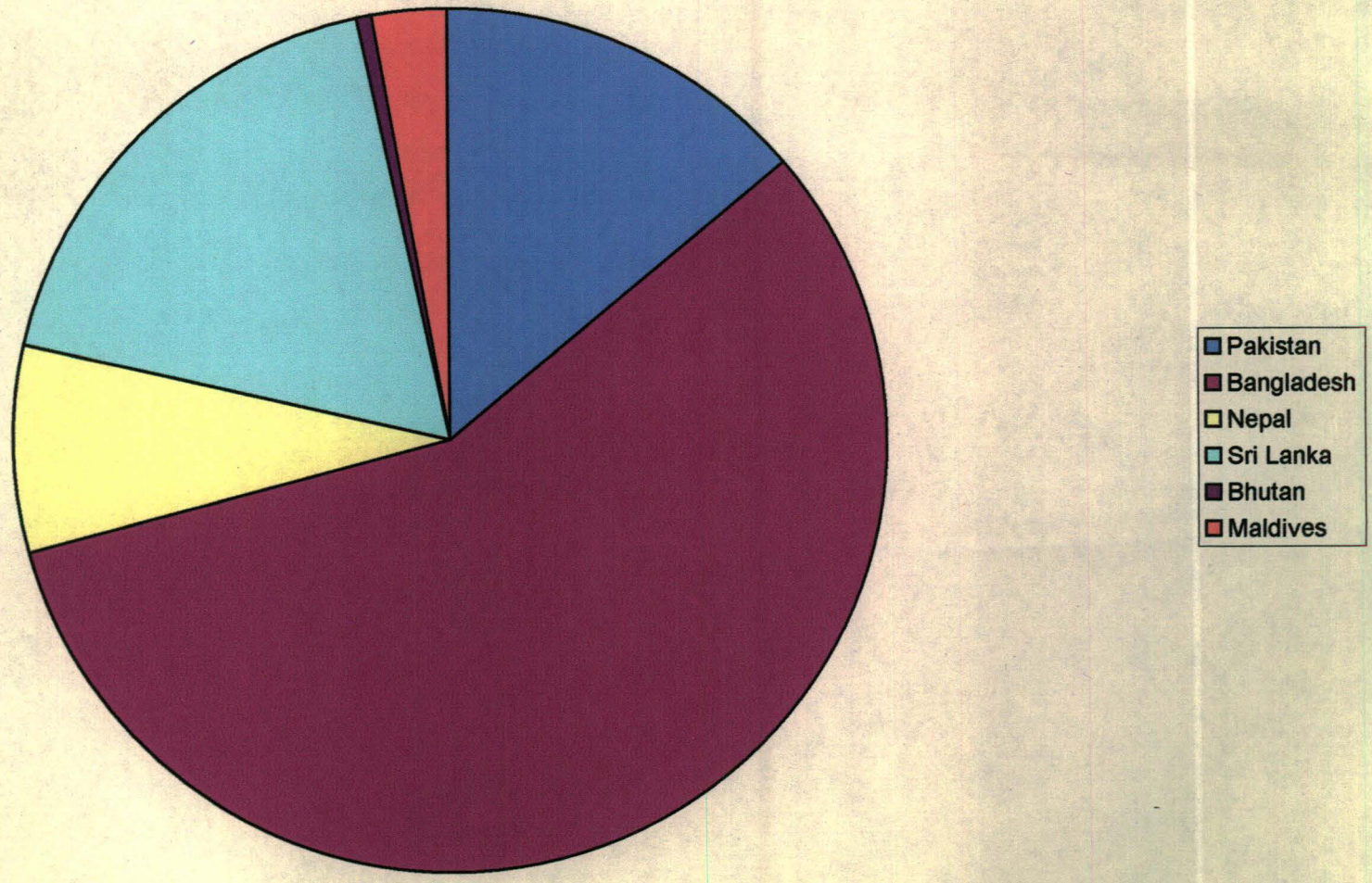


### EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA 1992



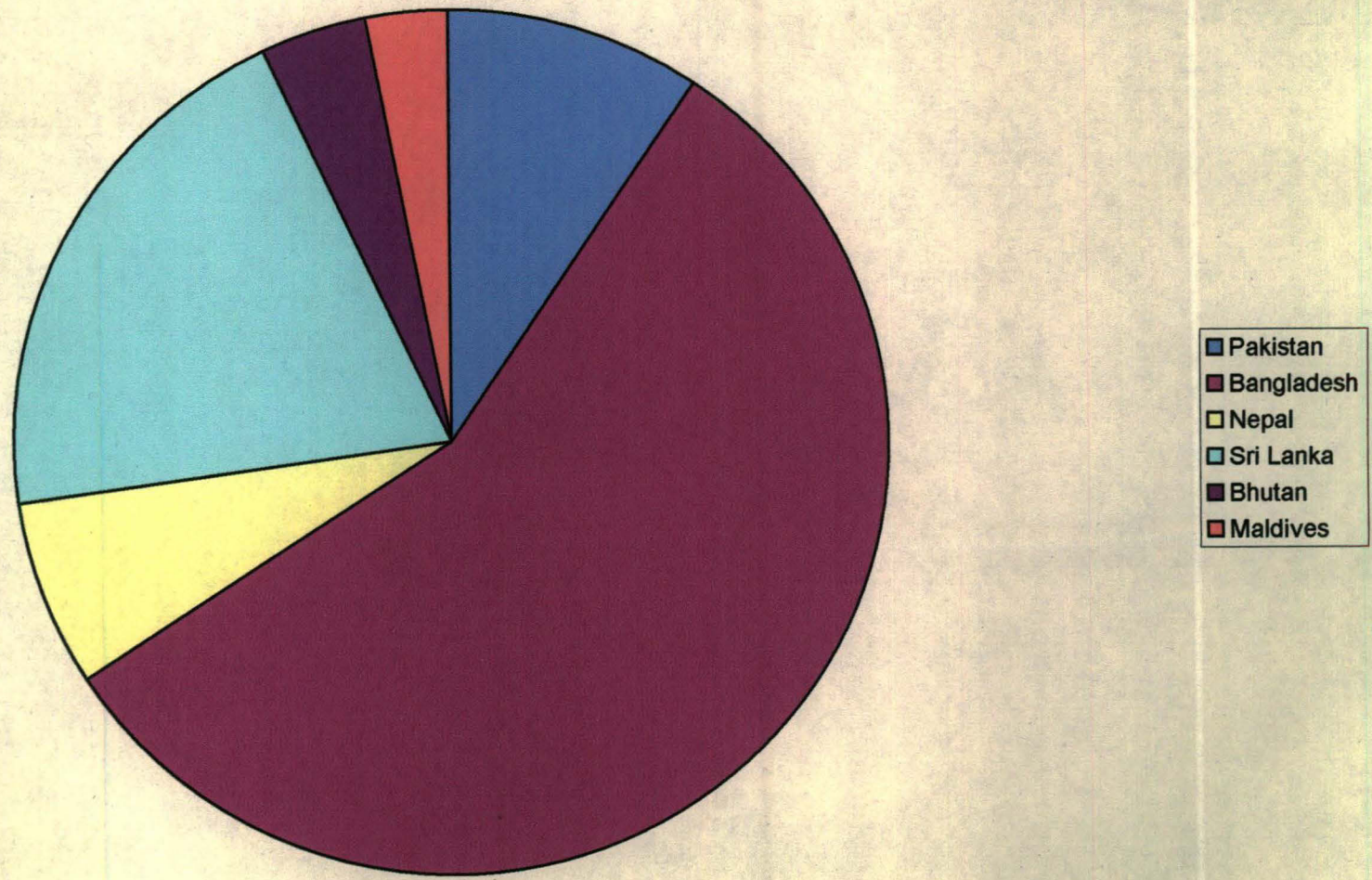


### EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA 1993



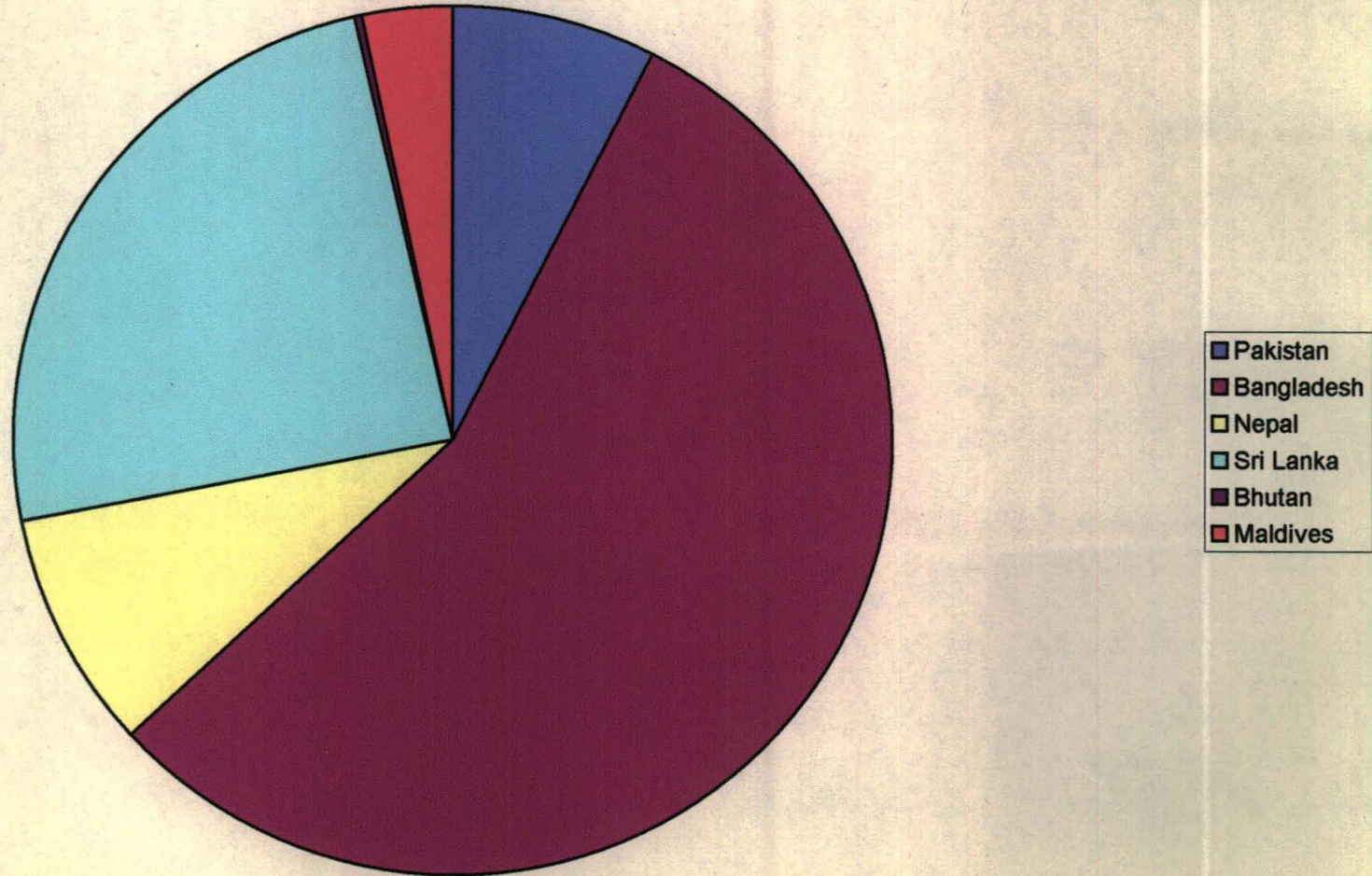


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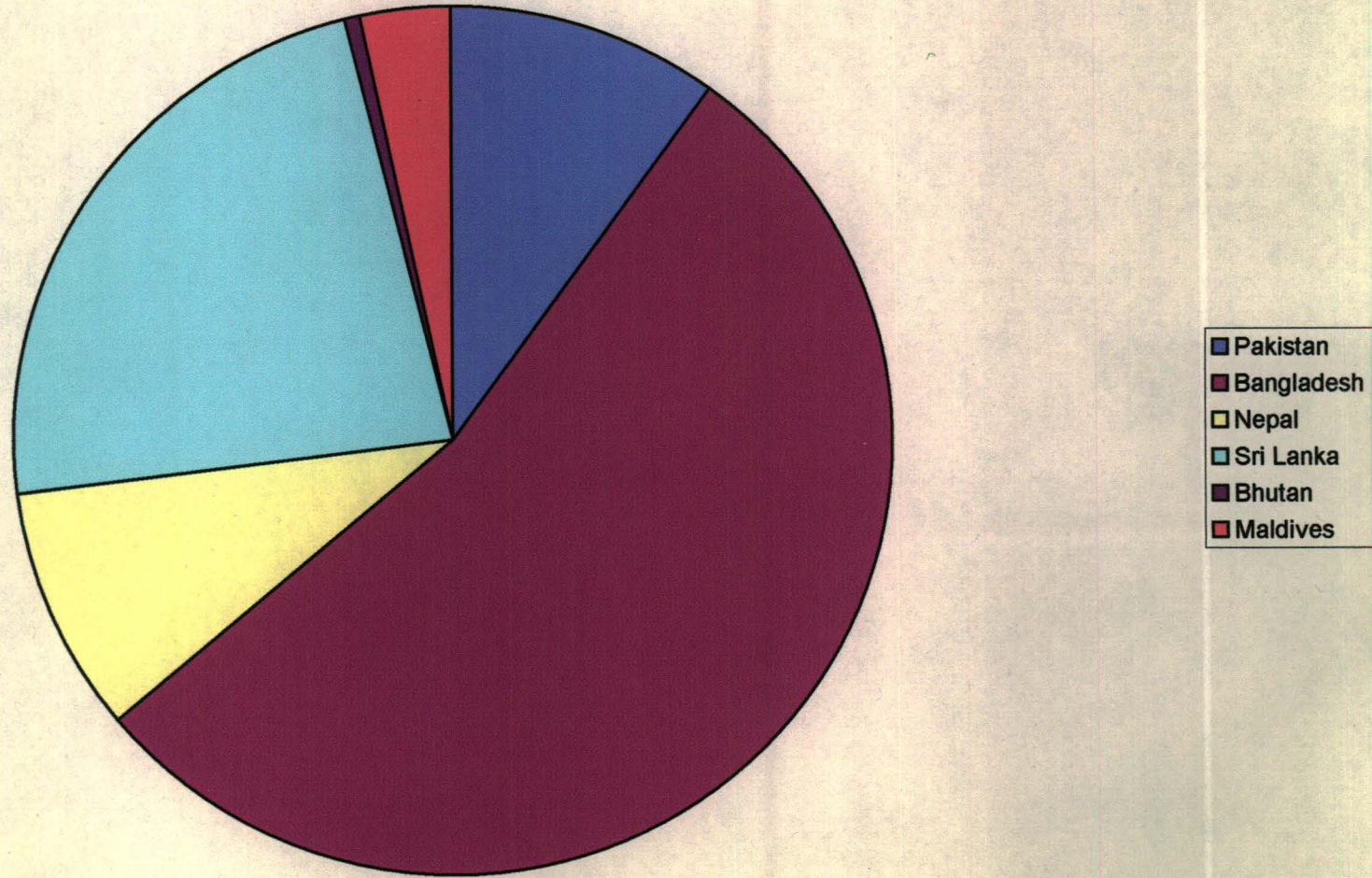


### EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA 1995



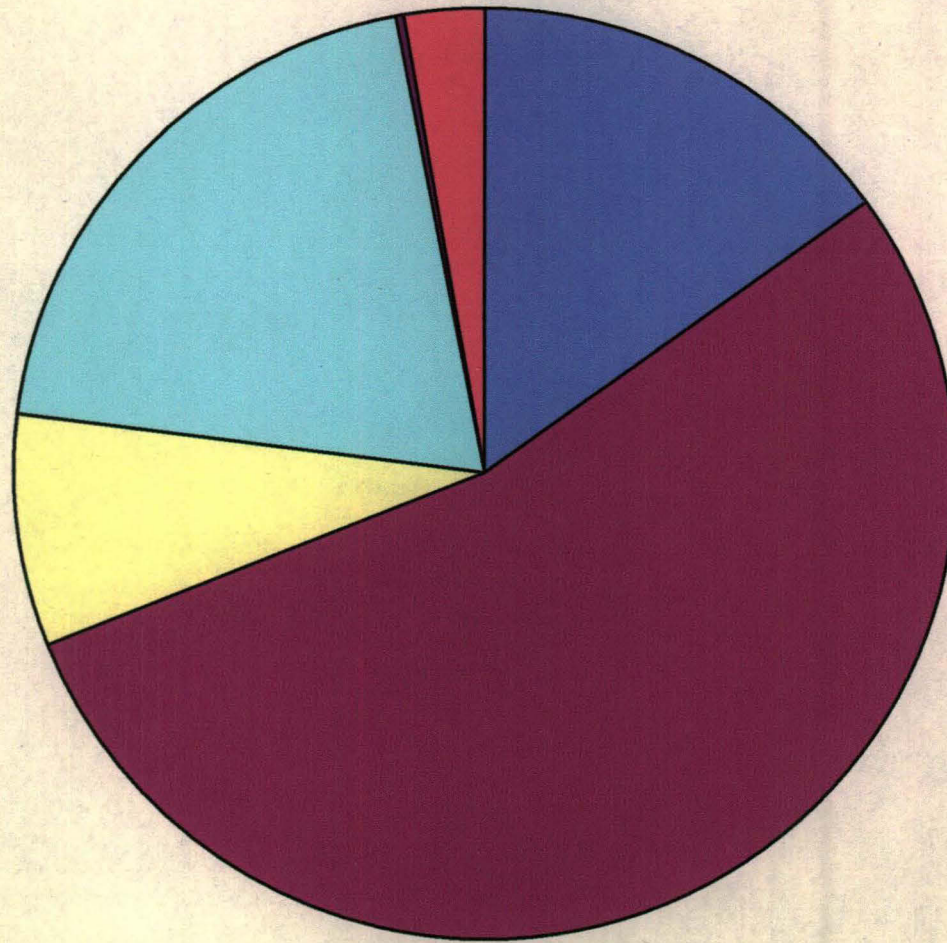


### EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA 1996





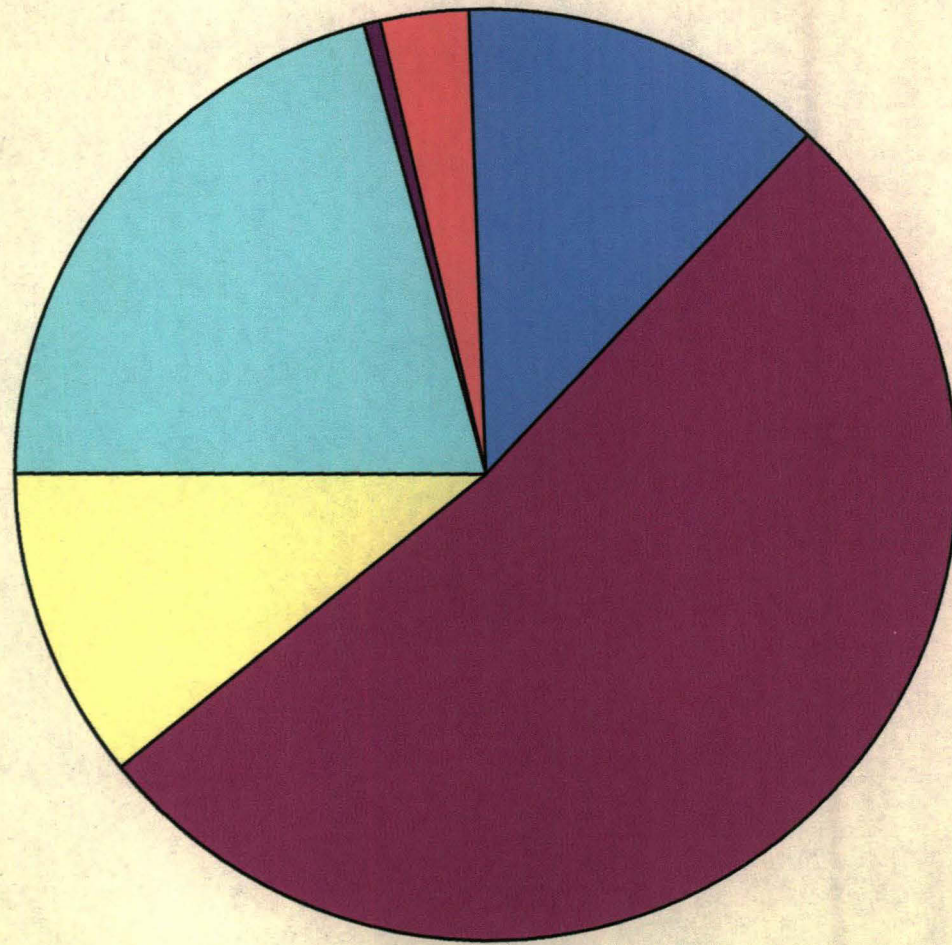
### EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA 1997



