Social Relations and Migration

A Study of Postwar Migration

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO MIGRATION FROM BANGLADESH TO BRITAIN

by

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Synopsis

The objective of this thesis is to study the phenomenon of postwar migration both theoretically and empirically with a view to establishing relationships between *social relations* and *migration.* Upon examining the development of migration literature and studies to date, the thesis offers a critique of the trends in this field of study. It then examines three distinct issues of migration: *'zonal imbalance'*, 'mother country', and the heavy representation of people whon form lower SEGs.

Migration from Bangladesh to Britain is the particular focus of this thesis in its empirical part. It examines the relations of production in Bangladesh, and also the historical facts of migration from Bangladesh. Two control groups have been chosen for collecting data and evidence; one is the Bangalee migrants in Britain, and the second is the non-migrants, selected from Bangalees in Bangladesh, who had had the opportunity to migrate at some point in time. Both quantitative and qualitative methods have been used.

This thesis then attempts to expose the myths of migration which are historically incorrect and ideological. It offers four categories of migration. One of the categories is named *Socio-cultural transition migration.* It seems that the concern of most migration studies in the postwar period centres around this category.

The thesis asserts that the phenomenon of human migration can possibly be explained within a conceptual framework of *mode of production, relations of production, hegemony* and *cash nexus.* It concludes that *social relations* play a major role in migration and offers a definition towards developing a sociological theory of migration.

The text of this thesis contains approximately 81,000 words.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This thesis has its intellectual inception in a research undertaken about nine years ago to determine whether a group of people migrating from certain countries or regions to a different country, maintain within them their original societal polarization, and if so, how that polarization of the original country is replicated and manifested in the new country of residence. The research was undertaken at the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations (CRER), now based at the University of Warwick, under the Master's degree programme. The hypothesis was applied to a small sample of Bangalees from Bangladesh living in the U.K. The dissertation was well received by the University. Malcolm Cross, then my supervisor, informed me that according to the external examiner the dissertation was the best of that year. The dissertation was later published under the title *Salience of Homeland* with the enthusiasm and support of Professor Robin Cohen of the Department of Sociology, University of Warwick (Alam, 1988).

While investigating the issue of societal polarization, the imbalance or excessive migration from one region caught my attention and I termed it *'zonal imbalance'*. The term *'zonal imbalance'* although was not particularly noticed at that time, is now beginning to gain some attention. I explored this phenomenon and offered reasons for such *'zonal imbalance'*. Muinul Islam, a visiting Professor from the University of Chittagong, Bangladesh, accepted the importance of *zonal imbalance* in migration studies but questioned the reasons I had offered for excessive migration from one region of Bangladesh to Britain (Islam, *New Community*, 1989: 292-295). Doubts have also been expressed by some that the phenomenon of the replication of original societal polarization in the destination territories might not exist among migrants

from other countries of the Indian sub-continents, viz. Pakistan (Mark Johnson, CRER, University of Warwick, *private communication*, 1993). Professor Ceri Peach, Fellow of St Catherine's College, Oxford, told me that *Salience of Homeland* should prove useful in the studies of Bangladeshi migration to Britain. According to him further research data and evidence are needed on Bangladeshis.

While investigating informally the implication of the thesis of *zonal imbalance* and replication of the original societal polarization, I came to suspect that the reasons most migrants offered to me for *their* decision to migrate were only ephemeral and immediate, not the reasons which created a situation congenial for migration. I also discovered that most migrants I met were ambivalent about the success of their migration venture. Many were openly critical of their own moves. Some authors recorded this uncertain and disturbed state of mind of the migrants, and came up with conclusion that the 'failed dream of return to homelands' gave rise to much sufferings. The wordings of some titles like *Here for Good (*Castles and et al), *Staying Power* (Fryer), *From Another Place* (Bottomley), though contextually not involving the mental state of the migrants, acknowledge the existence of homelands, suffering souls due to separation, and inability to return.

The declared intention of the 'poor' rural migrants is usually to accumulate 'enough' money quickly and return. For the educated 'well-off' migrants, the gaining of British academic/ professional qualifications was declared the major objective for coming to Britain. But most of them, even after 'achieving' their declared objectives did not go back to their homelands. Some of them returned only to bounce back to Britain. This phenomenon of *'Here for Good'* is rarely analysed from the point of view of the migrants themselves. The popular notion that the migrants find themselves in a better living environment has filtered through into the opinions expressed by many migrants. The studies which describe the

'consequences' of migration do not analyse this aspect with reference to the 'determinants' of migration.

I wished to explore this aspect further in the totality of the postwar migration situation. I found some cases of returnee migrants. These case studies again revealed some ambiguous answers; one major reason offered to me was that the socio-politico-economic condition of their homeland deteriorated so much that they had found it impossible to live there. I found that almost all decisions to migrate, either for money or for qualifications were aimed at altering old social relations on return. I wanted to find out what controls these social relational aspects in the lives of the migrants by another research study. These social relations for some are a question of simple status in the village community, or for some, a question of moving faster up what is loosely described as a social ladder. But most of them are unaware that social relations are not of their own making. People can be agents through which changes in their social relations are effected, but they are not the forces in determining the courses of such changes. At the same time they are unable to see that what they know to be personal social relations, are in fact the result of the character and place of various insitutions within the entire social formations.

This led me to develop a hypothesis that social relational aspects are important in postwar migration. And I felt that the exploration of these aspects might enable me to offer a complete theory of postwar migration. Nowadays, migration studies are not restricted to the higher academic insitutions. They are undertaken by the international agencies, like the United Nations, Unesco, International Labour Office, Government departments of many countries, Research Centres of many academic and Charitable institutions. Hot debates on the consequences of migration which bring about unplanned ethnic mix and plural societies are always heard of in the media. At the same time, the pro-migration lobbyists are fighting for the rights of the migrants, refugees, and displaced persons in the countries of their choice.

Concurrently, nationalistic fervours in the old and new nation states are rising, the fearful picture of which make the 1960s racism looks like a trivial matter.

With so much to bear, the population of the world is constantly moving, making themselves migrants in well known western industrial countries of migration as well as to countries which have in the past been labelled as migratory zones. Some contemporary migrants take calculated risk, but many, particularly the unskilled, uneducated as well as the irregular (euphemism for illegal) ones take too much risk not only in matters of 'success'/'failures' but also in their personal lives in the homeland.

While the forces such as the changed *mode of production* which make people move are nowadays recognized by many migration studies, it seems that social relational aspects of migration are not emphasized. Yet I have a conviction that these aspects alone can probably explain contemporary migration.

A year after completing the Master's degree programme, I sent the proposal for undertaking the research on the social relational aspects of migration to the Department of Cultural Studies (then Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies) at the University of Birmingham. I was most grateful to receive an encouraging reply from Dr. Richard Johnson.

That I have managed to keep my interest for eight years in completing this research while undergoing various changes in my own social relational aspects as a migrant was due to the admirable guidance by Dr. Richard Johnson who listened to my chattering on related as well as unrelated matters for hours. Dr John Gabriel of the same Department has supervised me in preparing a manageable structure for the research, and read the draft patiently correcting and adding his comments. Dr. Johnson's comments have been invaluable in keeping me on course, and also in

improving parts where I wrote, as if, in 'telegraphic code' which delivered only cryptic messages.

The objective of this thesis is to offer a theory of postwar international migration by comparative theoretical and historical studies, with emphasis on a major country of postwar immigration Britain, and a major country of postwar emigration, Bangladesh. Throughout the work an international perspective has been borne in mind.

I made three visits to Bangladesh and India for empirical data collection during this research exhausting my own resources as no funding ever came my way. I do not regret this, nor do I expect that the qualifications I have desired would alter my social relations. I only hope that the work opens up ways to understand migration in its true meaning, and end unnecessary heartaches of many migrants who ought to realize that their actions have never been 'determined' by themselves, nor were their 'ideas' their own constructions.

Acknowledgements :

I am particularly indebted to my daughter Reeta whose assistance I sought in proof-reading the drafts. Despite her extremely busy schedule in a new job and in her personal life, and living hundred miles away from home, she managed to find time to act as a replacement for a computer 'spellcheck'. But soon she became fully involved in the subject matter of my thesis. We spent hours discussing issues raised in this thesis. Her assistance and advice in overcoming structural problems have been invaluable to me.

My son Rinku, who at the near completion stage of this thesis, had taken a year's option from his medicine course at Sheffield Univesrity to complete research on psychiatric problems of ethnic minorities in Britain came to discuss with me his new

found knowledge of sociology, ethnic minorities and racism. I became aware of many other dimensions of migration while we talked about each other's subjects.

During the final typing stage of this thesis, Ms Parag, working for her Master's at the School of Public Policy in Birmingham University as a scholar from the Government of Bangladesh, helped me by retyping some parts and typing out the tables and the bibliography with utmost care. She also provided me with many useful current literature published in Bangladesh. The unquivering faith of Reeta, Rinku and Parag in my ability to complete this thesis helped me to carry on while I was gradually becoming depressed, despite having the company of hundreds of migrants on paper, by the loneliness of the exercise of writing a thesis.

I am indebted to my elder brother Professor F. Karim whose untiring zeal in undertaking research at the highest level of medical sciences from 1960 to now has inspired me at various stages of this work. His wife Nihar Karim and their children regularly have kept in touch with me during some personal difficulties in my life, and have encouraged me to such an extent that sometimes I felt like the greatest genius on earth. I must express my gratitude to Ms Sue Scivens at Gloucester City Council who permitted time off from my work to enable me complete the thesis.

Dr Johnson and Dr Gabriel have patiently read the drafts to the final stage, and my daughter Reeta has spent enormous time teaching me some good English. Despite all their efforts, my mistakes will still be visible as one reads this thesis. For those mistakes and the theory contained herein, wrong or right, I alone remain responsible.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The patterns of postwar population movements are distinct from those of the pre-war period. One major characteristic of this movement is that a large number of people moved to industrially developed countries of the world from less developed countries. In the pre-war period, one significant pattern was European people emigrating to other parts of the world. Most postwar migration literature simplistically states that a large number of people from the impoverished regions of the world came to work in the industrial centres. Such statements are well supported by statistical evidence, but this thesis wishes to argue that they distort the phenomenon of migration. The large scale postwar migration into Europe needs to be examined historically in order to determine relationships with previous population movements and to establish not just the immediate economic or political causes, but also the social relations that play an important role in individual's decision making processes.

At the same time we need to understand in a social relational context the development of certain trends and their continuation or discontinuation in human migration. By this we may be able to judge that the 'theory' of a lone migrant arriving at a country of 'his' (invariably 'his') choice, becoming 'successful', feeding back success stories to people in his homeland, and triggering off a 'chain' migration from his homeland, is a proclamation of individualism in modern 'voluntary migration', as if people move according to their own wish. A closer examination of pre-war or postwar migration clearly reveals that they are determined by causes which are usually outside the spheres of individual control. What we know to be 'involuntary migration' in the form of forced movements like slavery or indentured

labour, and even political displacement may not in essence be very much different from the 'voluntary migration' of today.

Conceptual Framework

There seems to be a causal connection between the specific patterns and trends of migration in the postwar period and the changed *mode of production* and a different kind of *hegemony*. This thesis attempts to explore this connection as it progresses. At the same time it wishes to argue that the two concepts of *'mode of production'* and *'hegemony'* are most important in understanding post-war migration.

Mode of production, in Marxist definitions, is the relationship between the relations of production and the forces of production. European powers which controlled non-European countries as colonies or settlements before World War II created certain modes of production which could not be sustained after the War. The colonial mode of production can be described as a capitalist mode of production in which the capitalist (the colonial power) controls the forces of production and the disposition/distribution of the product. In some other dominated areas of the world, eg the British Empire in India, the mode of production remained feudal to a great extent. In this mode, the indigenous population had direct control over the forces of production, but the dominant power held control over the disposition of the produce (Marx and Engels,1968; Marx, 1976; 1973; Abercrombie,1984).

Hegemony, a term introduced by the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, describes how the domination of one class over others is achieved by a combination of political and ideological means. According to Gramsci, political force and coercion are always there but the power holder can only win the consensus of the masses in the dominated class, through the institutions of 'civil society': the family, the religious bodies and even the trade unions. Hegemony is easier to achieve if civil society is made prominent. In the past, the dominant powers always used force and

coercive tactics to dominate the people of the colonies and the indigenous people in the countries of settlement, but sustainment of the domination depended on ideological means. (Gramsci, 1978; 1971).

Related to the concepts of *mode of production* and *hegemony* , the concept of *social relations* needs to be explained. This concept can explain the society in greater depth than what we normally take society to mean. Society as a word, some authors think gives "the bogus impression of consistency and totality" (Hirst and Woolley,1982) of the society, or offers a " a chaotic conception of a whole" (Marx, 1973:100), but the word *social relations* is specific and can be understood in terms of the ways in which beliefs and norms organize both social relations and forms of the social personality of the actors. A structuralist-functionalist parameter always exists within human movement as does the 'social order' function. This thesis recognizes that *social relations* perform an organising role in the society and it is this particular meaning which is used throughout this work.

Social relations can be explained in various ways. According to Marx and Engels (1968), human agents in the market place are united by predominantly economic connections. They call this '*cash nexus*'. This cash nexus explains *social relations* in a capitalist society. Later in the follow up of cash nexus theory, Marx argues that the economic determines the character and place of various institutions within the entire social formations. At the same time the economic dominates the cultural, legal and ideological relations in society. Individuals in such a society experience social relations as purely economic relations and the entire structure and character of social system is explained by and seen in terms of economic reality (Marx, 1976; Abercrombie,1984; Giddens, 1971).

Weber has attempted to provide a typology of social relations as part of his historical sociology. According to this typology western societies have been transformed from systems based upon 'closed communal relations', such as Church

(restrictive membership) and Village (closed community) to 'open associative relations', such as Market and Political Parties. By this transformation, modern societies go through a profound historical process of secularization. This Weberian model also provides an analytical tool for understanding the changes from feudal estates based upon traditional values to a society organised around the market and economic class (Weber, 1948; Giddens, 1971). Despite differences in approach, both Marx and Weber meet at a point that in such societies (Marx clearly stated 'capitalist societies', and Weber vaguely called 'western societies'), the economic is the organising force in determining interpersonal and cultural relations.

Some authors consider *social relations* neither as a set of positions, nor as a set of actual people, but as a set of practices. Social relations, according to them link practices to each other. These relations, therefore, become multidimensional. "To talk about multidimensionality of a relation...is equivalent to talking multi-dimensionality of the practices structured within that relation". (Wright, 1989: 302). The nature of *social relations* in migration processes will be studied as this work progresses.

At this point, it should be useful to note that the particular objective of this thesis is to explore only certain aspects of *social relations,* not the totality of relations that exist between 'men and things' as well as between 'men and men'. While this thesis appreciates that migration studies may be involved with the totality of relations in determining the processes of migration, its effects and consequences, it remains limited in scope and attempts to explore relations of production, or '*relations* between men and things' only, towards understanding migration.

The brief description of the major concepts should be suffice as this thesis develops its arguments.

Historical Framework

After World War II, a new situation arose with regard to colonies and empires. Colonies were given up and empires became self-governing or independent. This new situation radically changed the age-old social relations, in which people of the dominant, as well as those in the dominated countries, had become used to for several hundred years. As a result, both the *mode of production* and the *hegemony* underwent changes to some extent. A different kind of political map emerged which developed further in the older dominated parts of the world as new independent nations or nation states. Such nation states had already been developed in the western European countries five hundred years before. These nations or nation states can be described as civic-territorial, or ethnic-genealogical, or both (Smith, 1986).

The emergence of so many nation states has one major significance for migration studies. During the colonial and imperial period the processes of emigration and immigration were controllable by the European dominant powers on their own. In the postwar period, the control became two-way, at least in theory. The newly developed nation states, once countries of colonial or other settlements, now independent, were bound intricately in various economic and political relationships with the former dominant powers. Their own control of emigration or immigration was developed on the ready-made models offered by the former dominant powers, usually to the tune of what has been aptly named as neo-colonialism. In the case of Britain, this included the creation of the two Commonwealths, i.e. the old Commonwealth (maintaining European supremacy) and the New Commonwealth (non-European regions). The New Commonwealth countries by virtue of economic and other ties soon became a tool for satisfying various demands made by Britain.

In describing and studying postwar migration to western European countries, most migration studies attempt to discover immediate causes of migration, its effect on societies. Some such studies attempt to formulate social policies, and even political action. During the peak period of colonial expansion in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries, migration studies were rare. They only caught the imagination of the academic world in the late nineteenth century, and since then much has been written and said on migration. This thesis will explore existing migration literature in the next chapter (Chapter 2).

Concurrent with the transformations mentioned above, i.e. changed mode of production, newer forms of hegemony, and the rise of nation states in the older colonies and settlements which affected the western European world, was the rise of socialism in the former Imperial Russia, Eastern Europe and later in China. Revolutionary thoughts from the success of socialism in the Soviet Union and China, however checked, spread at speed to the remotest parts of the world. The idea of equality appealed to people where class distinction and caste segregation systems, supported by religions, civil society and politico-social institutions, oppressed millions.

But for most of these oppressed people in many parts of the world, particularly in those countries devastated by years of colonial rule, the leadership necessary for revolution was not there, or some such leaderships were subverted. The talk of equality for all in the form of a classless society from socialist ideas developed a different kind of awareness as regards the people's own social positions. At the same time, the rise of consumerism, the direct result of technological innovation and economic strategies undertaken by the producer countries, made people want more. The two phenomena are poles apart in that the second which can be named as the 'acquisition trend' is the direct result of a capitalist mode of production , and the first, the 'equality for all' is an attempt to change that very system of production. The common people, particularly the oppressed and dominated ones, have not generally been able to recognize the contradiction, and many modelled their aspirations on both.

There is an element of '*dual consciousness*' in this. One part of this dual consciousness is determined by the ideology of the dominant and capitalist class, and the other part determined by the revolutionary consciousness (Gramsci, 1971). The two, apparently inconsistent, sets of beliefs are held by many people, particularly by the working class, but they do not always see the inconsistency. Their inability to recognize the true nature of the two aspirations and their ignorance as to the ways and means to achieve them made many people, particularly of the countries devastated by colonial rule, vulnerable to the temptations of any 'El dorado'. One such El dorado was the immigration offers from industrially developed countries.

The Nature of Postwar Migration

Despite the fact that the world population has never been static and bound to any specific areas or space, the nature and composition of population movements go through different phases and patterns. The post-war movement of population gave rise to a different kind of migration than that of the prewar period. Earlier, migration occured in the process of emigration from the countries of dominant powers as the result, on one hand, of imperialistic advance, settlements and/or colonial expansions, and on the other hand, directly enforced actvities, including slavery, ecological push, man-made disasters,etc.

In the postwar period, migration apparently looked like an independent activity, although it served purposes congenial to the needs of the dominant powers. This 'independent' actvity was even thought to have taken place due to 'individual decisions' with labels such as 'labour migration' and 'voluntary migration' attached to it. Even the movements of refugees, stateless persons, people displaced by war and/or as a result of political persecutions are categorized as 'labour migration' in so far as it is argued by Stephen Castles and Mark Miller that such people end up in the labour market of the destination countries (Castles and Miller, 1993).

After World War II, population movements took place from old colonies to their respective colonial centres and also from impoverished regions to those nearby industrial centres with no colonies. These movements of population have been recognized as different from pre-war population movements particularly in their ethnic composition as more non-Europeans and non-whites moved into Europe and also to North America. Later, as the economic position of Middle Eastern countries, particularly oil-rich Arab ones, and Far Asian countries changed, similar movements to these places have started taking place as well (Castles and Miller,1993:6).

Since most of the migrants in the post-war period have arrived in countries which are economically and industrially stronger, most migration studies are based on the *a priori* notion that such movements are 'economic in nature'. From that standpoint, which is not usually argued, most of the studies go on to describe the position of the 'labour migrants' in an alien society as the 'underclass' or 'sub-proletariat', and discuss the cultural issues once the migrants have become permanent residents/citizens in the new country. The studies also refer to the immigration laws which have been tightened gradually in most of the western industrially developed countries after their labour needs had become saturated.

The notion that postwar migration had been the result of economic needs of the people in the world's impoverished regions, and the lax immigration laws of the western industrially developed countries, has gained much prominence in general both as academic and common sense topics. It needs to be pointed out here that although these two factors had been present before the two World Wars, such global movements of population did not take place until well after World War II although the labour was procured by naked force or other methods from various parts of the world to wherever they were needed. This negates the assumption that the bare economic necessity of the migrants themselves is the prime mover of people.

Another phenomenon which characterized the literature of post-war population movements is the recognition of ethnicity of the migrants closely . This was the result of the rise of nation state concepts based on loose, and sometimes ideological, definitions of ethnicity in the post-colonial era. The inclusion of questions of ethnicity, and of certain cultural characteristics, is made for various reasons. The ideological assumptions underpinning this research, serve to reinforce the notion that certain people belong to certain spaces, or that people generally can be identified and labelled in relation to a social and cultural space, and that their journey outside that socio-cultural space is to be known as migration. In other words, post-war migration is seen essentially as a movement from one socio-cultural space to another.

A little reflection on the above will show the shortcomings of such a notion. Why should people be expected to be associated with certain spatial boundaries in contemporary times when movement has become a necessity not only for individuals, but also for the advantage of the world economy as a whole? The space or area ascription criteria, also needs to be questioned. In the postwar period many areas of the world have been divided and / or created / or undecided (within the Indian sub-continent examples are the Partition of India, the creation of Pakistan, indecision about Kashmir, and the later establishment of Bangladesh) and the new spatial boundaries have been determined by superficial characteristics and in many cases, by religions. They have been, in most cases, politically determined without adherence to the common bondage of the people, and newer kinds of ethnicity imposed on many. (*e.g.* Bangalee is an ethnic group, but Bangladeshi is not. The latter is a political non-genealogical expression to mean people of Bangladesh. The same applies to the expression 'Pakistani', an entirely new word, and non-genealogical).

However, this notion leads us to consider the relations that the migrants had in their places of origin. Ethnically homogenous populations have shown a remarkable resistence to diversify in their entirity, even under adverse political, economic and ecological pressures. Once this is accepted we can then explore what the space means in terms of the people who live there, or have chosen or been forced not to live there. The departure of some people from a certain spatial boundary where they have historically belonged, be it a small village, a community, or a country or a nation, constitutes migration. This also means that a kind of social affinity is always taken by the people who have left their original social space. At the same time, for the people left behind, social bonds with those who have left do not disappear though may diminish in intensity as time progresses. This is the starting point for defining 'migration' in this thesis. When we talk of present day migration we are in fact talking of a very small percentage of the world population. The migrant segments are likely to be smaller than the population at the point of origin with whom the former would continue to identfy themselves in cultural and social practices. Usually, when movement has been forced by external pressures, all the population of a social space has not moved, although some have become extinct within their own spatial boundaries. Examples of such extinctions are the Tasmanians (Fryer,1988:38) in Australia, or 'Red Indians' in North America, or 'Arawak Indians' in the Caribbean countries (Hall, 1988:264).

Considering that people cannot live in isolation from what is known as society, the migrants naturally develop a new kind of society (more accurately 'community') for themselves. The development of a new society or community by the migrants will naturally be based on their ideas conceived from birth onwards, coupled with their reasons for migration and their sense of resistence to the alien culture of the land where they have arrived.

Since the focal point of most migration studies in the postwar period is ethnicity and culture, it is generally assumed that migrants whose ethnicity and culture are different from the general population of the destination country would form a new society or community for themselves. This is to say that once this spatial movement, constituting migration is complete or nearing completion, a process of culture building (or replicating) begins. This "... process of culture building represents the completion of the transition from the objective realms of spatial patterns to the subjective realms of social worlds" (Clarke, *et al,* 1984:5).

The culture building or replicating is often seen as an action independent of the factors that cause migration. Most sociological studies do not specify the processes of such culture building, nor do they acknowledge the fact that forces in the new social space deliberately create conditions for such culture building or reconstruction. We shall return to this in the concluding chapters of this thesis.

Migrants of different ethnic origins do not always arrive in another territory or country where they face an environment which is unaccomodating to their social and cultural norms and practices. British people migrating to Australia, or the U.S.A., or Canada (British part) usually re-enter into cultural and social environments which are similar, if not the same, to their previous environments. At the present moment, a Sikh migrant from India arriving in Southall, Middlesex, England, or a Bangalee from Bangladesh arriving in Brick Lane in London is likely to find himself/herself in a cultural environment and associations which are quite close to what he/she has been used to in India or in Bangladesh. If we consider that factors of different social and cultural background are nowadays being emphasized in most migration literature, one might be tempted to ask whether a migrant will *experience* 'migration' when he moves to an already re-created environment similar to his/her background. This situation may give rise to a question whether such move into the same social and cultural environment should be regarded as

'migration' from sociological perspectives. This thesis will argue that the term 'migration' ought to have new categories appropriate to the new situations in the post-war period; and that the old two divisions of migration into 'internal' and 'international' cannot accomodate the complexities of post-war migration.

A Definition of a Migrant in the Postwar period

Reflecting on the above discourses, it is thought necessary here to propose a definition of a 'Migrant' for the purpose of this thesis. The definition of migration is beset with problems. The simple dictionary definition of the verb 'to migrate' is to move from one abode to another, esp. in a different country (Oxford English Dictionary). This being too simplistic, geographers have decided on a definition of 'moving home permanently' (White and Woods, 1980:4). But this is very inaccurate since many migrants may retain their homes in the country of origin. The Office of Population Censuses and Surveys of Great Britain (OPCS) defines a migrant as a person who has entered a country from abroad with the intention of residing for more than six months. Although for census purposes this may be acceptable, from a social point of view this is also too simplistic. While official categories serve certain purposes, many persons residing abroad for many years refuse to be regarded as migrants, since the word migrant has acquired, through media and official literature, connotations which they would not consider fitting to their status (eg. high class professionals, rich people from other countries, etc). Many migrants have become naturalised citizens of the new country, and many have naturally acquired rights identical to the citizens of the countries to which they migrated or in which they are born of migrant parents (Africans from the West Indies to Britain, Surinamese to the Netherlands, Asians in Africa to Britain, French Algerians to France,and so on). The people from East Germany moving to West Germany before and after the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, though described as migrants (Cohen, 1991) cannot be migrants in the sense that both are historically one country with the same

language and culture though politically divided at one stage. Labour migrants are nowadays given official terms like 'ethnic minorities', as if to remove the stigma attached to the word 'migrants'.

Therefore, a new definition of 'a migrant' is required that could overcome the limitations and narrowness of the general descriptions. Also for the purpose of this thesis we need to develop a specific idea of the people who are its central characters.

Accordingly, I offer the following definition of a migrant ;

A 'Migrant' is a person, who has undertaken a journey from his/her original spatial boundaries where the majority or dominant culture corresponds to his/her ethnic origin and upbringing, and who by the process of this journey to and settlement in a spatially removed area , now lives amidst a different culture held by different dominant ethnic group or groups.

This definition differentiates between 'political migration' (*e.g.* the partition of India, where well established spatial entity inhabited by homogenous ethnic population is divided into two for implementing political boundaries, causing migration) and 'general migration'. It also stresses the major socio-psychological factors associated with migration. This can also offer a new division within general migration where people migrate to a different country, but within the folds of a well established society or community which is similar, if not the same, to where they came from. This definition can stress cultural and ethnic dissimilarities and also domination/non-domination elements analysing the class and social asymmetrics in action.

Naturally, no definition can encompass everything or expect to include changes that might occur later. In the above definition, the position of the next generations of the migrants cannot be covered despite the fact that many of them may go through the same trauma, sufferings and problems which may be increased because of their

inability to establish a dialogue with their countries of origin. However, the above definition may offer us a basis for the study of postwar 'primary' (not pioneering) migration in the exploration of social relational aspects of migration.

Ethnicity, class and gender issues in migration

While referring to the matters of ethnicity, it may be worthwhile to remember that the ethnicity of a migrant cannot be clearly defined without taking into consideration class and gender. Ethnicity is not a politically determined fact, it is genealogical as well as historical. Class divisions within an ethnic group are important elements to consider. In migration studies, such divisions are often ignored. Since the postwar migration has been labelled as mass labour migration, it is often assumed that the migrants form one general class. This negates one important aspect of social relations not only within the migrant group, but also in establishing contact with them by the people in the destination countries.

Migration has always been highly gendered. It is mostly men who first become 'migrants', not women. The participation of women in the migration processes comes through familial and other relations. A new pattern is slowly emerging in this respect. Castles & Miller have recently noted a gradual *feminisation* of migration (1993:9). There seems to exist some similarities in the gradual 'feminisation' of migration in the '90s, and in the advent of women workers in the factories and elsewhere in the early industrialization period of Europe. This aspect of migration has not yet been comprehensively studied.

The issues of ethnicity, class and gender in migration require different treatment. This thesis may not be able to include these aspects of migration, but wherever possible they will be pointed out. It may also be hoped that once we establish the relationships between social relations and migration, it may be easier to explore the above relations in another work.

General Hypotheses of Postwar Migration

It will be appropriate to present here some existing hypotheses of postwar migration which this thesis has taken note of.

1. Migration theories in western European countries have specifically aimed to understand worldwide population movements in general. Emigration from western Europe had at one stage offered the basis for developing such theories, but postwar concerns with migration have been with immigration to these countries as well to the U.S.A. This thesis recognises that all types of migrations should be taken into considerations to develop any theory on this phenomenon. Emigration and immigration have different characteristics for the individuals and countries concerned, but, as this thesis later examines, the differences are only of degree and not of nature.

2. Postwar migration has been researched and studied by observing various effects on the countries of immigration. The effects are too wide and intensive to encompass in any single work, and therefore, various aspects,*viz* social (ethnic relations, race etc.), economic (industrial relations, capital flows, neo-colonialism etc.), and political (immigration laws etc.) are nowadays studied in segments. As a result, the opportunity for developing one general theory of postwar migration is not very great, nor does it seem to be the intention of many writers and scholars.

3. A large majority of works on postwar migration ignores the forces that initiate and control such population movements. Many of them regard migration as an embodiment of individual freedom with individual decision and aspiration as the *a priori.* This viewpoint clouds the general implication of such population movements and whatever is written or stated from that viewpoint becomes temporary in its applicability. The fifty years that have passed since World War II, have recorded shifts in population movements in nature, composition and trends. During these fifty

years new studies on migration have begun, and forces beyond individual control are now researched and studied. Even so, this thesis considers that they are studying forces of a temporal nature. For, should the said forces that now cause migration change in the future, we would again be searching for further factors.