- Pakistan
- Bangladesh
- Nepal
- Sri Lanka
- Bhutan
- Maldives

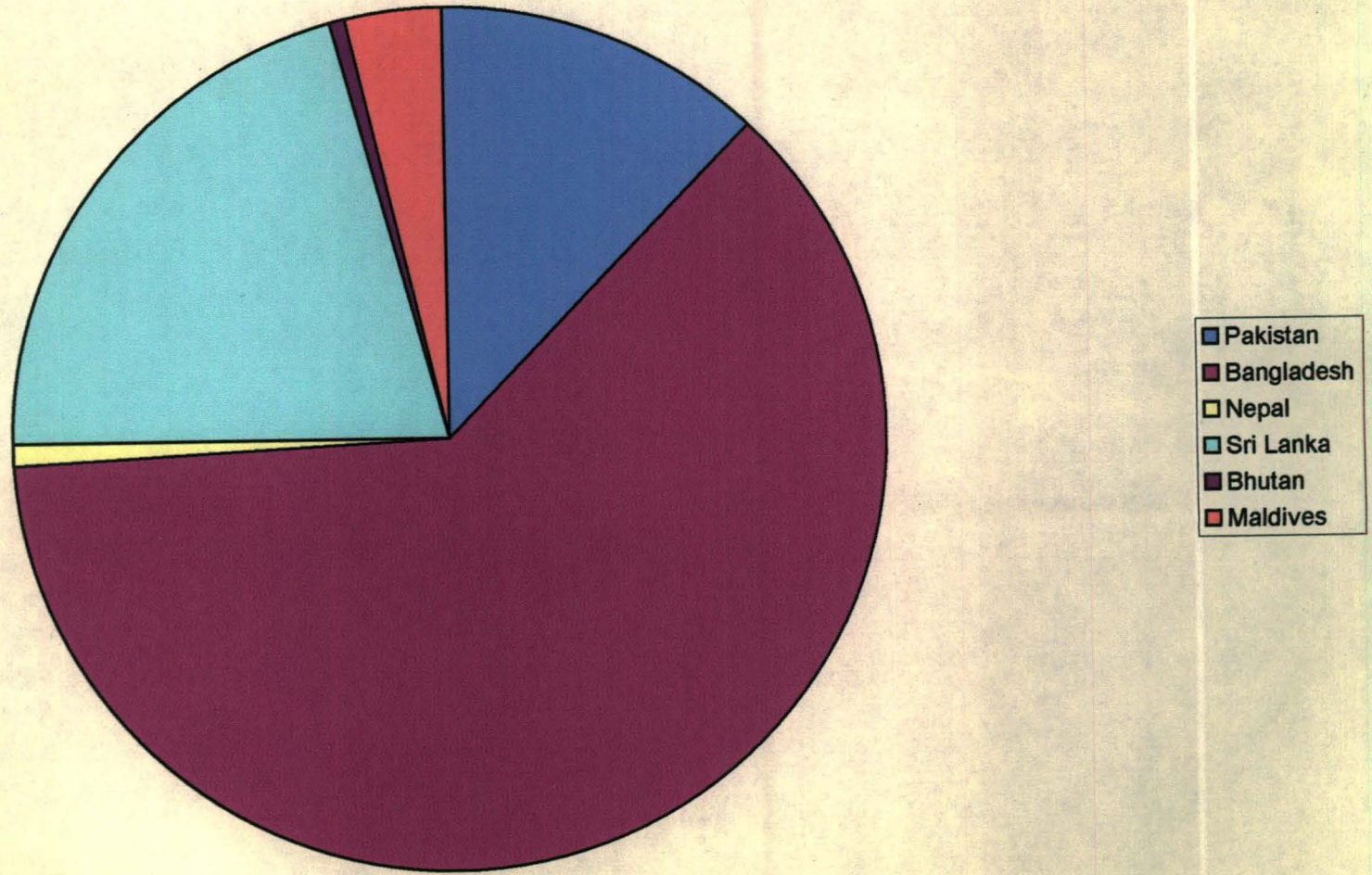


## EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA 1998



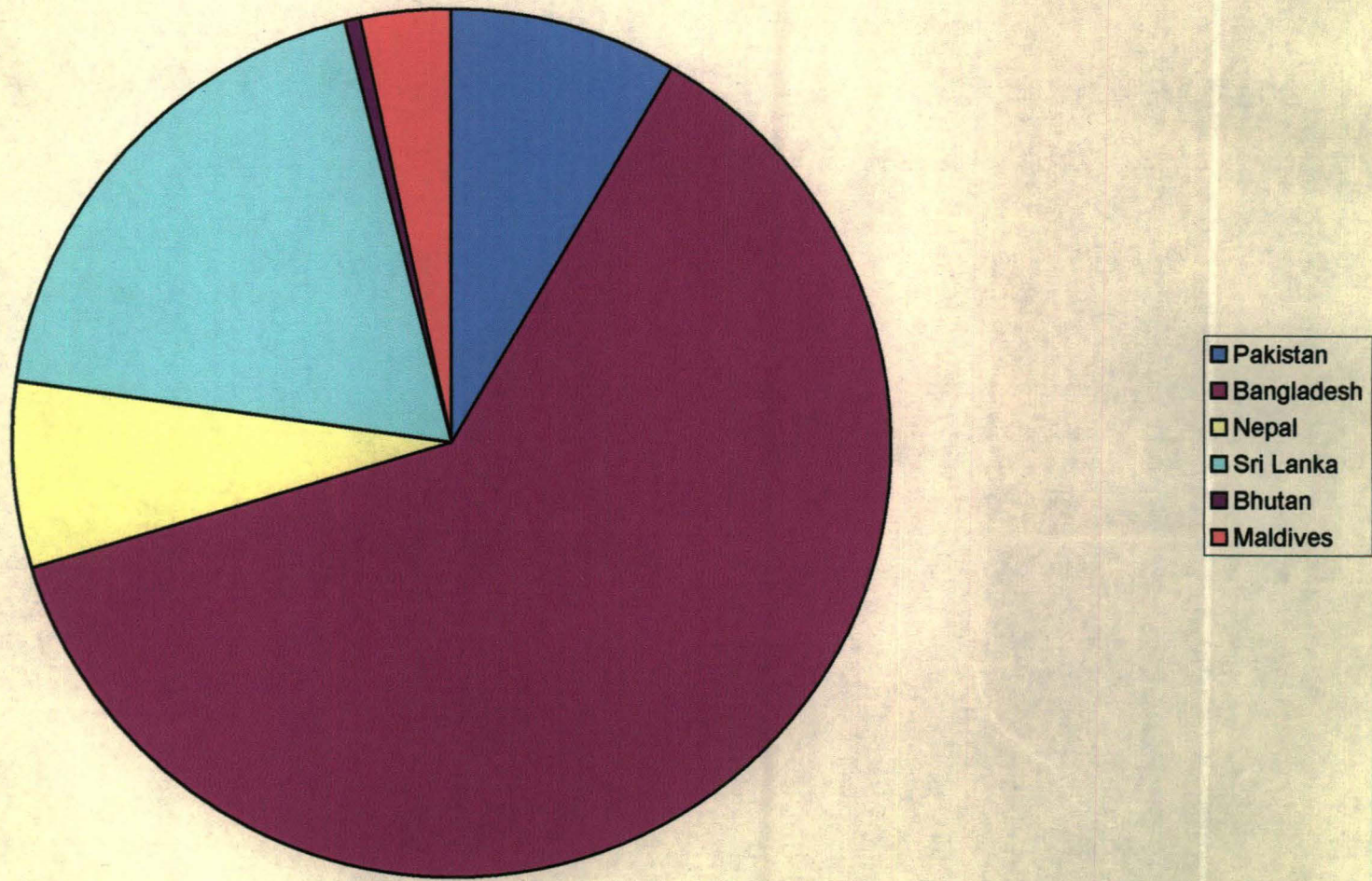


### EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA 1999



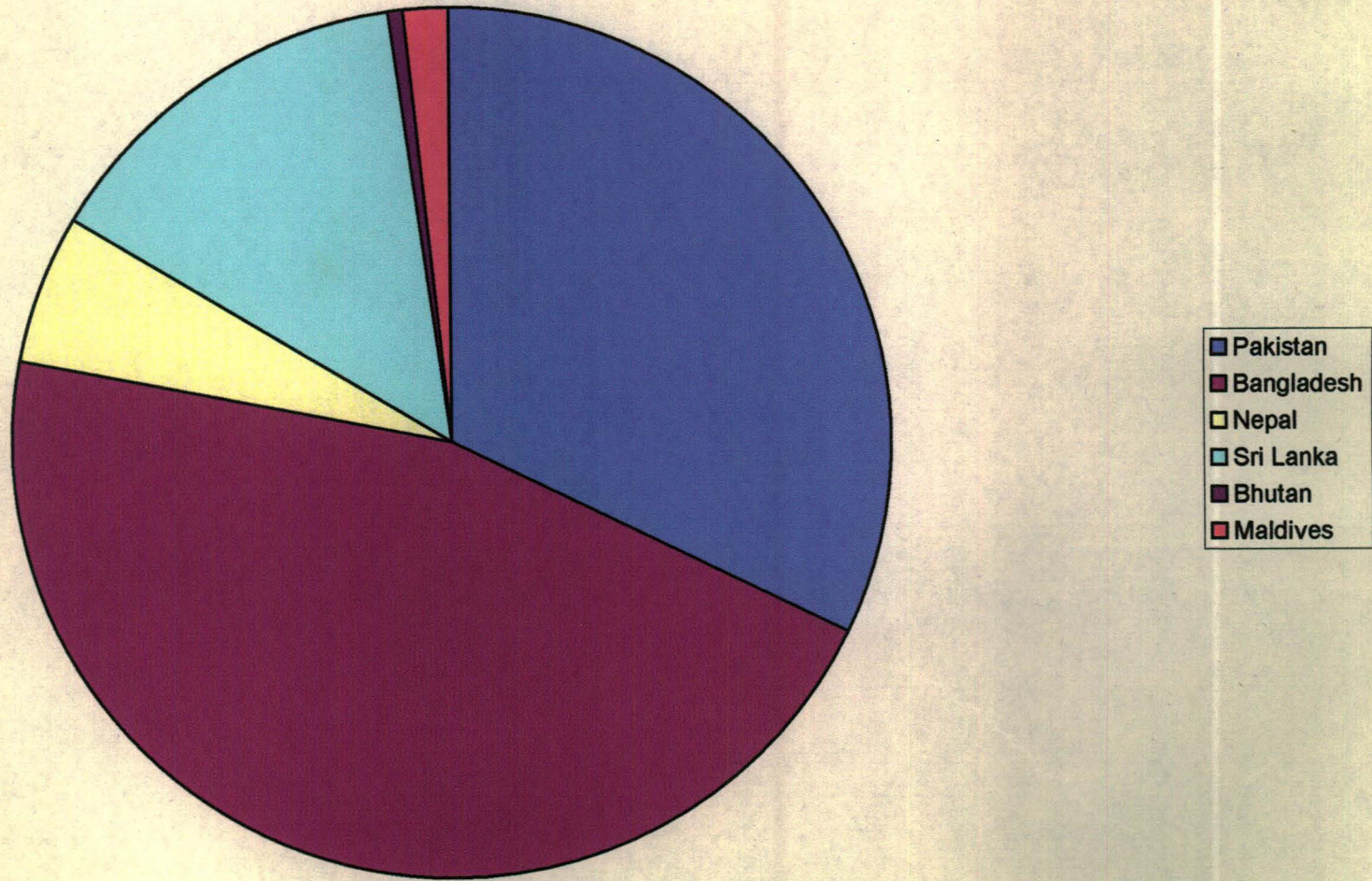


### EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA 2000



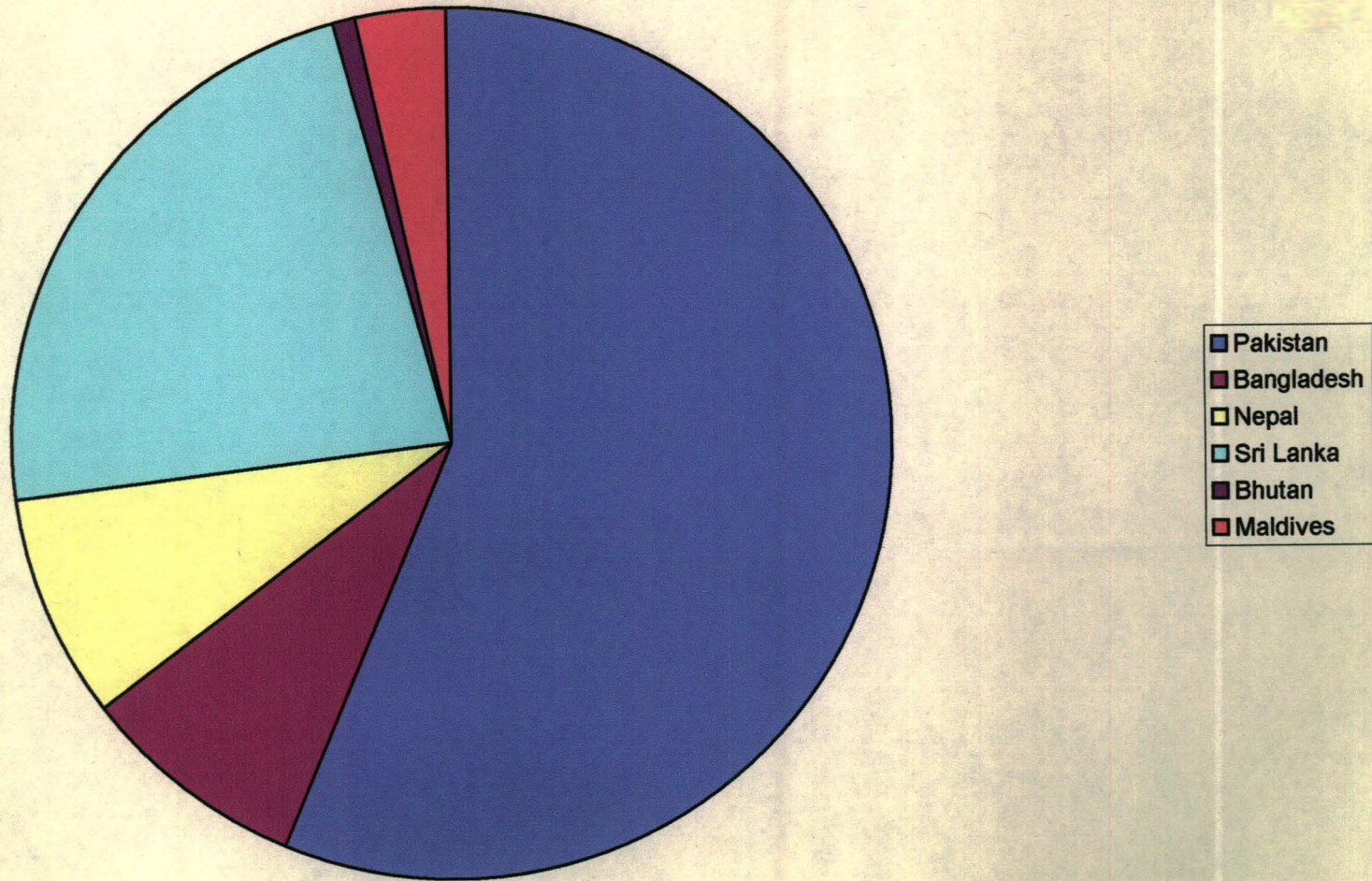


### IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 1990



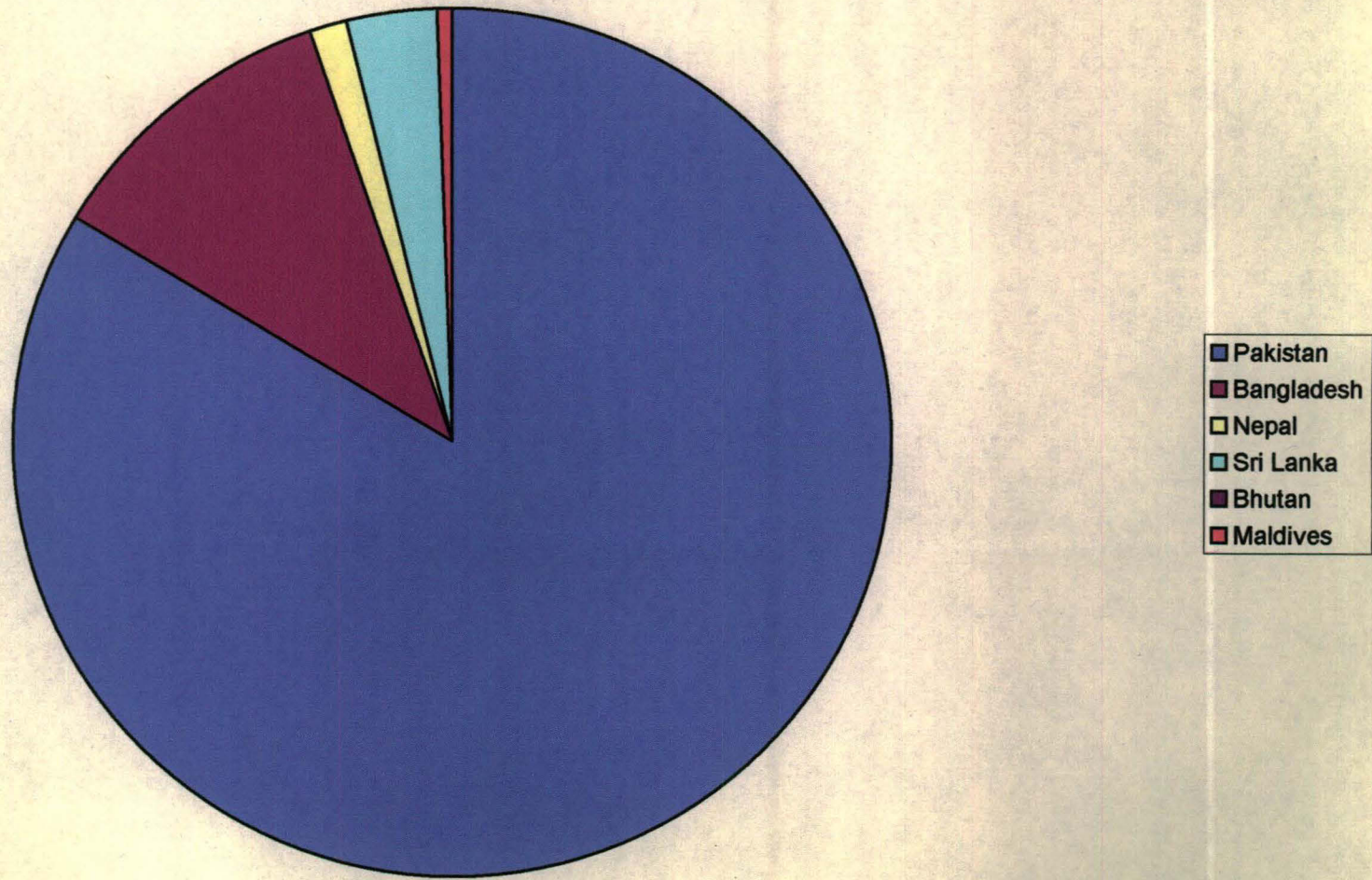


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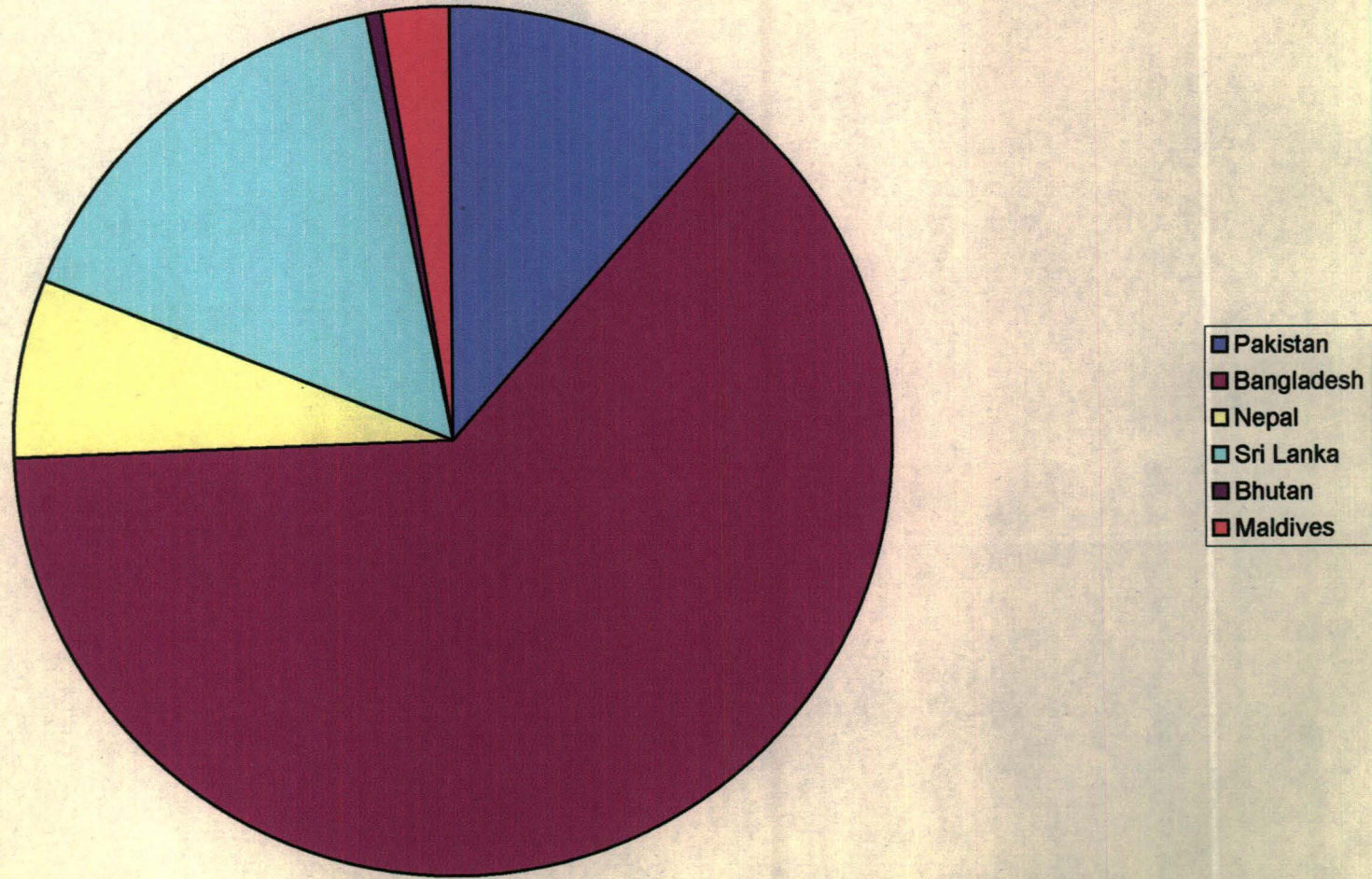


### IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 1992



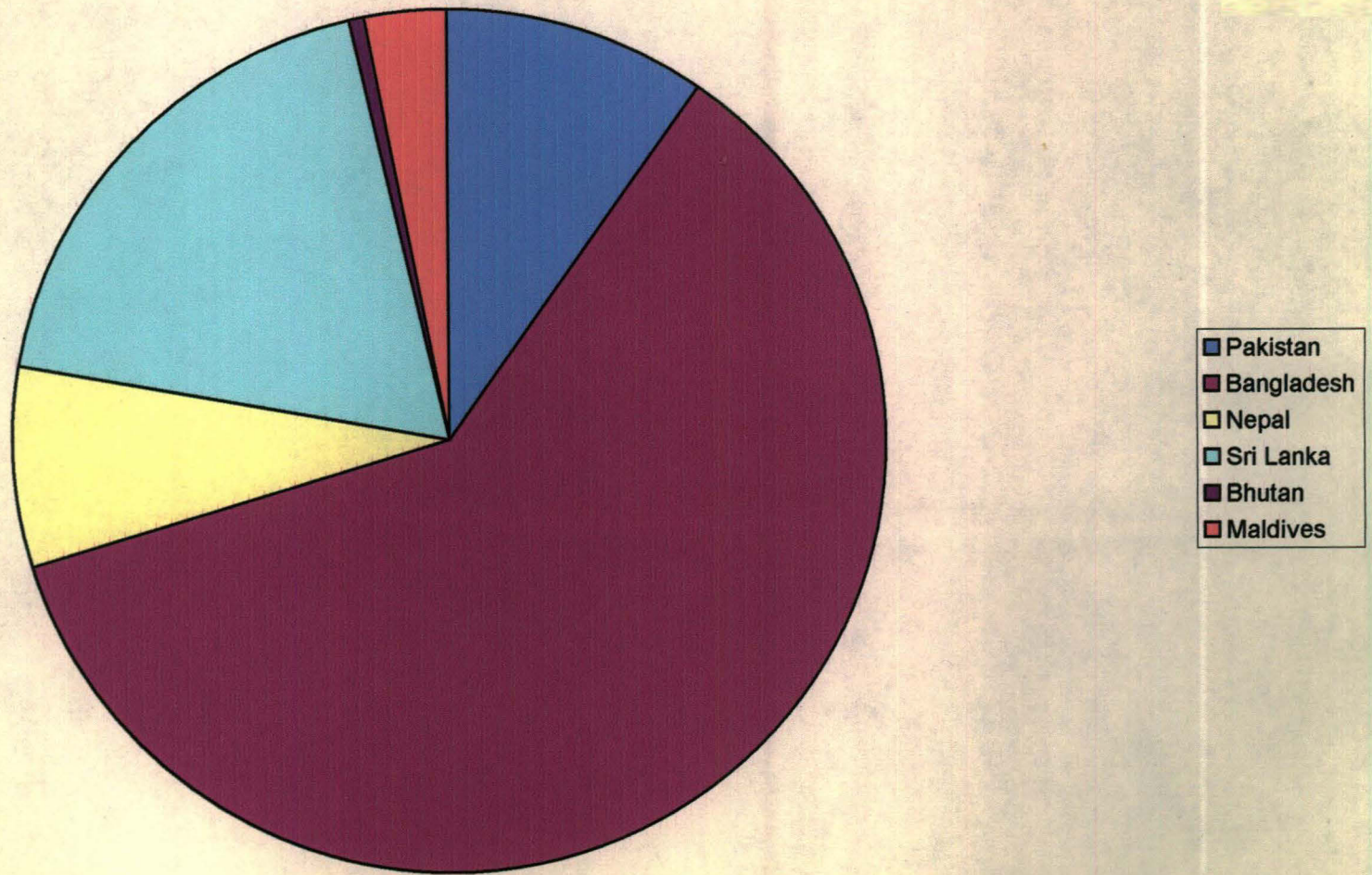


### IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 1993



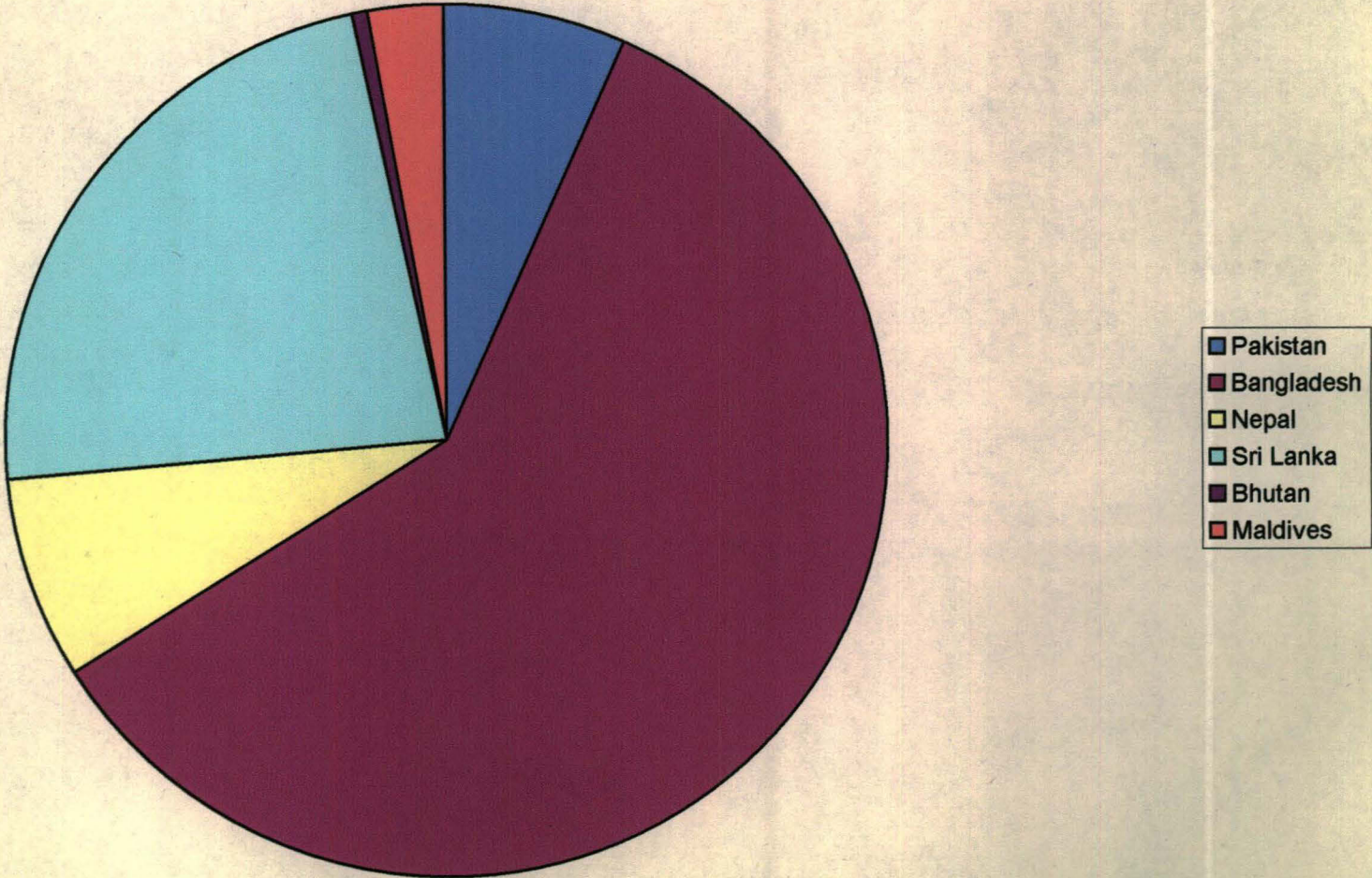


### IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 1994



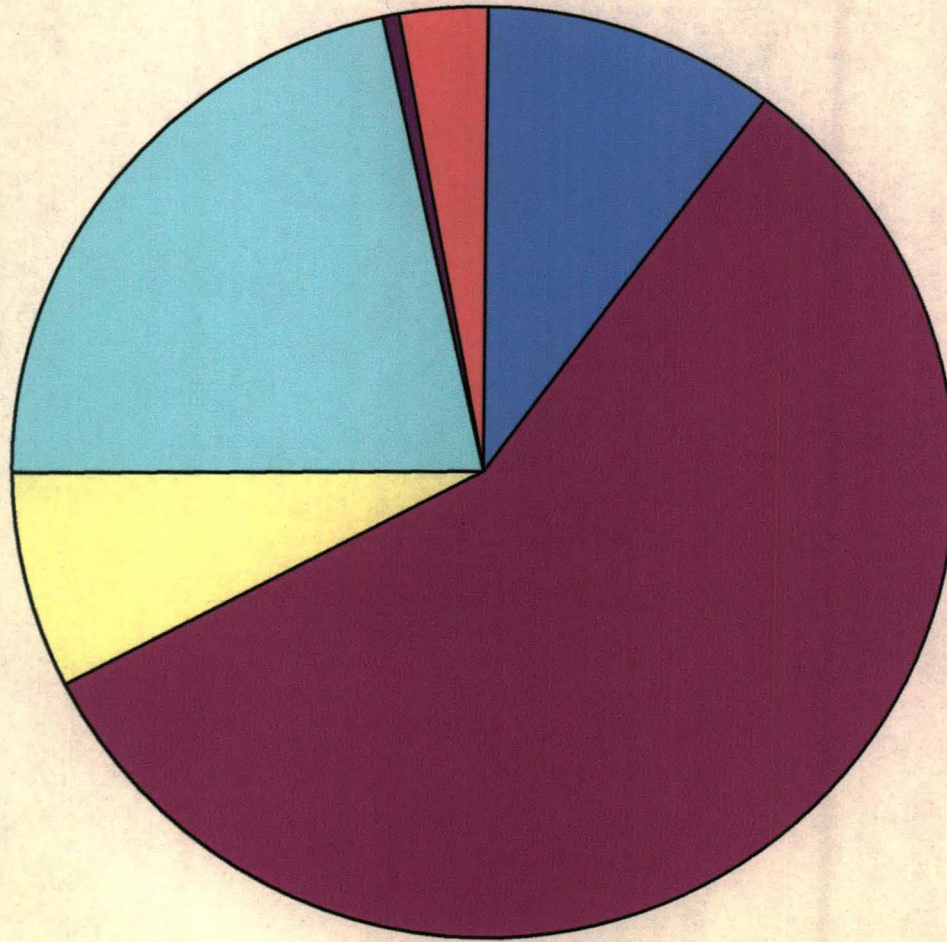


**IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 1995**





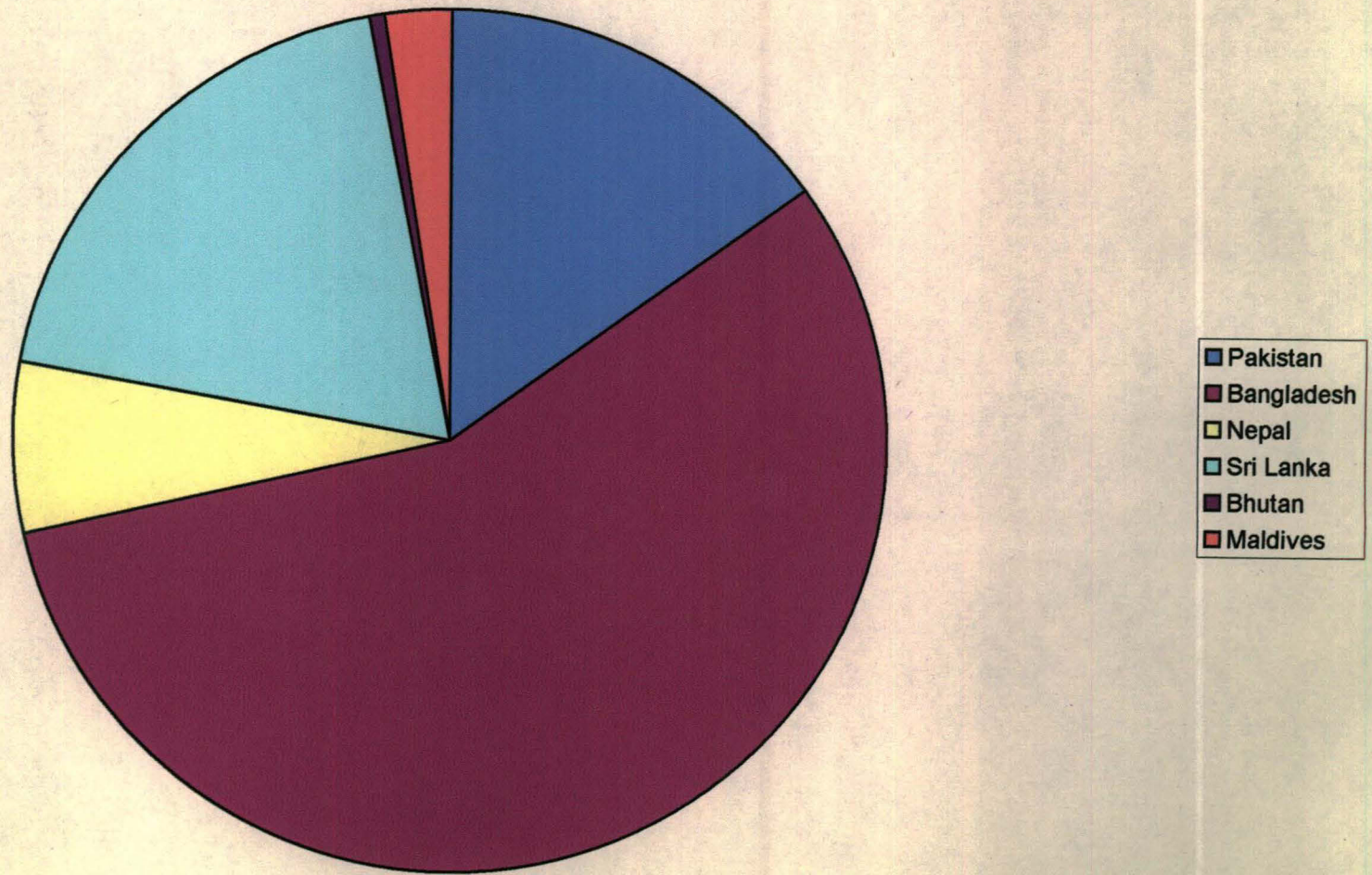
### IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 1996



- Pakistan
- Bangladesh
- Nepal
- Sri Lanka
- Bhutan
- Maldives

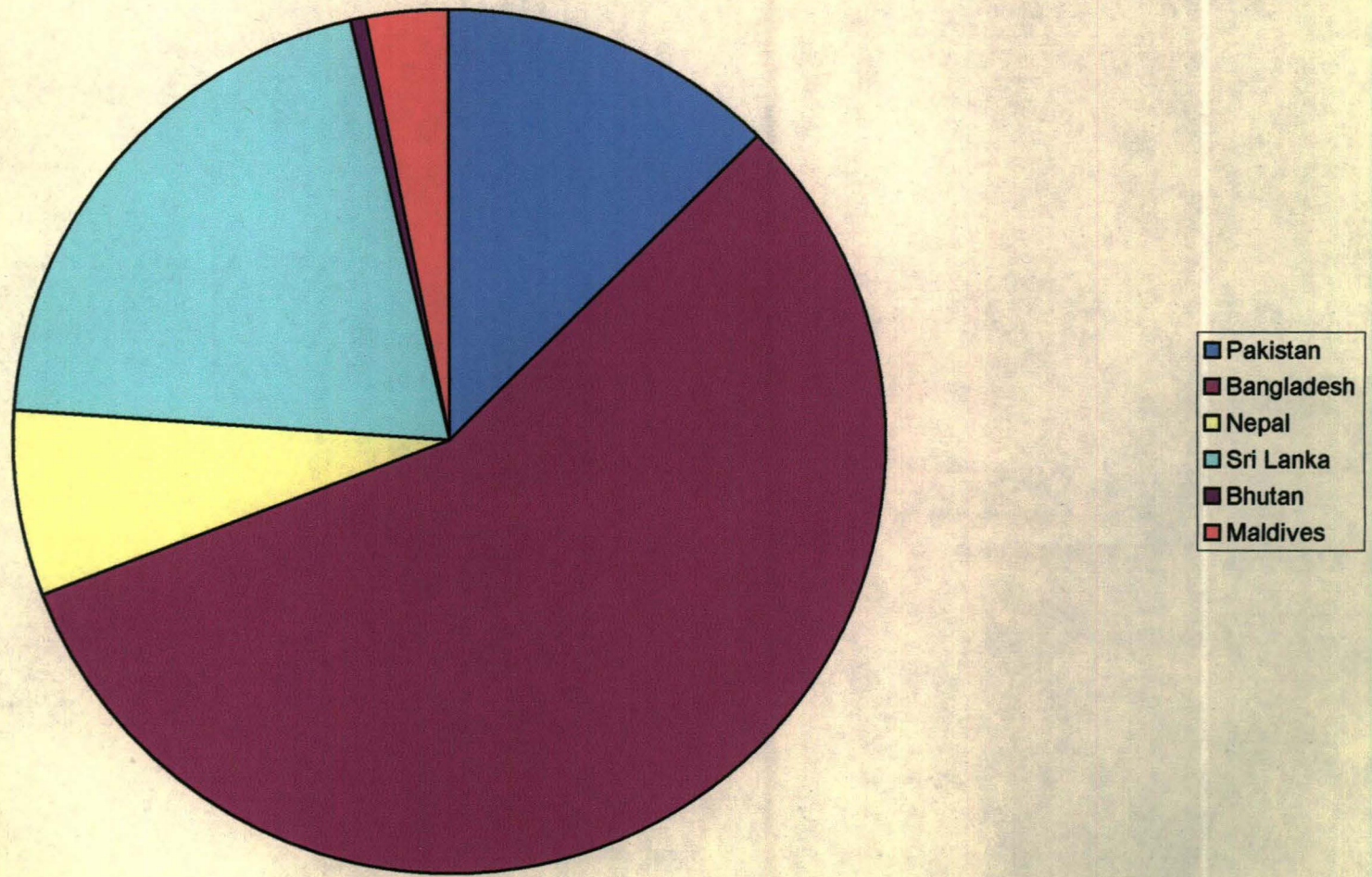


### IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 1997



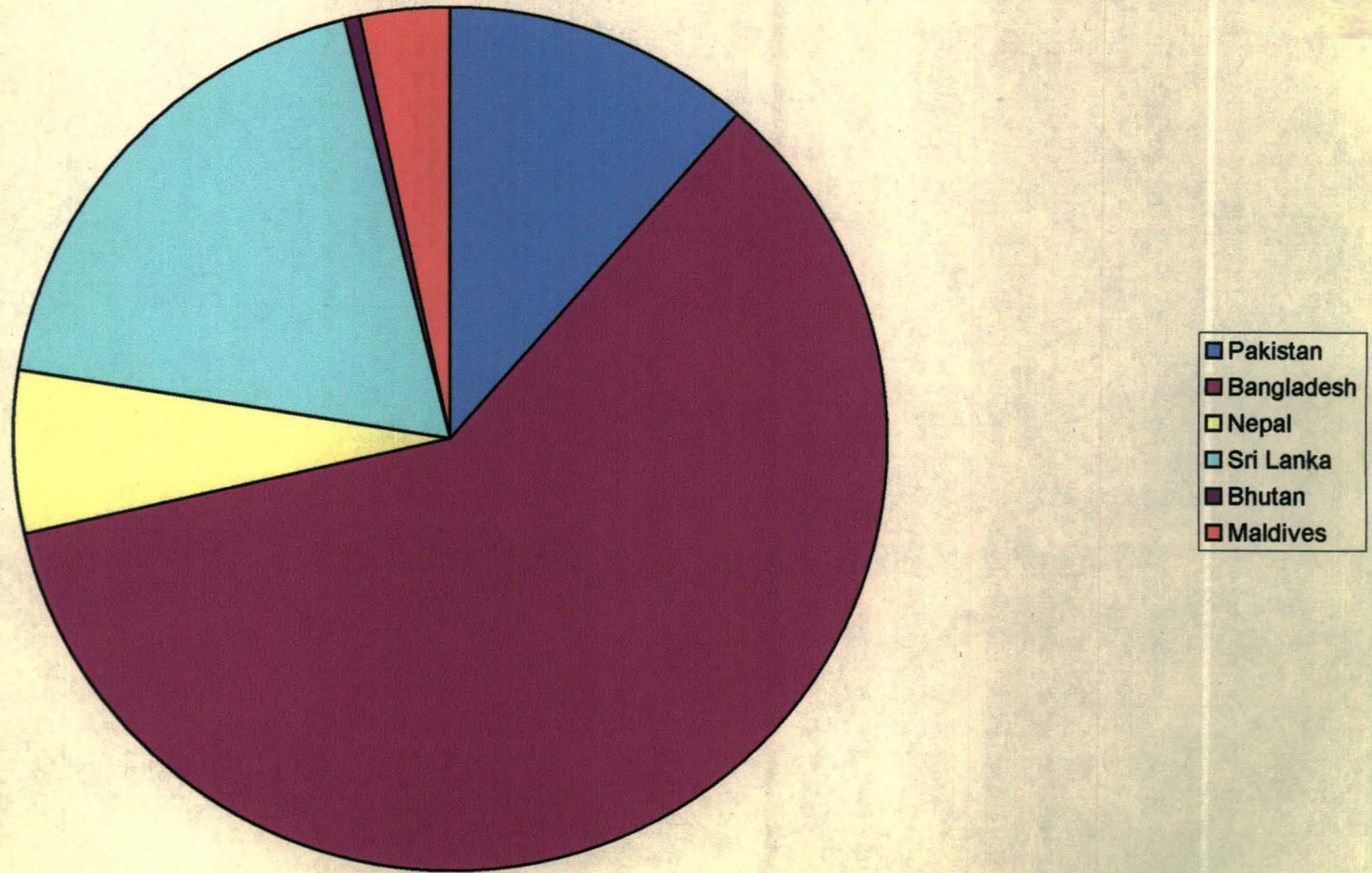


### IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 1998



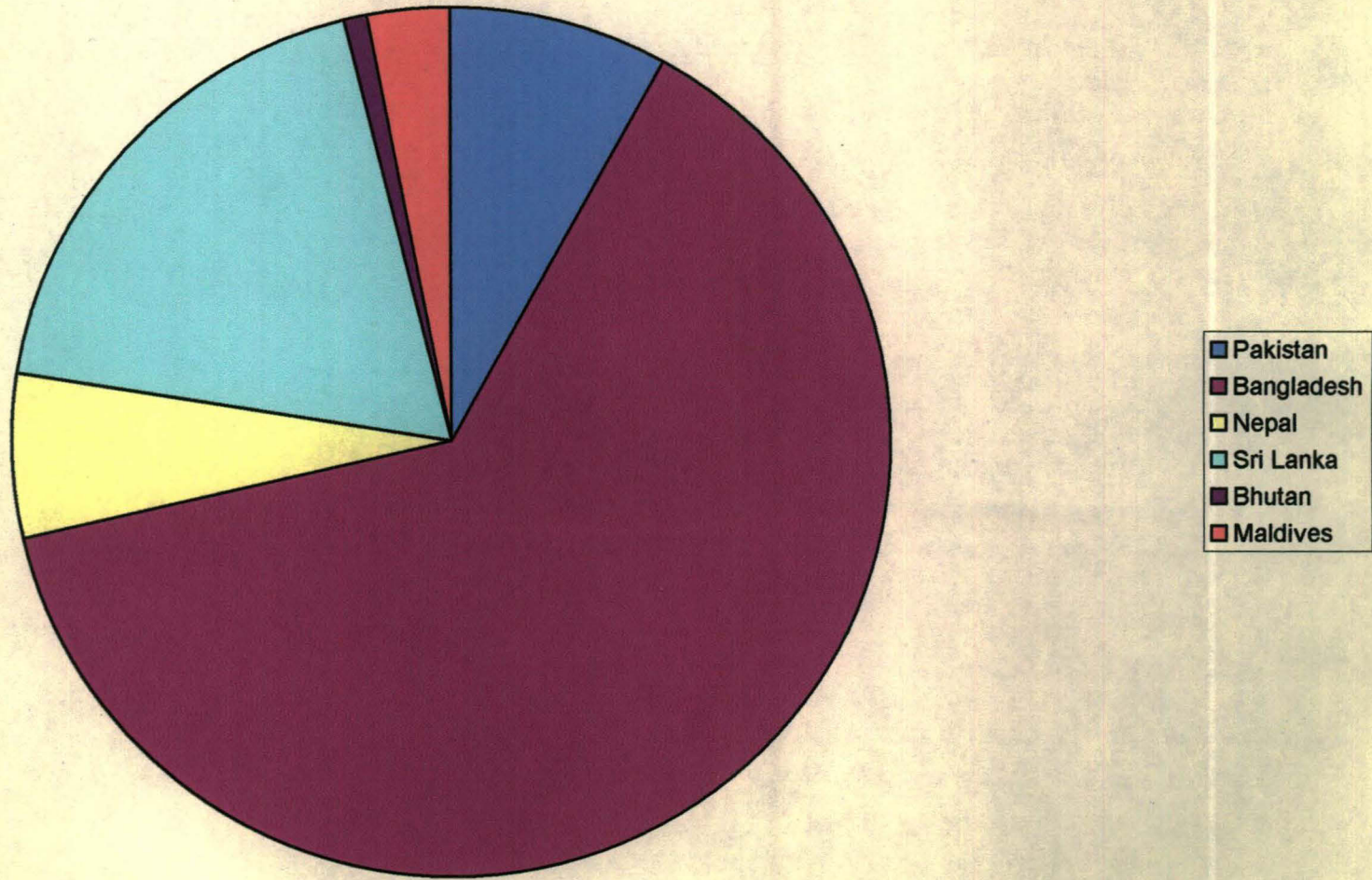


### IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 1999





### IMMIGRANTS INTO INDIA 2000



### CHAPTER III

#### COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INCREASING MIGRATION AND GROWING SOCIAL APATHY

Asia has more than half the World's population. It has been the main source of permanent emigrants, contract migrant labour and refugees for the rest of the World. This predominance is likely to continue for coming several years. Between 1969 and 1989, 11.824 million Asian worked as migrant labourers in other countries. (ILO, 1990a).

In the SAARC region the relation between the receiving and sending countries are strong and sensitive and the streams of migration flows change quickly because of the shifting regional and global conditions. Migrants may have different characteristics, head for different destinations and rise or fall in number because of change in international distribution of goods and capital, because laws passed in a given country have increased or restricted movements, or because informal arrangements at borders have sprung up or collapsed.