4. Migration phenomena work both in objective and subjective realms. Most migrants insist that their circumstances (objective) have enabled them to decide to migrate and that the decision was theirs alone (subjective). This is not a reasonable assumption as far as it goes, since it is only the vulnerables who yield to the external pressures exerted on them and who are tempted to find ways to overcome their vulnerability. But the nature of this vulnerability has not been explored.

5. The relationship of a group of migrants to the countries of immigration has been well determined in much migration literature (eg. colonial past, etc.). But the processes by which the migration has been effected through that relationship are differently and contradictorily presented in different literature.

Individually undertaken migratory moves have curious effects on the immediate postwar world, when large numbers of nation states have been forming, based on bonds like ethnicity or other kinds of social and historical connections (religion etc.). Many such 'states' announce secularism and equality for all other ethinic/ religions groups vociferously; in reality the domination by one group persists and discrimination and persecution of non-dominant groups continue unabated. The last fifty years have recorded large non-European ethnic populations moving permanently into the western European nation states and also the creation and / or dismantling of many other nation states outside the Western hemisphere. Nothing can be conclusive about what kind of world we are to see in the future. Dominant ethnic groups in the nation states fear this ethnic mix and their fears are expressed through migration literature. There are also some concerted efforts in some nation states to create a 'new' class stucture within the existing class systems. This new

class structure works not only within the boundaries of the nation states, but also internationally by specifying/imposing the socio-economic (though they are only economic) classifications on different zones of the world.

Broad Hypotheses of the Thesis

This thesis considers migration a continuous historical process, though the various stages of this process can be studied intensively but only with reference to the totality of the phenomenon of migration in human history. From the movement of 'free' or non-controlled European migration to various parts of the world during the periods of the European colonial expansion, to the 'slavery' and 'free' non-European migration into Europe, all migrations are characterised by the need of capital to organise its labour force.

It is also possible to study historically the different kinds of social relations of which migration was the result, and also which migration effects in separate phases. The proposed study of the social relations in postwar 'voluntary' migration in this thesis is, therefore, not a negation of the historical continuity of the study of migration. The enormous diversity of modern migratory movements rules out the development of a uniform migration theory. It seems that there cannot be any laws of human migration, nor can there be any universally applicable typology of migrants. The whole phenomenon of human migration needs to be studied in its historical context . Their movements, short or long, internal or international need to be seen in the perspective of what it entails, how have they been effected, how they affect the whole history of mankind, and most important of all, how they become determinants of social relations.

The history of mankind is basically the history of various relations, in which different components play differently at different times, but all of which are similar

in causes and effects, and all of which are made effective by forces beyond the control of the individuals involved.

Migration throughout the history of mankind has one significant common factor, the presence of power and social asymmetries. It is a process which has close connections with social relations, class divisions and class formation. Migration of any nature presupposes that social asymmetries exist, and that capital moves to make use of the asymmetries to realize the surplus value of labour.

Migration studies need not be economics, but as economics primarily restricts itself to the structural level of all social relations generated by the forces of economy, it does not delineate those social relations as they affect people, and how they replicate and/or alter those social relations. Migration studies can concentrate on these aspects. In this process migration studies can form a basis for studies of phases of racism, discrimination, sexism not only in the western industrial world but also in the LDCs from where the migrants have come; for the ideologies of the western world get easily transported back to the countries of origin of the migrants through the processes of 'homeland' contacts.

The field of migration studies also has to cover the migrants themselves. The 'free' or 'voluntary' migrants, most empirical works will suggest (*see* Chapter 3), made or at least presumed to have made their decisions to migrate individually. They, except for a few who analysed the situation for themselves, would not regard that the decision was imposed on them. For the majority, migration is a conscious process. Migration studies can accomodate the analysis of this 'consciousness'. Marx and Engels state that human beings 'also possess consciousness' (1976, v5:43). Marx also implied the same when he distinguises the worst architect from the bee by the fact that the architect's product has 'already existed ideally' before it is produced. It has existed in his consciousness, the imagination. (1976, v1:283).

Writing on a different issue, Richard Johnson elaborates the above,

> In other words, human beings are characterised by an ideal or imaginary life where will is cultivated, dreams dreamt, and categories developed. (Johnson,1983:11)

It may be the purpose of the migration studies to reveal this 'consciousness' of the migrants. Marx looked at the social process as a whole, but only from the point of 'social forms' through which human beings produce and reproduce their material life. Marx abstracted, analysed and sometimes reconstituted in more concrete accounts the economic forms and tendencies of social life. (summarized by Johnson,1983). Johnson applied the above to cultural studies, but following him it can be stated that migration studies can also undertake to abstract, describe and reconstitute in concrete studies, social forms, through which migrants 'live', become conscious and sustain themselves subjectively.

Scope and Limitations

This thesis attempts to emphasize a new way by which migration phenomenon in the postwar period may be examined in order to be able to explain many questions hitherto not answered or projected. For example, why is there a similar pattern in population movements immediately after World War II? Why is unskilled labour so heavily weighed in number among the migrants to the western industrial countries? Why has the temporal nature of such migration taken the shape of permanent settlement? Why do the migrants, even after living away from their homelands for decades still remain homeland centred? Why do the returnee migrants come back again to their countries of immigration although they have achieved what they came for? These and many other questions are attempted to be answered in this thesis.

In meeting its aims, this thesis, though studying postwar migration will necessarily take into account historical aspects and phases of migration as a whole. There are three parts in this thesis. The first part deals with migration literature and theories,

the second part details empirical research undertaken and the final part accomodates the conclusions derived from the thesis as a whole.

The first part contains three chapters beginning with Chapter 2, in which the development of migration theories is traced, and migration literature reviewed. The key concepts of major migration literature are critically examined in Chapter 3. This is followed by a study of the historical contexts of postwar migration and postwar migration theories (Chapter 4). Some aspects of postwar migration related to the notions of labour or human resources migration, and existing well known theories and models are examined here. An attempt has also been made here to offer new explanations in order to reject or accept previous notions.

Having produced the theoretical and historical framework, the thesis then moves to Part Two dealing with empirical research. This thesis has focused its empirical research on Bangalees of Bangladesh, usually known as Bangladeshis. The objective of this thesis is to offer a theory of postwar international migration by comparative theoretical and historical studies with an emphasis on a major country of postwar immigration, Britain, and a major country of postwar emigration, Banglaedsh. Throughout the work an international persepective has been borne in mind.

A question may arise whether migration from Bangladesh can offer enough empirical evidence to form a general theory of postwar migration. This thesis has considered this question in depth and come to the following conclusion :

* Bangalee migration to Britain started after World War II. This fits in with the postwar framework of this thesis.
* Their country has had the same colonial/imperial relationship with Britain as that of major non-European migrants to some countries of Europe, notably the Netherlands, Belgium,and France.
* The characteristics of this migrant group are classic and historically

representative in many respects. They are in the main unskilled, and engaged in the lower end of the formal economic sector, or are largely dependent on the informal economy and small enterpreneurship like many other migrant groups in the western European countries and the U.S.A. They also have highly educated and professionals among them.

* They were all male migrants to begin with, and after a decade or two their families have arrived to join them. This gendered representation is typical of most postwar migrants.
* In the '70s, most of them were thrown out of the formal job sectors as were many non-European migrants.
* They can be said to have settled permanently in Britain with nearly all family reunions completed, or some still in the process of completion.
* Nearly all of them have migrated from one specific region of their country of origin, creating what this thesis has termed as 'zonal imbalance' in the migration pattern. Such 'zonal imbalance' in the migration pattern is evident in many other countries from where a large number of people have migrated.
* Their continued involvement with their 'homeland' issues and their national / ethnicity matters have created a segmented society/community for themselves.
* They have been subject to the same racial and other discriminations as most non-European migrants.

Apart from the above typical characteristics of migration from Bangladesh in the postwar period, certain unique features of the country and the people are worth mentioning. Bangladesh is possibly the only nation state in the Indian sub-continent. It was in this area that the British East India Company first settled and dethroned the then ruler (1757 A.D.). Out of that success, the Company eventually established the British rule in India. Until 1912, the capital of British India was in Calcutta which

as the urban centre flourished at the expense of the rural areas. This thesis explains more special features in Chapter 6.

The above shows that Bangalees in Britain can offer a suitable case for study in a thesis which explores various social relations in the postwar migration to the western European countries. The scope of this work has not been limited to only those who migrated. From the very beginning of this research, it has been recognized that despite the euphoria and available opportuinities to migrate, not all 'could-have-been migrants' took up the offers to migrate. We shall henceforth call them 'non-migrants' and their inaction as 'non-migrancy' for the sake of brevity. This thesis suggests that the phenomenon of non-migrancy must be studied to understand the nature of migration. Upon the above premises, this paper has undertaken extensive empirical research on such non-migrants in Bangladesh.

This research is possibly the first to include the 'non-migrancy' cases in a migration study. By doing this, it is believed that this thesis has achieved a balance between the views, behaviour and action of the migrants and those of the non-migrants. As post-war migration is characterised by a continuous homeland involvement of the migrants, there is a need to explore the nature of this involvement. Without understanding this aspect, the nature of social relations that is expected to be revealed in this thesis can not be grasped.

The empirical part is presented in the second part in five chapters. The first chapter (Chapter 5) details the research methodologies and explains the methodologies used in collecting the empirical evidence. Chapter 6 details the historical background of the mode of production in Bangladesh from early time to date. This is followed by migration from Bangladesh to Britain (Chapter 7). These two chapters are expected to offer an understanding of the situations prevailing in the country of emigration. Chapter 8 presents the empirical data and evidence collected from 'non-migrants', *i.e.* the people who despite having had the opportunity

to migrate from Bangladesh, chose not to go. This is followed by (Chapter 9) data and evidence collected from Bangalee migrants in Britain. Full analyses of the findings are presented in both Chapters.

The conclusions based on the theoretical studies of postwar migration and empirical data and evidence collected are presented in the Third Part of this thesis in two chapters. Chapter 10 presents the theoretical problematics in developing a theory of migration, and details the problematics. An attempt is made to produce new ways of looking at migrations by dispelling the myths that have been created around postwar migrations. Chapter 11 is the conclusion where a new definition of migration has been offered towards a new theory of migration.

Chapter 2

Development of Migration Theories and Literature : a review

This chapter is an attempt to understand the various phases of the development of migration theories and literature. This has been done under several headings, such as classical theories, sociological studies, history and historical studies, studies of the economic aspects, race and ethnicity issues, Marxist studies and the recent developments. This chapter is intended to identify various concepts that have come to be recognised and used in migration studies. A critique of these concepts is offered in the next chapter.

It would not be wide off the mark to state that academic interest in migration began with rural-urban population movements. The large scale emigration of European people to distant continents, only came to be studied once the migration studies had a beginning with rural-urban population movements in Britain. Credit goes to E.G.Ravenstein whose article 'The Laws of Migration' was published in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* in 1885. Its reception and the criticism prompted Ravenstein to update his 'laws' again in 1889. Till now, most theoretical treatises on migration refer to this pioneering work which attempted to determine the trends and patterns of migration.

Before Ravenstein, there had been some literature dealing with the consequences of migration. Most notable and earliest of these are S.F.B. Morse's *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration* published in 1835. S.C. Bussey's *Immigration : its Evil and Consequences* (1856) narrated the same fears as were exposed by Morse.

Classical Migration Theories

Ravenstein's 'Laws of Migration' was based on rural-urban population movements. As a demographer, he was interested in developing 'laws' (in fact trends and patterns) of population movements. He propounded his 'laws' by analysing the statistics available in the *1871 Birthplace Register* published by the Registrar General. He was not particularly concerned with the causes, nor with the social consequences.

A short review of Ravenstein as the pioneer of migration studies may be useful in this thesis . Ravenstein tried to distinguish any 'organising principles' in the idea of mobility transition, *viz*.

Distance: The majority of migrants go only a short distance ; migrants going a long distance generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry; natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas; the major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centres of industry and commerce.

Gender and family : Females are more migratory than males within the kingdom of their birth, but males frequently venture beyond ; most migrants are adults ; families rarely migrate out of their country of birth.

Development of direction : Migration proceeds step by step ; each current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.

Effect on environment : Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase; migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves.

Causes : The major causes of migration are economic.[1]

If we look into the population movement itself without considering the external forces, i.e. if the people who move are taken as the sole decision-makers for their action, the above may be described as valid statements. In Ravenstein, the need for manpower in the processes of industrialisation was not taken into account. Ravenstein simply acknowledged that such processes initiated mobility and the matter ends there. His laws assumed that the industrial centres that the people moved to, had already existed. Except stating that the major causes of 'migration is economic', Ravenstein did not elaborate on that point.

Writing a hundred years on from of the above postulates, it is easy to find fault with Ravenstein, but such criticisms do not serve any purpose. For example, one may dismiss Ravenstein's "short distance" theory in the light of the development of

[1]The groupings are mine.

high speed and superior transport systems. But he did state that migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves. What was considered as "long distance" in the nineteenth century may not be "long" in the late twentieth century. Female migration is another point of inquiry (Ogden, 1984:16). Criticism against this can also be dismissed if we consider that "female labour" being cheaper than that of men was always in demand in the early part of industrialisation in Europe. Third World countries of the world are now experiencing such "female migration' from rural to town, as factories which are 'female labour oriented' such as garments, are being set up.

It is surprising that no one has specifically stated that Ravenstein's Laws should not be regarded as theory, but as statements comprising of descriptions and generalisations of some contemporaneous population movements of his and/or earlier time in the U.K. The generalisation out of a collection of evidence can only demonstrate the patterns of the phenomenon, but a theory based on some human activities should be based on the underlying reasons which Ravenstein failed to record.

Ravenstein was appreciated and liked during his time, particularly because he considered migration as an individually undertaken action, and not related to external factors. His 'laws' were produced at a time when everything that Marx said had to be refuted, and one important point to refute was the relationships between the movement of labour and capital's requirements.

Ravenstein had a sort of revival in 1925 when Everett S. Lee added further 'Laws' of migration. Lee produced a diagram perfected to a scientific-looking design. Two circles, as two areas of habitations containing "pull" factors (attracting elements in the area - presented in plus signs) and "push" factors (repulsing elements - presented in minus signs). The two circles were connected by a zig-zag line named as 'intervening obstacles'. According to this diagram, every area of habitation

contained some pull as well as push factors. An excess of push factors over pull factors triggered migration, but only after 'intervening obstacles' could be overcome. Like Ravenstein, Lee also received applause from the academic world and has been often quoted. Some considered that the 'pluses' and 'minuses' should be further qualified, and added micro and macro factors within the push - pull situates (*cf.* Saifullah Khan, 1974).

Considering Lee's popularity in migration literature, it may be worthwhile to point out that Lee, like Ravenstein, satisfied the then academic world and the people in the government by not mentioning the relationships between labour and capital. A closer look at Lee reveals that his "theory of migration" is only a description of some elements in the decision-making on the part of the individuals. This does not refer to the forces which have put those individuals in a position where thoughts of migration could be nurtured. The theory that push-pull factors without 'intervening obstacles' do not necessarily cause migration is well recognised by many empirical studies. Robert Miles has noted from a research paper by J.P. Fox (1988) that while Jews had been migrating from fascist Germany in the 1930s, the majority of them, despite increasing repression, chose to remain in the country (Miles, 1993: 120). Likewise, in my own previous research, the "intervening obstacles" can be dismissed,

> If there are no major 'intervening obstacles' (like passport, visa, entry permit etc) for some people, will they automatically migrate? (Alam, 1988:16).

On the other hand, in the light of large number of people are nowadays moving to other territories illegally (known as clandestine, undocumented migration), the intervening obstacles seem to play minor parts in actual migration.

Another 'theory', though expounded only in the '50s, falls in line with the above two classical 'theories'. This is known as "Chain migration theory". Earlier, Louis Wirth's study of the Jewish Community in Chicago (1938) discovered a 'chain' in

the further waves of migrants. But Wirth did not emphasize that "chain". The specific use of the word 'chain' as a jargon in migration studies was left for R.A.Lochore. From a study of Southern European non-refugee migrants to New Zealand, Lochore noted a 'chain' system of encouraging near relatives and members of the community to migrate from the area of origin of a migrant (Lochore, 1951). Later in 1962 J.S.Macdonald and Leatrice D.Macdonald expanded the "chain" concept in an article 'Chain Migration, Ethnic neighbourhood Formation and Social Network' (Macdonald and Macdonald, 1962), and received academic acclaim. According to them, "chain migration" can be defined as that movement of population in which prospective migrants, learn of the opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accomodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants. The "chain migration" concept was taken up later by Charles A.Price in 1963 and four stages of the development of the 'chain' were added. Briefly, the four stages, later known as steps, are

(i) Arrival of a lone migrant

(ii) The successful migrant's contact with friends and relatives either by 'chain letter' or by periodic visits to his homeland, encourages others to follow in his footsteps. Some 'intermarriages' take place at this stage due to an excess of male migration

(iii) The migrants form a small community, the patronising spirit of which encourage others from the homeland to join, and gradually dependents, brides and bridegrooms follow , and

(iv) The second generation of the migrants reaches adulthood, some internal conflicts and some upper mobility occurs. Price also mentioned the fifth stage, when the third generation arrives at the scene, but refrained from making any comment due to lack of empirical data (Price, 1969).

"Chain Migration" has been well accorded by the academic world, but it is nowadays considered *ahistorical* (Marks and Richardson,1984). The theory cannot offer reasons for disruptions in a chain, or for the non-creation of chains from other localities. This thesis has attempted to offer a new *"zonal imbalance"* theory which can replace the chain explanation and accomodate socio-politico-economic along with historical reasons. This is explained in Chapter 4.

Ravenstein's Laws, the theories named as Push-Pull, and Chain migration can be regarded as the basis on which the foundation of migration studies has been laid. The classical nature of the concepts and notions, even though some of them have been developed as late as the '60s, fail to satisfy the contemporary requirements of empirical evidence and historical explanation in the context of global population movements in the postwar period.

Sociology of Migration

Sociological studies of migration have their roots in the works of Ravenstein's 'Laws of migration' (1885 and 1889). S.A.Stouffer (1940 and 1960) enquired on available opportunities in the migration areas or countries , D.S.Thomas (1938) and D.J.Bogue (1961) on migration differentials, and R.K.Merton (1957) studied the propensity and determinants of migration between various spatial locations following the footprints of Ravenstein.

In the '20s, Robert Park and E.W. Burgess claimed to have started modern sociological inquiries into the theoretical and empirical aspects of migration. Their Chicago School of Sociology in the University of Chicago made significant impact on migration studies as well as on race relations. Emigration from Europe and of black people from the Deep South to Chicago in the later part of the nineteenth century were the central themes of most of their researches. But their major contribution seems to be in the sphere of urban ecology,

> ...chiefly that the forces of competition in a bounded environment produced a set of natural areas each inhabited by different social groupings. These areas and groupings became the subject of detailed investigation which produced studies of the hobo, skid row, the Negro family, and the Jewish ghetto, among others" (Abercrombie, *et al*, 1984:37).

All the theories produced by Chicago School, particularly theories about international migration, are now out of date. This is aptly presented in the following statement:

> Many of the theories [of Chicago School] that were substantiated by research carried out in the inter-war period are no longer valid. Concepts such as 'assimilation',which seemed appropriate in the analysis of these earlier migrations, now prove to be over-simplified and anachronistic in the conditions prevailing today on both sides of the Atlantic, i.e. in societies entering 'post-industrial' stage of development (Richmond, 1969:238).

A collection of specially commissioned papers on migration was published in 1969. This monograph, edited by John A. Jackson, is recognized by many to have marked the beginning of sociological studies of migration. Jackson recognised "the importance of the factors related to immigration, especially of those from widely differing national and racial groups ... in Britain and many other countries today"[1], but the collection did not produce a treatise on immigration of such 'differing national and racial groups'. Instead, it reflected a desire to produce a broad sociological theory based on European emigration, population movements within Europe, rural-urban population movements, assimilation, motivation etc.

Before the publication of this volume attempts to produce a sociology of migration resulted into segmented studies of determinants, consequences, the question of assimilation, demographical issues, 'brain drain', cultural issues, and political undertones, and so on without any attempt to offer a coherent theory of the totality of human migrations. The main concerns were socio-psychological or

[1]quoted from dust jacket (Jackson, 1969)

sometimes, simply psychological aspects of such re-settlements. (Kulischer, 1948; Richardson, 1948; Heberle, 1956; Petersen, 1968; Saveth,1948; *to name a few*.).

Immediately after World War II, two different waves of migrations have been forming in Europe. One was the European emigration and the other was non-European immigration to Europe. But some of the migration studies which were produced during this time, did not differentiate between the two in their choice of themes except commenting on the excess of 'unskilled' immigrants arriving in Europe. They failed to note that the European emigration to America, Australia and other European settlement areas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was also heavy in the number of 'unskilled' people (*cf.* Spengler, 1958: 32).

In general, migration literature dealing with European emigration recognised that such population movements had been a necessity due to 'surplus population' after World War II. Over-population in Italy due to war-time blockage of its traditional flow of migration to Latin America, and the population swelled by the arrival of 12 million ethnic Germans as a result of the Potsdam Treaty in The Federal Republic of Germany, and similar situations in other war devasted western European countries were considered as a restraint to economic recovery (Appleyard, 1992). This notion has been developed by the work of various governmental initiatives, particularly by The *Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe* (PICMME) which was founded in 1951 (it later became The *Intergogernmental Committee For European Migration,* or ICEM, and later the *International Organisation for Migration*, or IOM). This organisation, as its original name suggested, was concerned to organise assistaed emigration of the Europeans mainly to Canada and Australia.[1] The 'surplus population' notion in migration probably originated from within this organisation. This notion did not

[1]It now works closely with the UN, UNHCR and UNDRO, i.e. more towards solving refugee and asylum problems, but with a view to finding ways "to be helpful to governments to ensure that migration be an instrument of development" (Appleyard,1992) .

link itself with the issues of expansion and settlement of Europeans in certain other parts of the world.

On the other hand, the literature on non-European population movements into European areas (including into settlement areas open to non-Europeans such as the Black people into the United States) seem to be concerned about 'assimilation' and cultural problems (Myrdal,1944; Park, 1913; Price, 1969; Rose,et al,1969; Wirth, 1928).

Some authors stress that a sociology of migration, particularly of postwar migration, is not considered to have developed as yet. G. Beijer, writing in 1969, expressed concern for lack of sociological studies of migration. According to him, migration statistics

> . . .are in general unsatisfactory and need improvement ... Another cause which restricts the value of a study on migration is that the structure of the social sciences is not stable enough to produce a generally acceptable classification as the terminology is extremely fluid.(Beijer,1969:12ff)

Echoing the same feelings after nearly quarter of a century, Robert Miles writes,

> . . . the development of a sociology of migration would be an empirically and theoretically rewarding initiative. The contexualization of post-1945 colonial migration to Britain is long overdue, and would allow consideration of important questions concerning the relative specificity and generality of the process and consequences of migration into advanced capitalist societies. (Miles, 1993:126)

Sociology is a comparatively new discipline. Sociological studies of migration have been attempted by many authors and academic researchers. It seems that sociology alone is unable to accord the theoretical basis needed for the study of the complexities of migration. By the end of two centuries of intense global population movements, Robert Miles laments the lack of British sociological contribution on migration, and according to him "There have been attempts to enact a resurrection (or perhaps a virgin birth) at or beyond the periphery of the discipline of sociology" (Miles, 1993: 107). Regarding this resurrection or virgin birth, he quotes works by

Stepehen Castles and Godula Kosack (1973), Castles *et al* (1984), A. Phizacklea and Miles(1980), Miles (various dates), and Robin Cohen (1987) (Miles, 1993:107-108). But Miles has failed to raise or avoided the question of whether a sociology of migration is necessary, or whether it is possible within what we know to be the discipline of sociology. For Miles,

> the process of migration is integral to the transition of feudalism to capitalism and to the development of capitalist mode of production. In other words, migration is a constitutive force within and of capitalist societies, and any analysis which portrays the main dynamics of the evolution of such societies must therefore specify its significance. (Miles, 1993:112)

If we accept the above statement, it becomes difficult to see why we need a sociology of migration. For, if the process of migration is related to the transition of feudalism to capitalism, then it should be the concern of the political economy. On the other hand, if "contextualization of post-1945 colonial migration" (Miles, 1993:126) is necessary in the same process, migration studies can well be left with 'Ethnic relations" studies. Or, what Miles has stated may be taken to mean that race or ethnic relations are more sociological than migration itself. The confision arises because Miles have left out an important phenomenon that works in the process of transition of feudalism to capitalism. This phenomenon is *social relations*. Sociology of migration can only be made within the context of *social relations*. This thesis will later demonstrate that without an explanation of *social relations*, studies of migration as effected by the transition can only be economic, rather than sociological.

History and Historical Studies of Migration

If sociological writings on migration are limited, historical studies on migration can be generally considered as *inadequate, imbalanced, and biased*. They are *inadequate* because the demographic data, on which the historical writings are based, are not satisfactory, *imbalanced* because either the movements of 'black

people' during the imperial and colonial period have been ignored, or excessively emphasized only when they (i.e. black people) arrive in the European nation states, and *biased* because they have developed 'racial' undertones in many instances.

Reasons for lack of history of migration :

This thesis identifies the following major reasons for lack of historical studies on earlier migration :

- Difficulties of writing objectively and freely under the imperial shadow;
- Lack of data and descriptions;
- Unpublishability of some works;

The three reasons require some explaining. Early migration works were mostly written under the shadow of imperialism. The authors of these writings were not politically in a position to reveal the nature of the forces that cause migration in the first place and the purpose that migration serves. The forces which caused nineteenth century emigration or immigration, forced or voluntary, were the decisions of the power holders who needed labour in the plantations or new settlements or the colonies. The dominant power would not boast that colonisation or profit by colonisation had been the motive behind the official blessings for migration.. The objectives of their venture had to be upheld by a sort of idealism, as Edward Said has put, such as the spread of

> . . . the idea of Western salvation and redemption through its 'civilizing mission'. Supported jointly by the experts in ideas (missionaries, teachers, advisers, scholars) and in modern industry and communication, the imperial idea of Westernizing the backward achieved permanent status worldwide (Said, 1993:158).

The period from the mid-nineteenth century to the end of World War II was the heyday of British Imperial Power. During this period, any literature or research has been blinded by the imperial dominance. Edward Said states that during this period it would have been impossible to separate the process of imperialism from historical

necessity since the imperial presence had been so dominating in all spheres (Said,1993: 159).

Early writers on migration have all been invariably residents of the country of emigration, or of the country of immigration. They could not escape the ideology of the dominant power. So, they attempted to reveal the psychological or social positions of the emigrant, as if the people have been themselves were initiating the process of migration.

The two other kinds of population movements, one, forced movements, such as slavery and the other, semi-forced, such as indentured labour, came to be regarded as historically meaningful in migration studies only after the systems were abolished. Within the imperialist sense of superiority, writing of the history of African people enslaved in the Caribbean Islands and the U.S.A. and Indian indentured labour might not have been regarded worthy of academic attention. It seems that early migration works failed to recognise that slavery and indentured labour are forms of migration and part of history. Eric Williams, commenting on a lecture delivered by William Stubbs, (then Bishop of Oxford who is known to have started the serious study of history in English universities) wrote

> Stubbs never said a word at any time about slavery, whether medieval or modern ... Certain it is that for a professor of Modern History at Oxford delivering seventeen annual lectures on the study of medieval and modern history . . . between 1867 and 1884, to make no mention at all of the West Indies, Negro slavery, the abolition movement ... is an achievement of which few men must be capable. (Williams, 1966:46)

John Kenyon writes about Stubbs' influence " his shadow still lies across the Oxford School of Modern History in 1980" (1983:123).

This illustrates how the true history either of a nation or of a group of people could not emerge in the sphere of historical writing. The very attitudes of some eminent British men of letters were extremely prejudiced about the black and the

Irish people. E.A. Freeman, the Regius Professor of Modern History of Oxford is quoted from a personal letter written to a friend after he had visted the U.S.A. in 1881,

> This [U.S.A.] could be a grand land if only every Irishman would kill a negro, and be hanged for it. I find this sentiment generally approved ...
> (Quoted by Peter Fryer, 1988:74)

The second reason for the failure is lack of data and information. W.F. Willcox observes,

> At first ... migration[s] aroused little observation and no measurement, but with their growing importance ... public records of those currents were established and improved (Willcox,1969:30).

Migration research covering the earlier period has to depend on official data and figures, and in many cases has to accept official analysis. Official documentations have not been quantitively sufficient or available, nor qualitatively very reliable. Furthermore, any accounts of the number of people from Africa to the colonies were bound to be inaccurate, as W Rodney writes,

> Any figure of Africans imported into the Americas which is narrowly based on the surviving records is bound to be low, because there were so many people at the time who had a vested interest in smuggling slaves (and withholding data) ... (Rodney, 1974:96).

There was also an embargo on many official documents. As a result the complexities of the migration process and the imperial relationship with the population movements could not become easily observable.

Thirdly, many migration works have followed the same beaten track in order to be academically rewarding or commercially (for publication) acceptable. The works of Eric Williams are a case in context. Peter Fryer has recorded how Eric Williams' doctoral dissertation on the abolition of slavery had been rejected by a reputable British publisher with a note 'I would never publish such a book. It is contrary to the British tradition'. (Fryer, 1988:5 ; Williams,1966).

Relationships between Nation State Formation and Migration :

The development of specific boundaries forming ethnic-genealogical or civic-territorial nation states and the pre-determination of who should be regarded insiders and who outsiders, have developed into a situation in which some 'insiders' can emigrate and/or some 'outsiders' immigrate. There had always been such movements of population within nation states, but until the volume of the movements reached a proportion that had socio-politico-economic significance, they were generally disregarded. Research on the study of such events did not begin since they were perhaps not considered to be worthy of academic attention. Even at the height of extensive European population movement in the eighteenth century for colonial and commerical puposes, and the merchandising of humans in forced bondage from Africa from sixteenth century on, migration was not a point of discussion. It is only in the nineteenth century that the concerns of politicians, the public, economists, geographers and others working in the fields of social sciences began to be registered, and migration, either emigration or immigration became a live topic.

Despite having no conscious development of historical records of migration, history has recorded, in some form or other, large scale population movements caused by a variety of reasons and intentions. Earlier, such movements had not been the concern of the history writers unless they affected the political establishment and processes of their own countries. Certain population movements, particularly the arrival of some 'aliens' to Britain in noticeable numbers, such as the Wandering Jews, religious fanaticism (the crusades), foreign craftsmen and merchants, protestant refugees, Irish famine refugees, excessive number of 'free' slaves, etc. have been well recorded (Roth, 1941; Lipman, 1954; Jackson, 1963; Wilson, 1959; Stewart, 1976). It would be of interest to note here that a Census of foreign population in Britain had been undertaken as early as 1440 A.D. to facilitate the

collection of taxes by Henry VI. According to that limited survey there had been about 16,000 sixteen thousand immigrants in Britain, mostly French and the 'Doche' (a term applied to all immigrants from the Low Countries and northern Germany), and a small but significant number of aliens from Mediterranean countries, such as Italy from where physicians and 'doctors in medicine' arrived (Stewart, 1976). It may not be inappropriate to say as far as British history of immigration studies is concerned, the Census of 1440 possibly marks the beginning.

Modern migration studies on historical principles with consideration of distinct nations and nationhood, seem to have been pioneered by H.P. Fairchild in 1925. In his theory of migration and ethnic relations, Fairchild states that migration depends on four divisions, viz. Invasion, Conquest, Colonisation and Immigration. This is the first historical formulation of migration theory, but Fairchild never fared very well during his time. Later, in the '50s he had been restudied by William Petersen, who rejected Fairchild and offered a typology of migration.

According to Petersen, Fairchild's four divisions are static and fail to recognize 'peaceful-warlike' and 'low culture-high culture' situations. It may be of interest to note that Petersen enlarged on Fairchild's notion of migration in developing his own theory, which suggests that migrants can be grouped according to the power or coercion exerted on them at the point of origin. Proceeding from greater to lesser coercion the following gradations in migration can be recorded:

- Slave Transfers to a receiving society,
- Movements of forced labour from one area of the host society to another,
- Contract labour transfers including "coolie" (ie indentured),
- Reception of dispalced persons into a host society, *and finally*
- Admission of voluntary immigrants into a host society.

(Petersen, 1958 ; 1964.)[1]

In each case some historical and cultural differences between the migrants and the members of the 'host society' are more or less assumed. The above has been variously interpreted and Petersen is another often quoted author. It is historical and it accepts the forces behind different types of migration.

Emphasis on different aspects of migration

It may be worthwhile to state here that within the boundaries of the discipline of history, migration studies or the conceptualization of the processes of migration in history had not started with immigration, but with European emigration. It is the massive European emigration to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the Americas that started the studies of the history of migration. These studies, drew freely from Ravenstein, Macdonalds, Lochore, Price etc for theoretical basis, but disregarded internal or rural-urban population movements on which some of those theories have been modelled.

Curiously, the primary settlers had never been so much the concerns of the international migration studies as were the second and later waves of emigrants. Writing about the Amercian situations, Philip Taylor writes under a striking chapter heading 'Immigrants and Native Americans',

> Opponents of immigration became vociferous in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. They alleged that newcomers included an unduly high proportion of criminals, that they made excessive claims on charitable institutions, and that they damaged the standard of living of American working men (Taylor, 1971: 239).

It needs to be pointed out here that the new migrants referred to above were the same Europeans. This is evident from and well exemplified in many works,*viz* . Prescott F Hall's *Immigration, and Its Effects upon the United States (1906),* H P

[1]*The above presentation has been prepared out of the diagram made by Charles Price from Petersen's original typology of migration, 1958.*

Fairchild's *The Melting-Pot Mistake (1926),* also in two mid-nineteenth century publications by S.F.B. Morse and S.C. Busey referred to earlier in this chapter. A similar sitiuation is recorded of other settler societies including Australia, where migrants of English-Speaking Backgrounds (in Australian official term the ESB immigrants) as well as the migrants of Non English Speaking Backgrounds (NESB- mainly from central and southern Europe) who arrived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were not so welcomingly treated by the 'native' Australians (ie. the first wave of European migrants) . This is evident from the Australian migration literature which raised the question of assimilation and integration of the new 'immigrants', and tried to determine the causes of the latter migration, typology of migrants, their decision-making processes and so on (Taft, 1967; Price, 1969; Martin, 1965,etc.).

Poor Record keeping

The history of primary settlers from Europe to other parts of the world remains elusive. One reason for this could possibly be that, as a major world power, Britain considered the activities of all their emigrant population as services offered to the country, and the movements should not be called emigration or migration. Another reason could be the failure of the appropriate organisations within the government. In Britain the Board of Trade was responsible for keeping demographic records (age, sex, family, occupation, place of residence) of the people emigrating from Britain. This organisation was also responsible for the accounts of population (including labour power) in the colonies, to which 'slaves' were being brought in. But the Board never seemed to have attempted to include the 'slaves' in its historical records in detail. According to Peter Fryer (1984; 1988), the Board of Trade under the philosopher John Locke, was itself a racist and imperialist organisation. This organisation treated black people as property and dismissed all attempts to keep honest records of black people. In other words the 'plantocracy racism', described by Morgan Godwyn in 1680, and Edward Long in 1774 contributed largely in not keeping proper records of non-European population, and similarly the records of the European population in the colonies were far from complete.

At that time in the seventeenth to the nineteenth century no official body had been entrusted with the task of keeping the immigration data. It was only the Home Office and then Ministry of Labour which had been obliged to keep some records, which was never comprehensive (Isaac, 1954: xviii). Some works appeared in the early part of this century detailing migration from specific countries or regions. Some such works are : E.G. Balch's *Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens* (1910), R.F. Forester's *The Italian Emigration of our Time* (1919), N. Douglas's *Old Calabria* (1915). Other works within the same class appeared much later in the '60s. Two of them are Cecil Woodham-Smith's *The Great Hunger, Ireland 1845-9* (1962) and T.

C. Blegen's *Norwegian Migration to America 1825-1860* (1962), Some fiction based on fact and experiences of their authors made substantial contribution to such specific country based migration. One such important author is Vilhelm Moberg whose *The Emigrants* (English translation 1956) and *When I was a Child* (English translation 1957) offer a well researched and well documented story of migration in the form of a novel.

Filling the gaps

By 1970s, the gaps and shortcomings in the early migration history began to be filled by new students, researchers and scholars in Britain and elsewhere. In this context a few authoritative books can be mentioned. Most of them have attempted to trace documented yet unpublished information and organise them with published literature in a way that enables a coherent study of the subject.

Emigration from Europe, 1815-1914: Select Documents (1976) by Charlotte Erickson is an attempt to put together unpublished documents under several headings, *viz* Causes, Assisted Immigration and Colonisation, Recruitment of Immigrants, Journey and Arrival. According to a Swedish enumeration quoted in this book (p.27), the net emigration between 1841 and 1900 from Europe was nearly 23 million against 14 million immigration. This title's historical value is immense though somewhat marred by the author's opinionated comments like, " the emigrants were free people ... free to depart and return at will and free of any obligation to work for particular employer ... in return for assistance in travelling' (p.1). The author assumed that there existed an expanding European economy without detailing the nature of this expansion. Later she writes, " ... assisted emigration to Canada and South Africa was being considered in the Colonial Office[UK] as a means of strengthening their defences (p.115).

A more unopinionated work is worth mentioning in contrast. This work is by Philip Taylor entitled *The Distant Magnet : European Emigration to the U.S.A.* (1971) which is also rich in quoting from primary source documents. The author has enlisted about ten subjects on which 'Books that still need to be written, and in English' one of which is 'British emigration in the half century before 1914, and Irish too'.

Demographers and geographers who had been content with presentations of complex data and figures of migration until the end of 1970s became aware of their power to assimilate sociological theories in their analysis. *The Geographical Impact of Migration* edited by Paul White and Robert Woods (1980), and *Migration and Geographical Change* by Philip E Ogden (1984) *The New Geography of European Migrations*, edited by Russell King (1993) are good examples of new demographical writings on migration. The way to such developments has possibly been shown in *Demography of Immigrants and Minority Groups in the United Kingdom : Proceedings of the 18th Annual Symposium of the Eugenics Society London 1981,* edited by D A Coleman (1982). In this, Colin Holmes has opened the discussion under the title "The Promised Land? Immigration into Britain 1870-1980' which has possibly been written as a prelude to his *John Bull's Island* (1988). He has powerfully rejected many assumptions about immigration to Britain. In the same conference, another paper by Vaughan Robinson has challenged the "straight-line-theory" of the Chicago School of Social Scientists, who compared human communities with other biological communities where the newcomers eventually become socially, spatially and demographically indistinguishable from the host society.

In 1992, Ceri Peach, a geographer has wryly remarked about immigration of 15 million people into the western European countries,

The heart of the matter is not the total of 15 million immigrants, but the 6 million or so who are non-European. When one writes about international migration in Europe, the assumption is that the material refers to Turks in Germany, North Africans in France, Asians and West Indians in Britain (1992:113).

Slavery and the history of migration :

Without incorporating the history of migration through slavery in all histories of mankind and particularly in migration literature, we may not be able to explain how social asymmetrics are perpetuated ideologically.

The background of the slavery is briefly presented here. In 1713, Britain acquired *assiento* or the official contract to supply 4,800 Africans a year to South and central America, the Spanish West Indies, Mexico and Florida. Until 1791, a quarter of the Atlantic slave trade was in British hands, and from 1791 to 1806 Britain's share was over half (Fryer,1988:8-9). The history of slavery, or the early type of cheap labour migration, though forced, has been variously documented, but it had not been accorded its due recognition in the study of the processes of migration until the 1970s.

At the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834, the labour requirement for the same areas where slaves had been engaged was filled by indentured labour. By 1838, precisely after four years of the abolition of slavery - the period when ex-slaves were still to "perform 45 hours of *unpaid* labour per week" (Fryer,1988:25), indentured labour from India began to arrive in British Guyana and Trinidad, and by 1851 almost all West Indian islands including Jamaica received a large number of Indian indentured labourers. The figure, like the unrecorded slave number, is elusive. Peter Fryer estimates about half a million Indians were thus 'recruited' and following the system of recruiting slaves, women were included in this system. The full history of this has not been recorded during that period, except that the British

Government's record in Hansard and Report of the West India Royal Commission (1897).

It is only in the 1960s that their history started to be dug out. Eric Williams who compiled the first ever dossier on slavery in the Caribbean islands in 1938 (*Capitalism and Slavery* , published in the USA in 1944 and in 1966 in the UK) did not write much on this aspect as his thesis was concerned with the exposition of true nature of the movement for the abolition of slavery. Hugh Tinker's *A New System of Slavery : The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920* (1974) is possibly the first major work on this subject . K O Lawrence's *Immigration into the West Indies in the 19th century* (1971) offers a documentary picture of Indentured Labour.

In this context *International Labour Migration : Historical Perspectives* (1984), edited by Shula Marks and Peter Richardson is worth mentioning. Ten articles have appeared in this volume to compensate the lack of historical specificity in most migration studies, and its framework can be described as the effect of the extension of capitalism during the colonial and neo-colonial period to present day.

Studies of the Economic Aspects and Political Economy of Migration

The lack of insight into the role of the governments or political institutions in emigration in the above titles is well compensated by the earlier published *Economics of International Migration Proceedings of a Conference held by the International Economic Association* (1958), edited by Brinley Thomas. The conference was well influenced by an earlier title *Migration and Economic Growth: a study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (1954) written by Brinley Thomas. Later in his *Migration and Urban Development : a Reappraisal of British and American Long Cycles* (1972), he has reassessed his earlier assumptions and found most of them to be true. In addition to that, Brinley Thomas has managed

to incorporate the 'black' migration or the demographic determinants of the 'black' on the economic cycles as well as on total migration without making it a 'race relations' issue (1972: 140*ff*). Brinley Thomas records a definition of the 'mobility of labour' as the 'movement which is the result of voluntary acts of choice by individuals', although the 'economic consequences' of forced movements of population were to be taken account of (Thomas,1954: ix-x).

Another aspect that the economists were concerned with, was the volume of investment overseas where the people emigrated to. According to the U.K. official sources the areas overseas with higher investments attracted more emigration than where the investments were low. UK Net Income available for Foreign Investment seemed to fluctuate the flow of the European emigration to overseas countries. The peak year of investement matched with the peak year of emigration.

The first constructive analysis of the socio-economic classes of the migrants before World War I seems to have come from J.J. Spengler in 1956 and in an undated [possibly 1958] publication. He analysed the data available in the Reports of the The Immigration Commission, 1911 to make several conclusions, one of which is that

> ... throughout much of the century preceeding the First World War, the occupational composition of immigrants into the United States, France and possibly Canada,..., and perhaps Australia was somewhat inferior to that found in the country of destination, in that relatively more of the immigrants than of the natives were unskilled.(Spengler, [1958] : 32).

Spengler also found several other trends among the immigrants from Europe to overseas, particularly to the U.S. and Canada and Australia. Two of them are that the "immigrants tended to crowd into certain industries such as mining and quarrying, clothing, textiles ...", and that as time progressed the "real earnings of unskilled labour fell ...the decline in the wages of unskilled labour is attributable ... to the largeness of the volume of immigration." (Spengler, 1958: 34-35).

Another work *Capital in the American Economy : its Formation and Financing* (1961) by Simon Kuznets, well in harmony with Brinley Thomas's findings, has been able to demonstrate that long term movement of population is well correlated with long term swings of investment. Two demographic monographs *International Migrations* originally published in 1929 (vol.1: Statistics) and 1931(vol.2: Interpretations) have made extensive contribution to the historical aspect of migration upon their republication in 1969. The contributions are by 'a group of scholars in different countries' and both volumes are edited by Walter F Willcox (1969). The interpretations of the statistics are well organised and they cover immigration into the U.S.A., Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand and inter-migration 'between France and Foreign Lands', and emigration from Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Russia, India and Japan. The second part also includes a large chapter on the 'International Migration of the Jews', which together with the chapter on 'Russian Migration' can be regarded as one of the most authoritative account of the figures and their interpretations. There is also chapter on 'Indian Migration' starting from 1833 (end of slavery, beginning of indentured labour) to 1906 and then 1921 (year of the Indian Census) to 1927 (with a report on Indians in South Africa). Brinley Thomas whose important work is referred to above, has used the Willcox edited monographs extensively to propund his theory on migration and the flow of investement.

Nations of Immigrants : Australia, the United States and International Migration (1992) edited by G F Freeman and J Jupp is a recent worthwhile attempt to cover the shortcomings of earlier works in respect of early European migrations to those countries. It covers not only history and statistics, but also various immigration laws (immigration policy reforms) , politics of interests, macro-economic consequences, ethnicity, and multiculturalism.

The postwar migration to the American and European countries has taken a new shape as the colonial manpower requirement in the periphery, such as colonies with plantations, diminished and the manpower requirements for industries and public services in the centre, that is in the countries of the power holders, increased. What used to be slavery and indentured labour had already become 'voluntary migration' in the nineteenth century, but in the postwar period it came to be called 'labour migration'.

It is necessary to recognize here that all postwar immigrants were not 'black' immediately after World War II. At first, it was the Irish whose number has been estimated to be between 70-100,000 between 1945 and 1951(Jackson,1963:14). There were also about 29,400 European Voluntary Workers (EVWs) of Polish origins in addition to 127,900 Polish persons from various servicemen's groups (Zubrzycki, 1956: 62). J.A. Tannahill's *European Voluntary Workers in Britain* (1958) shows that the Polish and other EVWs were in fact the 'contract labour' who after their 'contract' was over in 1951, dispersed from their fixed place and fixed-wage employment, or entered semi- or unskilled work with higher wages and/or overtime, or emigrated (Tannahill, 1958:81*ff*). *International Labour Review* detailed the arrangement for these people in 1949. In that arrangements, the British Government undertook to meet all the costs of recruitment, transport and repatriation on behalf of industries and factory owners who were short of labour. According to Castles and Kosack (1973) and Robert Miles (1986) this arrangement was anticipatory of the contract labour system set up by a number of Western European states in the 1950s and 1960s.

Near the end of the system of employing the EVWs in the British industry and public services, the demand for extra manpower / labour was quite openly publicised in the postwar period. A major characteristic of the postwar publicity

was that it was confined to those countries/regions of the world where colonial relations previously existed, particularly for Britain, France and the Netherlands, or in the regions/countries (some European and some non-European) with poor economies (Castles and Kosack,1973; Castles *et al* ,1984; Castles and Miller,1993). As the people of those areas started arriving after having been directly targeted for publicity, a major upheaval occured in the nature of literature on the new migrants, and the new aspects of migration came to be studied under "Race and Ethnic Relations".

Race and Ethnic Relations of Migration

This time the term 'migrant' in the western European countries acquired new connotations and was aimed to describe non-European unskilled people looking for any kind of jobs in the 'flourishing economy' of the western world. The fact that the Europeans themselves had been migrating on a grand scale in the immediate postwar period was not always projected in the popular media, and often not sufficiently emphasized in works for academic and serious consumption at that time. In 1960, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of the U.S.A., 138,426 white Europeans migrated to the U.S.A. against 126,972 non-European and non-white people (INS,1981). Around the same time (1961), only 336,500 non-Europeans (blacks- including Asians) arrived in Britain (Rose *et al* ,1969). This figure later rose to 595,100 in 1966 (*ibid*).

Postwar migration works in Britain and Europe as well as in the U.S.A. became deeply concerned with the non-European migrants arriving in many European countries. The result in the '60s is a large number of publications on the migration of these people, some on number, some on social consequences, some on employment / unemployment, some on housing, government policies, many on race relations, some on psycological stress from sociological and political perspective, and so on. All these specifically dealt with black people (the term is loosely used to

describe people of non-European origins, such as Aricans, Afro-Caribbeans, Asians and any groups who are not Europeans) and the word 'immigrant' or 'migrant' in Britain became synonymous with expressions meaning 'racially different person'. Gideon Ben-Tovim and John Gabriel write,

> ...it can be argued that immigration - which has become in Britain an euphemism for race just as 'alien' was the code word for Jew at the beginning of this century (1979 : 1).

In 1961, Stanley Lieberson published a short article ' A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations' in *The American Sociological Review* (1961: 902-10) in which he introduced the concepts of "Migrant Superordination" and "Migrant Subordination" asserting warfare, strife and violence in the first case and absence of long-term conflict in the second. Lieberson had in mind the Twentieth Century massive population movement to the Western European countries which had a historical past of colonisation. These concepts are welcome by many but they fall short of explaining migration in general though they can be useful in explaining migrant-native relations.

A hundred years of the immigration to Britain is the span of Colin Holmes' work, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* . It was published in 1988. This meticulously written book can be regarded as the basis of historical studies of immigration to Britain. In the chapter 'Immigration in the Age of Imperialism' the author identifies immigration of the Irish, the Jewish, the Russian Poles, people fleeing from Tsarist atrocities (especially Jews), the Italians, the Chinese, the Asians, the Africans and many others. He has also noted that since 1871, the Census returns included "other groups whose history has been mainly neglected" (Holmes, 1988:35). After detailing the immigrant groups, the author has turned to the economic and social life of the immigrants, particularly to the responses from within the British society which he summarised in the following :

> ... there was little evidence between 1871 and 1914 of the much-vaunted tradition of toleration in Britain, let alone acceptance. But, at the same time, there was little indication of a blanket, unremitting hostility towards immigrants and refugees (Holmes, 1988:84)

It is not clear how Colin Holmes arrived at the conclusion that there had been no 'blanket, unremitting hostility' since he later recorded that "During most of the years between 1871 and 1971 the movement of population into Britain was composed mainly of Europeans" (ibid: 277). The question of hostility towards the Europeans does not normally arise. Certainly the 'unremitting hostility' had been reserved for the 'coloured immigrants', however few they would be. His division of phases of immigration to Britain, 1914-1919 (World War I), 1919-1939 (between the Wars), 1939-1945 (World War II), Postwar years (1945-1971) is historically helpful. He has also discussed the social and economic aspects of immigration to Britain, but has avoided getting involved deeply into the reasons underlying the population movements. All the time, he has taken the stance of an objective historian, while displaying his conviction that such immigration happened not because of an individual's decisions or simple economic needs, but for causes beyond their control.

Peter Fryer's *Staying Power : the History of Black People in Britain* (1984) is an example of historical scholarship which compiles an authentic chronicle starting from as early as Roman conquest of Britain. This book covers not only history, but all antecedent social events as well as politico-social movements concerning the black people in Britain and elsewhere. The chapter on postwar immigration in this book is short but pungent with appropriate comments (pp 372-399). One major contribution of this title is the bibliographical references to numerous published and unpublished works. These materials are to benefit students and scholars, whether of 'black' history or of its sociological interpretation, either in the race relations field or in sociology as a whole.

Some may opine that the 'race relations' aspects of migration need not be studied separated from the phenomenon of migration as a whole. This is a conservative estimate of the implications of migration. This thesis believes that 'migration' as term needs redefining in the context of those population movements that are regarded as socio-cultural problematics, and some migrations need to be studied in greater depth and details, which may throw important light on the whole phenomenon. This will be discussed towards the end of this thesis.

Mrxist Studies of Migration

It was not until the 1970s that race questions in migration became gradually oriented to incorporate the world's economic systems and thus a new analysis started emerging. This was made partly possible by works on the employment and labour relations of black people in the Western World. In these aspects of migrations, Marx and Marxist writers, who were not known to have much interest in the 'race' questions`, re-appeared convincingly and the relation of the 'black migrants labour', and thereby of labour's relation to capital came to be reassessed.

The first to arrive at the academic scene was Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack's *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe* in 1973. This registered the Marxist analysis of migration substantially, though not to the satisfaction of many who were looking for an analysis with more revolutionary zeal.

The publication of *Accumulation on a World Scale : A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment* by Samir Amin (Vol,1:1974) gave a new insight. Postwar migration needs to be understood in relation to labour movement from one area to another. The trend of this movement is characterised in the postwar period as labour emigrates from industrially and economically less developed countries to arrive at industrially and economically more developed countries. According to Samir Amin,

> Apart from a few ..., all contemporary societies are integrated into a world system. Not a single socioeconomic formation of our time can be understood except as a part of this world system. Relations between the formations of the "developed" or advanced world (the centre) and those of the "underdeveloped" world (the periphery) are affected by transfers of value, and these constitute the essence of the problem of accumulation on a world scale (Amin,1974:3).

The publication year of Samir Amin's work registered another epoch making title. This is Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World-System* (1974) which raised a storm in the academic world. Briefly, his argument was that the core areas of the world system have developed in the context of a set of economic exchanges and political relationships among actors located in different parts of the system, including countries of the periphery, the semi-periphery and the core. Though this is a book on political economy, students of migration soon realized its implications in the matters of world's labour movements in the form of migration. Another byeproduct of this title was a major shift in approach in various disciplines in the American academic world. Stanford University under John Meyer attempted to use Wallerstein's world-system theory for hypothesis-testing in quantitative, cross-national studies. The effect of this move is well stated by Michael Timberlake,

> This opened the way for publishing *ostensibly* neo-Marxist development research in major American sociology journals, most of which are strongly biased towards quantitative research. Together, these two new directions in comparative sociological inquiry made it possible for faculty and graduate students in university social science departments to pursue Marxian interpretations of development without putting an early end to their careers (Timberlake,1979 :38).

In 1977, Manuel Castells's *The Urban Question* effectively destabilized the race relations concept in an urban situation and colour based theorisation of the urban ghetto, and brought forward a Marxist theoretical framework in which urban sociology could be studied; the older school of urban sociology based on Chicago School had to give way. Marxist analysis has changed the approach to migration research radically in the last two decades.

The New Migration Studies

By 1990, the study of 'voluntary migration' of Afro-Caribbean and Asian people to European cities in the postwar period seems all but archaic. Legal immigration, illegal entries, political asylum seeking, refugees, corporate population movements, movements of scientific and technical experts, short term labour deployment, war destitutes, political boundary breakdowns - are all now feeding migration streams worldwide. In the immediate post-war period, migration was directed to a few western countries and the U.S.A., and migration studies could be undertaken on the situations of these countries only. But nowadays many traditionally sending countries are developing pro-immigration policies. In this *fin de siecle*, migration studies needs to examine the situations of East Asia, Asia, Middle East, the Carribean, South America, Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, Israel, and many more traditionally 'sending countries' to arrive at any general conclusion. New patterns of global population movements have raised complex questions which require a multi-dimensional approach. The complexities may even make a generalisation based on classical migration theories impossible. It seems that even though the earlier obstacles have been removed, research has not been conducted to fully understand the phenomenon of migration. Appleyard writes,

> There is ... no serious, systematic thinking taking place at the international level on the linkage between large-scale internal and international migration, population increase, regional inequality and global security. Of equal concern is dearth of information and analysis on both the magnitude and causes of international migration and how these interact with other global problems and may interact in the future.(Appleyard, 1992:83)

The above is a brief review of migration theories and literature. It also takes us to the contemporary stage where many key concepts prevoiusly formed and accepted came to be challenged.

Conclusion

In modern times, people have been moving on a global scale in the forms of colonial expansion, imperial aggression, labour movements (forced, indentured, 'free' *etc*), ecological push, and so on. But academic studies of such human migrations were not forthcoming during the time when these movements were taking place. The interest in studying the rural-urban population movements in Britain during the nineteenth century resulted in the postulations of the first ever principles of human migration. From then, a host of 'theories' of 'internal' and 'international' migrations followed. All these are known to have formed the basic theories of migration.

Sociological studies of the phenomenon of migration began belatedly in the mid-nineteenth century to examine the propensity and determinants of migrations between various spatial locations. A host of other related issues, such as consequences of migration, assimilation, brain drain, cultural questions and political undertones, etc. also came to be studied. Two cross currents of migrations in the postwar period; European emigrations to Australia and Canada and non-European immigration to Europe were noted by the sociologists, but apart from socio-economic explanations of 'surplus labour' and 'labour shortage', no major study of sociological importance was produced. Some attempts to frame a sociology of migration did not produce satisfactory results in the light of subsequent and new understanding and revelations about the underlying reasons of human migration. These new developments were, generally speaking, based on the recognition that in addition to European emigration and non-European immigration, all movements of population, including slavery, indentured labour and refugee movements are important in the study of migration.

The history of human migrations has been poorly recorded or not recorded in systematic and comprehensive manners over the centuries because of institutional apathy, general neglect and absence of apparatus to keep records. Gradually, a

history of migration in the modern period has emerged and historical analysis provided from '70s onward. By this time demeographers and geographers have also responded to their responsibilities by not only improving data gathering, but also by analysing such data to meet the demands of sociologists.

A distinct field of study named Race and Ethnic Relations (sometimes simply ethnic relations) has developed as a consequence of the presence of large numbers of non-European 'migrants' in Europe. Their presence, though justified toward meeting labour needs has generally been regarded as threats and destabilizing factors in the social patterns of the indigenous population. Drawing largely from the North American experience, studies in race and ethnic relations have made significant contributions in the understanding 'race relations', but not much in the understanding of migration.

The study of the economic aspects of migrations based on the principles of the theories of economics came in '50s, and since then political economy, have made significant contributions in the field of migration studies providing explanations that were not considered beforehand. The Marxist advent in the migration studies came through these studies in the political economy of migration, and was strengthened by new Marxist studies of the relationships between labour and capital on a global scale. Such developments in migration literature and studies have produced a number of key concepts, each of which requires careful analysis.

Chapter 3

A Critique of the Key Concepts in Migration Literature

The discovery of 'human resources' is a continuation of the discovery of useful 'natural resources' in far off lands by some of the western European nations. The transformation of the population at large in those lands into 'resources' has been accomplished through the development of capital, and the transition to the capitalist mode of production. The internationalisation of 'human resources' has been accomplished through a series of other stages which can be named as the 'slavery stage', 'indentured labour stage', 'free labour stage' and finally the 'voluntary migration stage'. There is some difference in the way that 'natural resources' and 'human resources' are treated. Once discovered, the power holders attempt to monopolise 'natural resources', but they have shown remarkable generosity in sharing 'human resources' even with rival groups. Migration studies focus their attention on the people turned into 'human resources' whose mobility has been created for the needs of the capital, but who are nowadays accorded the status of voluntary agents, such as 'free labourers' in a 'free' world.

In order to understand migration in the contexts of myths and realities that surround it, there is a need to explain the basic premises upon which this thesis is based. Studies of human migration activities have not been recognized as a distinct field of study in its own right. It is common to study migration as a sub-field of social sciences, particularly of disciplines such as economics, sociology and demography. The economic aspects of migration has always been limited to the 'labour' question, while sociology asseses the social impact of migration. Ethnographic studies relate to race and culture issues and these are often over-emphasized in migration studies. Demography offers data and statistics of the population which are used extensively and intensively in migration studies. All

these disciplines offer their analysis from the standpoint of their respective subjects and contribute to migration studies. But it is hardly recognized that migration studies, if developed fully, can also offer the required analysis which would be more dependable than the ones other disciplines make from their particular and therefore narrow viewpoints. For example, the notion that migration activities are basically economic in nature resulting into 'labour migration' has been accepted in general by all. Similarly, sociological studies have invariably become too involved in studying the 'black and poor' or 'foreign and poor' aspects of migration. Even the notions prevailing inside the United Nations Migration offices conform to the same reductionism.

This thesis believes that the field of *migration studies* should not to occupy itself exclusively with the forces that operate at the level of structure, i.e. the economic pressure, nor ponder too much on race and ethnicity of the participants in the processes of migration. Even the 'contingent social circumstances' (Murray,1979:2) which operate at the level of motivation should not form the core issues in migration studies.

What are migration studies?

It will be worthwhile to explain here that this thesis considers *'migration studies'* a distinct field of academic exercise, and that the description and analyses of population movements do not necessarily fall within the scope of *'migration studies'* though the latter draws its data and information from the former. Before discussing what is *'migration studies'*, it may be useful to detail what *migration studies* is not and what are the disciplines it is invariably linked with. Only after that it may be possible to establish the distinct nature of migration studies and to examine the central theme of this work that *migration studies* has its roots in the delineation of *social relations* .

Demography and Migration

Migration as a term has not yet been defined as precisely as one would expect. Most definitions are no more than descriptions, specifying what length and kind of stay of a different national in another country should constitute his/her 'migrant status' and these are often formulated for the official purpose of immigration rules, or for the purpose of census. On the other hand, there are also simplistic and unqualified statements, such as any move from one place to another constitutes migration.

If such movements are called migration, then migration studies can be understood to be no more than one aspect of demography, and, therefore, this would not justify its development into a distinct field of study. Demography is the analysis of the size, structure and development of population. It collects and offers statistics, usually crude, of population size and changes in such a way that can demonstrate the relationship between the birth and death rates and in-migration and emigration. It also offers population projections and features of labour supply. Works on migration specifically use such statistics, emphasizing and analysing aspects which demography does not.