"Labour migration derives largely from the industry-specific labour shortages and confers wide-ranging benefits to the immigration country. However, there benefits are not secured without cost. What are the limits to which a country can absorb migrants without arousing the consternation of the indigenous population, and

how are these limits and this absorptive capacity defined? This is one of the most difficult questions facing the people who would like to predict the extent and direction of international migration".

Socio-economic effects of intra-regional migration in the SAARC region are wide spread throughout the economy of these countries. Large-scale population transfers for employment and residence abroad have been steadily increasing during the past 5-10 years. Since the late 1960's the relatively large number of academically and professionally qualified persons leaving the countries have caused an acute brain drain problem, making it a central issue of attention. The mid 1970's saw the rapid growth of migration to the Middle East, which was a migration of skilled and unskilled labour encompassing all sections of the population. The number of countries to which migration is taking place has also increased during the past few years. The magnitude of the migratory flow has created a significant impact on the demographic situation, including population and labour force growth, labour markets and particularly on foreign exchange and balance of payments.

Throughout history, people have moved in search of land, food, employment and adventures. In some areas mobility plays such an important role in people's lives that the entire structure of society has been built around the periodic movement of groups of people. Such is the case with nomads, hunter-gathers, shifting cultivators



and pastoralist for whom movement forms an integral part of their way of life. But migration in the present day world is a highly complex process and the reasons for the characteristics of population movements are seldom straight forward and predictable.

Similar is the case with the effects of migration. Its simply not possible to state whether, the overall impact of migration is positive or negative. The consequences of migration to a large extent depends upon who is moving, the circumstances which led to the move, the purpose of the movement, the form the movement takes and the extent to which migrant succeeds in achieving his or her objectives.

The increasing migration patterns in the SAARC region has many effects on both the receiving country as well as the sending countries. The trends of migration between the SAARC nations that has evolved over the years, has caused increasing social apathy and in some cases the deterioration in their relations.

The consequences of migration has to be studied under the following heads;

#### **Consequences for the Labour Exporting Countires**

- the effect on the income;

The labour migration from the countries has two main effects, first, a sizable surplus is generated in the industrial sector which provides the necessary physical and working capital for development. Secondly, a declining labour population provides a

new environment conducive to the changing production techniques.

Remittances from the receiving countries are also likely to have the income of sending countries, and may not only increase levels of consumption, but also encourage technological change that further raises the income of the sending countries.

On the contrary, its equally possible that the migration may lead to lowering of the income of sending countries because more of the migrants, as we know from several studies are generally young adults and relatively better educated. Their movement involves a sizeable transfer of human capital out of the sending countries which might adversely affect the productivity and incomes, and thus encourage more migration.

#### **Effects on Capital Formation and Technological Change;**

Out migration is likely to push up the wage rates and encourage the labour saving technological change and greater work participation by the remaining population. Technological change would also be stimulated to the extent that out-migrants repatriate savings back to the sending countries in the form of remittances or capital equipment. Some studies have stated that, "since migration occurs partly in response to the lack of investment opportunities, due in large part to the shortage of financial capital, remittances are potentially an important means by which growth of

agricultural production and technological change could be stimulated by migration."<sup>1</sup>

But the net effect of remittances on technological change is difficult to determine apriori. Remittances may be used for productive investment, better housing and education or be spent on conspicuous consumption. The full effects of remittances on capital formation in sending countries will depend on their size and frequency. Some empirical studies suggest that they are sizeable while other find that migrants hardly send any remittances at all.

The out-migrants who either return occasionally or remain in some form of direct or indirect contact with their origin countries are also likely to transmit some new ideas back to the origin. Several studies attribute technological change to the dynamism of return migrants who bring money as well as knowledge and experience of alternative production techniques.

But the impact of return migration largely depends on the type of migrants who return. If most returned migrants are those who have failed in the areas to which they migrated, they would be least productive. Also, many of them may merely return to retire, thus contributing more to the consumption needs than to production.

---

<sup>1</sup> O. Startk (1975) : Technological Change and Rural to Urban migration of labour : A micro-economic casual relationship in the context of less developed economics, International Union for scientific study of Population in Mexico City.

**Effect on Income Distribution;** Some Studies have concluded that migration results in an improvement in the income distribution of sending countries (Adelman and Robinson, 1977), while others have concluded that it worsens it (Rogers et. al, 1978).

The overall effect is extremely hard to understand since it will depend on the period over which an assessment is made, and on whether both direct and indirect effects are considered. It depends primarily on the relative propensities of migration among different segments of the population, and on flow of remittances and return migration.

If migration is concentrated among the fairly rich and the fairly poor, then income inequality may tend to grow. The out flow of educated young workers may tend to reduce this intra-household inequality by the withdrawal of potential income earners from richer households but equally or more likely it may enable higher income households to accumulate capital.

**Effect on demographic variables;** Migration affects the level and distribution of income in the sending countries and income distribution is known to be an important determinant of fertility and population growth. Migration of unmarried males of young, working age might result in severe imbalances of the sex ratio in the sending countries. Large scale immigration of males in search of employment opportunities can have adverse effects upon the family structure. Separation of husbands from wives during crucial life-cycle phase, when couples are fertile and economically

active, lowers the complete family size.

Migration through increased contacts with the more modernized sector may influence the value system, particularly of the rural communities and internalize lower fertility norms.

### **Consequences for Labour Importing Countries**

The most widely discussed consequences of immigration on the receiving countries is on the level of unemployment and wages. The effect of migration on wages is also not clear since it depends primarily on the nature and volume of migration and also on the demand and supply position in the labour market.

#### **Labour force participation ;**

The relationship between migration and labour force participation in the receiving countries can not be determined theoretically. Some observers have said that immigrants have a lower propensity to participate in the labour force than natives, because of several reasons, such as ;

-immigrants are identified and hence may be discriminated against, in their search for work because of ethnic, religious, tribal, caste and similar considerations.

-immigrants are often considered to have a lower degree of commitment to work than natives and are therefore less preferred by the employers.

These factors may result in discriminatory wage rates and a less favourable

employment situation for migrants which may reduce their participation in the labour force.

-if the labour market is segmented and the migrants are pushed into low wage, less secure and low status jobs, with a reduced prospect of upward mobility, this may reduce their incentives to participate in the labour force.

-migrants are not likely to have contacts to the same extent as natives which may reduce their chances of finding suitable employment and place them at a disadvantage in searching for work.

But some studies suggest that immigrants are more likely to participate in the labour force because of many reasons;

-immigrants often have lower level of aspirations and expectations and are likely to take whatever job is available.

-its viewed that migrants are an achievement - oriented group and therefore have a higher participation rate.

**Effects on availability of amenities and economies of scale;**

The influx of migrants in any area increases the demand for infrastructural facilities and social services such as schools, hospitals and communications and transport, water drainage and electricity provisions and cultural and recreational facilities.

The inflow of migrants is also likely to push up rents and land values. Although, if the migrant workers are concentrated in construction and low level jobs in the services sector, their presence may lower the costs of providing housing and other amenities. All these factors, to a large extent, depends on the nature of migration and the demographic structure of the migrants.

**Effect on income distribution;**

The impact of immigration on income distribution in any area depends on the relative propensities of different groups of migrants to enter the various segments of the labour market as well as on their mobility potential among these segments.

If the majority of immigrants enter low income jobs, the direct and immediate impact of their arrival in the area will be the worsening of the income distribution. Whether this effect is large or small will depend on the ability of migrants to move up financially and occupationally. Thus, the longer term impact of immigration will be more pronounced shift towards inequality, the greater the degree of segmentation in the labour market. Further, the effect of migration on the income distribution of any area will depend on the average propensities of migrants of different types and in different employment in the area to send remittances.

**Effect on development;**

The net economic impact of immigration largely depends on the types of



migrants involved, and their characteristics. If its relatively younger and more productive individuals, who tend to dominate the migration flows they might benefit their destination areas by increasing the proportion of labour force in prime working ages. If migrants bring skills needed by the destination areas, these areas will benefit in so far as they are able to utilize skilled manpower educated at the expense of the origin areas. Temporary and target migrants would be more common if the labour market is stratified, if migrants generally have to take low wage, low skill jobs offering very little opportunity for upward mobility, whereas permanent migration would occur if the labour market is more open, and if there is a scope for upward mobility.

All these factors primarily determine the consequence of migration in the origin and destination countries. But taking view of all these factors, the most important one which determines the level of social transformation and social unrest in the SAARC nations is the characteristics of migrants. Therefore, first of all, we will classify the migrants within the SAARC region into various types. These are the following main types and trends of intra-regional SAARC migration;

- Permanent emigrants
- Temporary labour migrants
- Return migrants

-Illegal migrants

-Refugees

**Permanent emigration-**

In the 1960's the receiving countries did away with discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, birth place, and began to favour skilled and professional workers and immigration that reunited families. This led to rapid and dramatic changes in the composition and volume of permanent emigration in South Asia. The non-refugee, permanent Asian emigrants to receiving countries are characterized by their high-level skills or professions, substantial incomes, or proven enter preneurship and business acumen. What was termed a "brain drain" i.e. the loss of professional workers to emigration and the refusal of students studying in receiving countries to return home upon completion of their courses, became a matter of concern to the sending countries. Losses to the SAARC countries have included substantial financial capital as well as skilled human resources.

As immigration regulations have tightened and nations have sought a narrower range of skills, family reunion provisions generally offer the only means of entry for sizeable number of migrants.

**Temporary labour migration;**

This type of migrant group basically involves workers who are either

unskilled or semi-skilled and migrate in search for a job opportunity. These type of migrants are mostly involved in low-level type of jobs.

These type of migrants are very common feature in the SAARC region. Several people from countries like Nepal and Bangladesh come to India particularly in search for some job, end up taking the low-level jobs like Chowkidars, servants etc.

### **Return Migrants;**

Return migrants can be of two types;

- a) First group includes those professionals or students who after completing their studies or any other job return back to their country of origin. Such migrants are welcomed back to their country as they bring along with them a lot of knowledge and information about new technological developments.
- b) Second group includes those people who generally migrate in search of better opportunities from their home country but are not able to succeed there and return back as failures to the home country. There are some others who return back to their country at the time of their retirement.

### **Illegal Migrants;**

This group of migrants constitute the largest group in terms of the SAARC region. Most of the intra-regional migration in the SAARC is of the illegal type

because the borders between these South-Asian countries are almost open resulting in large amount of clandestine migration. The borders between India and Nepal and India and Bangladesh are open leading to large scale cross-border population movements. These type of migrants are the most important when we deal with the social apathy caused due to population mobility. The SAARC countries and the region as a whole faces the problem of illegal migration largely because of close cultural ties and historical connections. For example during the time of Indian Partition and formation of Pakistan, there was large amount of population movement across the borders, which continues even today.

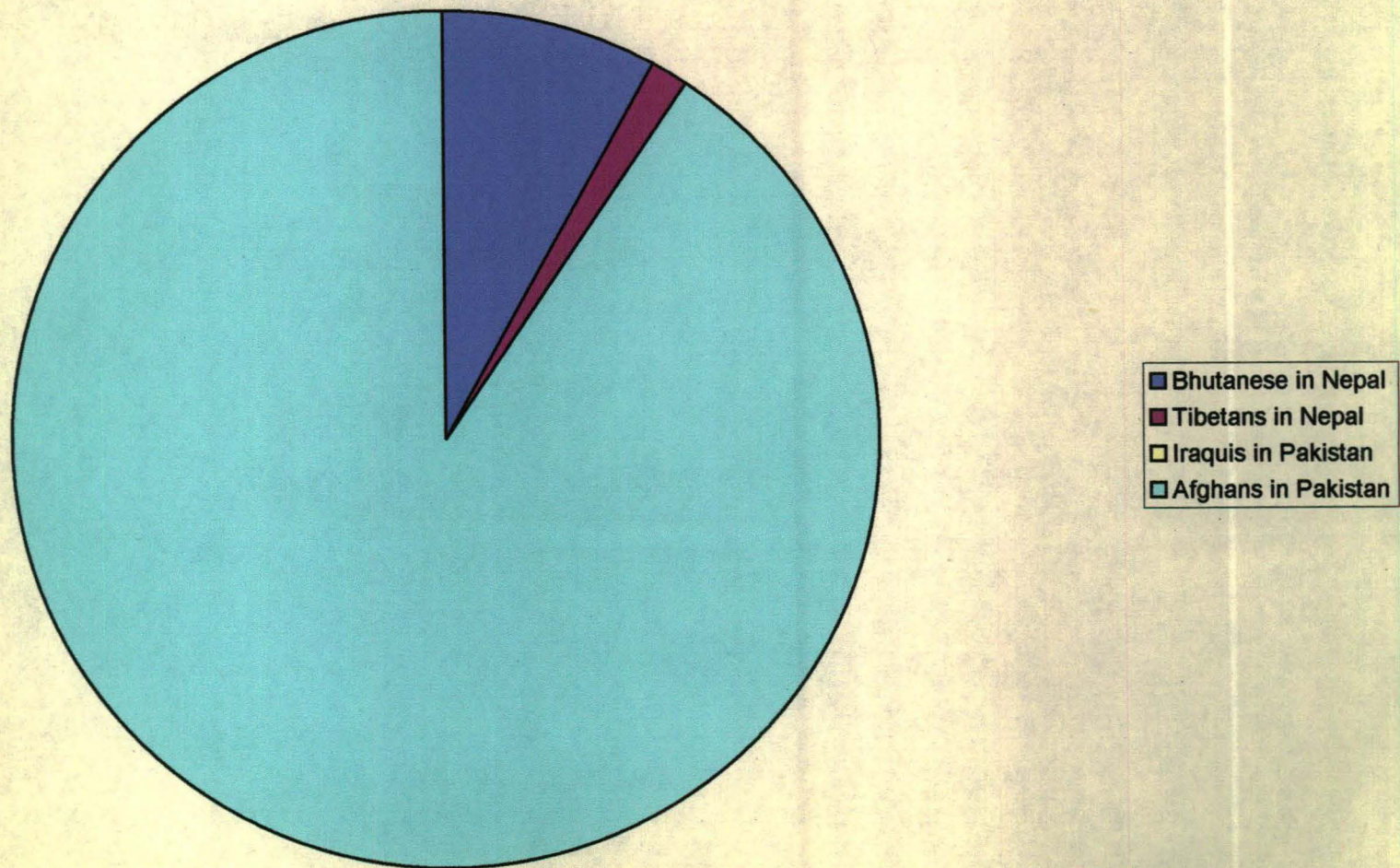
The increasing traffic of drugs and arms in the SAARC region is also one of the major cause of illegal migrants. The relations between India and Pakistan are mostly deteriorated due to the cross border population movement from Pakistan to India mainly for the trafficking of arms and ammunition and causing terrorism in the state.

### **Refugees;**

These are the type of migrants which are forced to flee from their home country to some other country because of fear of political or religious persecution or because of war and some environmental hazard or natural calamities.

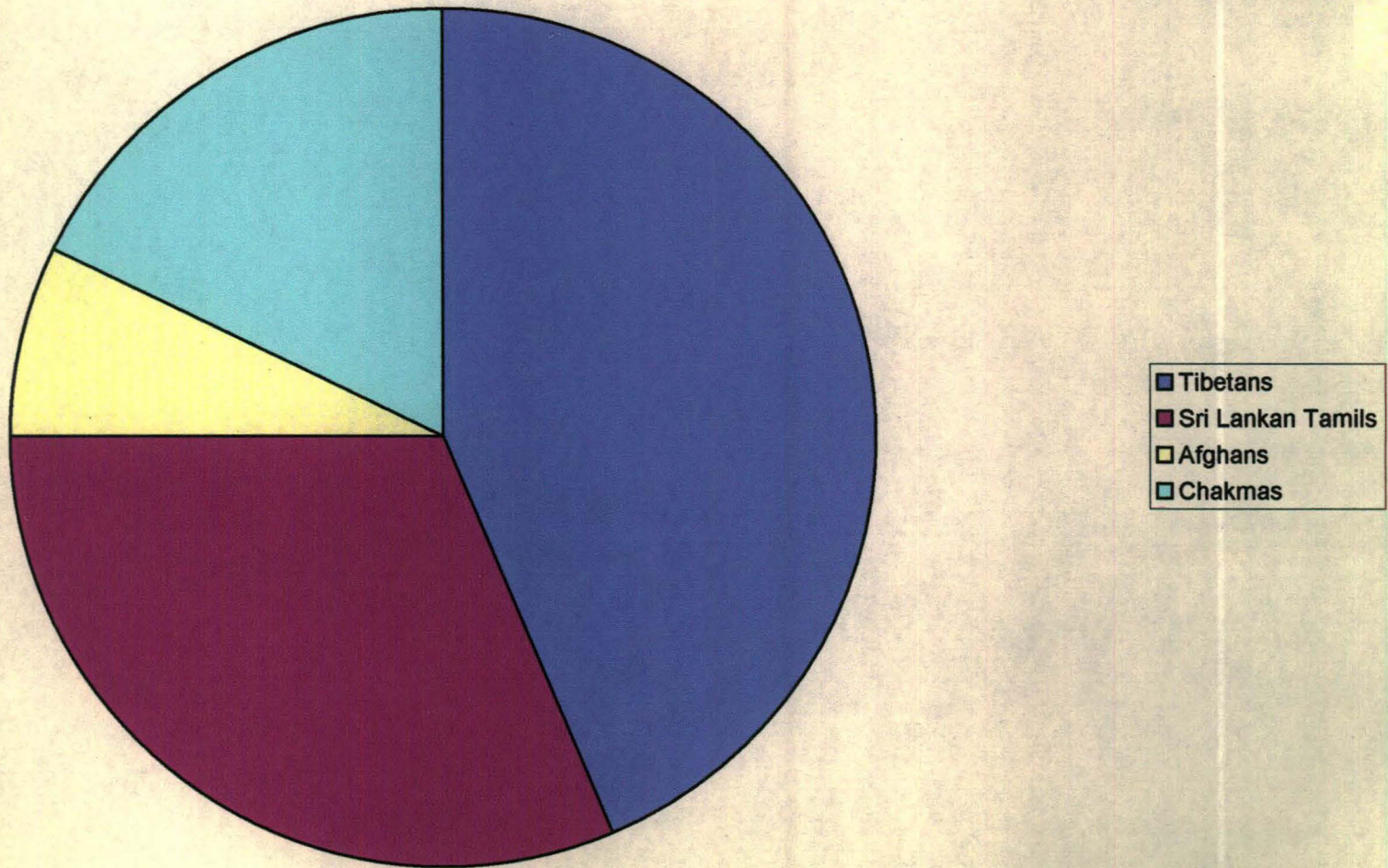
The best example of such refugee migrants in the SAARC region are the

## REFUGEE POPULATION IN SOUTH ASIA





### REFUGEE POPULATION IN INDIA 1998



Chakmas who migrated from Bangladesh to India because of certain land resettlement schemes carried on by the Bangladesh Government. The fear of losing their habitat due to these schemes led the Chakmas along with other tribal people to migrate into India as refugees.

The refugee migrants in the world is a very controversial topic in the present day circumstances because no country in the world today, is ready to accept the refugees and take measures for their rehabilitation.

### **Socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants**

For those emigrating to other areas, the first step in the process of socio-cultural adaptation is obtaining employment. But while economic integration is a necessary condition for socio-cultural adaptation, its not a sufficient condition.

There are a number of factors that are important in terms of the rate and extent of adaptation:

- the ease of entry into the labour market
- the degree of occupational mobility
- the immigrants motives and intentions
- the immigrants level of education and facility in the host countries language
- access to educational opportunities upon arrival
- age on arrival

- receptivity of the host population

While its true that the rate and extent of socio-cultural adaptation is very much governed by the efforts of the immigrant, its also often the case that the immigrant may face barriers to adaptation erected by the host society.

The insurgency in Assam led to so much disorder and conflicts in the society only because of the Assamese people who were not ready to accept the Muslims from Bangladesh into their territory. The Assamese government put so many hurdles in the adaptaton of Bangladeshi Muslims, such as;

- the adoption of Assamese as the official language or the second language where it could not be used as the first language.
- The dislike of Assamese for the immigrants from Bangladesh was very much evident when they refused to accept the Sylhet district as a part of Assam because of its larger proportion of Muslim population.

More specifically, it cannot be ignored that a possible perceived cost of immigration by the indigenous population is the potential cultural and racial conflict which might result from a high and continued level of immigration. The extent of this reaction will differ between countries according to the degree of ethno centricity or xenophobia of their native population. Some politicians will seek political advantage by attributing the societies social and economic ills to recently arrived



immigrants. These ethno-centric and racist individuals have the ability to stir up antagonism where it did not exist before, to introduce intolerance where before there was acceptance.

The ostensible concern over the cultural and social impact of foreign workers has led the governments of some SAARC nations to isolate their immigrant work force in compounds well away from indigenous population centres. For example in some of the Middle East Countries to ensure that the immigrants do not stay over they have refused to allow most of their guest workers, particularly from the East to bring any dependents. Another example is of South Africa where since last many years the foreign African mine workers are confined to the mining compounds. Singapore also through legal restraints discourages guest workers from bringing dependents and does not allow them to marry the citizens.

While such cases of blatant disregard for psychological and social welfare of immigrant workers are many, they are probably exceeded by policies of benign neglect of immigrants in many receiving countries.

The problems faced by the immigrants in regard to their socio-cultural adaptation can be repeated in the next generation. The children often have to cope with the learning of two cultures and two languages. The cultural dualism can create personal conflict in so far as, the social and cultural values and attitudes of the host

society differ from those of the children's immigrant parents. Entering into an educational system whose medium of communication is a language not thoroughly understood by the immigrant's children puts them at an immediate disadvantage. These students can quickly fall behind making it problematic that they will ever reach their full potential. Such constraints on their educational attainment are likely to be manifest in limited economic opportunities once they reach the job market. Although some immigrant groups are able to overcome these constraints others have not been very successful.

Its a goal to facilitate the economic and socio-cultural adaptation of these groups and their children, which requires a great deal of commitment on the part of the governments of the host countries. Their failure to deal effectively and quickly with these situations is likely to generate deep social problems, thus accentuating future social economic and political crisis situations.

One of the major cause of the increasing social apathy in the countries due to migration is the ethnic conflicts. Here we take up the case of Sri Lankan ethnic problem.

### **Ethnicity**

"It is a social phenomena associated with identity of members of the largest possible competing communal group in a political system seeking to protect and

advance their interests".

Another feature of ethnicity is, "common consciousness by members of the ethnic group of being one in interaction with other groups". Its this factor rather than any other that distinguishes the Sinhalese and Tamils of Sri Lanka, who largely share the same culture, language, religion and the way of life. "Exclusiveness is another attribute of ethnicity. Its associated with in group/out group boundaries which are jealously guarded by the ethnic groups. Consequently, acceptance and rejection on ethnic grounds characterize the social relations among groups".

Finally, "hostility is another important aspect of ethnicity when competition among ethnic groups become destructive, ethnicity produces jealousy and a sense of insecurity".

Ethnicity has been one of the important causes of emigration in the SAARC region. Emigration often protects the life of emigrants and increases their socio-economic security. But its true only for those migrants who succeed in establishing a normal life in their host countries. But emigration does not bring success to all the migrants and the problems faced by them are as follows;

- Emigration may lead to conflict in source states or fuel existing conflicts there. In few cases among those fleeing political persecution their relatives may be persecuted in reprisal or used as hostages, leading to new source of



tension and even open conflict.

- Emigrants, especially refugees, may constitute a military security threat to their host regime. Fire arms spill over borders from countries caught up in civil wars.
- There are ecological consequences of refugee emigration. Refugee flows are often much denser and concentrated than labour migration movements. They are therefore, more likely to have an impact on the environment, often leading to overgrazing, deforestation and destructive agricultural practices.
- Emigration may lead to the imposition of strains in the resources of the host country. The immigrants are perceived to adversely affect job prospects and the distribution of social services.
- Emigration may generate divisive economic competition between migrant and the host population. Refugee labour force is claimed to depress the level of living by reducing the work available and lowering the wages.
- Host governments may manipulate emigration for their own purpose. Immigrants, legal or illegal, may be made scapegoats for the failure of government policies.
- Emigration invariably disrupts production and distribution in source countries. The actively productive members of the population migrate and the

emigration of highly skilled persons from the society reduces the capacity of the economy to grow and external confidence in the economy.

- Emigration has consequences for international cooperation, particularly, in the humanitarian field. A number of international organizations are involved in refugee aid and humanitarian assistance.

Thus emigration is affected by multiple causes like social, economic, political and cultural, which has an impact at different periods in the evolution of migration.

Secession is a source of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka "Secession is a phenomena in which an ethnic group or a group of ethnic groups within a state wishes to detach itself from the existing state and form a state of its own".

Perhaps in no other country of South Asia, the immigrants constitute such a large majority as Sri Lanka. "The Indian Tamil Community accounts for 11 percent and as a minority is second only to the Sri Lankan Tamils. In contrast to the Sri Lankan Tamils who migrated to Sri Lanka ages back and became its nationals, Indian Tamils migrated to the island in the last 150 years mainly to work on the plantations."

The failure of a large number of Tamils from India in Sri Lanka to qualify for Sri Lankan citizenship and the apparent reluctance of the majority of them to opt for Indian citizenship brought a new category of stateless.

While both India and Sri Lanka do not claim responsibility for the Indian

Tamils the problem of the political status of them has been a major issue for India-Sri Lanka relations.

The history of emigration of Indian Tamils to Sri Lanka is almost as old as beginning of plantations on the island. The Dutch brought Indians to work on cinnamon plantations but emigration was very irregular. But during the British period, labourers from South India started coming regularly to work on tea, later on coffee and rubber estates.

The tea estates also created a demand for the relatively cheaper labour of women and children. Hence while, formerly males had predominated among the estate migrants, the migration was now of full families. Immigrant labourers continued as aliens with a distinct religion, language and social custom of their own, partly because of reasons of terrain and partly because of the interest of planters in discouraging any process of assimilation.

Slowly and slowly it was argued that the immigrants were usurping the jobs which rightfully belonged to the locals and also that they were enjoying higher standards of living and privileges. The Indian Tamils also influenced the majority community decisions through the back door as their floating votes appeared to emerge as a decisive factor in several areas of Sri Lanka. In all the elections in Sri Lanka, the immigrants question was a crucial issue which was used either to gain



public support or to discredit political opponents.

By the mid 1970's the Sri Lankan Tamils, who were to begin with reluctant sessionists began to define themselves as a separate nation, entitled to self-determination and a separate state. Discriminatory legislative enactments and governmental policies in the areas of language, education, land colonization, religion and employment opportunities; the abrogation of the Bandaranaike- Chelvanayakam Pact (1956) and the Senanayake- Chelvanayakam Pact (1965), which conferred limited autonomy to the Tamil areas; the competitive Sinhala politics which marginalised the Tamil areas and the practice of brutal military repression, all convinced the Tamils that their legitimate rights could be guaranteed only by a separate state.

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has taken worst forms because of the activities of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE). The continuous struggle for capturing areas between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan military has resulted into large scale atrocities and brutal killings on the common people. Because of the "ethnic cleansing" pursued by the LTTE, thousands of Muslims and Sinhalese have become homeless.

The border between the territories controlled by the government and the LTTE frequently changes as a result of the continuous wars. The civilians living in

these areas are subjected to violence, rendered homeless and are internally displaced several times.

This gives us an insight into the apathy resulting due to large scale intra-regional migrations in the SAARC regions. But these problems require apart from military pressures, serious political initiatives. The countries involved in these streams of migration should mutually coordinate and formulate certain policies which are acceptable to all the people affected by them. But above all it should be born in the mind that all these situations result in the suffering and agony not in any particular country but to the entire human race. In relation to all these problems discussed, it is most relevant to quote Mahatma Gandhi<sup>2</sup>, who addressed to the immigrants in Sri Lanka,

"I would leave one or two thoughts with you before I leave Colombo, since you are earning your bread in this beautiful island, I would ask you to live as sugar in milk. Even as a cup of milk which is full to the brim does not overflow when sugar is gently added to it, the sugar accommodating itself in the milk and enriching its taste, in the same way I would like you to live in the island so as not to become interlopers and so as to enrich to the lives of the people in whose midst you are living."

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<sup>2</sup> "Speech at Reddiar Sangham" (November 25, 1927), Collected works of Mahatama Gandhi, Ahmedabad, 1969, vol.39, pp.315-316.

## CHAPTER IV

### GEOPOLITICAL IMPERATIVES OF INTRA REGIONAL MIGRATION IN SAARC COUNTRIES

The problem of cross-border population movement in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, (SAARC), region is very complex. Since the partition of India in 1947, about 35 million people have been involved in the process of migration in search of security against threat to life or property or against religious or other kinds of persecution, or in the search of work or food. Sometimes these people have been pushed by war or they have migrated from their home country because of ethnic, racial, ideological or religious grounds. In some very rare cases the migration result because of environment reasons also.

The migration between the SAARC nations is closely interconnected to the geopolitics and the regional security in South Asian Region. On the one hand the illegal crossing of the borders gives the sending states the potential to indulge in espionage and other kinds of covert activities in the host countries and on the other, the continued presence of the migrants in the host countries leads to the politicisation of the issue there leading to ethnic and religious conflicts which affect international relations. The trafficking in drugs and guns coupled with the growing phenomena of international terrorism complicate the problems further. All these situation are further worsened because of political corruption and violence. Several type of cross-border population movements and migrations can be identified within the SAARC region. Some of the prominent causes leading to these population movements in South Asia, as classified by Partho G. Ghose have been discussed here.

### **-Colonial legacy, taking advantage of a widening Hindu-Muslim Divide.**

The massive refugee movements that took place across the borders of India and Pakistan before and after the Indian partition, and which continued for many more years is a result of the imperial surgeries. "Estimated number of 13 million people crossed the borders, during the 1950's another 4 million each of Hindus and Muslims migrated to India and Pakistan respectively"<sup>1</sup> "In the 1960's East Pakistan witnessed frequent communal strife causing an exodus of Hindus to India, particularly to the neighbouring Indian states of Assam, Tripura and West Bengal. From the partition until 1964, the number of such refugees was about 5.5 million".<sup>2</sup>

### **Failure in nation building**

This cause has mainly been responsible for the exodus of millions of East Pakistani refugees to India during the Bangladesh problem of 1970-71. The denial of democratic right to the East Pakistani Awami League to form the government after the 1970 election complicated the problem that already existed between the East and West Pakistan. The people of East Pakistan, claiming a distinctive linguistic cultural identity of their own which lead to the development of Bengali nationalism, came into conflict with Pakistani nationalism. The repression of the Bangladesh independence movement by the military establishment of Pakistan lead to a large scale migration of people from East Pakistan to India which can be roughly estimated around 10 million.

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<sup>1</sup> O.H.K. Spate (1957) *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, Methuen, London, p.119.

<sup>2</sup> Kingsley Davis (1949) *India and Pakistan: Demography of Partition*, Pacific Affairs, Vancouver 22. pp.254-264.



In 1975 again when the communal conditions in Bangladesh was deteriorating, the Hindu community settled in Bangladesh started developing a feeling of insecurity which again resulted into constant but clandestine migration to India. "The extent of the missing Hindu population is estimated at around 1.22 million during the period of 1974-81 and about 1.73 million from 1981-91. On the basis of this it has been calculated that on an average about 475 Hindus have been disappearing every day from Bangladesh since 1974".<sup>3</sup>

The monarchy and the ethnic policies of Bhutan have forced a large number of people from the minority community Lhotsampas to leave the country and take refuge in India and Nepal.

"In 1995, according to the government of Nepal, there were 88,613 Bhutanese refugees in Nepal living in camps particularly in Jhapa and Morang districts and 15,000 living outside the camps."<sup>4</sup> "In India", there were about 20,000 Bhutanese refugees scattered in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and West Bengal. Out of this number 7000, in the Bomdila region of Arunachal Pradesh are under threat of deportation because of the anti-foreigner campaign launched by the All Arunachal Pradesh students Union."<sup>5</sup>

Some of the people of Bhutan, belonging even to the majority community of Drukpa's have taken refuge in India and Nepal because of the autocratic policies of

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<sup>3</sup> Saradindu Mukherji (1996) 'Migration : Generous or Hapless Hosts?', Hindustan Times, New Delhi 13 October 1996.

<sup>4</sup> People's Forum for Human rights, Bhutan, Bhutanese Refugees; Kathmandu, November 1995, pp.2-3.

<sup>5</sup> Times of India, New Delhi, 12th February 1996.

the government.

In Myanmar the ethnocentric strategy of nation building aimed at indigenising the society had caused large scale migration of Indians particularly Hindus to India from 1940-1960's. Before 1937, when Myanmar was a part of the British Indian empire there were around 90,000 Indians in the country holding important commercial and professional positions. After Myanmar's independence when the government followed a policy of Myanmarising the society, which included making Burmese the official language, a majority of Indians living in Burma left the country and migrated to India. This was a result of the governments policy of nationalization of trade, industry, banking and commerce which made the role of Indians in Burma as redundant as most of them were engaged in the private sector. "About 150,000 Indians were involved in this stream of return migration".<sup>6</sup>

In the 1970's the same reason led to the flight of Arakanese (mostly Muslims) to Bangladesh. The spread of Arakanese Muslims to Rangoon and delta areas alarmed the Bhamo Buddhist authorities and they restricted the movement of Muslims beyond the Akyab district towards the east. The policy, however, failed but not only impoverished the region giving rise to youth unrest and insurgencies but also failed to prevent the Muslims from settling in this area. "A policy of repression of the Arakanese rebels followed leading to a large scale movement of Muslims to Bangladesh as refugees. Starting from 1977, about 260,000 such refugees arrived in

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<sup>6</sup> Myron Weiner. 'Rejected peoples and unwanted migrants in South Asia'. Economic and Political Weekly (Bombay) 21st August 1993, p.1738.

Bangladesh".<sup>7</sup>

### **Inter-Ethnic Conflict:-**

The Sinhala-Tamil ethnic conflict in India and Sri-Lanka is its best example. Although all the conflicts in the SAARC region has ethnicity as its core, no other conflict is so strong in its demand for a separate nation. "The flow of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in India, first time was in 1980's. The anti-Tamil riots in Colombo in 1983 forced about 30,000 Sri Lankan Tamils to take refuge in neighbouring Tamil Nadu in India. The flow continued with varying degrees of intensity and by May 1985 had risen to 100,000. Many of these migrants permanently settled in India".<sup>8</sup>

Following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991, the Sri Lankan Tamils in India overnight became suspect in the eyes of the Indian Government. "A plan for repatriation was drawn up and between January 1992 to March 1995, an arrangement was made to repatriate 54,188 of these Sri Lankan Tamils".<sup>9</sup> But this process was stopped because of the defeat of LTTE in some areas in Sri Lanka such as Jaffna and Killinochchi and this situation again resulted in the migration of Tamils to India. "Between July 1985 and October 1996, about 13,000 Sri-Lankan Tamil

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<sup>7</sup> Swapna Bhattacharya (1995): Bangladesh Myanmar relations: A Study of the Problem of refugees in Bangladesh' in Arun Kumar Banerji ed. Integration, Disintegration and World Order: Some perspectives on the Process of Change, Calcutta. p.69.

<sup>8</sup> Bertram Bastiampillai (1996) Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees in Tamil Nadu : Trouble to the host: in S.D. Muni and Lok Raj Baral eds. Refugees and Regional Security in South Asia, Konark, New Delhi, p.195.