Geographers and demographers usually divide migration into two kinds: internal and international. Such a distinction has its use for the kind of studies they undertake, but when we approach migration from a sociological point of view, the distinction becomes irrelevant. Internal migration usually means moving within a specified territory, be that territory be a nation or an area inhabited by people of same or different ethnic/cultural origins or just grouped together in an unchartered region. International migration, which can even be named as 'interstate' migration, on the other hand, is taken to mean moving beyond such a territory into another territory, often alien by political boundary divisions. Such divisions in Europe emerged after the thirteenth century (Hinsley,1986). During the fifteenth and

sixteenth century, a period termed as the 'mercantilist era' (Smith, 1776), the in-migration from other territories was often welcomed by the monarchs and feudal landlords as sources of cheap labour, and such in-migration often brought people of different ethnic origins (Collinson, 1993: 30). These are usually understood to constitute international migration.

The key difference between internal and international migration seems to depend on the existence or non-existence of certain factors, such as political boundaries, or similar territorial distinctions, either man-made or natural. This works quite well if we are to limit migration studies within the framework of geography and demography. Still, population studies itself is considered as a distortion by some, particularly by Marx who would not accept its "chaotic conception of a whole", but would insist that it ought to explore the "rich totality of many relations and determinations" (Marx, 1973:100).

Migration studies has been involved with the numerical aspects of foreign population for a long time (Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Race Group,1969; UN Economic Commission for Europe,1979, etc) and neglected to explore the "rich totality". But comprehensive migration studies, in recording the 'rich totality' cross "numerous disciplinary boundaries and presents a bewildering array of different levels, directions and methods of possible approach" (Collinson, 1993;xii).

Sociology and Migration

Many sociological analysis are made from demographic data, and in early sociological theories, the question of population density played an important part. But subsequent sociological theory and research did not take the demographic features of society to be of central analytical significance in sociological explanation (Abercrombie et al, 1984). Two major reasons for this are, fear that interest in

demogrpahy might lead to a biologizing tendency in sociological theory (Parsons), and secondly, demography ignores the cultural and social factors which interplay between population and environment and which are considered crucially important for sociologists.

Migration studies in its rudimentary form started with demography's concern with in-migration and out-migration to determine population size and structure. Records of original place of birth, original nationality and ethnicity are now-a-days standard features of demography. With the advent of sociology, migration became a topic within it. As sociology drifted away from demography so did migration, except in using the data and figures provided neatly by demographers.

Following sociological traditions, migration studies in both western European countries and in America have stressed heavily whatever they considered to have caused the breakdown of social norms and expectations. In America, the urban sociology of the Chicago School became totally involved with the Black and Hispanic arrivals in the inner part of the city of Chicago. This Chicago School of Sociology made a significant contribution to the development of empirical research, the symbolic interactionist approach and a distinctive urban theory. Ethnic relations and race relations policies of America, and later in many countries of Europe, may be said to have originated with them. This type of study is predominantly concerned with migrants, and not so much with the process of migration. In fact, in the western schools of sociology, migration is still invariably linked with urban sociology.

Economics and Migration

Migration in the post-war period is characterized by population movement from LDCs to the MDCs, particularly to western industrial countries with higher demand for labour after World War II. As a result most post-war migrations have been

called 'Labour migration'. This has led migration to be considered a labour supply mechanism and economic theories of labour, class, status, surplus value, alienation, industrial reserve army, trade unionism etc are applied to the economic studies of migration. (Thomas, 1954; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Cohen,1988,etc).

It has been stated earlier that other disciplines discuss migration from the viewpoint of developing and testing the theories of their respective subjects. The following statements are offered to elucidate this: migrants are usually sources of cheap labour, and this aspect of migration is the concern of economics; and the economists can test their theories by obtaining information about the migrants. Application of existing theories of other disciplines does not reveal much interest in the study of migration from the points of view of the people who cross not only the political zones and boundaries, but also the socio-cultural barriers and divisions that separate humanity. Migration is not simply a matter of transfer of residence for tangible benefits; for some, it is an attempt to overcome the societal limitations experienced. Disciplines such as economics and sociology, or topics such as socio-economy, assess the causes and results of migration. Migration studies cannot be conclusive if they are to remain within such structural analyses only.

Ideology in migration studies

A large majority of statements made about migration in the post-colonial period can be called ideological in that they equate 'migrants to western Europe' with 'socially undesirable people' (*cf.* Berger and Mohr,1989). Earlier migration studies have usually stressed that since the abolition of slavery and disbandment of indentured labour system, migrants consititue a 'free' labour, free to choose their destinations as 'voluntary migrants'. On the other hand, later studies have also specifically stressed that migration has always been initiated by the powerful and the dominant to force some people to become either slaves, or indentured labour, or voluntary migrants, or 'unfree' labour and so on.

The authors who seek the explanation of migration in the individual motives of the migrants are named as 'revisionists'. Adrian Graves, writing about the Pacific Islands labour migration to Queensland, 1963-1906 has explained such revisionist theory,

> ...revisionist analyses of individual motives take place within the conceptual framework of neo-classical economics. Thus it is assumed that the decision to migrate was rational and progressive, the operation of free choice in the context of a competitive labour market (Graves, 1984: 113-114).

Who are the Migrants ?

People have been moving from one area to another for centuries. During the period prior to the formation of nation states, people moved from one cultural/ ethnic region to a completely different cultural/ethnic region, and in most cases with the passage of time they either acquired new cultural traits and/or overcame ethnic differences (Smith, 1986).

Causes of self-organized spatial movements of people during the ancient and early modern periods can be ascribed to various factors, *viz,* conquests, ecology, search for plantations. There seems to be a kind of spirit of adventure mingled with necessity. During the colonial expansion period, the factors became more varied. The people who took part in the colonial expansion and went to dominate people of other regions and countries are not generally regarded as 'migrants'. But are they not migrants ? Have they not left their original place of residence for another in a different region? Their length of stay varied. They might have lived for a short period of time or quite often lived in the other land permanently. If the leaders of such actions went for the specific purpose of conquest or colonisation, and they are named as conquerors or colonisers, they usually took with them a large number of companions, viz. soldiers. In many instances, the companions continued their residence in the new land even after the original purposes were fulfilled. Historically, the Dutch, Portugese, Spanish and the English colonial expansion dominated the seventeenth and eighteenth century conquests of territories of Africa,

Middle East, Asia, Far East, and the American continents. The expansionist forces of the Mongolian and Chinese dynasties did the same job earlier in the Far and central Asian territories. This could be compared with the Afghans, Turkish and Mughals moving from the Central Asia into India. In many cases, the conquering people or the invaders carried on living in the new land for so long that they became part of the 'native' population or became one of the ethnic groups, and sometimes became indistinguishable from the locals. They were definitely the 'migrants' of the old world. What, then distinguishes them from the modern migrants? Is there no difference between them? Or, should we correct our definition or ideas of migration to distinguish them? This last question points the way to a nearly right answer. Our concept of a 'migrant' has been influenced in various ways, such as by the literal meaning of the word, and the meaning attached to by official descriptions of a migrant (*cf.* Chapter 1). We need a new definition in today's context, by examining the implicit connotations attached to it by various conceptual developments around the phenomenon of human migration.

In the contemporary world, particularly after World War II, people from impoverished regions have been arriving in the industrially developed countries to sell their labour, or put more simply, this period "may be designated as the phase of mass labour migration" (Castles, *et al*, 1984). They have been simply termed 'migrants' or 'immigrants'. They fit neatly what Marx described as "light infantry of capital" (Marx, 1976, V.1;818).

Power and Migration

These movements of people are different in character from those of people participating in conquests, plunders, or colonial expansion. The difference between the two movements lies in the presence or absence of 'power'. Conquering armies held the power over the people of the land conquered. A modern migrant cannot be said to have that kind of power; he has no power at all; not even in the decision

making stage to become a 'voluntary migrant' at his free will. The difference between the two have been summarized well in the following,

> ... from a movement of 'advanced' population settling (in) backward lands, to one in which 'backward' population were induced to fit the needs of more advanced economies.(Portes and Walton,1981:25).

In the above, 'power' is the key concept. The advanced population held power over the 'backward' population. What then is this power?

Power, according to Marxist sociology, can exist independently of the wills of individuals. Lukes (1974) states that it is the ability of one to make others agree with one. In such a situation one has the power over others. Weber's idea of power is that a person will be able to carry out his or her own will in the pursuit of goals of action, regardless of resistance. We are not going to enter here into the problemetics of the concept of 'power', but we are going to stick to the Marxist idea which states that the existence of power is a consequence of the class structure of the societies. Poulantzas (1978) defined power as the capacity of one class to realize its interests in opposition to other classes.

In a migratory situation, power makes the whole difference between who are to be regarded as 'migrants' and who are not. The conquerors, plunderers, and colonisers managed to hold power over the population of the land they went into. Even if they settled there, they still held the power. A 'migrant' on the other hand does not hold the 'power'. The existence of 'power' in migration studies has never been explored, even though some authors unhesitatingly call the participants of European out-migration as migrants. In the words of Colin Newbury,

> In a sense, most of Europe's fifty million emigrants were labour recruits, destined for positions as wage-earners in the small towns and cities of the New World, rather than as a prairie homesteaders or out-back sheep farmers. (Newbury,1975)

This claim of calling the Europeans advancing and colonising the non-European lands as 'migrant wage-labourers' sounds no more than an academic skirmish, because in the concrete reality, the European settlements in North America, Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere were the settlements of dominant power holders. In the process of continuing that domination, the power holders required loyal servitudes of hundreds and thousands, and in most cases skilled hands preferably from their country of origins. So, the population that followed the power holders to meet the labour needs were in fact proletarians, petty bourgeoisie, aspirant bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudal labour. The sole purpose of transporting these people to another land was to maintain the class interest of the dominant power holders. In this process during the early period of colonisation, "the white migrants did indeed make individual choices in response to employment opportunities... [but] when the market forces were inadequate governments intervened "(Denoon, 1984). The implication of this statement is twofold, one is that migration literature is aware of the existence of "white migrants"; secondly, the choice to migrate was controlled even during the colonial expansion time. We shall return to the second implication when we discuss the voluntary or involuntary nature of modern migration.

If the 'white migrants' are only academic, the divisions within them, such as the empowered migrants (those who have been positioned nearer the centre of production) and non-empowered migrants (those kept at the periphery), can also be academic. Neither of them held any means of production. Still they were no ordinary 'migrants' in comparison with the 'black migrants'. Let us consider the case of South Africa during the period of capital formation, with the following statement:

> Subjection to a migrant or indentured labour system has been the condition, not of all workers in South Africa but of black African workers alone. Immigrant workers from Europe ('whites') have (with insignificant exceptions) never been subjected to any constraints over movements, once admitted to the country. Coloured workers (the descendents of imported slaves and indigenous khoi) and Indian workers (descendents for the most part of nineteenth century indentured

> labourers) are subject to various forms of racial oppression, but not to the migrant labour system." (Legassick and De Clercq, 1984:141)

In the above statement, Legassick and De Clercq have clearly shown that in order to be called 'migrant', or 'not-a-migrant', one's 'foreignness' has to be decided in terms of the prevailing laws in force. In the early period of capitalist development in South Africa, the Africans freely moved to the industrialized urban centres and settled therein with their families. So, they could not be called 'foreigners'. Later, particularly as the same authors write,

> after the World War II, in terms of Section 10 of the Natives(Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, and its subsequent amendments, did there begin effective procedures of limiting and controlling this process of urbanisation . . . There exists a substantial African work force not subjected to full migrant contact labour system because of permanent residence (whether legally or illegally) in urban areas near work-places ...[later, the intention of] granting of so-called 'independence' to the Bantustans, is to transform the majority or the whole of the African work force into 'foreign' contract workers. (Legassick and De Clercq, 1984:142)

The above proves that the term 'migrant' (developed from 'migrant labour') has a distinct meaning in terms of the laws of a land in relation to its politico-economic system, but not so much in relation to the nationalistic/native/ethnic issues.

It may be worthwhile here to mention Stanley Lieberson's theory of 'migrant superordination' and 'migrant subordination' in which he stressed two contrasting social situations; conquest and migration (Lieberson, 1963). Although his theory is based on the inadequate power-conflict approach in the Parsonian tradition of Systems Theory, it somehow explains certain aspects of the position of power in migration studies.

The 'white migrants' in a non-white country have hardly been regarded as 'migrants' in the contemporary mass media, and they are variously described as "technical know-hows" to the local ill-educated natives, or described with similar euphemism to create a 'migrant superordination' situation (cf. Lieberson theory). So,

the popular conception of a 'migrant' would not correspond with the white migrants in Africa, Far East, Australia, New Zealand and Americas.

After World War II, the 'whiteness' of the migrants became less and less important as national identities created new kinds of political stratifications. Italians or the Irish in Britain are such instances. That the Italians in Britain are categorically a migrant group despite their whiteness is clear from any literature on them (Colpi, 1991; Tosi,1984). The reasons for this should be clear from what has just been stated about the 'white migrants' in the colonial areas. The Italian or the Irish 'migrants' in Britain or elsewhere (eg Australia, North America) did not possess any power of capitalistic nature, and any means of production they held was controlled by the legislatures of their new countries of residence. This brings out another fact that holding large sums of capital in the form of cash or money at the community's disposal does not necessarily enable the community to have control over the means of production. Use of their capital or any large sums of cash was restricted within the same mode of production determined by the new country of residence. This statement is easily exemplified by the position of the Huguenots in Britain . They possessed skills which was used in production but they never held any control over the means of production except on a small, family centred scale (Grant and Mayo,1973). On the other hand, Jews in Britain, despite being money-lenders to the kings and nobles from 1066 A.D., and flourishment of the usury in the 12th century, never had any control over the means of production.

So, the colour of the skin, 'foreignness' or the availability of large capital alone can not be the determinants of 'migrant status'. The determinants of 'migrants' lie in their relationship to the means of production, or to capital. Whites can be migrants in a white country, foreigners or different nationals may not be migrants, and large money-holdings and length of residence are important, but subordination or

superordination to the power systems or to the dominant class or group is all important in the spheres of migration.

Still, the word 'migrant' gives rise to ideas that a migrant is a foreigner, usually with a different skin colour, and a poor person who has travelled to the new country to either make a living or to improve his/her life standard, and he or she is generally unwanted by the 'host' or 'receiving' society. This is where the dominant ideology is found at work. Racism is an essential element in maintaining that ideology and so is the necessity to maintain ethnic divisions within the 'foreign' labourers imported as 'migrants'.

During the colonial period, portrayal of 'natives' in far off lands through media, literature and speeches had been completely 'racist'. In the postwar non-colonial period when some those 'natives' appear in the core countries (ie the countries from where the colonial powers emerged), they are fitted into the same portraiture as before. The political and economic use of creating subhumans out of the 'natives' in the colonial period, and the political use of racist concepts about the 'migrants' in the postwar period have similar benefits for the power groups. The way 'race' has been politicised in Britain has been well shown in the bibliographical essay by Gideon Ben-Tovim and John Gabriel, who write,

> ...one of the major functions of the black settlement has been the creation of a major structural division within the working-class between the white labour aristocracy and the subordinate black under-class, a segmentation which contributes to capital's overall political stabilization" (1979:5).

'Migrants' in the western industrial 'white' countries are not always black or poor or destitute from their countries of origin, but the term is ideologically projected to have derogatory connotations. How such a portrayal affects social relations will be examined later.

Voluntary/Involuntary

The term 'voluntary' in matters of migration came to be used casually after the abolition of slavery and the gradual abandonment of indentured labour. But it is only after World War II that the term gathered political and legal meaning, particularly with the creation of European Voluntary Works, or EVWs immediately after the War. In 1958 Petersen used it to classify a 'free' type of migration which was effected by aspirational factors of individuals. By 'free', Petersen meant those migrations which are not the result of ecological push, nor of coercion, but have been undertaken to fulfil one's aspirations, or to put simply are voluntarily undertaken. Since then, the word entered into the vocabulary of migration studies to describe the postwar migration to the western developed world. Petersen rejected H.P.Fairchild's (1925) four divisions of Invasion, Conquest, Colonisation and Immigration on the ground that such divisions are static and they fail to recognize 'peaceful-warlike' and 'low culture-high culture' situations. Although Petersen has taken some consideration of the situation prevailing at the point of origin, he has not stressed it as being a significant factor.

Nowadays, 'free' movement is no longer considered as free, nor is the aspirational factor regarded as an individually determined one. Scholars and students ask questions to clarify the nature of the 'free' labour, or how much 'voluntariness' exists in what is termed as voluntary migration. Petersen's theory is criticised on the grounds that it assumes the original society or country is "a conglomeration of individuals who exercise free choice in leaving or staying. Such assumptions eliminate all discussion of the organisation of the society from which they come" (Marks and Richardson, 1984:5). To this we can also add that such assumptions eliminate possible participation of the state and labour supply mechanisms at origin that are active in the postwar migration processes.

Samir Amin, writing on modern migration in Western Africa has emphasized a distinction between the movements of 'people' and movements of 'labour'(1974:65-

66). There is some implication of this distinction in our present argument regarding the voluntary/non-voluntary nature of migration. The description of migrants as 'people' necessarily assumes people moving as individuals for whatever reasons, whereas the migrants as 'labour' implies existence of capitalist modes of production and a system which determines their course of action.

The 'white migrants' to the 'white dominant colonies and empire' are said to have made individual choices in response to employment prospects, opportunities to fulfil their ambition which could not be done in the homeland, widening of experience for some professionals, or simple accumulation of wealth. But it has been rightly said, that they did so, in the words of Donald Denoon,

> in a highly structured context, in effect, the government ... delegated to market forces the provision of white immigrants; when market forces were inadequate governments intervened. The distinction between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' migration is not so sharp as it may seem. Any reliance upon voluntarism to explain the quantity, quality and fluctuations of labour migration is unfounded" (Denoon, 1984:193).

Migrants and non-migrants both offer reasons for their actions, but how far can their explanations be regarded historically correct is difficult to know. According to Edward Thompson, there is the

> crucial ambivalence of our human presence in our own history, part subjects, part objects, the voluntary agents of our own involuntary determinations (1978:280).

Some authors consider that the marginalist school of economics has dominated and influenced many migration studies in such a way that those studies have for a long time tended to consider that the modern migration is simply a result of freely-willed or individualistic action. To these studies, the migration decision is unproblematic. The 'Push-pull' hypothesis, like the concept of 'voluntary' migration is now-a-days considered obsolete. Brinley Thomas writes,

> Nothing is easier than to draw up a list of factors labelled 'push' and 'pull' and then write a descriptive account in terms of these sets of influences. Such an

> approach, however, will not throw much light on the deeper problems posed by migration as part of the process of economic expansion (Thomas, 1973:26)

Samir Amin echoes this,

> The rational choice of the migrant is nothing but immediate apparent cause: a platitude which leads nowhere (1974:89).

Yet this thesis regards that the term 'voluntary' as useful in migration studies but only as an analytical tool, and to differentiate different stages of migration. For the purpose of *migration studies ,* 'voluntary' should be taken to mean a situation where the migrants themselves feel or are made to feel that they are responsible, correctly or erroneously, for their course of actions. This does not preclude the idea that there is only a slim and negligible difference between so-called 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' migration.

There is also an ideological advantage for the capitalist countries if labour flows into their countries 'freely', though the free flow must be controlled by various political, economic and social measures. By labelling the new labour 'voluntary migrants', capital's labour requirements can be met without the criticism which the capital faced for slavery and indentured labour or contract labour. 'Free' labour is an expression which has its meaning only in relation to 'unfree' labour.

It needs be pointed out here that 'indentured labour' was in fact the first form of 'free labour' during the colonial period. Hugh Tinker has shown how the 'diligent, docile and obedient' Indians were sought to replace the African 'slaves' for the Mauritius planters. These Indians to Mauritius and Chinese to many areas were named as 'coolies'. As slavery was abolished (British colonies in 1834, Dutch 1863, Southern U.S.1865) Indians were shipped to sugar colonies as 'free agents' and then, on reaching the plantations, entered into 'indenture' with individual planters (Tinker, 1984).

There are difficulties in describing postwar labour in the same perspective as the labour in colonial period. Wallerstein differentiates 'free' and 'coerced' labour in the following manner,

> Free labour is the form of labour control used for skilled work in the core countries, whereas coerced labour is used for less skilled work in peripheral areas. The combination thereof is the essence of capitalism. (Wallerstein, 1974:127).

This may apply well in a colonial situation, but considering the postwar labour situation in the western industrial countries, it will also hold for the internal labour situation. The only difference would be that in legal terms all of them (indigenous as well as alien) are 'free'.

Marx asserted that the capitalist form presupposes from the outset that the free wage-labourer who sells his labour to capital (1967). Marx's 'free' wage-labourer is the universal 'labour' irrespective of his/her origin. Yet Robin Cohen has levelled criticism to both Wallerstein and Marx stating that "neither Britain nor the United States have ever exhibited or, ... continue to display, a pure form of free labour regime" (1987:19). The debate about how 'free' the modern 'free labour' is, can continue endlessly, but for the purpose of this thesis it can be stated that 'labour' will always be subordinated to capital and therefore structural or legal 'freeness' of labour is necessarily aborted in the existence of capital.

Population movements cannot be studied in isolation from the composition of the population. There seems to be some problems with the methods employed in studying such movements. The fallacy inherent in population studies has been stated by Marx, and this thesis believes that it also applies to migration studies.

> Population is an abstract if I leave out, for example, the classes of which it is composed. These classes in turn are an empty phrase if I am not familiar with the elements on which they rest, e.g. wage labour, capital etc. These latter in turn presupposes exchange, division of labour, prices etc ... Thus if I were to begin with population, this would then, by means of further determination, move analytically towards even more simple

> concepts, from the imagined concrete towards even thinner abstractions until I arrived at the simplest determinations. From there the journey would have to be retraced until I finally arrived at the population again, but this time not as a chaotic conception of a whole, but as a rich totality of many relations and determinations. (Marx, 1973: 100)

In migration studies, many authors seem to ignore that the people live through 'many relations and determinations'. Their movements should study those relations and determinations, of which 'immigration/emigration policies' or 'manpower policies' should also be included, not just the acts of moving.

In migration studies, 'voluntariness' and 'freeness' of the moved population (or migrants depending upon the definition agreed on) are only expressions to fit the ideological framework of capital. They are not, nor they can be expressions of the true nature of the case. However, considering that there are different forms of power in action, viz. persuasion, coercion, ideological leadership and so on in the processes of procuring labour for capital, 'free' labour is one way of expressing the postwar system of labour procurement. The word should not be taken in its literal meaning.

Modern nation states and migration

The development of modern nation states, not only in the western European countries, but after the wars almost worldwide, has not deterred the movement of labour from from one nation state to others. Modern nation states are essential for the continuation of capital. Nation states make it easier for capital to divide the population into ethnic segments, societal classes (with ascribable characteristics), and divide the nation states into manageable groups by economy, natural resources, dependency on others, infiltrability by other political/economic powers, political situation and so on (Alam, 1993).

John Breuilly has shown the positions of the various classes in post-colonial nation states, and rise of nationalism in them (1987). That the new post-colonial

nation states are mostly capitalist states and/or dependent on capitalist powers is also shown by him. From that, it is easy to infer that the capitalist mode of production continues to exist and flourish in the new nation states. For the purpose of migration studies, the new nation states are useful to the world capital in that the latter can choose from different nation states, the kind of labour they need (*e.g.* switching from African to Indian for the sugar plantations, cf. Tinker,1984).

The nature of social relations within the modern nation states has been traditionally studied in the form of stratification theories, but social relations between the nations has not been stressed (Vogler, 1985). Samir Amin (1976) and A Emmanuel (1972) have noted a distinct trend in the sociology of development since mid '60s that the modern nation states are not adequate units of analysis for social relations.

Marx never accepted nations and national boundaries as important in class relations. According to him, the significance of nation states would continue to decrease still further because the proletariat is fundamentally an international class, which is as opposed to nations and nationalism as to classes and capitalism (1967). While the 'significance of nation states' is not decreasing as a political unit upto now, it may be significant to note how the migration actvities of today defy nations and nationalism. N. Harris observes,

> ... the increased nationalisation of the globe was accompanied by the increased internationalisation of capital and labour, and was indeed dependent and consequent on this process .(1980:37)

Whether the present day global migratory situation in the internationalisation phase of capital and labour is an assertion of what Marx said, is still to be seen. In the meantime, it is apparent and it does not need much explaining that the smaller nation states can be reduced into anything that the bigger and dominant nation states may desire. Smaller and new nation states are easily manipulable and can be made

into fertile grounds for breeding labour force to be used in the capital accumulation process which by now can be located in the peripheries. The ministries or departments of manpower in the new nation states (*e.g.* the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) of the Government of Bangladesh [1]) are actively engaged to organise emigration of their nationals wherever the call comes from. This issue will be discussed in the concluding chapters.

Migration Studies have been developed from historical events of population movements, but have not been established as a distinct discipline. Claims are made by geographers and demographers who have developed these studies, and also by sociologists, economists and writers of political economy. One major concern of postwar migration studies has been the movement of the 'socially undesirable' labouring class, projected as 'black' and ethnic minorities from the South, the impoverished regions of the world. Attempts have been made to correct the above concern by offering the North's need of 'labour migration' theory by economists and writers in political economy. In this, the labour force from the peripheries, identified by old colonial links or by economic deprivation, has gained momentum with projection of unjust and wrong treatment of migrants by the western hemisphere as a whole. Migrants have been regarded as threat to the societies of the North, and a large number of studies have been developed to tackle the social problems in the form of 'race and ethnic relations'.

General agreement has not yet been reached on some of the key concepts in migration studies, such as 'migrants', 'free/unfree labour', 'voluntary migration', 'modern nation states and migration', 'relations between internal and international migration' etc. as yet. There is a dearth of agreed 'definitions' of the key concepts in migration and nothing conclusive has yet been reached. In the studies

[1]The Fourth Five Year Plan of Bangladesh categorically states, "Manpower will continue to remanin an issue of national importance ..." (Bangladesh, Govt. of. Planning Commission, 1990: xv-9)

concerning the actual processes of migration, the major trends have been to project the 'impoverishment' of the 'sending' countries, in relation to 'the industrial boom' requiring more labourers in the the 'receiving' countries. Studies in the field of political economy have gained an important position in migration studies, particularly in analysing the economic systems that have created a peripheral labour dependency for the western capitalist countries. Some play down the extreme poverty-rich dichotomy by talking mildly of 'income differntials' between two zones of migration. Even these studies have treated migration as unproblematic assuming the awareness of the migrants of the structural preconditions of their move.

The Marxist advent in the field of migration studies has introduced new angle of visions, but no study has been made on the social relational aspects, or how migration has been determined by the social relations in the countries of origin, and how it has become a major determinant of social relations in the countries of destination and/or settlement.

Chapter 4

Historical Context of Postwar Migration and of Migration Theories

Postwar migration to the western industrially developed countries has been approached in various ways. One approach, based on the marginalist school of economics, explains 'labour migration' in terms of *surplus population* acting as a natural mechanism working in everyone's best interest to restore some notional balance of global population. This approach works within a theoretical framework based on a hypothesis that factors of production, such as labour, capital, land, natural resources *etc.* are most important. In other words, migration occurs between labour shortage areas and labour surplus areas. Brinley Thomas in 1954 based much of his migration writings on this approach, and later Stephen Castles (1973; 1984 with different joint authorship) have both noted this apparent pattern, though Castles, *et al* have not participated in this approach. This approach has been criticised as ahistorical and rejected by many authors including Samir Amin, who states that the above ignores the fact that the distribution of so-called factors of production is the result of economic strategy (Amin, 1974:89).

The exponents of *surplus population or oversupply theory* often quote the Puerto Rican migration to the United States. This is generally rejected because it ignores the productive capacity of society and its social relations. The Centre for Puerto Rican Studies states that if 618 persons per square mile in Puerto Rico is too dense in comparison to 47 per square mile in the United States then how would the 'oversupply' Puerto Ricans be explained for living mostly in the New York city where the density is 90,000 per square mile (History Task Force, 1979:21-22). It is certain that density of population and productivity are interlinked, but without considering other factors, particularly factors of economic

strategy of the receiving country, the Puerto Rican migration or any other migration from so-called impoverished regions with 'excess' labour force cannot be explained.

A counterpart of the oversupply theory is the *individualistic* school of migration which seeks to explain movement in terms of the attraction of better pay for work elsewhere. This approach considers the society from which the emigrant leaves as a conglomeration of individuals who exercise free choice in leaving or staying. This eliminates all discussions of the organisation of the society from which they come. A similar approach, a sort of economic*target theory*, is the one which attempts to confront some of the problems of the society of origin by trying to explain that the people migrate to an area where they can achieve certain targets quickly. The 'targets' are usually luxury consumer goods like cars, fridge, television etc for migrants of some countries where such goods are not available at a price which could be raised by normal income in that country. Sometimes, simple commodities like bicycles or sewing machines are also the targets, depending on similar factors as for the luxury goods. This approach is also abstract and ahistorical, but its main defect lies in its failure to deal "with interactive and disruptive effects of expansive and intrusive capitalism" (Marks and Richardson, 1984:5). At the same time, it may be argued that it is difficult to see if all such movements can be classified as 'migration'.

The background that needs to be explored here comprises historical developments and trends of the past years that have led to postwar migration to the western European countries, particularly to Britain. This is problematic. For no single factor, nor a few enlistable factors can explain that background. The major approaches to migration studies listed above have one factor in common. They consider modern migration, particularly 'voluntary' migration as wholly unproblematic, and, as if the issue is irrelevant to the existence of 'structural

preconditions'. What appears to be freely willed action is not so, and that makes the whole issue problematic.

Postwar migration to Britain or to any other country cannot be studied independent of prewar migration or the events that have led to massive global population movements since World War II. In fact the population movement in the latter half of the Twentieth Century is historically linked with not only the first half but also to the centuries gone by.

Despite the migration of a sizeable proportion from other European and Mediterranean countries to Britain, most migration historians have become excessively involved in the migration of Afro-Caribbean people from the West Indies and Asians from the Indian sub-continent. Colin Holmes writes,

> ...a mountain of information has accumulated on those immigrants who arrived from the Caribbean and Indian sub-continent. But this concentration of effort has tended to mask the arrival of other sizeable groups" (1988:210).

According to the same author, though there has always been some migratory movement of the people from former British colonies and protectorates, "...the symbolic starting point for the postwar immigration from the Caribbean came on 8 June 1948 when the *SS Empire Windrush* left Kingston, Jamaica with 492 passengers on board ... these were soon followed by others who came on board ships such as the *Orbita* and the *Georgic*" (1988:220).

Two notions are invariably established in most studies of postwar migration to Britain and elsewhere: one 'labour demand' and the second 'cheap labour'. The labour demand notion is particularly strong among the analysts of migrations from the Caribbean countries and the Indian sub-continent to Britain after World War II. And there is ample evidence that the composition of these migrants contained in majority a semi-skilled and unskilled labour force. This fact encouraged the notion of 'cheap labour' in migration to Britain and elsewhere.

This book is not going to repeat the history of migration to Britain, a topic which has been well covered by many authors in recent years (For prewar history Holmes, 1988; Collinson, 1993; Fryer,1984; and for postwar history Castles and Kosack,1973; Castles,1984, etc.).

The background to explore here is the development of a situation, uniform in some respects, in the western European nations. This situation can be described in the following manner:

(a) There was a need for extra workers in these countries;

(b) That labour reserves exist in other parts of the world was known;

and (c) There existed some historical relations between those who require the labour and the people who offer their labours.

The immigration of overseas workforce can only be understood if we can establish the above three backgrounds correctly.

History of Extra Human Resource needs in Britain : Patterns and Problematic

At one time, particularly from seventeenth century onwards, the British enterpreneurs and Government required extra manpower to materialize various enterpreneurial projects in different parts of the world *(external labour needs)* as well as at various centres within the British mainland *(internal labour needs)*. The latter was met by an urban to rural population movement. This continued throughout the years to satisfy the capital's need and rose to a peak during the Industrial Revolution and later settled to a phase which is usually referred to as the 'Industrial Society' (Scott, 1979).

The external human resource requirement was primarily to join the armed forces, expeditions, merchant activities, plantations and a myriad of related activities. The employment of British people, both as waged labour, on contract,

and some as indentured servants, was the first step to satisfy the labour requirements overseas. Soon the requirement could no more be met from Britain for two specific reasons :

(a) The euphoria created about the the New World in the west and the Empire in the east drove masses of British people overseas, and saturated the reserves and industrial workers within the British mainland. According to T.J. Archdeacon, persons of Anglo-Irish origins constituted about 49 per cent of the total population of the United States in 1790. By 1890, the population there swelled to nearly 63 million, of which at least one-third was of Anglo-Irish origins. Similarly, nearly 2 million Britons went to Australia between 1831 and 1947 (Archdeacon, 1983).

(b) While the British people were migrating permanently to the New World and other settling countries, like Australia, many were hired to other overseas territories where the British government had been establishing or had established colonial rules. The Britons thus hired were fixed term workers who were required to be sent back home after a stipulated period as per contract or for other reasons. Many were offered renewal of their contract, but not all of them wished to carry on in adverse conditions prevailing in tropical areas.

This necessitated the introduction of non-British workforce in those areas. At this stage slave labour was found to be the most suitable form of human resources. Later when slavery was abolished, indentured labourers were brought to fill the gaps. Modern twentieth century or postwar immigration to Britain is in fact not isolated from the original 'indentured labour/servitude', 'waged services', 'slavery', 'indentured coolie trade', 'contract labour'- or whatever names are given to the system of obtaining labour for the purpose of capital. This is so because the exercise of obtaining labour has remained the same; it only changed the system of procurement and original locations and destinations of the migrants. Many

authors have mistakenly regarded the shift from British contract labour overseas to slaves and indentured labourers as a transition to the 'slave mode of production' (Davis,1970), but Marxists regard the situation simply as agrarian capitalism employing slave or indentured labour.

Labour's Continuous dependence on Capital :

Thus new non-Briton labouring groups associated with the British Government was formed in distant parts of the world. These labouring groups should have dissociated themselves from Britain once the colonies and the Empire became independent. But in reality such dissociations could not take place, particularly for the forced migration from Africa and later the "coolie" trade from India Hugh Tinker has well illustrated how labour's dependence on capital, held by the old colonial powers, even after the colonies have been dismantled, persists by economic strategy. Between 1833 and 1970, Mauritius passed through many changes in its political and economic situation including the 'independence' of Mauritius. Apart from minor dislocations while changing from one stage to another, the capital's hold on the country always remained the same. According to Hugh Tinker,

> When the M[ouvement] M[ilitant] M[auricien] won the long-delayed election [in 1976] they discovered that dependence on world sugar prices inhibited anything like real change in the conditions of their supporters - the exploited sugar workers" (1984:89)

What really happened in 1976 is that the 'exchange value' of sugar was not realizable any more after the 'independence' of Mauritius. Capital declined to act since the accrued benefit of the surplus value would no longer assist the capital. As a result, the sugar price fell sharply in the world's commodity market and it could only have its 'use value'. By the withdrawal of support by capital, labour's 'exchange value' was lost, and it remained dependent on the mercy of capital held by the old colonial powers who by now had left. This clearly shows that the 'sugar

was a colonial product dependent on the colonial power for its value ..." (Tinker, 1984:89).

A case study by Pieter Emmer (1984) on the Indian indentured labour brought into Surinam (British Guiana) tells the same story of labour's unchanged subordinate positions even after 'independence'.

In migration studies, this subordinate position of peripheral labour to capital of the centre is crucial. During the colonial period, capital was invested in these areas for a high return or better exchange value upon the surplus value of labour. The labour force in these areas were predominantly composed of forced migrants. This labour force was made to depend on capital for its living. After independence of these area, the relation between peripheral labour and central capital remained unchanged. The subordinate position meant dependency. So, the peripheral labour force could be re-called by capital of the centre, if needed.

Castles and Kosack (1973) have shown that the composition of postwar migrants into Europe after World War II has been more or less similar in all the countries. According to their study, some uniformities are observable in the characteristics of movements, trends and patterns of migration in the western European countries, though the migrants originate from and end up in different countries.

Despite a general consensus that 'Immigration of ethnically distinct citizens of colonies or former colonies', and 'Labour migration' have characterised postwar migration to Britain and Europe (Castles, 1984:86), most authors have not regarded the 'immigration from former colonies' as a problematic in migration studies. Castles and Kosack (1978) consider the *Surplus labour* theory (availability of labour or 'cheap' labour from labour surplus areas to labour shortage areas) as a sufficient explanation.

Further Problematics of Postwar Migration

Surplus labour/Oversupply theory, Individualistic theory and Target theory are simplistic explanations to postwar migration. The following may be considered as the major problematics :

1. Within the old colonial countries certain zones had participated more in migration in the immediate postwar period than other zones. This has been named as '*Zonal Imbalance*' in migration (Alam, 1988).
2. People of one colony who have been once tempted to move to another far-off colony in the form of 'indentured labour' (including coolies) have mostly moved to the coloniser's mother country.
3. The problematic of the Socio-Economic Levels of the Migrants, (including social and cultural problematics).

These problematics are occasionally touched by some authors, but never stressed as important in understanding the postwar migration.

Recently a new approach is being sought by some European scholars. This approach is called "Socio-Historical Migration Research" (SHMR). This has been mainly developed in the Federal Republic of Germany (around 1989). According to this, migration is not an event, but rather a very complex social process. SMHR is concerned with three major tasks, viz. *investigating migration process, studying behavioral patterns of migrants,* and embedding *migration processes and behavioural patterns of migrants* into the framework of population, economy, society and culture of emigration as well as of immigration area. (Bade, 6,89:16-17).

Earlier, in a series of seminars at the Institute of Comonwealth Studies, University of London bewtween 1977 and 1988, a group of sociologists and economists have attempted to combine the "methodology of political economy

with historical specificity" to extract "something of a conceptual significance" (Marks and Richardson, 1984:). This approach has been attempted below to create a conceptual framework in the background studies.

Problematic of Zonal Imbalance

Most large scale postwar migration from a sending country is usually characterised by what can be termed as *'Zonal Imbalance'*. By this it is meant that certain zones, usually one district area or similar physio-geographical boundaries, usually participate more in volume in migratory activities than other zones within the same country. (Alam,1988)

This is noticeable and well noted in the migration trends of the Caribbean countries (mostly from Jamaica, particularly Kingston), Italy (from Southern Italy), India (from Gujarat and Punjab), Bangladesh (from Sylhet) and Pakistan (from Mirpur). Not many authors have attached much importance to this phenomenon except in referring to political/regional disturbances as causes of such zonal imbalance. Although the reference invariably includes the older political economy of the regions, particularly the former imperial and colonial connections, the mere reference overshadows the historical specifity of those connections. A closer study of the notion of *zonal imbalance* may be one of the major issues that could explain much of the postwar migration trends. In the processes of exploring this 'zonal imbalance' through historical study and empirical evidence certain aspects of postwar migration may be revealed which can effectively dismiss other approaches, particularly those in the spheres of 'oversupply', 'target theory', 'individualistic theory' and similar other ahistoical ones.

Zonal Imbalance notion as a replacement for the Chain Migration 'theory'

It is possible to argue that '*zonal imbalance*' is nothing but proof that 'chain migration theory' (Lochore,1951; Macdonald,1962, Price,1962; Wirth,1938) is working in the postwar situation, and that migration is an individualistic action, but the ahistoricity of 'individualistic' approach makes such argument invalid in the totality of the phenomenon of migration. This is not to deny that the 'chain' does not develop or exist in the processes of migration, but the 'chain' is to be interpreted *not* in terms of the migration decision making or active reasons for migration, but only to establish the following :

(a) effectiveness of information feedback,
(b) closeness and/or pattern of family network,
(c) the presence of a certain kind of social history in the countries or regions of origin of the migrants, *and*
(d) participating governments' policy and strategy with regard to specific areas and zones in the sending areas.

The first two are obvious and well illustrated by the proponents of 'Chain Theory', but the other two have not been taken into consideration within that 'theory'. Most migration studies which have used the 'chain' explanations as their basis, have not looked at the third as closely as they have done with the first two. Studies which have attempted to analyse the third 'a certain kind of social history' have often ended up with some sort of 'social or socio-political disaster' or 'social problem theory', or 'legacy' (such as 'colonial legacy') at the countries of origin. Despite the inevitable truth in those analysis they fail to distinguish between 'population movement' and 'migration', i.e. between what Samir Amin (1974) distinguished between the movement of 'people' and the movement of 'labour'. Colin Holmes (1988) following Hugh Tinker (1977) has referred to the effect of the Mangla Dam in Pakistan which destabilized life in the Mirpur district and hence effecting a process of population movement in that region (and eventually

to Britain! Why Britain?). Similar arguments of 'disaster' have been forwarded for Sikhs from India and the Asians from Africa (Holmes,1988: 223-225).

The above should not be taken to mean that processes of population movement due to social or socio-political disasters do not occur. Some reasons for the overwhelming majority of 'migrants' from the Mirpur district of Pakistan and from the Sylhet district of Bangladesh may correctly be attributed to social or socio-political disaster theories, *but do they explain migration* ? 'Disasters' are surely a contributory factor in population movement but that may or may not lead to migration. There can be some validity of 'chain' development at a later stage after sporadic migratory activities out of 'disasters' have taken place much earlier (in case of Pakistan four decades and Bangladesh two to five decades earlier). But they are not crucial to migration studies in general.

Caribbean migration into Britain is not usually linked with such 'disaster' theories, although there is very strong zonal imbalance discernible in this. Rose *et al* have shown that of the Caribbean emigration, 60% sixty percent has originated from Jamaica and only 40% from the combination of the eight islands. Despite similar economic conditions prevailing in all the nine islands of The West Indies, the 'push' factor cannot said to be applicable either.

Italian migration and zonal imbalance

Italian migration to Britain and the United States offers another example to study 'zonal imbalance'. It is generally known that most Italian migration has generated from Southern Italy, but this notion, if examined in the light of the totality of the Italian migration, can be a fallacy. Terri Colpi's study of Italian migration is set in the historical time span of about two hundred years. The study reveals that the majority of the Italians in Britain always originated from the Northern and Central regions of Italy (Lombardia in the North and Emillia/

Toscano in the Centre), while Southern Italy (former Campania regions) usually contributed only 15 per cent of the migrants. Only between 1891 and 1905, did people from Campania region made up 24 per cent of the total migrants. By 1984, the Campania region's share has been 20 per cent and the Sicilians 35 per cent (Colpi, 1991:175). The same author has stressed the concept of 'camanilisimo' among the Italians to stress a sort of 'gemeinschaft' (Tonnies, 1887) situation in Italian villages and small towns. This is similar to what M. Anwar has described as 'Beradarani' (brotherhood) concept among Pakistanis in Briatin (1979). Similarly,by the current state of Bangladeshis in Britain, their 'Sylhet' origin can be observed with the concept of 'Atmiya-Shajan' (relatives and close people). (Islam, 1976; Adams, 1987; Alam, 1988)

Transient nature of zonal imbalance

Colpi's study of Italians in Britain over two hundred years poses a new question regarding the transient nature that particular migratory 'zones' play in matters of large scale migration. Her analysis shows that migration from Italy has been dominated at one stage by people from North/Centre region, at one stage from the South, and at another stage from the Southernmost regions.

'Zonal imbalance' study in the migrations from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh may not be conclusive, since all three countries having participated in large scale migration for only less than half a century. We need to acknowledge here that Bangaldeshi migration in the earlier part of this century was not from the Sylhet district, but from the Noakhali district, a southern area by the Bay of Bengal with a tradition of seafaring (Islam, 1976; Adams, 1987), although the size and number has been negligble and they have been eventually overwhelmed by the people from Sylhet in the 1960s and 1970s. The history of the people from Noakhali into Britain has not yet been written, and *zonal imbalance* has not been studied with regard to that 'zone'. Similarly, it needs to be established whether there was any

zonal imbalance in the large scale emigration of 'Indians' to Africa, to Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and to various sugar colonies during the pre-war period.

However, both the Italian situation and the uncharted history of the Noakhali people in relation to migration from Bangladesh confirm that 'zones' do exist and alter, and a new *zonal imbalance* is created in migration trends as time progresses. *Zonal imbalance,* therefore, is a permanent feature of most migratory situations, while the 'zones' theselves are temporary in nature.

The background of the migration processes changes with differing social relations. This is indeed one of the objects of study in the Socio-Historical Migration Research (SHMR) approach. K. J. Bade writes that one of the major tasks of this approach is

> to embed migration processes and behavioral patterns of migrants (Wanderungsgeschehen und Wanderungsverhalten) into the framework of population, economy, society and culture of emigration as well as of immigration areas; this involves inquiring into the conditions of development and concomitant circumstances of the migration process, as well as into the behavioral patterns of migrants on both sides ... (Bade, 1989:17).

Zonal imbalance, then, can be a possible problematic to study in the analysis of the background and in the establishment of the process of migration, not as an event, but as a complex social process. I shall later consider whether *zonal imbalance* has any significance in the processes of migration and relate it to this study.

Problematic of Migration to the 'mother country'

Britain is considered as the 'mother country' by many bonded labourers who were shipped out either by force (slavery and other bondage) or agreement (apprenticeship, indentured, contract) from their countries of origin to other areas, usually far off, by the British Imperial and Colonial power.

Postwar migration is to some extent well characterised by the movement of such populations to their 'mother country', and not to their original homeland. This is particularly true of the 'indentured Asian labourers' originally brought into the Caribbean Islands, Africa, and the Far East on one hand, and Africans shipped to the Caribbean Islands and American plantations as slaves, on the other.

Most authors who have noted these moves have either ignored or have not found enough academic justification to pursue and analyse this aspect of the 'mother country'. One of the reasons for the neglect may lie on the notion that such people who had in the past been uprooted from their homeland were floating labourers or to borrow Robin Cohen's expression 'the new helots' always queuing up at the gate for jobs (Cohen, 1987). Their status as 'free' and 'low wage labourers' make their movements, migration or re-migration to any territory for jobs too simplistic to call for further analysis beyond disclosing "imperial and historical connections, as well as the knowledge of English" (Holmes,1988). Such a notion actually supports the 'oversupply' or 'surplus labour' approach related to 'undersupply' in some regions. But this does not explain the 'mother country' phenomenon.

Rose, *et al* have discovered a fine relationship between the first wave of Caribbean migration to Britain during the First World War and their subsequent return to the Caribbean countries on one hand, and the post-1948 major migration from the same area on the other hand. The authors believe that the 'return migrants' have assisted in the formation of postwar migratory moves "triggering new migration to the United Kingdom" (Rose,*et al*, 1969), but no further conceptual or consequential analysis was offered by them .

Many consider that capital creates the objective condition of labour which then can be used as and when necessary. But what Marx said is different:

> Capital does not create the objective conditions of labour. Rather, its original formation is that, through the historic process of the dissolution of the old mode of production, value existing in money-wealth is enabled, on one side, to buy the objective conditions of labour; on the other side, the exchange money for the living labour of the workers who have been set free.
>
> (Marx, 1973:506-7)

According to Samir Amin, capital accumulation on a world scale is dependent on the existence of exchange relations between two types of socio-economic formation, 'capitalism of the centre' and 'capitalism of the periphery'.

> The concrete socioeconomic formations of capitalism of the center bear this distinctive feature, that in them the capitalist mode of production is not merely *dominant* but, because its growth is based on expansion of the internal market, tends to become *exclusive*. These formations therefore draw closer and closer to the capitalist mode of production, the disintegration of precapitalist modes tending to become complete and to lead to their replacement by the capitalist mode, reconstituted on the basis of scattered elements issuing from their break-up process. The concrete socioeconomic formation tends to become identical with the capitalist mode of production. ... The socieconomic formations of the periphery, however, bear this distinctive feature, that though the capitalist mode of production does not lead to a tendency for it to become exclusive, because the spread of capitalism here is based on the external market. It follows that precapitalist modes of production are not destroyed but are transformed and subjected to that mode of production which predominates on a world scale as locally - the capitalist mode of production. (1974:37-8)

Samir Amin regards 'migrant labour' as one form of "hidden transfer value from the periphery to the centre". (1974:27). This can get further support from what Marx called "primitive accumulation ... for the historical process of discovering the producer from the means of production". According to Marx, "primitive accumulation is the pre-condition for the capital relations, but continues in various forms throughout the history of capitalism" (Vol.1, 1976:873-6). The relevance of the theoretical stance of capitalism of the centre and that of the periphery in migration studies, particularly in showing the relations of the people of the periphery to the centre, is as follows:

In migration studies, it cannot be enough to state that some historical *connections* usually exist before the people from one area or country migrate to

another. In the case of old colonies and governed areas of the periphery, the phenomenon of migration to the 'mother country' cannot so simply be sealed off. The precise nature of that *connection* has to be revealed, for without understanding the nature of that *connection* nothing can be discerned. As we have shown in the previous problematics of 'zonal imbalance', not everybody participates in migratory activities despite sharing the same *connections* as with those who have migrated.

Immigration policy (either opening the door, half opening or closing) is usually cited as one reason for mass migration, but looking at the British situation the whole policy matter regarding migration, seems to have been distorted beyond recognition. Sarah Collinson states that though the passing of 1948 Nationality Act was meant to reaffirm the principle of free movement within the Empire and the [New] Commonwealth by stating that all colonial and Commonwealth citizens were British subjects,

> the primary rationale behind the Nationality Act was one of foreign policy (maintaining influence in the Empire and the Commonwealth) rather than labour market considerations... (1993:49) .

But the same year i.e. 1948, also saw the establishment of a working party on Employment in the United Kingdom of Surplus Colonial Labour. The terms of reference of this working party were to investigate "the possibilities of employing in the United Kingdom surplus manpower of certain colonial territories in order to assist colonial territories". (Layton-Henry, 1984:61-2).

The welcome of migration from 'certain colonial territories' that emerged from the working party's recommendation was not open armed. In 1949, the Royal Commission on Population published its report which included the statement,

> A systematic immigration policy could only be welcomed without reserve if the migrants were of good human stock and not prevented by religion or race from

intermarrying with the host population and becoming merged with it" (Cmnd paper 7695, 1949:226-7).

It is evident from the above that manpower needs in the United Kingdom have always been camouflaged under various humanitarian and benevolent statements. The Government never actively took part in stating that immigration was necessary. Even job advertisements in the newspapers in Jamaica and Barabados, West Indies were from agents working for the London Transport and the National Health Service. In fact no explicit policy of manpower or labour needs was formulated by the British Government at this time. There was a shortage of labour in the mainland in the 1960s. Most authors ascribe this to 'industrial boom', etc. But the fact is that Britain was one of the European countries which suffered a net loss of nearly 3 million Europeans emigrating out of Europe (as referred to by Castles, 1988:1). European dominated overseas territories required further Europeans to hold the reins of power and participate in industrial and economic development. The loss had been anticipated by the end of World War II and the groundwork for recruiting migrant labour had already been completed by the 1948 Nationality Act. This brings us to the question whether economic growth initiates immigration.

Immigration and Economic Growth - a problematic

That the economic growth of the 1950s and 1960s "which most of Europe experienced was not a change in demand, but rather the availability of a large supply of labour" is specifically argued by Kindleberger. He has further found that those European countries "which have no substantial increase in the [net] labour supply - the United Kingdom, Belgium, and the Sacndinavian countries ...had, on the whole, grown more slowly" (Kindleberger, 1967). The statement clearly shows that the decision to migrate to the 'mother country' was the mother's decision, not that of the 'children'.

Ceri Peach acknowledged that while population pressure, per capita income, unemployment rates and low economic growth were important precipitating factors, they did not entirely explain migration from the Caribbean to the United Kingdom. Those factors, according to Peach, allow migration to take place, they do not cause migration. (1988)

Stuart Hall agrees with Ceri Peach in recognizing the existence of pull factors, but Stuart Hall emphasizes that

> such pull factors need to be analysed within the context of both historical and contemporary connections. Labour shortages elsewhere in post-war Europe did *not* attract or regulate migrating flows from the English speaking Caribbean. The long association between Great Britain and the Caribbean 'periphery' forged by the slave trade, four centuries of continuous contact, economic and political dependency, colonial occupation, common linguistic and cultural ties, etc. created what might be called relations or 'line of force' along which the pull factors extend their influence (Hall, 1988:277).

So, the oversimplified old connections and ties are not used by the migrants themselves, but by the country requiring the migrants. Therefore, studies of decision-making by the migrants are not particularly useful, because the whole arrangement, from Immigration Laws to the creation of a 'free' labour force in the

periphery has been made, and the momentum created by, the countries requiring the migrant labour in one form or another.

Problematic of Socio-Economic Levels of the Migrants
(including social and cultural problematics)

Migration to the European territories in the immediate postwar period is characterized by the movement of an unskilled labour force with the marked absence of the skilled and professional workforce. Historically this has always been the case that the human resources 'imported', never exactly matched the 'tender specifications'. In the process of indentured labour procurement in the nineteenth century it was a requirement to send 'agricultural/farm' hands, but the 'quality' of those who arrived did not correspond to the specifications. This is well recorded in the India Office Record, EP.932 (1877):34). A Dutch Agent was posted in Calcutta (then the capital of British India) to obtain indentured labourers for Surinam (the Dutch colony). The requirement was that the labourers should be able to handle the 'cutlass and shovel'. But once the labourers arrived, the Dutch Government complained to the British Government, that only one-eighth of the immigrants had been accustomed to agriculture, and that a great 'many of them were beggars, old sepoys, brahmins and people from great cities' (India Office Record, EP.932 (1877): Appendix, August A:7).

The European emigration to the United States has also been characterized by such 'not to the specification' problems. Hansard (CXCIX, 3rd Series, 1870) recorded that the Colonists demanded "We want, if we can get them, the flowers of your population, the pick of your agricultural labourers, the first choice of your mechanics, but we do not want, and cannot take, and we will not have, the refuse of your population". Hansard also recorded complaints about what they received.

Postwar migration to Britain and Europe was not very much different in respect of quality, from the situation prevailing during the nineteenth century. The 1948 Act did not specify any requirements of the intending migrants or labourers, but the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962, intended for restricting immigration from the New Commonwealth, introduced a voucher system by which only skilled, semi-skilled and professional people could obtain a work permit or a voucher.

As in the Dutch experience with Indian indentured labourers for Surinam, the people who migrated with vouchers after 1962 Act have not fully met such requirements. This is evident from the various studies on the primary migrants from the New Commonwealth. But it is also to be noted from an empirical research conducted in 1985 (Alam,1988) and in 1991 by this author that only 5 to 10 percent of the New Commonwealth immigrants of the '60s were of higher SEG, comprising a mixture of professionals like doctors, engineers, accountants, lawyers, teachers etc and non-professional educated people including university graduates. It has also been noted from the same evidence that none of the upper SEG would admit to being an 'immigrant', a term which they would invariably reserve for describing the migrants originating from the lower SEGs from their own countries. In a recent autobiographical essay, Nirad Chandra Choudhury, a Bangalee exile from West Bengal, well accorded as an author in the West, writes that he has not been an immigrant though he has migrated permanently to England (Alam, 1994). The status as a 'migrant' is not usually acceptable by the people belonging to higher socio-economic group. The empirical part of this thesis again confirms this.

It will be of interest to record here what others have found regarding the SEGs of the migrants. Stephen Castles, using the parameters of the socio-economic groups in the countries of origin concluded that (upto 1981) eight percent of all

migrants (European and Non-European combined) faced no cultural or social problems since they originally belonged to similar socio-economic levels and culture in their countries of origins (mostly EEC), and thirty eight percent, though Europeans, came from less industrialised European periphery and [therefore] of different socio-economic level, cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Another thirty eight percent came from non-European third world countries whose socio-economic levels, culture and ethnic background have been markedly different (Castles*et al,* 1984). This marked difference, as Castles*et al* have observed, includes not only culture and ethnic background, but also the socio-economic levels. In other words the statement may also mean that the migrants from the Third World countries are considered to have come from socio-economic levels which are low in comparison to those of indigenous population in Britain.

It may be that if one considers the socio-economic levels of the migrants from the Third World countries in their countries of origin, and then relate their levels to similar SEG levels in the destination countries, one may not find much dissimilarities. Only when such migrants are different in some visible ways, possibly for language, religious followings, certain personal habits, and most crucial of all, the colour of their skin, they came to be treated differently. But the major 'marked difference' is that of colour. This problematic is usually referred to as the 'race relations' or 'ethnic relations'. Marxists, particularly the neo-Marxists may not agree to this description. Many would refer the whole problematic as the one belonging to 'class relations' in a capitalist economy.

The background of any migration, either the dominating group migrating to rule a dominated people, or dominating people requiring dominated people as migrant labour, presupposes certain kinds of social relations between the two groups. During the period of labour migration, whether forced or indentured or unforced (voluntary !) , the relations have always been master-slave or master-servant. If

we put this in terms of relations of production, this would stand simply as capital-labour relations. Would this be correct, or would this be rejected as 'reductionism'?

Based on Rose *et al*'s(1969) analysis Castles and Kosack show that

> nearly all immigrant nationalities have a higher proportion of manual workers and a lower proportion of non-manuals than does the total population. The lowest status groups for men are Jamaicans (94 per cent manual), rest of Caribbean (84 per cent), Pakistanis (87 per cent), Italians (84 per cent), Irish (78 per cent). ... On the other hand, a few immigrant groups are over-represented in the non-manual category. These are, for men, the Indians and the Germans, and for women, the Indians, Pakistanis, and Germans (1973:86).

The above authors conclude that on the whole

> the immigrants do form the lowest stratum on the British labour market and that they are likely to continue to do so (1973:87) .

The low position of the immigrants in the western European countries has not usually been explained in any other way but through the position of the immigrants themselves, eg. Lower level of qualification before migration, short term 'targets' (thus having created a situation in which the migrants are unlikely to improve themselves by using available education and training facilities), official restrictions (as was in Germany), and discrimination (Rose *et al*, 1969; Castles and Kosack, 1973).

Labour Market Segmentation and Polarisation of the Immigrants

From the above discussion, it seems that the immigrants themselves have been the creator of their own 'low' status. It need not bring up the issue of 'status ascription' system in the destination country (particularly emphasized by Rex, 1970), nor the possible 'design' by which the lower SEGs have been encouraged to participate in the migration movement. Even among the migrants, the higher socio economic classes like the professionals feel deeply irritated by the low

status of their fellow countrymen**.** The social discrimination and bifurcation among the migrants from the same country reflect the social divisions of their original country, and it is not created by the country of destination (Alam, 1988).

Coupled with the above, further segmentation of the migrant groups has occured in the destination country. Castles and Miller write,

> The persistence of labout market segmentation of immigrants is a theme common to many of the more recent studies on immigrants and labour markets (1993:173).

The same authors have quoted the US Department of Labour which confirm that "a new source of social and economic stratification" lies in the diverse skills, resources and motivations as well as the legal statuses of different migrant groups. (US.Department of Labour, 1989:18 - quoted by Castles and Miller, 1993).

The effect of the labour market segmentation and the polarisation of immigrant employment gradually lead to the formation of ethnic minorities (Castles and Miller, 1993). Whether this formation creates a new social stratification system or whether this can be fitted into the existing stratification and class system, are the questions that have not yet been resolved. But one aspect of this which can be assumed now, is that by the end of this century in western European countries it would become more pronounced that will be only the 'ethnic minorities', and not the 'migrants of different ethnic origins'. As the ethnic minorities, particularly of those who migrated in 1960s and 1970s form sizeable groups with their own socio-religious practices and in some instances enact a lifestyle more akin to their homelands, future migrants, either by fresh migrations or by family reunion/ marriages, fit neatly in one of the groups. This would lead to further growth in various ethnic minority groups, and the terminology of 'migrants' would hardly be applicable to them.

This in turn would lead us increasingly to the problematics of social and cultural nature. Towards that the Governments of Britain, the US, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Scandinavian countries have already responded by declaring that 'multi-culturalism' is their policy, and not 'integration'. In other words, the segmentation and polarisation of the migrants into differing 'ethnic minorities' have been well anticipated (or planned in advance) and policies undertaken to maintain permanent segmentation of the foreign labour market.

The problematics of the social and cultural issues of migration in the postwar period are centred around the lower SEGs of the migrant population. It is now certain that following the European tradition of establishing the superiority of their race over the non-Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly over different human races with different physical determinants, the popular ascription of lower status to certain migrant groups will continue.