<sup>9</sup> V. Suryanarayan. 'New Challenges in Sri-Lanka', The Hindu, New Delhi, 10th July 1996.

refugees arrived on coast of Rameswaram in Tamil Nadu".<sup>10</sup>

### **Open Borders:**

The cross-border movements and migrations which are included in this type are those that are largely due to open or semi-open international borders between the countries of the SAARC region. The Indian-Nepal border is legally open which has resulted in Nepalese and Indian migration to India and Nepal respectively. The Nepalese immigration has mostly been to the north-eastern states of India and the northern districts of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh i.e. the Terai region. The Indian census reports show that the Nepal-born population in India has been continuously increasing since 1951. According to the census of 1971, there were 1.3 million Nepal-born Nepalis living in India.

Similar to the Nepalis in India the Indian population in the Terai region of Nepal has also been increasing. Although a part of this increase is attributed to the migration of people from the hill regions but its also because of Indian migrations.

Like the Indo-Nepal open border, the border between India and Bangladesh is also virtually open, which has resulted into large scale population migration from Bangladesh into India. The Indo-Bangladesh border, hardly appears like an international border because of the hurried partitioning of India that Radcliffe had to accomplish and also on account of the fallacy of the whole exercise in Hindu-Muslim mixed localities which were situated everywhere along the border. Economic and social interactions across the border are just as common now in many places as they were before the partition. As a result many people come and settle on the Indian side

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<sup>10</sup> The Hindu, 6th October, 1996.



of the border. The 1981 census reported that in the eight border districts of West Bengal the population recorded a growth rate even lower than 20 percent. "In an extreme case of a town in northern West Bengal, the population increased from 10,000 to 150,000."<sup>11</sup> According to the Indian census reports, the number of people who migrated illegally from Bangladesh to India were;

1961-71	-	1,729,310
1971-81	-	559,006

To these numbers one should also add those people from Bangladesh who come to India with forged travel documents or even with valid ones but do not return back to their country after their expiry date. Long back the West Bengal Government reported that at least 400,000 passport holders from Bangladesh had disappeared into the Indian community without any trace. There is hardly any deportation of illegal immigrants back to Bangladesh despite so much public concern in the country on this matter. At this time, there are millions of unauthorized Bangladeshis living in various parts of India generally doing small and menial jobs.

Another type of migration flow that can be included in it is the clandestine Pakistani and Indian migration across the borders of Rajasthan and Gujarat in India and Punjab and Sind in Pakistan. The India-Pakistan border is 512 Km long in Gujarat and 1335 km long in Rajasthan. People living in these areas often have kinship ties across the border. Smuggling is a way of life here and the trafficking of drugs and arms in this region, particularly after the increase in Punjab and Kashmir crisis in India and the Mohajir crisis in Pakistan has assumed an unconquerable size

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<sup>11</sup> Ashish K. Biswas. 'The unchecked Influx', The

and is causing great concern to Indian and Pakistani authorities.

In India, some of the villages in districts of Barmer, Bikaner, Ganganagar and Jaisalmer across the India-Pakistan border in Rajasthan have recorded a very high growth rate as compared to other villages. While part of this growth is due to the construction of the Indira Gandhi canal, which attracted people from other villages and districts to settle here, but part of it is also due to migrations from Pakistan. The Indian-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971 led to large scale migration of people from Pakistan to India and there has been an increase in the Muslim-dominated villages across the borders.

#### **Development and Environmental Refugees:**

Environmental refugees, according to Essan Hinnavi, who coined the phrase in a report of United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) in 1985, are;

"Those people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption, natural and / or triggered by people that jeopardize the existence and/or seriously affect the quality of life".

Some of the development and environmental refugees are the Chakma refugees from Bangladesh into India, particularly in the north-eastern parts and also the migration of some poor people from Bangladesh, particularly from the Khulna and Rajshahi divisions. The construction of Karnafuli hydro-electric project in 1962 submerged 54,000 acres of settled and cultivable land affecting about 100,000 people,

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Hindu, Madras 17th February 1982.

most of whom were the Chakma tribals. Also the Government of Bangladesh started in the Chakma homelands, the state sponsored resettlement schemes for the people living in the plains. All these conditions led to dissatisfaction, civil strife, militancy and ultimately, state repression resulting in the flight of the tribals to neighbouring areas in India, for their security.

The migration of Bangladeshis from Khulna and Rajshahi divisions into India was mainly due to the construction of the Farakka barrage in India on the Ganga near the Indo-Bangladesh border, which has resulted into the impoverishment of people in these areas and forced them to move into nearby areas in India.

### **Stateless Persons;**

Stateless persons generally includes those people who are not the citizens of any country. The problem of stateless migrants is quite prominent in the SAARC region, and the best examples of such conditions in the SAARC region is seen in the cases of repatriation of Indian Tamils from Sri Lanka to India and that of 'Biharis' of Bangladesh to Pakistan. Many treaties have been signed between the respective countries to grant citizenship to such persons. "For example, according to the Shastri-Sirimavo pact of 30, October 1964, it was decided that of the 1953 estimate of 975,000 stateless persons of Indian origin in Sri-Lanka 300,000 would be granted Sri-Lankan citizenship while 525,000 would be granted Indian citizenship". These agreements, however, could not be implemented properly because of the inherent problems associated with eviction from ones homestead.

Similar, was the case of the people of the Bihari origin in Bangladesh, who supported the Pakistani's during the war of independence of Bangladesh, and were

therefore looked down upon in the liberated Bangladesh. Even after that the Bangladesh government offered them the citizenship of Bangladesh which they declined to accept. "In 1974, under the Tripartite Agreement between Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, where the latter agreed to repatriate all those employed in the government service of East Pakistan, which resulted in the repatriation of 32,000 Biharis".

**External interventions:** There has been two cases of such types in the South-Asian region including the Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal following the annexation of Tibet by China and the Afghan refugees in Pakistan and India following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Among these none of them is relevant to this study, because of not being a part of the SAARC region.

**International Terrorism:**

Both India and Pakistan have their respective agencies operating in the border areas and several of these personnel have been captured by the Indian and Pakistani authorities. The growth of militancy and terrorism in Punjab and Kashmir has been largely attributed to the infiltration of the Pakistani agents in large numbers to these states. Similar allegations have been made in Pakistan about Indian infiltrations to support the Mohajir movement. In 1988, in response to an intensified militancy in Punjab which was linked to the infiltration of Pakistani agents, the Punjab border with Pakistan was fenced. Because of this the terrorists gradually shifted their areas of operation to the Rajasthan and Gujarat borders. Since the phenomena is closely linked to smuggling, drug trafficking and cattle running it is a complex situation.

All these causes, have been responsible for cross-border population



movements or migrations in the SAARC region, at one time or the other. But any migration stream can't be strictly attributed to any one factor but is a result of two or more factors at one time or is a cumulative result of all the factors. Besides these, the personal characteristics of the migrants is always an underlying factor in all types of streams of migration.

### **Centrality of India;**

India occupies a central position in the SAARC region, not only because of its geographical position but also because of its size, population and economic growth. India accounts for three-fourths of the regions population and Gross-National Product etc.

Since historical times, India has been a desirable destination for all kinds of people ranging from travellers to warriors and adventures. India is a common denominator in all the cross-border population movements in the SAARC region. This can be attributed to many factors such as;

- Its geographical location which grants India a central position with regard to the SAARC region.
- Ethno-linguistic plurality in India; From time immemorial, India has been a home to various ethnic groups and language communities. Unity in diversity is the phrase which best describes the multi-cultural society of India.
- Its democratic policies which gives each individual or community to enjoy full freedom in political, economic and religious matters.
- Out of the numerous states and Union territories in India, seventeen have international borders, making it vulnerable for the cross border population

migrations.

- Compared to all other SAARC nations the peaceful conditions in India, without any internal conflicts or ethnic disturbances also gives the people from other disturbed SAARC nations to migrate to India.
- Because of high levels of development in India as compared to other SAARC nations, both in terms of social and economic factors, it offers a large number of employment opportunities which act as an attracting factor for the people in other SAARC nations which are suffering from poverty, hunger etc.

All these factors give India a central position in the SAARC region in terms of the cross-border population migrations. India is aware of the fact that cross-border infiltrations, insurgencies, drug trafficking, democracy movements, ethnic self-assertions and so on are closely linked and require careful and coordinate handling. Its through keeping these aspects in mind that it has undertaken serious negotiations with all concerned neighbouring nations.

The issue of cross-border migrations and refugees in the SAARC region has to be discussed with reference to the overall regional security of the SAARC area. Both these have causal and consequential linkages. There are basically two schools of thought in regard to the regional security of South Asia. One views it from the military angle, both external and internal. But the other group relates the issues of regional security to threat of environmental, demographic, ecological and economic variables, hence these factors have become a part and parcel of any analysis of security aspects in the SAARC region. Richard Ullman writes that "A threat to national security is an action or sequence of events that

-threatens drastically and even over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for inhabitants of a state or

-threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private non-governmental entities (such as persons, groups, corporations) within a state."

When non-military threats cannot be visualized in terms of a specific time frame, for example, the depletion of the ozone layer, global climatic changes, population growth and so on, the states cannot respond to them in clear cut foreign policy terms. But there are the aspects of non-military threats which can both be seen as impacting foreseeable national interests as well as requiring identifiable foreign policy responses. The problem of cross border migrations fall into this category.

"The term refugee influx refers to people who flee their country in masses. A mass influx of refugees is defined as that which occurs when, within a relatively short period of few years, a large number of people flee their places of residence for the asylum country. There are many possible causes of mass flight, including civil war and insurgency, ethnic or religious persecution, environmental disaster and famine. In cases such as civil war and environmental disaster, refugees do not flee their governments but rather the violence, disorder and lack of resources created by the crisis.

The consequence of mass influx for a receiving country include strains on economic resources and physical infrastructure, security risks and threats to government authority, particularly if the government is unable to control the flow across its borders. The appearance of large numbers of asylum seekers can be rather

sudden, creating emergency problems and forcing governments to act quickly - something most governments are reluctant to do. 'Government response' refers to actions taken by the government and other state institutions that include specific refugee policies, military responses, unofficial actions and policy implementation".

The inter-relationship between cross-border population migrations and the foreign policy of any nation has of late become more manifest. The most recent example of this has been the reunification of Germany. In July and August 1989, there was an exodus of East Germans to Austria through Czechoslovakia and Hungary. It precipitated the opening of East Germany's western borders leading to massive migration to West Germany. All this soon led to the collapse of East Germany and its absorption by the West. "It was flight not an invasion that ultimately destroyed the East German state".

In SAARC region we can find many interesting linkages between the cross-border population movements and the foreign policies. The phenomena of cross border migrations in the region not only gives the sending states a potential handle to indulge in spying and other kinds of such activities like terrorism and trafficking of drugs and arms etc., but it also gives the host countries an opportunity to at least embarrass the sending countries internationally if not wage a war. If the host country happens to be a major regional power then the relatively weaker sending countries woes are doubled. During the Bangladesh crisis the presence of millions of East Pakistani refugees had not only helped India to launch an international campaign against the military rulers of Pakistan for their failure to respect the human and democratic rights of the East Pakistanies but it also had provided India with the



opportunity of training a section of refugees to join the anti-Pakistan war.

Many Indian officials believed that behind this refugee flow was the calculated design of the Pakistan military to push millions of East Pakistanies, mostly Hindus, into India so as to neutralize the numerical advantage of East Pakistan vis-a-vis the Western wing. "Similarly in 1980's India had taken full advantage of the presence of thousands of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu to impart military training to a section of them so as to enable them to wage a war against the Sri Lankan State".

The present crisis in Kashmir is indeed linked to the phenomena of cross border movement of people which has its origin in the disputed nature of the territory right from independence. Pakistan which could never reconcile itself to the Muslim majority Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India not only tried to wrest the territory from India militarily but also encouraged infiltrations from Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) into the Indian part of the state to foment trouble in the latter.

In Indo-Nepal relations also a new security dimension has been added. India is suspicious of the operations of the ISI, LTTE and Kashmiri and Punjabi' terrorists on Nepali soil and fear that at critical moments they could penetrate into India to create trouble.

The reported use of Nepalese soil by the terrorists might eventually complicate India-Nepal relations. "This could create unwarranted trouble for Nepal in case such immigration in the guise of common Indian citizens remains unchecked. This migration across the international border which was not a serious source of conflict previously could turn out to be a content of inter-state dispute. The problem

over the people of Indian origin could generate unwarranted ethnic turmoil in Nepal. "During the 1996 general election in India the authorities sealed off the 739 Km border between India and Nepal following reports about ISI designs to create disturbances during the elections. Later, the foreign ministers of India and Nepal agreed to set up a joint working group to discourage movement of undesirable elements across the border. Both sides reiterated their resolve not to allow any activities on their soil which were prejudicial to the security of the other."

In relation to Sri Lanka, the recent refugee arrivals in India following the LTTE's defeat in Jaffna have also had some security connections. Both India and Sri Lanka have agreed that quite often these movements are sponsored by the LTTE. The LTTE probably have others reasons to encourage people to flee to India. According to C. Chandrahasan, head of the PROTEG, a Chennai based Sri Lankan Tamil human rights organization, "so long as the Tigers were administering populated areas like Jaffna, they needed the people to show that they were running a liberated zone with all the paraphernalia of a government. But the moment they had a retreat to the Vanni jungles after the Sri Lanka troops recaptured Jaffna, the Tigers had no use for the people. Now they do not mind if people leave for India in droves."

The insurgencies of all kinds which pose a serious security problem to Bangladesh and India are closely related to the region's demographic scenario which is under constant pressure from external migrations.

The entire north-east India and the adjoining regions are infested with all kinds of ethnic insurgencies in which the cross-border and other migration have a major role to play. The Indian Government forced the Bangladesh government to

stop the land settlements in the Chittagong Hill Tracts which were causing the displacements of the local tribals and their eventual flight to India. India's relation with Bangladesh have improved as seen by the Farakka and the Chakma accords, which has led Bangladesh to take strong actions upon the North-east insurgents operating from its soil.

### **Insurgency in Assam**

The events in Assam underline the volatility of ethnic conflicts in the politics of South Asia. The factors underlying the political turmoil is the demographic transformation of the North-Eastern states of India, through large-scale immigration from many parts of the sub-continent, but mostly from the land neighbouring areas of East Bengal over the past one hundred years. The estimation of the number of immigrants is however very difficult because of a number of reasons;

-there are no official records of the entry of illegal aliens. The only source for making estimates is the census, but there are several problems with using the census data.

The only set of relevant census data that are likely to provide a direct estimate is the data on birthplace, but its unlikely that immigrants of dubious legal status would provide accurate information on this. The language data is not helpful because of the tendency of Bengali muslim migrants to declare Assamese as their mother tongue.

Most census based estimates are based on calculating the difference between the assumed natural growth rate of population and the actual rate of population growth.

Since there was no census in Assam in 1981 because of political turmoil even such crude estimates are not possible for the period 1971 to 1981, when according to the Assam Government large scale immigration took place.

The Assamese had to cope with the influx of Bengalis into their state since the pre-independence period which resulted into an attempt to neutralize the impact of these migrants on their economy and society through enactment of the line system and deportation. The economic migrant flow to the state started in the 1820's owing to the discovery of tea and it continues till now. These migrants were used in the pre-independence period by the Muslim political leaders for their political agenda to retain power and subsequently merge the state with Muslim majority provinces. Thereafter, in the post-independence period, these migrants were exploited enmasse vote banks by the Indian political leadership, giving rise to further influx of illegal migrants to the state.

"In 1912, Assam was constituted as a Chief Commissioner's province with the Muslim-majority Bengali speaking district of Sylhet and the Hindu Majority Bengali speaking district of Cachar. Assam became a full-fledged province under a governor in 1921".<sup>12</sup>

#### **Pre-Independence Migration Trends:**

With the discovery of tea in 1821 and the steps taken by British Government to develop rich tea plantations in Assam led to a regular flow of immigrants into Assam. Similarly, officials to run the imperialist administration were also brought from outside, particularly Bengal. "By the end of the 19th century, there were 400,000 migrant labourers producing 145 million pounds of tea. Between 1911-21, the tea industry imported 7,69,000 labourers. Another 4,22,000 came during the

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<sup>12</sup> R. Gopalakrishnan, *Socio-Political Framework in North-East India*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi 1996. pp.7-129.



following decade".<sup>13</sup> "The 1931 census indicated the presence of 14 lakh tea garden labourers in Assam."<sup>14</sup>

In the pre-partition period, both Hindus and Muslims entered the state, but the influx of Muslims was higher. The quantum of illegal migrants to Assam was phenomenal. It became a crucial issue for the Assamese because they feared that the population profile of the valley would tilt in favour of the migrants if the influx continued. The incessant immigration of Bengalis, both Hindus and Muslims, was viewed by the Assamese as a conspiracy to reduce them into a political minority and they demanded administrative measures from the government for curbing it.

**TABLE 1**  
**GROWTH OF MUSLIM POPULATION INTER-CENSUAL DECADES 1881-1931**

MUSLIM POPULATION	NATURAL INCREASE ON MID- CENSUS POPULATION	NET MIGRATION OF MUSLIMS FROM BENGAL	NET MIGRATION FROM BENGAL (ALL RELIGIONS)
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<sup>13</sup> Myron Weiner, *Sons of the soil*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1978, p.81.

<sup>14</sup> *Op.cit* (12), p.129.

188	214510			
1				
189	240352	9097	16745	19700
1				
190	248249	9210	17107	20126
1				
191	356022	35652	72121	84848
1				
192	583686	23493	189171	222554
1				
193	943352	86054	218260	256776
1				

\*less by 15,000

+ less by 12,000

Sources: Dinesh Kotwal: Insurgency in Assam, its demographic dimensions.