However, this will not deter the capitalist system from aligning itself with such 'ethnic minorities'; for, 'migrants' generally facilitate the processes in the creation of a new world order in trade and gainful partnership with the Third World. Aristide R. Zolberg agrees with Hamilton and Whalley (1984) about the future of the global migration movement,

> Under prevailing world conditions, the unimpeded flow of population across international borders would probably produce world-wide gains in efficiency, and hence higher annual gains in world-wide GNP than under restricted conditions. A relatively greater share of those gains would accrue to the population of the developing countries (including that portion of it which would relocate), *while the resident labour of the affluent countries would incur some losses.* (Zolberg, 1989:331) (Italics provided.)

The last part of the above statement confirms that even in a new style capital-labour set-up (capital moving from centre to the periphery to realise the exchange value of labour of the periphery) different to that which exists at the moment (ie

migrant labour from periphery to the centre), the social status of migrant labour is unlikely to change.

It is precisely in this context that cultural issues enter into the discussion. Literature on migrants in the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, and the western European countries show a definitive pattern of the development of new forms of global organisation of finance, production and distribution. Castles and Miller consider that these are leading

> to global cities. These attract influxes of immigrants, both for highly specialised activities and for low skilled service jobs, which survive high-income life styles of the professional workforce. In turn this leads to a spatial restructuring of the city, in which interacting factors of socioeconomic status and ethnic background lead to new and rapidly changing forms of differentiation between neighbourhoods. (Castles and Miller, 1993:206 ; *cf.* S.Sassen , 1988).

The formation of global cities is regarded as a critical socio-cultural problem of the western European cities. This problem is usually isolated from the real issue of capital-labour relations and put to other forms of relations in the society. The conflict and contradiction thus created in the community continue to play the vital role of keeping the migrants in the same lower strata in relation to the indigenous working class which have existed since the days of slavery, indentured labour, and contract labour.

The empirical evidence offered in the later part will be used to explore the above problematics by establishing the background of postwar migration and by examining whether these factors contribute to a theory of migration.

Summary

Background studies of migration in the postwar period are usually characterised by pinpointing 'coloured migration' to the western European countries, and

attempt to answer questions like, *Why are they here ? Where have they come from?* A popular conception is that the migrants are here for their own benefit and they are either patronized by the indigenous population or looked down upon. Academic studies working within theoretical frameworks (either already developed or being developed) usually take a patronising attitude towards the migrants and attempt to rationalise migration in its universal context. *Oversupply theory, target theory and individualistic theory* are such patronizing theories.

On the other hand, studies which attempt to show that the immigrants have been brought over for the benefit of the economy in response to labour demand confirm the need to deploy workers in unsocial and undesirable jobs. They also presuppose the existence of an economic boom in the destination country, and the significant mobility of the indigenous working class. Such theories offer some rationale that are acceptable to the public. The 'cheap labour' theory is a part of such theories. All the above theories are based on marginalist school of economics and are ahistorical.

Background studies of a different nature are usually offered by Marxists and neo-Marxists. They explore the development of capital in the process of the realisation of the exchange value of labour. They reject the concept of *individual action* in the matters of migration. Their studies are often rejected as 'reductionist' and some even ridicule the concept of 'international capital' as if it has 'an amorphous entiity' (Papademetriou, 1988:241-2). As is usually the case with two or more differing views, some authors try to balance them and offer some semi-historical and quasi-Marxist views.

Chapter 5

Research Methodologies

The general hypotheses of this thesis stated in Chapter 1 are related to the state of migration theories and migration studies. I have attempted to find out in the theoretical section of this thesis (Part 1) how and in what ways some major migration theories and studies have overlooked the social relational aspects of migration, or have failed to emphasize these aspects. The purpose of this thesis to study social relational aspects and find out if any relationship exists between *social relations* and migration. It was apparent from the beginning of this research that *re-analysis (i.e.* by using data and evidence already presented and made available) of existing surveys was not possible because of the dearth of such surveys. So, fresh evidence was necessary in support of the thesis by empirical research.

Design of the Research

This part has taken the longest time and the most effort, not simply because of the time taken to interview people, but in designing the research. There was no precedent of empirical research on social relational aspects of migration, and of the various research models, none fitted in immediately.

The objective of the research being to understand the experience of the 'migrants', i.e. those who had been exposed to migration, it was natural that I should concentrate on 'migrants'. It could be assumed that this group had been exposed in the past to the independent variable of social relational problems (and, therefore, they migrated). In other words, that this variable had an influence in their decision-making could be tested by interviewing them. I could then collect evidence from another group who had not been exposed to this variable to validate the hypothesis. In research practices of both scientific and social sciences this method is often used

by having an Experimental group (who has been exposed to the variables), and then matching the findings with a Control group (who has *not* been exposed to the variables). (Moser and Kalton,1971)

An alternative to the model of having an Experimental group, and a Control group, is to have two groups who are known to differ in some significant aspects, *i.e.* to have two Control groups, and investigate their past experience with regard to the variables under scrutiny.

Eventually, I chose the model of two Control groups, comprising of one group who had been exposed to the variables and acted on it by migration, and another group who had also been exposed to the variables but acted differently. The variables in this context were (a) changed mode of production and (b) different social structure and hegemony (*cf.* Chapter 1). In practical terms, this meant that I needed one group who had migrated (Migrants), and another group who did not migrate (Non-migrants). The second group needed to have demonstrated qualifications that they had had equal opportunities (structural, such as passports, visas, availability of offer of immigration, *viz.* from Britain) to migrate.

Although the size of the sample in each group was determined by practical considerations, it was thought possible to match the significant aspects of their experience closely even if the total number in each would not be the same.

The Universe of this research

The first stage of any empirical research is to decide the universe. My universe was Bangalees of Bangladesh. The reasons for this decision are given in Chapter 1, and also in the beginning of Chapter 8. Within the Bangalees, I had two control groups, 'Migrant Bangalees in Britain', and 'Non-migrant Bangalees in Bangladesh'. I still had one universe but it was in two locations. The final sample in Britain will

hereafter be named as the Migrant Sample (Control Group A), and those in Bangladesh Non-Migrant Sample (Control Group B).

Gender Aspects and the Sample of this Research

Postwar migration to the western European countries has been gendered in that it was *mostly* male who came first. This should not mean that no women migrated on their own. There was no legal (passport, visa and work permit wise) obstacles for women to migrate from Bangladesh (then East Pakistan). I recall from personal knowledge at least six of my women acquaintances came to Britain on their own as skilled voucher holders between 1962 and 1964. Still, it must be appreciated that these six I knew were exceptions. Women's position in postwar migration was not determined by the countries of origin, but by lack of positive statements in the immigration policies. Only in 1975, Australian immigration laws recognized women as head of the family to encourage women to migrate on their own. Such positive declaration was non-existence in the immediate postwar period. At that time, all countries allowing immigration expected women to migrate as members of the family.[1]

Having said that and considering that this research is attempting to study postwar migration as it took place, I have decided to omit the women from the sample. This omission should not be taken to mean that I disregard the effect of gendered migration on the familial relationship.

Pilot Study - Migrant Sample (Control Group A):

Once the universe had been determined, I tried to obtain a suitable sample from my universe. In the pilot study stage, I decided to collect as much data from as many Bangalee migrants in Britain as possible to decide the personal situation prevailing

[1]This can be viewed in contrast to the system of selecting equal number of men and women during the period of slavery and indentured labour to maintain a desired sex ratio.

during the period of their migration. In building up a suitable sample, I used the following critera :

- They came as first time migrants, i.e. not dependent, though they might have been sponsored for visa reasons;
- They came for work, and they are now settled permanently in Britain;
- They might have come for academic/professional reasons, but they have by now settled permanently in Britain; *and*
- They must have arrived in Britain after the Second World War.

At the pilot study stage, I used a very short form with six questions purporting to i. Year of arrival in Britain, his age then, and his status on arrival, ii. How soon was the first job obtained in Britain, and occupation before arrival, iii. Housing, on first arrival and now, iv. Future plans (including buying properties in homeland), v. first occupation in Britain, changes in occupation, present occupation, and vi. Ideas/ Opinions about own migration- if it was worthwhile.(*cf. Appendix A).* The pilot stage of the research lasted six months. I had, by then a sample consisting over 250 respondents in Birmingham, Manchester (including Oldham) and London. The purpose of this exercise was to chose a final sample for full interviewing. This was accomplished by going through the replies to find out who could fulfill the critera described above. From there, I could deduce whether their migration was a necessity from their personal point of view, and if so, determine the nature of the necessity. By that I would be able to find out whether their actions were the result of social, political, cultural, legal and ideological relations in the society they came from, and if so, what did they expect to achieve in relation to those factors by migrating. By going through the responses in the pilot study, I came up with 175 names. Later, the number was reduced to 150 according to their availability.

The sample thus obtained was stratified roughly into two groups. One, the unskilled group of migrants with 125 names in it, and the second, with 25 educated/

professionals. Although this stratification within the control group was not necessary in this thesis, this was included for added dimension and depth.

Pilot Study - Non-Migrant Sample (Control Group B)

The method which I employed to select my sample of migrants in Britain could not be used when I required a sample of non-migrants. Because of the fact that this group still lives in Bangladesh, a pilot study could not be undertaken without adequate time and resources. I decided to prepare a list of possible names and addresses from the Migrant Sample (Control group A) by using their social and kinship network. Eventually I had 120 possible respondents living in Bangladesh. I have stated above that my Non-Migrant sample should have the demonstrated qualifications that they had the opportunities (structural, such as passports, visas, availability of offer of immigration, *viz.* from Britain) to migrate in the '60s or earlier, or even in the '70s (by which time the Immigration Laws in Britain were tightened). This necessitated careful preliminary investigation as I started meeting them. At this stage I did not tell them exactly what I wished to establish. Instead I asked them their opinion about people migrating to Britain. The fact whether they had or had not had the opportunity to migrate came out quite quickly. Upon this preliminary fact-finding exercise, twenty five names from my list had to be eliminated. Another fifteen of them had to be dismissed upon visiting as they were minors at the time of possible migration. Thirty five prospective respondents could not be located. Full interviews were taken with the remaining fortyfive, from whom another ten names were obtained and interviewed, making a total of 55 respondents to form my Non-Migrant Sample (Control group B). Like the Migrant sample, I managed to have a stratified sample of in this group. The details of this and actual data collection timetable are described in Chapter 8.

Methods of Data Collection

I knew from the very beginning that a single method would not be sufficient to collect empirical evidence in this thesis. I chose to apply various sociological research survey methods. The chosen methods are Participant Observation, Social network as a methodological technique, Community Study as a method, Structured questionnaire method with interview, and Qualitative survey method.

Participant Observation :

In its strict usage, *participant observation* refers to a research technique in which the researcher observes a social collectivity of which he/she becomes a member (Abercrombie,*et al,*1984). In some instances, the researcher may be an outside investigator. The major advantage of this method is that the setting remains natural and information gathering is conducted without any artificial change. The disadvantage of this method is that the observer may gain only a restricted and partial understanding of the situation since he/she is unlikely to gain access to the total collectivity under observation. Another disadvantage that I would like to point out is that the researcher may not understand all the signs and symbols that the collectivity uses, and may arrive at a wrong conclusion. This is an ethnographic study method used by social anthropologists has also been well used by sociologists after the success of *Middletown* (Robert Lynd and Helen Lynd,1929, 1937).

My social intercourse with this community for a long period of time gave me enough insight while the community was not aware of any observation. Still, I had to be careful not to become too subjective or sympathetic. But I could not be totally objective either. All researchers, apart from those following covert observation techniques for a long period of time (*e.g.* Lynd and Lynd,1929,1937) remain 'outsiders' to the collectivity to some extent. A certain 'subjective' involvements can extract required information, while the respondents become confident that their privacy will not be infringed. This subjective involvement does not deter a researcher from providing 'objective' interpretation of the evidence.

Social Network as a Methodological Technique

Social Network as a methodological technique can be used to find a sample. Since some information could be of a personal nature, they are sometimes withheld, or incorrectly given to the researcher. By using 'social network' as a methodological technique, the researcher has a better chance of ensuring the correctness of information to a certain extent, or he/she could at least find out the incorrect nature of the information. The researcher is expected to be a part of the universe he/she is exploring in order to overcome what has been termed *'entry problem'* .

Entry Problem : Colin Bell and Howard Newby (1971) on writing about the initial problem of access and acceptance by the members of the collectivity have termed it as *entry problem.* Examples of such entry problems are well illustrated in Whyte's *Street Corner Society (1955),* Gans' *The Urban Villagers (1962),* Oscar Lewis's *Life in a Mexican Village (1951),* and many other works by the Chicago School of Sociologists. Most of the researchers in the U.S.A., where the above researches have been undertaken are white Americans conducting research on Blacks and Hispanics. That the entry problems exist in such relationships is not surprising. But even in circumstances where the researcher and the collectivity belong to the same ethnic group, such entry problems can still exist as a result of class, gender and status. I have detailed the polarization among Bangladeshis in Britain in my previous research (1985). Bangladeshi migrants in Britain can be categorised into two broad groups: unskilled labour and professional/skilled labour. The first group comprises about 85 to 90 percent of the total Bangladeshi migrants. Most of them have come from the Sylhet region of Bangladesh, many of them being semi-literate and unskilled. The second group, i.e. educated, professioanals, or skilled Bangladeshis hail from Sylhet as well as from other regions of Bangladesh. They usually distance themselves from the first group as is the social practices of their country of origin. Whereas my entry and acceptance in the second group are more or less guaranteed, I

could not be accepted within the first group easily. But my association with this group during the period I was engaged in the catering trade, later as an employment adviser and a general adviser on welfare benefits, immigration, housing, etc proved to be very useful when I wanted to undertake research among them.

Social Network in action

Without using this social network as a method, I would not have been able to prepare a list of prospective respondents living in Bangladesh. Of my 55 respondents stated above, 45 lived in Sylhet Division, and 10 in the capital city of Dhaka. My own Bangalee birth was not of any particular assistance when I went to Sylhet region from where most of the migration has occured in the '60s. This is because I hail from another district of Bangladesh and I did not speak the dialect of Sylhet region. In that area, all people, whether educated or non-educated use their dialect when verbally communicating with each other. My lack of their dialect soon exposed my birth in another region. By coincidence, one of the key respondents of my survey in Britain was holidaying in Bangladesh at the time when I went there to establish contact with my Non-Migrant sample. He readily shared his knowledge with me about the district of Sylhet. Soon, with his help, the social network technique yielded results and I could pursue my work without any hindrance. To my surprise, the rural respondents were more responsive and categorical than the urban respondents of Sylhet.

Community Study as a method

One way of overcoming the disadvantages of the above method can be to undertake Community Study as a method of empirical investigation. In this, the researcher, instead of entering into membership of the collectivity he/she observes, become a member of the whole community. This method has been deployed by

social anthropologists, particularly by Malinowski, whose study of non-literate people in tribal communities is a good example (Malinowski, 1922). Still it is possible to dispense with such associations. The method has gained popularity and many worthy studies have been undertaken following this (e.g. Bell, *Middle Class Families,* 1968; Gans, *The Urban Villagers*, 1962; Arensberg and Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland*, 1968; Rees, *Life in a Welsh Countryside*, 1950; Williams, *The Sociology of an English Village,* 1956).

In the subject field of migrants, much research is still conducted within what is usually known as a closed community (*e.g.* Muslims in Britain, Pakistanis in Britain and so on). But there is a danger that such works can become ahistorical and descriptive, and thereby atheoretical. Yet, this is possibly the only method by which a researcher can gain first hand knowledge of his/her subject-matter. This is not so *atheoretical* as many would believe, as Colin Bell and Howard Newby write, "Community studies as empirical descriptions are frequently informed of theoretical notions drawn from the mainstream of sociology..." (1971:251). It has its value in the collection of empirical evidence of a general nature about a community. A sample of an empirical investigation should be representative of all spectrum in the collectivity; such sampling is possible only by using community study as a method, particularly where an issue like social relations is to be studied.

It is also to be noted that community study as a method is in fact participant observation without a preconceived notion about the collectivity. I have used this method only as a preliminary step to decide what should be closely studied in order to produce an hypothesis based on the foundation of sociological theories.

Questionnaire Method

The questionnaire method combined with direct interview is a technique of data collection. It is probably the simplest method of specific information gathering. Of

course, the participation of the people selected and two other factors such as appropriate sampling, and a well constructed questionnaire remain a basic pre-requisite for the success of this method.

As I settled with my final respondents, I used a questionnaire constructed to gain as much information about them as possible. I assured them that I did not put their names on my paper, and that no one would know from whom the replies came. I numbered my set of blank questionnaires serially, and recorded the numbers against my list of respondents. This was only a cautionary measure in case I needed to go back to them for further clarification. In fact, this proved most useful as I could select a sub-sample after assessing the information gathered during questionnaire filling sessions. I approached this sub-sample for later group discussion using qualitative research techniques. According to my assurances given to the respondents, their actual names have not been used in the case studies and evidence. All names in Chapters 8 and 9 are pseudonyms.

Two different Questionnaires were prepared (*see* Appendices 2 & 3), one for interviewing the Control Group A (Migrant sample), and another for Control Group B (Non-Migrant sample). Apart from a few preliminary questions, the questions were different. Some of the questions were designed to reveal the migrants's conception of their own class and social position. In order to evaluate their claims in the correct context, I referred to Socio-Economic Group (SEG) of Bangladesh as used in that country (*Dhaka University Studies*,1984). The SEGs of Bangladesh are described in ten groups, four of which are land/agriculture based, one fishing based, one crafts trade based, two non-agriculture based (subdivided into wage labourers and 'rich class'), one economically active group not in any of the above, and the other economically non-active group. I did not consider using that SEG table as an 'exhibit' to the respondents. Instead, I let them say anything and later validated their claims by referring to the SEG table. A different question about their actual

occupation, and the size of the agricultural land (if farmer) held by the respondents helped me to validate the information. For example, I could check a respondent's claim that he belonged to the 'middle class' upon asking the size of their landholding and the nature of their livelihood.

The SEGs prepared and used in Bangladesh are based on the actual socio-economic pattern of the country which is industrially less developed. This is very different from SEG system used in the western industrially developed countries for obvious reasons. I have, therefore, refrained from making a direct comparison between the two SEGs. The following is my own schematic presentation of the SEG lists to determine the social class/position :

Table 1

SEGs of Bangladesh

People belong to Group	With following characteristics based on property holding & occupation
Upper Class	Bd* SEG IV : Owning 5.00 or more acre of land, described as Rich Buyer of lease, engage paid labour; and Bd SEG VIII : Non-agricultural rich class; good income from industries, office wages, high class industrial properties & farming lands
Middle Class	Bd SEG III : Owning 2.51 to 5.00 acre of land, use family as well as paid labour; having to work in close association with the Upper class, many of this group acquire a sort of social mobility into Upper middle class.
Lower Middle Class	Bd SEG II & VII : Owning .51 to 2.5 acre of land use family labour and some paid ones. They also work for a wage during non-harvest time. This is a socially mobile class if they obtain education.

Lower Class	Bd SEG I : Owning 0 to .50 acre land, including proletarians, wage labourers. V : Fisherman, manual class, income not-related to land. VI : Craftsman may have upto 2.5 acre land usually submerged in water usually lower caste. IX : Economically active, able bodied, usually engaged in animal husbandry; unemployed, beggers.

* Bd means Bangladesh

Two problematics exist in matters of land measurements and of Status/class issue. *Land Measurements :* Land has been regarded as a crucially important element in determining the socio-economic position of the respondents (see Chapter 6), but the land measurement terms varies from one place to another in Bangladesh. The official 'acre' is not understood by many who use local/regional variants e.g. *Josthi* (measurement by a stick), *Keder* (also pronounced as Keyar), *Haal* (12 *Keders* make one *Haal*), *Pakhi* (not used in Sylhet, but in Dhaka) etc. They are not easily and accurately convertible to official 'acre', as detailed in the Chapter 5. However, the difficulties were later resolved by consulting the local land registrar's office in Bangladesh. The respondents were not interrupted when they used local variants, but their measurements were later accomodated within the official 'acre' system. All land measurements have been converted into acre system in this thesis.

Class and Status : Status grouping may seem to be a subjective state of mind in Bangladesh. Lack of property and wealth is not always taken into consideration to determine one's social prestige. A study based on a community may find that traditional value system plays a significant role in determination of social status/prestige rather than economic factors. Bangalees in Bangladesh are used to talk of Barolok (upper class), Madhyabitta (middle class), and Chotolok (the lowly) while describing social status. Of these, the term Barolok is always avoided even by

the rich (out of modesty) and also by the middle class (for fear of backlash) to indicate own social position (Karim, 1980; Alam, 1983; 31-48). The poor (except the beggers, homeless etc.) will call themselves Shadharan Lok (commoner) (Karim. 1980;). None of these terms refers to a measurement of income and wealth. There is also another fond term Bhadrolok (Alam, 1983) used for and by educated people, whose manners and behaviour reflect a kind of sophistication lacking among others. This again does not refer to any income bracket.

In one question, the respondents were asked to give their reason for not migrating when the opportunity arose. They were prompted with a few possible reasons, one of which was 'I was happy here'. Nearly all the respondents agreed with that prompting and some elaborated on that. When the researcher enquired whether they were happy due to their wealth or property, most respondents (65%) dismissed the suggestion that their higher social position was due to external factors such as jobs, income, property and wealth. Instead they attached great importance to their ancestry and family background in the evaluation of their social position. The rest of the respondents (35%) talked about income, property and wealth but they too would insist that their ancestral link was the main reason of their higher social position or prestige.

A deficiency in the questionnaire was noticed once the interviews of the non-migrants in Bangladesh were in progress. This was about the specific location in which respondents lived. In Bangladesh, the rural-urban continuum (Redfield, 1947), or the Gemmeinschft and Gesselschaft (Tonnies, 1888; repr 1957) are perceivable and visible. The inclusion of the location or space became a necessity to determine the social position of the respondents, as the notion or the idea what constituted one's social position differed from one location to another. This was accomplished at the end of visits and interviews by observing the rurality or urbanity of the area in general. Most of the respondents lived in towns. A town in Bangladesh

is an urban area administered by a municipality within a district. They are usually rural with shops, markets and educational establishments upto high school only. The residents are usually people from the rural area who have moved up in social mobility terms. Such rural towns are different from 'district towns', which is the centre for all powerful district administration with high class shops, markets, health centres and educational establishments upto college and sometimes university levels. In the sample, I had 38 respondents from small 'towns' and 17 from 'district towns' (11 from Sylhet, and 6 from Dhaka, the capital city). However, breakdown of this stratification is not shown since this spatial issue came accidentally rather than by design of this part of the research.

Qualitative Survey Methods

The questionnaire method produced no insight into the mind of the migrants and non-migrants. It was thought that qualitative survey methods would be useful to supplement the quantitative data and evidence. In this method, views and behaviour patterns of the collectivity can be explored. Gerald Hoinville, *et al* state that this method is most useful "to develop hypothesis about individual motivations, when psychology and circumstances of respondents need to be interrelated" (Hoinville, *et al*, 1977:15). The tools for this survey method are a 'guide card' and a tape recorder. The meeting can be with one respondent at a time, or with a small group of respondents. There is no questionnaire to fill, and instead of detailed questions, the researcher has a 'guide card' by which he/she keeps the discussions on track. The 'guide card' is the most vital instrument for the researcher and it needs to be prepared carefully. The guide card should be brief, clearly typed so that one glance is enough to refresh the topics to be explored and sequence planned. It also helps the researcher to interrupt a discussion that has veered away from the desired topic. The researcher is expected to know the names of the respondents, and he/she may also keep short notes (in a group interview) of who is saying what so that at the time of

transcription, voices can be correctly ascribed. If time and resources permit, one respondent from a group can be again individually interviewed. In a recent research undertaken by the Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations, University of Warick on HIV (1993-1994, undertaken by Mark Johnson) among the Asian population in Birmingham, the method of re-interviewing a typical respondent out of a group brought information which otherwise could not be obtained. This can act as a validation of what has been discussed in the group. In the above research, the 'typical respondent' informed that some members of his group have been unncessarily boastful about the morality of their community.

Qualitative survey methods are possibly the best methods to collect evidence of a nature which cannot be always quantified and, therefore, cannot be put easily in a straight question. Some hypotheses in social research can also be too complex to explain to the respondents. Some may not be acceptable to them. In this thesis, parts of the social relations could be explained to the respondents, but the respondents would be unlikely to admit the adverse and personally humiliating situations. Many qualitative survery researchers have found that once the confidence of the respondents is gained, new information of a confidential nature start coming out. This is particularly true if the researcher can spend a long time with one respondent.

Despite its effectiveness, one major disadvantage is time. Meeting one respondent at a time means that a sample of 50 respondents might take about fifty weeks. Small group interviews can reduce the total time taken. But then the problem of organising a group, setting up an environment convenient for relaxed and undisturbed discussion, recording (tape recorder, though essential, can be a hindrance), keeping track of the discussions, and later transcription of the tape recorded information can take enormous time.

In this thesis, considering that qualitative survey of all respondents would be impossible for a solo researcher, I decided to select a sub-sample out of of my total

sample. Instead of solo interviewing, I chose to interview them in groups of four to five. The number of group members were proportionate to the total sample in each of the two Control Groups. Details of this grouping are given in the Chapters 8 (Data Analysis of Non-Migrant Sample) and 9 (Date Analysis of Migrant Sample).

Chapter 6

On Relations of Production in Bangladesh

The objective of this thesis is to establish that the specific patterns and trends of postwar migration are directly related to the changed mode of production and a different kind of hegemony, in the countries from where large scale migration has occured. It does not preclude the existence of two other important variables such as the existence of the outlets for migration and available machinery, legal or illegal, to implement the process of migration. But these two variables alone in the absence of changed mode of production and a different kind of hegemony in the countries of origin do not cause large scale migration.

Bangladesh, a country from where large scale migration has occured in the postwar period, is my choice for exploring and finding empirical evidence to test the above hypothesis. I have stated in Chapter 1 of this thesis that migration from Bangladesh in the postwar period can be considered typical in patterns and trends of major international migrations in the postwar period. Such patterns and trends are well described by various authors. They can be summarized as a large inflow of labour migrants to the European centres of the old colonial powers from their former colonies, and a large inflow of labour migrants to the European centres with no colonial background from the impoverished regions of the southern European and Mediterranean countries. The causes of labour migrations are usually stated as the result of encouragement by the receiving countries to fill the gaps in their labour market, coupled with the desire by the sending countries to shed their excess labour force . A large number of political refugees, and highly skilled professionals are also included in the postwar migration. (Castles and Kosack(1973); Castles *et al* (1984); Castles and Miller (1993)).

Bangladesh was a part of the British Empire in India before 1947. So, postwar migration from Bangladesh fits within the first characteristics of the patterns and trends described above. To some extent it also fits in with the characteristics of the migration of highly skilled professionals. Bangladesh, therefore, is a suitable case where any theoretical assumption or hypothesis on postwar migration to the western developed countries can be tested for empirical evidence.

[I have provided one comprehensive map on the next page to which reference can be made whenever necessary, particularly while reading Chapters 6 and 7]

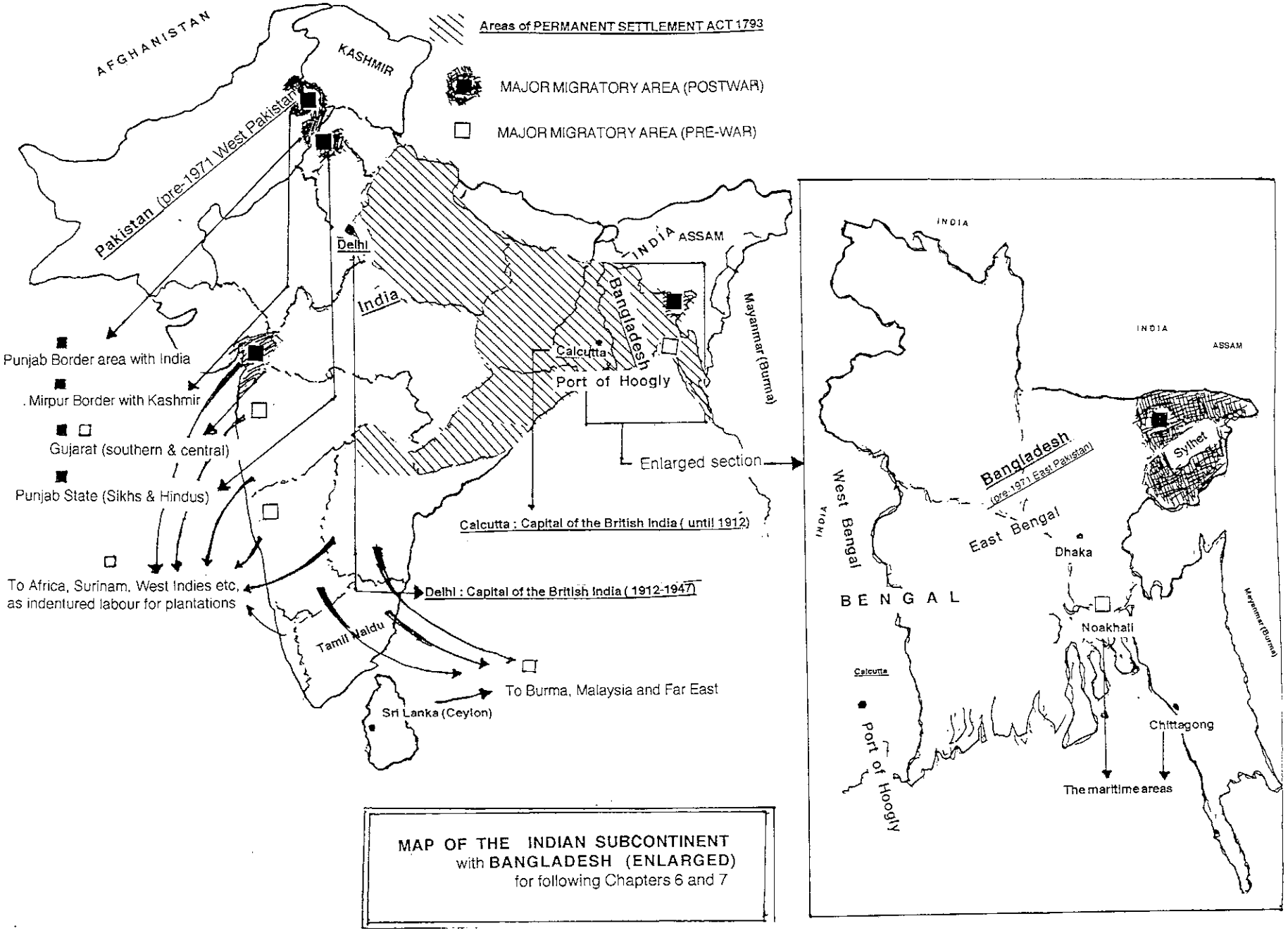
RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IN BANGLADESH

Bangladesh has been a new name in the political map of the world since 1971. Between 1947 and 1971, this area was known as East Pakistan. It is situated in the far eastern part of the Indian sub-continent which was for the majority of the time ruled by foreign powers, or the delegates of foreign power as independent rulers. The historical name of this area is Bango, or in English, Bengal. The majority of the people in this area are of Bangalee ethnicity, speaking Bangla.

Bengal was ruled by various dynasties, some Bengali in origin and some from immediate areas surrounding the country. In the thirteenth century A.D.,the last Bengali dynasty lost to the Mughals, and since then until 1971 when the present Bangladesh has been established, Bengal was never politically independent.

Conquest of Bengal by Foreign Powers

Of the external powers conquering India, the Mughals were the first to reach Bengal, but they found this area difficult to rule. At that time ruling an area simply meant the ability to collect revenue for the emperor. Whomsover the Mughal Emperor entrusted with the task of collecting revenues from Bengal soon disobeyed the emperor's orders and declared independence. A system of leasing out (called diwani) to a Nawab (ruler) was later developed by the Mughals which was the next



MAP OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT
with **BANGLADESH (ENLARGED)**
for following Chapters 6 and 7

best system to a direct collection of revenue. By this system, Bengal along with Bihar and Orissa, was ruled by a Nawab (ruler) who would deliver a certain sum of money to the Mughal emperor seated in Delhi. In 1701A.D. the revenue received from Bengal by the emperor was approximately 10 million Indian rupees (about quarter of a million in sterling) a year (*source*: Bradley-Birt,1906:185. According to Bradley-Birt the money was sent to Delhi escorted by a guard of three hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry, with presents for the emperor and ministers comprising of hill horses, antelopes, hawks, shields made of rhinoceros hide, sword blades, Sylhet mats, Dacca Muslin clothes and Cossimbazaar silks, filigree work of gold and silver and wrought ivory).

In 1757, The East India Company of England gained the Diwani (lease) of this area from the Mughal rulers of India after defeating the then Nawab(ruler) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. That history of the battle and of various scruples involved is of no significance here. Suffice to say here that the East India Company had entered Bengal and other parts of India to trade along with the Dutch, Portugese and the French. Eventually, the Company increased the size of their army which resulted into a direct dispute with the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Then in a formally declared battle (known as the Battle of Plessey) in 1757, the Company 'defeated' the Nawab's army. This defeat is said to have been engineered by Mir Jafar, a general in command of the Nawab's army. Mir Jaffar's treachery gets historical confirmation from the fact that he was installed as the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the East India Company after winning the battle. By 1765, Mir Jaffar was disposed of and Robert Clive of the East India Company took up the Diwani in his own name. Later, the East India Company used almost the same strategy to occupy other separately ruled areas of India. They eventually managed to drive off the Portugese, French and Dutch traders from the areas they occupied.

The official British rule of India did not commence until 1857 when the East India Company listed the British Army's help in crushing a revolution against the British (British historians have named the event mildly as Sepoy (the ordinary indigenous soldier) Mutiny). Queen Victoria proclaimed India as part of her Empire in 1858. Such uprisings against the East India Company's rule were not unprecedented. In fact, the first recorded uprising took place in Bengal, where a number of Sannyasi uprisings defeated the Company's army one after another between 1772 and 1774 (Ghosh, 1930).

Bengal's Mode of Production and the Realization of Exchange Value:
Land Tenure - From the 'Village System' to the Permanent Settlement Act

There are some historical connections between the Sannyasi uprising and the new system of revenue collection that was introduced in Bengal by Warren Hastings who succeeded Robert Clive in 1772 as the Governor of Bengal. He introduced a Metropolitan Revenue Board, whose promulgations shocked the landholders and peasants equally.

> This introduced a conception of land entirely alien to the Indian tradition. The idea that land in India could be mortgaged, bought and sold ... like any other commodity, was to have incalculable effects on the traditional fabric of Indian society. (Edwardes, 1967:198)

Dilip Hiro explains the system well.

> ...[The British] started the zamindari rights of villages to the highest bidder every five years. This caused rack-renting of the cultivators by the zamindars and led to a severe famine condition and minor peasant rebellions in 1770s. (Hiro,1976:91).

The social system of Bengal which had developed around agricultural and craft activities was different from other parts of India to a great extent. Karim observes that Bengal

> . . . had developed distinctive social institutions peculiar to herself. The most important of these is the Bengali village. (Karim, 1980:2).

Until the British came to administer Bengal, most of the areas of India at that period had some sort of self contained *village system*. Many British historians who have tried to reveal the history of Bengal, came up with the conclusions that the *village system*[1] by which this area was organized differed from the rest of India (Seton-Karr,1858;Maine,1871; Grierson,1903; Monahan 1925; Marx,1853).

> ... as materials became more abundant, we shall find that Bengal, though often, if not always, associated politically with some part of Bihar, has a distinct political and social history of her own ... (Monahan, 1925: viii-ix)

> ... the Village community did not emerge into clear sight very early in the history of our conquest and government ... the great province in which they were first called upon to practice administration on a large scale, Lower Bengal and Bengal proper, had not happened to be the exact part of India in which from causes not yet fully determined, the village has fallen into great decay . (Maine, 1871:103).

The system of revenue payment to the King or the proclaimed ruler of the land was very different before the British arrived in Bengal. Peter Fryer notes,

> Before British rule there was no private property in land. The self-governing village community handed over each year to the ruler or his nominee the 'king's share' of the year's produce. The East India Company considered this practice barbarious, and put a stop to it.. (Fryer, 1988:18-19)

The 1772 Promulgation which established the Metropolitan Revenue Board was only a new procedure in revenue collection system, but the changes in the revenue and the land tenure system that were to have far reaching and permanent effect on the economy of the country as a whole was introduced later near the end of the eighteenth century by Warren Hastings' successor Lord Cornwallis. In 1793, the *Permanent Settlement Act* was promulgated in the Bengal Presidency (comprising of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa), the northern part of the province of Andhara, and most areas of the present Uttar Pradesh. By this Act, the five-yearly auction was stopped and permanently settled estates, with reveues fixed in perpetuity to be paid by the zamindars to the British, were established. (Edwardes,1967).

[1] Marx wrote about India's *village system* in 1853 quoting from G. Campbell's *Modern India* (1852)

Some land related terminologies

Most of the terminologies explained below were not newly coined. Many were already in use, but before the new land tenure system they had been used with different meanings.

Zamindars, Talukdars, Jagirdars existed in India before the British arrived. This is contrary to commonly held ideas that they were the creation of the British in India. The original terms carried distinct meanings which were different from what the British system made of them . In their original meanings, they were not tax farmers and also not the proprietors of the land, but merely revenue collection points for the King (a king was whoever had the army to exert control on the wealth of the land).

Zamindars : The zamindars enjoyed the total control of the land and the revenue, and the new system made them *tax-farmers*. Max Weber wrote :

> The king gathered his taxes by farming out their collection or leasing them as prebend for payment of fixed lump sum. The tax farmers developed into a class of landlords as zamindari (Bengal), Talukdari (particularly Oudh). They became true landlords only when the British administration held them liable for tax assessment, treating them for this reason as proprietors. (Weber, 1960:68).

According to Max Weber, the zamindars, talukdars, the revenue collectors and the like are the 'prebends' feudal officials. In Bengal, zamindars collected taxes and passed a proportion of them to the rulers of the land, thus themselves becoming tax farmers.

Talukdars : The system of Talukdaries existed in Bengal and parts of Uttar Pradesh before the British. Talukdars enjoyed the privileges of being able to obtain a portion of the revenue to meet the expenses of revenue collection for the King. In Bengal smaller zamindaries were called talukdaries. A talukdar was at once

> a tax collector, policeman, judge and moneylender, and he controlled the political life of the area through his revenue agents. (Hiro, 1976:93).

Jagirdars : This term is best described by the 17th century French traveller Francois Bernier,

> ... the King as proprietor of the land, makes over a certain quantity of military men, as an equivalent for their pay; and this grant is called Jah-ghr ...; the word Jah-gir signifying the spot from which to draw or the place of salary. (Bernier, 1924:224; as quoted by Karim, 1980)

In other words, a jagirdar is the one who draws his salary from the revenue of a specified locality. In the *Sixth Report of the Affairs of the East India Company 1782,* it is found that *jagirdars* were often granted an area of waste land or the least improved land, but they were also given some parts of the revenue yielding areas. Karim writes,

> Such jagirdaries were granted to an officer of the State meeting the expenses of administration as well as his personal expenses in maintaining the status of high office ... .In such cases, the normal system of revenue collection was retained. Such jagirdaries were personal grants and used to terminate with the holder of the office when he retired from office or died. (Karim, 1980:16)

There were other systems of jagirdaries in Bengal. One such was the case where the jagirdar did not hold any office, but he was liable to render the accounts of the effective troop he kept in readiness on behalf of the King. It is also known that many jagirdars assumed powers of the zamindars and became hereditary during the British period.

Ryots : The literal translation of 'Ryots' means 'subjects', but the word has different interpretations in different parts of India. In land terms, the adverbial form of the word is Ryotari or Ryotwari. The East India Company introduced the Permanent Settlement Act (1793) in a few areas of India. The other parts of the country as they fell to the East India Company had a different land tenure system, called 'Ryotwari'. By this, ryots or subjects (effectively, the peasants or cultivators) were responsible for paying revenue to the King or ruler through revenue collectors. In legal terms, a ryot is a registered holder of a plot of land with permanent,

inheritable and transferable rights of occupancy. In Bengal, ryots are sometimes taken to mean simple cultivators who may or may not own the land but cultivate them as if it was theirs. There is evidence that the State at that time did not usurp all the lands, nor did all the lands belong to the zamindars, talukdars or jagirdars. There were many plots of land which were owned by smaller farmers, but they had to pledge their allegience to the zamindar or whoever came along on sight. But sooner or later, they were usurped by the zamindars or talukdars through one pretext or another. There was no machinery to complain as the ultimate ruler remained happy as long as they received the revenue from the zamindars or whoever were entrusted with the task of paying.

From the above, it can be argued that the mode of production in Bengal changed to a great extent during the British rule in India. In crop producing and obtaining revenue matters, it was not a capitalist mode of production, neither was it a totally feudal mode. In a feudal mode, the landlord does not have direct control over the peasant's forces of production, tools and land, but does have control over the disposition of the peasant's produce. But the creation of a rigid system of revenue collection gradually resulted into a feudal mode in Bengal.

During the British rule, particularly in the immediate years following the Permanent Settlement Act, famine struck in Bengal. The peasants were forced to pay the revenue whether the harvest was successful or not. Moneylenders came to the scene and they could confiscate the land and property of the defaulting peasant by force.

The total value of the crops produced in Bengal in 1781 will give us the idea why the crop production was regarded as the mainstay of the economy of the country as well as the main socio-political force. According to India Office's *1781 Report from the Select Committee to the House of Commons* (published 1904), the revenue collected from parts of the Rajshahi Division (occupying an area of approximately

25% of the total cultivable land in Bengal) in 1777-1778 amounted to 1,980,000 Rupees (Totalled from Karim,1980:46).

Because the zamindari system was made hereditary by the Permanent Settlement Act, a new class emerged in Bengal, and in order to maintain their high status and standard, rack renting[1] by the zamindars was commonplace. The practice ruined the agricultural economy of the country as a whole. Many farmers went to the remote parts of the country and started subsistence farming, but the zamindars soon arrived at the scene and demanded revenue. Because the revenue to be paid to the King or the British ruler was fixed in perpetuity, the zamindars needed to collect more revenue for themselves. There was no system or order about the maximum revenue a farmer would have to pay to the zamindars in proportion to his total harvest. In between came the moneylenders,

> ...whom the British authorities regarded as the mainstay for the payment of revenue and who frequently charged interest of 200 percent annually or more. (Fryer,1988:19).

Famine struck in Bengal in the 1770s several times. After 1793, hunger of the agricultural classes and pauperism among them became a permanent feature. It was reported in the House of Commons in 1783 that 'the natives of all ranks and orders had been reduced to a state of depression and misery'.

> In former times the Bengal countries were the granary of nations, and the repository of commerce, wealth and manufacture in the East ... such has been the restless energy of our misgovernment, that within the short space of twenty years many parts of those countries have been reduced to the appearance of a desert ...the manufacturer oppressed, - famine has been repeatedly endured, - and depopulation has ensued. (Fullarton, 1787:40)

[1]Zamindars were expected to send a fixed sum as revenue to the British ruler. They were allowed to collect more to cover their costs and gain wealth to maintain high living style. Rack renting occured when Zamindars collected more than a third of the harvests for themselves. (Hiro, 1976; Karim,1980)

From Permanent Settlement to Barga (Sharecropping) system

In 1947, the British left India, and larger part of Bengal became East Pakistan which was more than a thousand miles away from West Pakistan with the new India in between. In 1950, the Permanent Settlement Act was repealed. With it the zamindari system was abolished. If any former zamindar owned lands he was obliged to pay revenues like any other landholder. The objective was to reduce the sufferings of the peasants and small landholders who had been subject to coercion, extortion, threats and confiscation of their lands for failing to pay revenue. In the new system, the state became the receiver of revenue directly through local government officers. But the system did not bring any change, moreover it initiated the process of landlessness of the peasants. Badruddin Omar, a Marxist writer of Bangladesh writes,

> As state became the zamindar, the government officers who were not local people became the revenue collectors. They had no personal contact with the local people, and therefore, the relationships between them and the peasants became mechanical, ... the oppressive machinery of revenue collection through bribery, body warrant, property confiscation continued as was the practice during the period of Permanent Settlement Act. (Omar, 1978:27; *my translation from Bengali*).

During the Permanent Settlement period, the zamindars, though they were only revenue collectors, with or without their own lands, carried out practices by which they became owners of almost all the lands in their areas of control. The practices asked the peasants to sell their lands to them, or face confiscation due to non-payment either of the revenue or of the loan and interests and other such scruples. In 1950, the size of landholding by one person was reduced to 100 Bighas (approximately 33 acres). But the old landowners with large landholding could transfer the land on paper to other members of their family, and still claim compensation from the government. Later, the maximum landholding was increased to 375 Bighas (approximately 125 acres).

According to Omar, one result of this reform was the creation of a new class called Jotdars. This class replaced the moneylenders (Mahajans), the majority of whom being Hindus, migrated to the new India after 1947. The jotdars controlled the proceeds of farming by forwarding loans to buy seeds, manure and even tools to the peasants. Then in the years of bad harvest they could usurp the land for non-payment of the agreed amount. Gradually the peasants were reduced to cultivating lands by entering into a Barga (sharecropping) system with the jotdars. By this they would cultivate the land as usual in return for a share in the crops produced. As the land belonged to the jotdars, they could dictate the 'share' that the peasants would receive. If the harvest fell below expectations and the price of the crops went up, the jotdaars, who were able to horde, could still reap the benefits whereas the peasants receiving a subsistence 'share', were soon in trouble with no means to buy crops or seeds for the next season. They would go again to the jotdaars to borrow or beg. (Omar, 1978). The post-independence period, therefore, hastened the landlessness of the ordinary peasants. Eventually, the proud farmer became a wage labourer. The sum result of all the land tenure system starting from 1772 to 1950 was to undermine man's customary relations to the agrarian means of production.

Artisans of Bengal:

Like many other areas of India, Bengal, by virtue of its natural resources and climate had a well developed class of artisans who traditionally and in hereditary systems, weaved exquisite clothes, manufactured agricultural tools or traded in hide, ivory, corals, natural pearls, tortoise shells and in the production of consumer goods. The cotton products and muslins were the envy of the world, while the cash crops like jute and spices had had a ready made world market since the sixteenth century. According to Bradley-Birt,

> The number and variety of things exported [from Dhaka, now the capital of Bangladesh] at this period [approximately mid 17th century] are sufficient evidence of its [Bengal's] flourishing condition. To almost every country of the world Dacca [ie Dhaka] sent her produce. ... Tavernier, visiting the city in 1666,

> found 'cossas muslin, silk, and cotton stuffs, and flowered or embroidered fabrics' being exported in large quantities to Provence, Italy and Languedoc (Bradley-Birt, 1906:138).

Bradley-Birt had quoted from Francois Bernier who visited Bengal between 1656 and 1668 A.D. The readings of Bengal's wealth, particularly of Dhaka as a international trade centre rendered by Bernier contrasts so sharply with our present day reading of the impoverishment of Bangladesh, that Bernier's account might seem to be a fairy tale. Social changes through the reforms in the agricultural revenue system by the British traders, also struck the trade in refined commercial products of Bengal. The Bengali manufacturers of the finest silk and muslins of the world were coerced into not producing them. In some instances, their fingers were cut off for other pretexts, and the export of silk, muslins and cottons were blocked by prohibitive tariffs. (Eldridge,1978:63ff). Earlier in the mid 18th century, the East India Company, in competetion with the French, Dutch and Portugese, prevented Indian and other merchants from trading in grain, salt, betel nuts, and tobacco, and actively discouraged handicrafts. In 1769 the company prohibited the home work of the silk weavers and compelled them to work in its factories (Majumdar, 1977). Peter Fryer's research on these is well summarised in the following:

> The Company's servants, who lined their pockets by private trading, bribery and extortion, arbitrarily decided how much cloth each weaver should deliver and how much he should receive for it. Weavers who disobeyed were seized, imprisoned, fined and flogged. Weavers unable to meet the obligations the Company imposed on them had their possessions confiscated and sold on the spot. Bengal's rulers complained that the Company's agents were taking away people's goods by force and a quarter of their value and compelling people to buy from them at five times the value of the goods bought, on pain of a flogging or imprisonment (Fryer, 1988:19).

By the middle nineteenth century, the total destruction of Bengal crafts and consumer good production system was accomplished. One author, writing about the economic history of Bengal, stated that the long term consequence of the British rule was the de-industrialization of Bengal and that Bengal was forcibly transformed from a country of combined agriculture and manufacture into an agricultural colony

of British capitalism, exporting to Britain raw cotton, wool, jute, oilseeds, dyes and hides. (Mukherjee, 1977; Baines,1835)

The de-industrilization of Bengal and other parts of India was taking place at the time of Britain's industrial revolution.The British mills and manufacturing sectors found in India a market where their finished products could be exported. The raw materials imported from Bengal were processed through the British mainland mills, eg. cottons at the Lancashire and Manchester cotton mills, jutes at Dundee jute mills, and were exported to Bengal and India. The old direct trade between Bengal and the rest of the world was severely curtailed. According to C.C. Eldridge this was achieved by imposition of various duties. By 1840, British silk and cotton goods imported into India paid a duty of 3.5 per cent, and the wollen goods 2 per cent. Equivalent Indian goods exported to Britain and elsewhere paid import duties of 20, 10, and 30 per cent respectively. (Eldridge, 1978). Various historical sources confirm that India as a whole was made subservient to British industry and its needs and the British Imperial practices were continuously sucking the vast wealth out of the sub-continent. (Fryer, 1988; Ganguli, 1965; Buchanan, 1934)

Another chapter in the exploitation of India was the introduction of Indigo cultivation in Bengal. This was introduced in 1833 in a typical capitalist mode of production, like the sugar plantations of the Caribbean countries. The year 1833 is significant for several reasons. This was the year when English people were allowed to acquire lands in India, and slavery was abolished in the British territories. In Bengal, whose soil and climate were particularly suitable for indigo cultivation, ryots (the subjects, mainly the peasants) were forced to sow indigo all the year round at nominal wages. As main staple diet crops like rice and pulse were not cultivated, the peasants could not afford them from the wages. Soon the effect of this was felt throughout the region. Forced indigo cultivation eventually led to Indigo or Blue Mutiny of 1859-60 in Bengal. By the time forced indigo cultivation practices were stopped, the number of famines in Bengal rose from 7 to 24 a year.

By 1901, almost all the peasants were forced into the clutches of moneylenders whose loans ensured the British Revenue Collectors were paid on time.(Buchanan, 1934; Report of the Indigo Commission,1861; Dutt, 1906)

Summary

The historical review above shows stages through which the mode of production in Bengal changed affecting the social relations of people. The 1793 Permanent Settlement Act transformed the old 'village system' of Bengal. The peasants were soon to become the wage labourers on their own lands. Zamindars, working in conjunctions with moneylenders (sometimes they themselves were moneylenders) grabbed as many lands as possible for themselves. The village artisans and craftsmen lost their trading power in various 'reforms' of the trade system introduced by the British. Instead of producing high quality finished exportable products, they were allowed to produce only the raw materials which were to be processed in the mills in Britain and exported back to Bengal. This destroyed the economic powers which the indigenous artisans and craftsmen once enjoyed. From subsistence farming to creating exchange values of their commodities, the new situation made them subservient to the British capitalist interests.

The various stages described above created new classes in the society. The indigenous upper classes were large landholders, non-agricultural workers who worked closely with the colonial power in the latter's exploitation of the resources and wealth of the country as a whole. After the British left Bengal, land reforms did not reverse the cycle, instead they rather created situations by which the landlessness of the general population increased and the majority of the population were reduced into becoming wage labourers.

Chapter 7

Migration from Bangladesh

The Politico-Social area called Bengal in the Indian Subcontinent

There is no country in the world which can be said to have 'migratory tendencies'. At the same time population itself is not static. It changes with the changes in the *mode of production* resulting in different *social relations* than before, and with such changes, power relations of the people change too. In earlier chapters, I have distinguished between the population movement that takes place due to aggression with a view to plundering other territories (e.g.Ghengis Khan), or due to a conclusive settlement of population in another territory by empire transfer (e.g. Mughals in India), and the population movement that takes place for economic reasons, either through the actors themselves (usually termed voluntary migration) or through some other forces (*e.g*. inducement, movement by coercive system, such as slave transfers,etc.).

The first two types of population movements *i.e.* settlement of some people in another territory and transfer of residence due to the transfer of empire into another territory cannot be called migration. For, if they are labelled as migration, the whole world's population would become migrants in some form or other. Still within a dynamic population, a somewhat static element develops with time by which we can pinpoint certain populations carrying certain common characteristics of language, culture and belief systems. These common characteristics may be traditional in that territory, and some people carried them down through heredity (signs of static elements), and some people might have acquired them by acculturation (dynamic elements). Whichever way the people acquire those common characteristics, these characteristics are eventually regarded as distinct ethnic traits and assist in differentiating those people from other groups of population.

Bengal's separate identity as a distinct ethnic-political territory is not unique in the Indian sub-continent. The Indian sub-continent is regarded by many as one country, but in reality India is an ethnically plural country with many distinct territories each of which are usually distinguishable by linguistic and cultural differences. Calcutta, situated in Bengal was the capital of the British India until 1912, after which Delhi became the capital of India. During the long period of having the capital of India in Bengal, the area flourished in various trade, commerce and government activities. By the very demand of jobs to be done, the population of Calcutta became somewhat cosmopolitan with people from other areas coming to Bengal. The population, therefore, did not remain static, and at the same time most of Bengal's educated population did not need to go out of their ethnic-political boundaries for office and commerce jobs. But the vast majority people of Bengal, particularly the peasants, artisans and craftsmen who became wage labourers due to the agrarian reforms and trade restrictions (as explained in the previous chapter) did not have the opportunities to sell their labour at an appropriate rate. The manufacturing centres of their raw materials were situtated not in Bengal, but in Britain. Still, there were no noticeable migratory tendencies among Bangalees.

Migration from the Indian sub-continent:

In 1833, with the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies in the Caribbean countries, the British came to India to hire 'apprentices' and 'indentured labour'. According to various sources, most of the Indians thus chosen went from central and western India and none from Bengal (negatively ascertained from sources, viz. Kondapi, 1951; Cumpston,1953). That the Indians have been sailing to Britain as early as the seventeenth century, is known from various maritime documents, particularly from the publications of the Asiatic Society.

In 1782, a letter went from the head of the East India Company in London to the President and Council in Madras in India with the complaint that *lndian laskars*

(can be spelled lascars - meaning seamen) were finding their ways to Leadenhall Street, 'having been reduced to great distress and applying to us for relief'. After 1795, the Company began to provide accomodation for the laskars in rock-bottom lodging houses in Kingsland Road. In 1802, following complaints from magistrates, the home for laskars was moved to Shoreditch, and later to a barrack on the Ratcliffe Highway. This barrack gradually turned into a place of brothels, gambling and opium dens. By 1840's, the situation was investigated by the nearby Church Missionary Society. (summarized from Adams, 1987:17-19).

Such movements of seamen did not constitute labour migration since these laskars could hardly obtain jobs in the British mainland. Most of them perished, and a few went back to the ships. Labour migration outside India is a mid-nineteenth century phenomenon. According to Kondapi,

> ... organized emigration of Indian labour to the British colonies began from Bengal in 1838 under the supervision and direction of the Government of India. (Kondapi, 1951:5).

The above refers to the recruitment of indentured labour for the plantations where slavery had been abolished. Though Kondapi specifically mentions Bengal, it is probable that the Port of Hoogly in Bengal was the major centre of shipment of labourers, but the labourers were not necessarily chosen from the Bengali population. Further analysis of the Bengali labour market during the nineteenth century is detailed below under sub-heading 'Migration from Sylhet'.

The British drive for indentured labour was followed by other colonial planters like the the Dutch and the French who also obtained their supplies of the indentured labour from India by arrangement with the British government. To date, there is no authentic survey to pinpoint the ethnic groups of India who were presented as indentured labourers. But it is certain that Bangalees from Bengal were not a significant participants in the indentured labour migration. At the same period, i.e.

mid-nineteenth century, the British colonial rule expanded to Mayanmar (Burma) and Malaysia to where the Indians went as well, either as part of the indentured labour recruits, or to work in commerce, public and municipal services. Most of the Indians who went to these places were Tamils (90%) and Telegus from South India (Gupta, 1971:142).

The forced or semi-forced Indian emigration to various colonies held by the British and other European powers (who obtained the share of their indentured labour supply through the British Crown agents) is the true dispersal of the Indian population worldwide which later established large Indian populations in North America, just like the Afro-caribbeans. But it is not easy to establish any link of that migration with the postwar Indian migration, mainly because the generation that left India in the nineteenth century was not in a position to maintain contact with their homeland and the relatives.

Assam and Sylhet

A special review of the north-eastern areas of Assam and Sylhet is necessary to understand migration from Bangladesh. Assam was an independent kingdom for over six centuries until 1820. In 1819, Mayanmar (then Burma), which is situated on the eastern border of India, occupied parts of Assam. The counter invasion by the British took place in 1820. In 1826 the British moved into Assam officially and started administering Assam as part of the Bengal Presidency. The arrangement soon became administratively untenable and Assam was separated from Bengal in 1874 and administered separately.

In 1905, Bengal was partitioned into West Bengal and East Bengal, and the whole of Assam was incorporated into East Bengal. This resulted into an administrative rigmarole and amidst vociferous protests by Bangalees, the partition was annuled in

1912. But this time the district of Sylhet on the far north-eastern part of Bengal had become a part of Assam. (Weiner,1978)

The Burmese invasion of Assam and the British counter invasion were not without economic motives. Tea was discovered in Assam in 1821. The tea plantations were organised in the 1830s by the British almost in the same pattern as the sugar plantations in the Caribbean countries. The labour supply for the tea plantations was not easy to obtain. The first attempt of employing labourers from Singapore failed. The labourers mostly of Chinese origins, were brought to Calcutta by ship, but they revolted while being transported overland to Assam. Later, the British succeeded in organising tribal people, such as Chakmas from Chittagong, Santals, Oraon and Mundas from Bihar and Orissa, Nagas from Nagaland, and Garos and Khashis from the mountainous regions of the Garo Hills. The system worked and even in the 1990s the same tribal people are at work on those tea plantations. The local people are not employed in the tea plantations as plantation labour, but many local people are engaged in supervisory and technical positions. (Weiner, 1978)

The partition of Bengal in 1905, the annulment of the same partition and the pushing of Sylhet into the Assam Administration in 1912 resulted in easy movements of people from Sylhet into Assam, but not vice versa. The people of Assam were not known for their agricultural skills in which the Bangalees were proficient. Bangalees moved into Assam to escape the oppressive machinery of the Permanent Settlement Act of the Bengal Presidency, and to explore new opportunities. One opportunity they were particularly interested in, was the possibility of becoming 'ryots' in their own right. Assam was not a part of the area where the Permanent Settlement Act was promulgated. As a result, the 'ryotwari' system was in abeyance in Assam. Weiner states,

> ... [the Bengalis] reclaimed and brought under cultivation thousands of acres which local cultivators had for generations past scratched with haphazard and intermittant crops or recognised as exigent of efforts beyond their inclination.

(Weiner, 1978:98-99).

They could pay the revenue to the British Crown Agents themselves and become landholders in their own names as there was no intermediaries like zamindars in Assam (*cf.* Chapter 6).

Sylhet remained part of the Assam administrative area for thirty five years. In 1947, as the British rule was coming to an end with the Independence of India, a referendum was held asking the people of Sylhet whether they would like to stay with Assam on independence or return to the eastern Bengal which was to become East Pakistan. The result of the referendum brought Sylhet back into Bengal. In Assam, the movement to drive the 'foreigners' away from their land heated up and thousands of Bangalees (mostly Muslims) returned to Sylhet. Many of them had lived in Assam for as long as three decades, and had no property in Sylhet. They returned to their own homeland as 'refugees'.

Migration from Sylhet : 'Zonal Imbalance' in Action

The changed mode of production and hegemony affected all parts of Bengal, as it did the rest of India. In the postwar period, migration from Sylhet to Britain was the heaviest. People from Sylhet represent nearly 90% of the total Bangalee migrants. The point to establish here is the nature of the relationships of Bangalees, particularly people from Sylhet, with Britain in the early period of British rule in India. I can then explain why emigration from Bengal in the mid nineteenth century did not take place and why once the migration from Bengal in the twentieth century did take place, the migrants consisted mostly of people from Sylhet .