### **Line System;**

It was started initially in 1916 and was implemented in 1920 to curb illegal migration to Assam. It aimed to segregate areas where new immigrants could settle, from those which were declared the exclusive preserve of the Assamese by drawing imaginary lines. But this system failed to contain immigration flows.

The "Assam Gazette" extraordinarily, of November 4, 1939 notified a new plan according to which;

- settlement was forbidden to both immigrants and non-immigrants in the village grazing grounds and professional grazing reserves;
- settlement was limited strictly to actual cultivators and in proportion to their individual resources, subject to the ceiling to 30 bighas;
- wherever possible, the size of the protected area should be larger, this was applied particularly to the areas where the tribal belts and villages could be segregated easily for protection;
- those who had settled before April 1, 1937 should be regularized, provided the settlers number in a village was not less than 15".<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the new line system regularized those larger scale encroachments, which had taken place before April 1, 1937, and proposed special protective measures for tribal areas, but this new policy also failed to please either of the affected parties. The Assamese thought that the line system had been diluted and the Bengali Muslims wanted its total withdrawal. The migrants required more lands and the migrant leaders and the Muslim League urged the Government to abolish the line system and adopt a liberal policy towards immigration.

The politics of this period continued to be monopolized by the issue of immigration so rapid and large was the immigration from Bengal that "between 1911 and 1931, the Muslim population in Assam increased from 5 percent to 30 percent". C.S. Multan, a British census commissioner analyzed the impact of the immigration

and called, "the invasion of vast horde of land hungry Bengali immigrants, mostly Muslims, from the districts of East Bengal. A population which must amount to over half a million had transplanted itself from Bengal to Assam valley during the last twenty five years."<sup>16</sup>

### **Eviction of Immigrants during Pre-independence period**

The increasing Muslim population led the Assamese to retaliate. They decided to implement earlier government resolutions to evict migrants. They also tried to achieve this by;

- reducing the Muslim population by deporting immigrants.
- pushing Sylhet out of Assam to further reduce the Muslim population

Another response to the sea of immigration taken by Assamese Hindus was linguistic nationalism. The Assamese dislike for Bengalis became quite evident when the Assam government did not show interest in the merger of Sylhet with Assam. Pursuing the policy of dislike towards Bengalis, the Assam government by an order dated 26 September 1947, imposed Assamese as a compulsory second language in all schools where it could not be the first. Hence, the Assamese view language as a more effective weapon to counter the "Bengali cultural imperialism."<sup>17</sup>

### **Post-Independence Migration from Bangladesh;**

The relative decadal percentage growth of population of Assam, All

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<sup>15</sup> Shekhar Gupta, Assam : A Valley Divided, Vikas Publishing House Ltd. 1984. p.104.

<sup>16</sup> Lt. General (Retd.) S.K. Sinha PVSM, Governor of Assam, Delivered the Colonel Pyara Lal Memorial Lecture-2000 on "Trans-Regional Movements of Population : Implication for India's Security". at USI, New Delhi on 29 September 2000, p.9.



India, and Bangladesh is indicative of the fact that large scale in-migration from Bangladesh has taken place.

**Table 2 Growth Rates**

YEARS	ASSAM	INDIA	BANGLADES H
1901-1911	16.99	5.75	9.1
1911-1921	20.48	0.31	5.4
1921-1931	19.91	11	7.06
1931-1941	20.4	14.22	17.6
1941-1951	34.98	21.51	0.1
1951-1961	34.95	24.8	29.93
1971-1981	23.85	23.85	31.83
1981-1991	23.85	23.85	22

Source: Insurgency in Assam; the demographic dimentions -

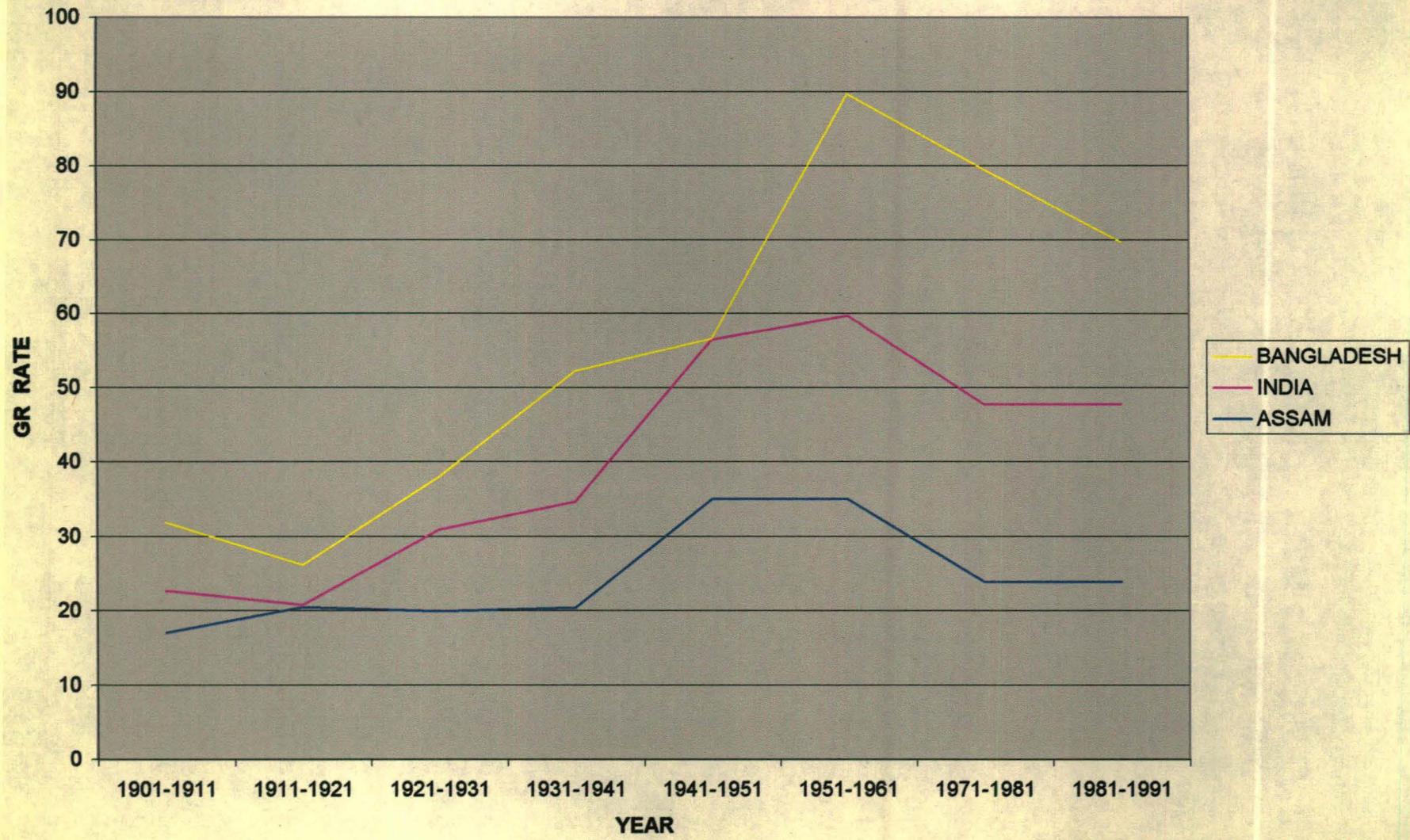
Dinesh Kotwal

There has been very high number of cross-border population migrations from Bangladesh and can be indicated by the fact that;

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<sup>17</sup> V.I.K. Sarin, India's North East in Flames, Vikas Publishing house Ltd., 1980, p.69.

### POULATION GROWTH RATE 1901-1991



- population increase for All India from 1961-1991 was 72.96 percent and for Assam it was 87.39 percent. If Assam's population was to grow by the average rate for All-India in 1991, it ought to have a population of 18,744,000 instead of 22,295,000. Therefore, there are 35.5 lakh illegal Migrants (from the table)
- "large increase in Assam's population registered during inter-census period of 1951 to 1961 is a proof of the magnitude of the influx".<sup>18</sup>
- "Since, all the illegal migrants into Assam are from Bangladesh, most of them are Muslims", "As a result of population influx from Bangladesh out of 126 Assembly constituencies in Assam, minority are a deciding factor in as many as 40".<sup>19</sup> In spite of this, the Dhaka government's stand on migration to India is that it does not happen. Admitting that migration exists would lead to Bangladesh being asked to take back those identified by India as illegal migrants. The only way out is denial because the number of illegal migrants is large and the political and economic price of accepting those pushed back by India would be very high.

Therefore, the insurgency problem in Assam and the cross-border population movements are inter-related and a new approach to the solution of the illegal migrants problem is required. But the tendency on the part of a section of our political leaders and parties to raise hue and cry in the name of victimization of minorities whenever any move is initiated to detect illegal migrants, is a major stumbling block in

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<sup>18</sup> B.G. Verghese, India's Northeast Resurgent, Konark Publishers Ltd. New Delhi 1997. p.4.  
<sup>19</sup> "BJP to Woo Assam Majority to counter AGP", The

undertaking any meaningful measures to detect illegal migrants in the state. Therefore, keeping the political compulsions in view, the Indian governments can consider issuing residential and work permits to all the illegal migrants irrespective of their country and origin, after detecting and registering them.

The problem of cross-border population migrations in the SAARC region and its inter-related difficulties can be solved only by a regional cooperative approach. The political rhetoric of expulsion of unauthorized immigrants has increased in direct proportion to the inability of the states to control these movements. The developmental goals of the regional states have to be mutually coordinated which should not only subsume strategies to remove intra-national economic disparities as far as possible but also help develop some sort of participation in an overall security system.

The SAARC region countries or in particular the South Asian states should sign the refugee laws. P.N. Bhagwati, a former Chief Justice of India and a member of the SAARC Eminent Persons Group (EPG) and who prepared the 'Model national law on refugee' draft says that "there is a great need for a framework in each of the countries of South Asia". Addressing a conference organized by the UNHCR and the SAARCLAW in New Delhi in may 1997, he said that;

"Since each of the countries of the South Asian region feels that the problem of refugees must be solved on a bilateral basis, there does not seem to be any possibility in the near future of any convention or declaration being agreed upon by countries of the region and it would be premature to think of it at the present stage.

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Hindustan Times, September 27, 2000.



But we can certainly recommend to each country in the South Asian region to have a legal framework which can serve as the basis of establishing a suitable framework for dealing with refugee problems".

The problems lies in the fact that even if the refugee agreements are signed between the sending and host countries depending upon their diplomatic ties and the prevailing foreign policies, the nature of treatment of the refugees would definitely differ from one country to another.

For example, India is treating the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees differently now than it did in the 1980's when the relationship between India and Sri Lanka was strained. This phenomena has been characterized as the "Haitian-Cuban Syndrome".

Most of the countries in the world are facing the problems of cross-border population movements and refugees, therefore a global approach to the solution of this problem is needed. Because of this several international conventions and protocols on the problem of refugees and state less persons have been adopted. All the problems can't be solved immediately but at least there is little progress. For example, the South Asia Forum for Human Rights, Kathmandu, has made recommendations for a South Asia agreement for the protection of Refugees, Migrants and State less persons. These organizations at least encourage the need for serious thinking to persuade states to respond to the problem.

The processes of economic liberalization and globalization also have an impact on the problems of refugees and migrants. The basic debate is between the ethical issues and economic gains. One scholar has argued that the claims of citizens must be given priority over others because of their nationality . According to him,

"The best immigration policy from a utilitarian perspective would be the one that maximized overall economic gains. But in this case, citizens would not enjoy any privileged position. The dominant view among both classical and neoclassical economists is that free mobility of capital and labour is essential to the maximization of overall economic gains. But the free mobility of labour requires open borders. So, despite the fact that the economic costs to current citizens are normally relevant to the utilitarian framework, they would probably not be sufficient to justify restrictions."

Particularly in the case of developed countries, there is neither a rural hinterland from which labour can be imported nor is there a class of urban poor, whose social security often exceeds small wages, and who can be lured to do menial jobs. On top of this, there is also a negative growth rate of population. As a result of this, illegal immigration has become uncontrollable. This situation is slowly spreading in the less developed countries also. Even a poor region like South Asia has its problems in this regard, for example the influx of Bangladeshi migrants in certain urban centres of India.

The problem of cross-border population migration and refugees is related to several issues like economic, social, ethical, legal and international and therefore a global consensus is very far fetched on this matter. But still Myron Weiner insists that,

"An international consensus is emerging it is that no government is obliged to admit migrants, that migration is a matter of individual national policy, that most governments need more effective control over their borders, that more forceful measures are needed to halt illegal migration and the growth of World-wide migrants

smuggling that improved procedures are needed to distinguish genuine asylum seekers and refugees suffering from persecution and violence from individuals who use these procedures to migrate.

If immigration is not a basic human right-and it cannot be as long as there are states-then each country must weigh conflicting claims and consider the consequences of alternative policies for their own citizens. Migration and refugee issues can't simply be reduced to moral questions, but neither are they solely questions of national sovereignty in which moral judgements play no role."

## CONCLUSION

Migration trends have influenced the countries of origin and destination in the SAARC region in many different ways. Effects on populations, economic and societies in some countries have been significant, and in other, limited or marginal. Some countries are satisfied with the way international migration influences them, while others are not and all this contributes to major differences in policies of different countries towards migration. Government views and attitudes on international migration are particularly well articulated in immigration countries which probably have been more affected by migration than many emigration countries. Some of the implications of the intra-regional migration on the SAARC countries are as follows;

Demographic implications; Intra-regional migration in SAARC countries have influenced the growth of population of countries of immigration to greater extent than the age structures of their populations. The migration impact on the growth of population is generally because of two reasons;

- direct effect because of additions due to net immigration
- indirect effect resulting from the higher fertility of immigrant populations.

Economic implications; Migration has many macro-economic implications for the receiving countries. Immigrants can impact on the domestic labour market,



influences economic growth, the organization of the productive system and the choice of technology.

Social implications; Immigration has a profound impact on the social fabric of receiving countries. For example, some major European receiving countries, as a result of immigration, become de facto multicultural societies.

The extent to which any given major receiving country in the SAARC region has been transformed into a multicultural society depends, to a great extent, on the fact that whether or not it remained a colonial power. The changing cultural, ethnic and racial mix of migrants entering the destination countries during the last few decades have caused alterations in the racial and ethnic composition of these societies.

Asia which has for many years been a source of emigrants for the rest of the world has become an important destination in the recent years. Asian countries are becoming increasingly interdependent through trade and investments, as well as closer political and social ties, which has resulted into large scale legal and illegal migration. Some of other factors behind intra-regional migration in the SAARC region are;

- \* Differences among countries in labour force growth and population ageing which is because of the fact that "different countries began their demographic transitions at different times and had varying success in lowering fertility".
- \* The economic performance of these countries have varied significantly and

consequently major standard of living differentials have emerged as a powerful force behind intra-regional migration.

- \* "Other important forces include the so called 'immigration industry', consisting of among other elements, recruitment agents and overseas employment promoters".
- \* Cultural affinities of language, ethnic stock or religion of population groups in these countries is also responsible for large-scale migration.

The intra-regional SAARC migration will remain important in the coming years because of the following reasons;

- Prospect and options for internal migration within the countries of SAARC are increasingly limited because of generalized poverty, unemployment and economic insecurity.
- The labour market has a limited capacity and cannot absorb productively the annual number of job seekers, turning them into potential emigrants.

There is a likelihood of increased intra-Asian flows a proportionately lower flows to the Middle east and to traditional receiving countries, with those streams made up of skilled and educated rather than unskilled workers. The constantly changing patterns of different rates of national development in the region will affect the direction and composition of the migration streams. As described by Hugo (1990).

"There will be a continued rapid expansion in the number of Asian residents who

see immigration of one kind or another as a real option to improve their life chances. Migration will become more institutionalized and reinforced by government policies and organization and the proliferation of private sector agencies facilitating migration for profit. The forces of globalization of information culture and business will inexorably increase and will impinge on Asia as such as anywhere else in the World. Asia's vast population and dynamic economic and social situation will ensure that the already huge reservoir of Asians who are seeking to migrate elsewhere will increase at a rate much faster than the total population. In particular the inevitable substantial growth of a large, disgruntled, educated young population who cannot be absorbed into Asian economics at a level which they consider appropriate to their training, skills and aspirations is of major significance."

"For countries of South Asia, the problems of unemployment and underemployment and high rates by labour force growth rates are contributing to the mounting pressures for emigration."

Although the demographic factors set the scene, actual migration flows are determined by economic/structural adjustments, political decisions, international relations between countries and socio-cultural ties.

In the final analysis, its clear that the problem of migration is very complex and its analysis becomes subjective and conclusions are biased because of

- frequent incompatibility between the individual and societal goals.

- the dilemma over short-term and long term benefits and liabilities.
- to juxtaposition of economic gains, which are generally tangible and immediate; and social and political costs which are much less discernible and appear in future.
- The failure to find the social and political context of each migration flow.
- Lack of reliable data.

All these difficulties makes the analyses of migration flow a little bit confusing and problematic.

The answer to this problem of migration does not lie in increased migration but in cooperative action in a increasingly interdependent world to meet the challenges and responsibilities posed by overpopulation and underdevelopment. The different measures to cope with migration, undertaken by the sending countries and receiving countries, cannot ignore the trends in human resources development, trade arrangements, overseas development assistance, local employment creation and family planning and health policies. "Thus in view of these realities, its essential that we understand that;

- current migration patterns are neither historically unique nor likely to dissipate in the near future.
- the challenges that migration flows pose for both sending and receiving societies go to the very heart of the socio-cultural, economic and political life of not



only nations but of entire global regions.

- Finally, one must not be oblivious of the fact that migration involves people.

With regard to people, there can be only one policy: institutionalization and guarantee of the human, economic and social rights to all those under a state's jurisdiction."

Hence, as in a welfare state, the SAARC member countries must coordinate themselves and make efforts to harness their human resources.

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