Before that it would be worthwhile to mention here that apart from the majority of the postwar migrants to Britain being Bangalees from Sylhet, they are also predominantly Muslims by religion. Migration from Bengal, either within India or outside India was initiated as the Port of Hoogly at Calcutta became busy with ships

arriving from and going to Britain. Calcutta's port area required a large number of indigenous labour for various skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. The seamen's jobs were filled initially by experienced Bangalee seamen from Noakhali, an area touching the Bay of Bengal renowned for its seafaring tradition. As the maritime activities increased with the increased number of vessels touching the Port of Hoogly, the demand for more manpower was met by people from Sylhet. Whereas Noakhali seamen were recruited on the basis of their seafaring experience, the people from Sylhet entered into maritime employment through 'agents'. Such agents were experienced businessmen from Sylhet. They gradually came to control the labour market in the port including recruitment both at the shore as well as on board. There is no well documented authentic account of this system. The available accounts are usually inferences from personal interviews of older people and some are based on conjecture. Some case studies by Caroline Adams and two of my own case studies in the next chapter confirm that some businessmen from Sylhet started keeping lodging houses near the port, and allowed fellow Sylhetti young men to live there without having to pay for lodging and food immediately. A deal was made, usually verbally, that they would pay certain amounts to the lodging house keeper after successful recruitment to a ship and on return.

Bangalees were closer to the British rule since the capital of the British India had been in Calcutta in Bengal from the mid-eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. As a result of the proximity to the ruling class, Bengal's population, though oppressed in the same way as other ethnic groups of India, enjoyed the privileges of employment and other activities including commerical ones. Despite the wholesale destruction of the agricultural, industrial and commercial economy of Bengal, the new intellectual class, mostly 'traditional' (*cf.* Gramsci) gave ideological leadership to the Bangalees. They inspired many Bangalees to respect 'English education', 'live modestly but maintain self-respect', 'dignity of labour', etc. As the British took powers from the hands of the Muslim rulers in Bengal (as well as in India), the

Hindus were quick to take advantage of the new political situation and upon learning English, they helped the British to replace the Muslim languages (particularly the Farsi/Persian language extensively used in court matters and land documents) in official communications. The Muslims on the other hand, proud of their history as 'members' of the former ruling class, remained non-involved with the British in the beginning. By 1835, Persian, the official language of India, was replaced officially by English. (Karim, 1980). The rise of the new comprader class (I prefer to call them as a comprader class, rather than as a bourgeoisie, because they did not attain their bourgeois status immediately) dictated much of the developments that followed in India and Bengal. One characteristics of this new class which was urban based, was a total disregard of the poor and particularly of the poor Muslim peasants. According to one Bangalee author,

> It seems ... that the English ruling class took up policies which favoured the Bengalee Hindus ...to counter the independent minded Musilms of Bengal and as a backlash against the Muslim peasants' revolts. This was in addition to the policy to accomodate within the administration the Bengalee Hindus who expressed their allegience to the British rule.
> (Mukul, 1987:79;*translated from Bengali by myself)* .

We have seen earlier in the previous chapter how the peasants/farmers of the old 'village system' of Bengal became landless wage labourers. The majority of them were Muslims. Jobs for them were scarce. Even in the agricultural sectors, jobs were seasonal and for short periods only. At the same time, like many people who took pride in their traditional jobs such as farming, they were choosey about particular types of work. They needed encouragement and needed to be pushed into other kinds of jobs. Bengal itself is not a seafaring nation, but there are areas, such as Noakhali and Chittagong (*see map*) from where people had been taking up sea voyages from time immemorial. Sylhet itself is not involved in seafaring, but they have always had close connections with seafaring for commercial reasons. The rivers from Sylhet at one time used to carry large sea-going vessels. By the end of nineteenth century, lime from the Chattak area of Sylhet and tea from Assam and

Sylhet, in addition to cane furniture and mats were being loaded on cargoes in the Sylhet's river ports destined for Calcutta's Port of Hoogly.

It seems that no major Bangalee migration took place well until the mid-twentieth century. Calcutta was far away from Sylhet (over 450 land miles), but it was within the same politico-geographical territory with the same linguistic (except for dialectical variation) and cultural traditions. The internal migration of people from Sylhet to Calcutta was preliminary to eventual migration to Britain for the following reasons:

- The labour market in he Port of Hoogley was controlled by businessmen (as well as by some benevolent persons) from Sylhet.

- It was easy for any able bodied young men from Sylhet to obtain initial 'free' lodgings and food in Calcutta while waiting for jobs in the dock or on board. (One respondent told me categorically that the 'lodging house system' run by Sylhetti businessmen would never welcome any non-Sylhetti. This is supported by other non-documented information. (Alam, 1985)

- All raw materials collected from various parts of Bengal destined for the British manufacturing plants sailed from the Port of Hoogley. Depending on weight and volume of such raw materials, some were delivered by local sailing boats to the Port and some heavier items were brought to the Port by the British ships from their places of origin. Lime, Cement and Tea from Sylhet and Assam fell in the second category. As a result Sylhet enjoyed closer proximity with the British navigation companies than other areas of Bengal.

Such close relations with the ruling British economy and power did not result in migration, but as and when migration started taking place, the old relations were renewed and the knowledge of 'London' (the whole of England was and is still called London by many Bangalees) acquired through stories and myths created by earlier visitors helped many migration initiatives.

The key points about the Bangalee migration are, first of all, the older association with Britain, and the availability of opportunities to migrate to Britain. One might wonder why under such circumstances did migration not occur from within the permanent population living in Calcutta or within and surrounding the border of the metropolitan district of Calcutta, and why the population from a far area of Sylhet participated in the migration more than the population of other areas. In other words what are the causes of *'zonal imbalance'* in migration to Britain in the '60s?

This *zonal imbalance* is due to some *positive* as well as some *negative* external factors in action in the '50s and '60s. The most forceful positive agent for taking up the migration offer is still the government of the sending countries. Migration, particularly long distance migration does not take place in a vacuum. It requires a concrete objective situation in which passports and visas could be obtained, tickets paid for, reception arranged at destination (no early migrants would consider a hotel on arrival), some foreign currency to be bought, and so on. Rose, *et al* wrote,

> One of the most striking features of the migrations from both India and Pakistan is the limited extent of the areas from which they originate. When one considers the size of the two countries it is surprising that emigration has been confined to the Punjab and Gujarat and to half a dozen areas in the two wings of Pakistan.(Rose *et al,* 1969:52)

Two 'of the half a dozen areas' of Pakistan were the Mirpur district in the then West Pakistan, and the Sylhet district of the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). From India, major migration was confined to areas of Jullunder and Hoshiarpur, two districts of Eastern Punjab, and central and Southern areas of Gujarat. According to Rose, et al the Government of Pakistan did not encourage the issue of passports until 1961 when "restrictions on the issue of Passports to Britain were reversed" (ibid:71). As a result migration to Britain from Pakistan quadrupled in 1961 to 24,900 from the 1951 figure of an estimated 5,000.

But the deliberate delays in the issue of passports is just one factor. Rose *et al* thought that the Pakistan Government must have withdrawn restrictions and promoted migration when tightening of immigration control looked imminent. They have not offered any documentary evidence of such a move on the part of Pakistan Government. Dahya is a an oft quoted author (1968) to stress such restrictions for the issue of passports. But again most of them fail to note there was no official evidence of restrictions in the issue of passports in India or Pakistan. How was then such a notion formed? The empirical evidence of this thesis suggests that the Passport Offices themselves imposed a kind of restriction in conjunction with the 'Travel Agents' so that the agents could manipulate the situation. Passports were made into a 'scarce commodity' against the demand for it. Obviously, such a 'scarce commodity' would no longer be demanded after the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act. Furthermore, the issue of C vouchers (which enabled unskilled workers to come to Britain) by Britain was ended in 1964. By that time it was not the heyday of migration but the heyday of the travel agency business in Pakistan (West as well as East) that was over (as Rose *et al* write) .

The purpose of the above is to stress that the 'travel agents' exerted much control on the emigration processes in those countries. Naturally, the main target of the agents was the vulnerable group who would pay through the nose for 'prospects' narrated to them lucratively. The most vulnerable groups in West Pakistan, India and East Pakistan were the ones whose lives and livelihood were threatened. In West Pakistan, the erection of Mangla Dam made many thousands of people homeless; the creation of Azad Kashmir made a large number of people from Kashmir refugees sheltering in Mirpur; and in East Pakistan the return of Sylhet in 1947 to Bengal (made into East Pakistan), and above all the Partition of India into two, one predominantly Muslim state and one Hindu (though secular by constitution) state, created a major movement of population. Not many could or would migrate according to their religious followings. The Muslim population of

Gujarat in India, for example, did not undertake the journey to Pakistan (see map) on partition. These were the people targeted by the 'agents' for prospective migration. The Government of Pakistan in one way was happy for the emigration of the large number of people displaced by Mangla Dam since this relieved the Government of its responsibility to compensate many of them. For various reasons, the governments of both India and Pakistan knowingly continued to detach themselves, at least officially, in the matters of the areas where and how the travel agents would concentrate their activities. From personal information from many first time migrants from Sylhet, it has been gathered that one or two 'big' travel agencies with air-conditioned waiting lobbies in Dhaka were their main preferences, and the owners of these agencies hailed from Sylhet.

This trend of attracting a regional population also occured before the Second World War in the form of 'lodging houses' kept by landlords from Sylhet in Calcutta (detailed above). Another point that needs to be stressed is that obtaining passports was only one of the myriads of problems that the prospective migrants faced in the late '50s and early '60s. For every international ticket to be issued, the applicant had to obtain 'clearance' from the State Bank of Pakistan. A friendly travel agent who spoke the dialect of the prospective migrants (people from Sylhet and Mirpur speak their own dialects) was very welcome, irrespective of the inflated charges.

Although there is no similar evidence of the role of 'travel agents' in deciding regional or '*zonal imbalance*' in emigration, particularly from the West Indies, Ceri Peach's observations support the theory that some factors external to the migrants must have determined the volume of emigration from different islands of the West Indies. Ceri Peach found that there is no correlation between different rates of migration from each island and conditions in these islands when comparing each island against the next. He concluded that the "trends in migration are governed by factors external to them" (Peach, 1968:36).

If the above explains the positive factors that explain zonal imbalance in migration from Bangladesh in the immediate postwar period, some negative factors automatically emerge which made such people of particular regions vulnerable to migration offers. The strongest factor is that of social relations of the prosepctive migrants. In the altered mode of production during the British rule in India, social relations changed rapidly for the majority of the population. In the postwar period, such changed social relations affected more people who were subject to environmental changes (Mangla Dam in Pakistan, partition of India, Assam-Sylhet problems, etc.). This thesis argues that the emphasizing the 'disasters' in migration does not offer an explanation that could apply to other migratory situation. How such 'disasters' altered the social relations, the intensity and effect of the changes should be the point for perusal in migration studies.

Phenomenon of the Lower SEG in postwar migration studies

The above could account for the unskilled labour that emigrated to Britain, since it was this group which was targeted by the officials and the cunning travel agents. Rose, *et al* state that before World War II, the emigration from the West Indies "had been almost entirely confined to the middle and upper classes. War service for the first time brought working-class and lower middle-class West Indians to Britain" (ibid:66). Earlier, Kondapi stated that in 1949 there were about 1,000 Indian doctors practising in Britain (Kondapi, 1951). Both the West Indian and Indian middle and upper class migration was overwhelmed by the unskilled working-class in the postwar period. Before we go further in elaborating this issue, a word of warning of the pitfalls in 'classifying' migrants should be given. One has to be careful about determining the SEG of the migrants because this should entail determining their SEG in their country of origin as well as in the country of destination. Our empirical evidence show that the SEG of many of the so called 'working class' from Bangladesh are much higher than popularly

imagined (*cf.* Chapter 9). But the economic status of the Third world countries as a whole from where the migrants have arrived to the western European countries is considerably lower. Samir Amin writes.

> It should not be forgotten that most of the underdeveloped countries of today were colonies in the nineteenth century. Latin America and China are the only exceptions, and they were not outside the field of European political action (1974:167).

Historically, therefore, the relationship of the postwar migrants had been that of colonial subjects to the western European countries. When the immigration of past colonial population in the non-colonial period occured they would definitely be expected to remain in the subservient status as before. Their status as members of lower SEG or working class has been pre-determined by the countries of immigration. Emphasis on this factor is invariably ignored in migration studies.

Summary

West Bengal of India and present Bangladesh, together known as Bengal (or Bango) had been one country and administrative area until 1947. The East India Company settled in Calcutta in 1757. The Port of Hoogly near Calcutta became busy with British merchant ships. By 1792, Indian seamen, known as Laskars had availed themselves of opportunities to come to Britain on various British voyages. But it is not clear whether any Bangalee from Bengal was among them.

The district of Sylhet situated in the farthest north-east location of Bengal came in direct contact with the British after tea was discovered in Sylhet and particularly adjacent Assam in 1821. Assam was an independent country until 1820 when the Burmese King occupied Assam. The British force drove the Burmese out from Assam and proclaimed Assam as part of Bengal Presidency. Later in 1905, Bengal was partitioned into West and East Bengal with Assam staying with the Eastern administrative part. By 1912, the partition had been annuled and the two bengals

were united, but Sylhet became a part of Assam. Many Bangalees of Sylhet took advantage of different land tenure system prevalent in Assam and occupied vast tracts of lands in Assam. In 1947, on the eve of India's independence, Bengal was partitioned once again, West Bengal becoming a part of the Republic of India, and East Bengal became East pakistan. Sylhet was rejoined with East Pakistan. The Bangalees who settled in Assam had to come.

Trade with Sylhet areas for tea, cement, other natural resources and, cane and bamboo crafts had been well developed. Many Sylhetti people came into close contact with Calcutta, where lodging houses were maintained by well known people from Sylhet. Young men from Sylhet obtained jobs through this contact in the Port of Hoogly and started going out of the country in British merchant ships. Bangalees were, in the majority, Muslims, but the British favoured the Hindus. The latter started learning English before the Muslims and went into municipal and other administrative jobs for the British in Calcutta. The Muslim populations from Bengal and those from Sylhet, though in touch with the capital Calcutta, failed to impress upon the British to obtain mainstream jobs. One of the easiest peripheral jobs was that of laskars in the British ships. Though the Sylhet people were not seamen, they started becoming familiar with this kind of job through the lodging house keepers, who organised their jobs in the British ships. But such recruitments, though high in number, were not heavy.

Migration to Britain caught the imagination of Bangalees in the late '50s and the craze went on till the passing of 1962 Act, when primary migration of all categories was stopped and only skilled migration was to be allowed to Britain. In the meantime, travel agents found more willing candidates for travel to Britain from Sylhet, and exploited the situation by establishing offices in Sylhet. Many such travel agents hailed from Sylhet themselves. As a result, the largest group of people from East Pakistan to Britain was from Sylhet area, creating what this thesis has

termed as *zonal imbalance* . The old colonial relationship did not play much part in this zonal imbalance since the whole of India was a British colony for nearly two hundred years. The reason is to be found in the changing social relations due to various land tenure and administrative systems through which the people of Sylhet underwent.

The lower SEG among the migrants from Sylhet is unplanned, but it could have been pre-determined by the British since they welcomed unskilled labour until 1962. This was corroborated by the travel agents who found their easy prey among the people from Sylhet.

Chapter 8

Non-Migrants : Empirical Evidence from a Potwar Migratory Zone[1]

[1]Note : It may be unusual to have offered the evidence of non-migrants before that of the migrants in a thesis on migration. But there are reasons for and distinct advantages in this. One major reason is that various Bengali terminologies used in the evidence of migrants would have been easier to understand from the people who still live in Bangladesh. Secondly, such evidence from non-migrants from a 'migratory zone' in the examination of a hypothesis on migration is expected to throw important light on the subject. Once their evidence is analysed it would be easier to validate the evidence of the migrants.

Most empirical migration studies, especially those dealing with decision-making processes, depend on the data collected from the migrants themselves, asking them to spell out their reasons for migration. Hypothesis, methodologies and techniques differ from one survey to another, but the sources of direct evidence are invariably the same. C J Jansen has identified the unreliability of such data when he writes,

> ...in a majority of cases the actual migrants themselves do not know the answer ..., and when asked in surveys they may give vague and general reasons ... which helps little in the study ... or in the constructing of a general theory of the decision-making process. (Jansen,1969:65).

The unreliability of evidence collected from the migrants themselves, and difficulties in truthful interpretations of the evidence have plagued many social scientists to produce a general theory of migration. In fact, apart from people's search for better wages and personal achievement in exchange for their labour, nothing more has been known to the migration studies about the intention to migrate. Economic analysis of plus and minus factors has been the central theme in many migration studies. Attempts to frame a sociological theory of migration have not progressed much (Miles, 1993:107). The sociological aspects of migration have been reduced to political questions of immigration and ethnic relations in many major migration studies of the '70s. All of them have studied the migration phenomenon from the evidence collected from the migrants. Some authors have pioneered historical studies of with due reference to the countries of their origin (Hall, 1988; Peach,1968; Dennon, 1984; Tinker, 1984; Bottomley, 1992 - to name a few). Russell King, for example, has presented 'The Geography of Departure' as an important step to understand portwar migration. In his words, " Although this ... [study of regions known as major migratory areas] has been essentially retrospective..., its relevance for future studies of emigration should not be overlooked " (King, 1993; 44). Many of them are significant in revealing the socio-cultural situations of the countries of origin, and thus contributing to the contemporary demand of appreciating the cultures of an alien population in many western countries.

This thesis wished to study the historical aspects of migration from Bangladesh in a similar vein, and presented such aspects of Bangladesh in Chapter 6. But it soon became apparent that a simple socio-economic-political analyses of the countries of origin do not provide reliable evidence of historical aspects of migration.

It was thought that evidence from the people of such countries of origin who could migrate at the height of the migratory trend but chose not to do so, might help. I have named this method *Negative Data Collection.* Initially the purpose of collecting these data was to find opinions and reservations of 'non-migrants' about the migrants. While the collection of data and evidence progressed, it was felt that such 'non-migrants' should be part of any migration study and that this could be essential to validate the conclusions drawn from empirical evidence from migrants and theoretical research. At one stage, I decided to ask the migrants two hypothetical questions, such as, a) Would you have migrated if you enjoyed good social status in your homeland, and b) Had there been no easy availability of the opportunities to migrate, what attempts would you have taken to improve your social position ?

But on reflection that checking the validity of their replies to such hypothetical questions would probably be impossible, direct evidence collection from the 'non-migrants' by quantitative and qualitative survey methods was undertaken including making journeys to Bangladesh.

Earlier Theories of Non-Migrancy

I was happy to find that I was not alone in this endeavour. The concept of non-migrancy has existed since the early part of this century in various similar sounding names, such as 'Migration Differentials', ' Migratory differentials'(Thomas, 1938) or 'Differential Migration' (Bogue,1961), or even as 'Migration Selectivity' (Merton, 1957). In all these instances, the purpose was to find what distinguished a person who migrated from one who did not. D.S. Thomas, upon finding that persons in their late teens, twenties and early thirties were more migratory than others, stated that the only diifferential in the migratory processes between migrants and non-migrants was age (1938). However, the possibility of development of studies on the non-migration aspects of migration in an international context was more or less cut short by a 'conclusive' remark by D J Bogue. He suggested that, apart from age, further differentials do not exist and should not be expected to exist (Bogue, 1961;). In the same year C J Jansen published his findings on migration selectivity, in a survey carried out in Bristol. However, he concluded that "this approach does not afford a general theory of migration selectivity which could be applied to all cases" (Jansen,1969:64). Undeterred, Jansen has subsequently moved his focus to what Merton in *Social Theory and Social Structure* , described as 'cosmopolitans' and 'locals'. Merton stressed that 'cosmoplitans' (i.e. the people who have moved into another territory) were usually committed to 'professional skills', having little loyalty to the community in which they lived. (Merton,1957). Jansen has proposed to study the distinctions between 'cosmopolitans' and 'locals' by applying then to the developing countries so that they could be extended to form a more general theory of migration selectivity. This thesis may take the credit of reviving 'migration selectivity', though not with the same purpose. The purpose of earlier studies was to determine 'who chose to go', but this thesis wishes to understand 'migration' in its

wider meaning by incorporating individual decision in the socio-economic perspectives.

Much of the literature on migration often takes a patronizing view of the migrants and hardly attempts to find out their original class positions. The social position of the migrants is usually implied in statements like 'unskilled', 'peasants', 'persons with low literacy', 'professionals', etc. I should stress that in order to understand migration, either of the present or of the past, studies of social classes and the socio-economic status of the migrants in their countries of origin are necessary. But there can be various problems, some of them can be academic and some purely practical. From academic point of view, the idea of 'class' or 'status' differs so much from one country to another that information from different countries may not be classified by one system. Of the practical reasons, there could be unhappiness among the migrants if the members of a particular migrant community are put in a class or status group which they would find lowly and insulting. At the same time, without intensive research and evidence, many such ascriptions of social class could be simply descriptive, and therefore unacceptable. This might in part explain why many western migration authors and scholars have refrained from studying this aspect. For example, the class position of the 'indentured' labour from India in the nineteenth century has never been explored and understood. It may even be argued that the majority (I stress not all) of Indians who were shipped to Africa, Caribbean and East Asian countries came from certain social classes which were determined not by wealth but by the 'caste' system of India.

Important works like *Indians Overseas, 1838-1949* ,by C Kondapi (1951), and *Indian Overseas in British Territories 1834-1854* by I M Cumpston (1953) never refer to the 'caste' of the indentured labour. The Census of [British] India, 1921 classified Indian Hindu populations by 'caste' and the Muslim population by ascriptive social standings of 'Ashrafs' (upper class) and 'Atrafs' (lower class). Many

people of various Hindu castes and Muslim 'Ashrafs' complained about their being wrongly classified as 'Atrafs' (Alam, 1983: Karim,1980).

One particular aim of the study of non-migrancy will be the gathering of some information about the class positions of the migrants. Determination of relationships between the migrants and the capitalist mode of production can only be revealed through the class position of the migrants. Capital is cautiously selective in its use of labour, and the labour of particular classes. It does not use all the labour at the same time, nor can it reduce the whole population to unbridled enslavement for use in its exploitation machinery. If we know why some people living in a 'migratory zone' did not take the plunge and some did, it may be possible to throw some light on migratory behaviour, and thereby on the processes of migration, and its relation to capital.

Purpose of the Exercise

The purpose of the study of non-migrancy in this thesis, then, is to ascertain, (i) the social position of the non-migrants who did not migrate despite having had the opportunity to do so, and (ii) whether their social positions, as interpreted by themselves, contributed to their non-decision. This is *problematic* because of the following :

(a) The researcher could have difficulties in choosing an appropriate sample of respondents since they have to be traced in far off countries and regions,

(b) The respondents might not remember the details which led them to their negative decision,

(c) As members of a community characterized by high migrancy, the respondents could simply echo the myths created by the people who aspired to migrate but were frustrated due to lack of opportunities, and lastly

(d) As most people fail to realize that their actions are determined by external forces, the could-have-been migrants might not be able to explain the past realities, or admit them now.

To overcome the above possible difficulties, I had to be careful in selecting non-migrant respondents in their homeland. A list of 120 possible respondents living in Bangladesh was drawn up using the kinship network of the migrants in Britain. This list was verified upon contacting the respondents, and many had to be eliminated after a short period of observation and preliminary discussion. 40 of them had to be dismissed upon visiting as they were minors at the time of possible migration. 35 could not be located. Full interviews were taken with the remaining 45, from whom another 10 names were obtained and interviewed, making a total of 55 respondents in the non-migrant category.

The actual data collection was made on two visits with a time gap of six months. In the first visit, a structured questionnaire was used, and in the second visit qualitative survey method was applied on five groups (five in each group) of respondents selected from those present in the first visit. This was followed by an in-depth discussion with one member of each group. The group members were selected by proximity to each other, and their availability of time.

Despite careful preparation, the actual interview was not so easy to conduct. The difficulties were mainly due to different terminologies, and different interpretation of the notions of social position, prestige, status and class. But there was no entry problem on my part, myself being a Bangalee.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Total sample = 55

Table 2

PERSONAL POSITION OF THE SAMPLE

Marital and Family :

All 55 respondents were married.
They were all aged between 46 and 55
Children : Average number of children
per family 5 (lowest 2, highest 8)

Single marriage 24 (43%)
More than Once* 31 (56%)

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* "More than once" break-down :
Bigamy 2 (6%) ; Widowed & remarried 12 (38%);
Divorced & married 15 (48%)

Note : Percentage calculated within the group of ' more than once' married number.

Marital situation can indicate social position in Bangladesh. Well-to-do families arrange marriages for their offsprings with families whose status is similar or even higher; (Alam, 1992; Siddique, 1980). The intensity of involvement with the in-laws often ensures the continuity of a marriage, even impossibility of polygamy. Single marriage may indicate several states of affairs, viz, happy and stable relationships; constraints put by family particularly by the family of the wife; maintenance of the assumed tradition of the monogamy observed among the progressive, educated families. The analysis above showed that while 43% have a monogomous marriage, that is absolutely keeping within one marriage, 86% of the remaining sample (i.e. out of the total) who married more than once are also monogomous since they did not remarry until they were divorced or widowhood. Only 6% of the sample maintained two wives, and 6% of that more than two wives.

This reveals that the majority of the sample is comprised of men with progessive attitudes to women and marriage. At the same time the researcher must admit that this does not reflect any conclusive traits of social position. Someone marrying more than once or keeping four wives should not necessarily be taken as indicator of his social position (Chaudhury and Ahmed,1980). But the analysis has to be considered in conjunction with the rest of the data to reach a conclusion.

Table 3
PROPERTY, WEALTH & INCOME

A. **Land Ownership**

Total area	Held by
0 - .5 acre	4 (7%)
.51 - 2.5 acre	32 (58%)
2.51 - 2.5 acre	15 (27%)
5 acre +	4 (7%)
	55 (100%)

B. **Other Land Related Property Ownership**

House	55 (100%)
Shop	43 (78%)
Fishing Pond	10 (18%)
Tea Garden	0
Forest	0

C. **Occupation**

(i) *Cultivation:*

Self cultivating	0
Employing farmer	35 (64%)
Sharecropping	16 (29%)
Owing non-cultivable land	4 (7%)
	55 (100%)

(ii) *Shopkeeping* 38 (69%)
(Those shopkeeping are also cultivable landowenrs)

[*Note* : *None admitted having to perform any of the following jobs : Fishing, Craftsmanship, Barber, Weaving, Labourer, Boatsman, (cf. previous chapter on low status job in Bangladesh)]*

(iii) *Office Jobs :*

Clerical (1 lower division clerk,
3 upper division clerks)4 (7%)

Professional:

Banker,Lawyer	2 (4%)
Teacher, (Primary 1, Secondary 1)	2 (4%)
Armed Forces:	
Bangladesh Rifles	3 (6%)
Army (lieutenant)	1 (2%)
Navy	1 (2%)
	13 (25%)

D. **Education**

School First five years or less	21 (38%)
School Completion	23 (44%)
College (non-qualifying)	7 (13%)
Graduation and above	4 (5%)
	55 (100%)

The property ownership figures reveal lower middle to middle middle (cf. previous chapter) with 58% owning upto 2.5 acre cultivable land, 27% upto 5 acre of land. Of the lowest landownership 7% do not make any use of their land but they are economically solvent and they have income from estates in town, some having sold their ancestral land to buy town properties. It was found that this last category of people have secure day jobs in town.

None of the respondents cultivate their own lands. 64% engage farm hands and 36% have taken recourse to share cropping (details of the terms of the engagement of farm hands and sharecropping are in the previous chapter) (*cf.* Islam,1988)

100% of the sample own their home. This is not at all surprising since apart from the floating persons in the major cities most people have a home of one kind or another in Bangladesh. 78% of the sample own shops, but of these, 88% are engaged in actual shopkeeping, i.e. 11.5% of the shopowners are not directly

involved in shopkeeping. At the same time, it is must be made clear that since land ownership is 100% in the sample, the 59% who keep shops and derive income from them are also engaged in cultivation directly or indirectly. This 69%, in other words, have dual sources of income. 18% own fishing ponds which are source of good exportable fish. Most of the shopowners indicated in the course of interview that they have contact with or vested interest in the export-import business. 25% of the sample are actively employed in the formal job sector. 62% can be called educated.

The picture that emerges from the above is that the sample chosen comprised, of people who are reasonably well placed in their society. That they have positive notions as regards what constitutes status in the society was evident to me from their expressed anxiety during the interview not to associate themselves with certain occupations which are held in low esteem (cf. Table 3.c. ii. above).

Table 3

MIGRATION EXPERIENCE OF NON-MIGRANTS

NOTE: The percentages in A and C below*are independently related to the total sample.*

A. Migration within the Family and Close Circle of friends/relatives	
Parents/Brothers/Sisters	26 (47%)
Paternal or Maternal Uncles and their family members	25 (46%)
Marital Relatives	20 (36%)
Distant Relatives and friends	40 (73%)
B. Visit Abroad (i.e. Outside Bangladesh)	
Visited abroad	35 (64%)
Never left the homeland	20 (36%)
C. Reason for Non-Migrancy	
Secure position at home	38 (69%)
Happy at homeland	45 (82%)
Negative feedback from migrants	5 (9%)
Could see no positive side	7 (13%)
Personal/family reason	15 (27%)
Fear of racism	2 (4%)
Language problem	2 (4%)*

Other reasons - various comments, but two interesting comments were, 'I forgot all about migrating' , 'I was too involved here'.

This section reveals how much a non-migrant has experienced migration activities in his life, and what was his reason for the non-migrancy decision when the opportunity came. The above can be explained in the following bar diagram :

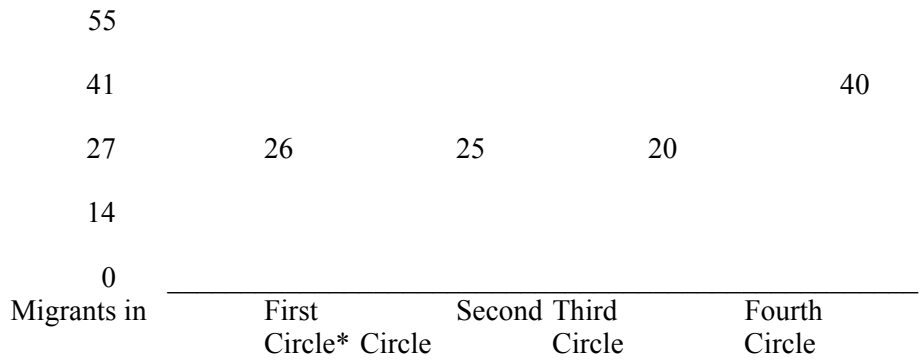

Diagram 1 : Migration experience / events in the family or within the friends' circle of non-migrants.

** The circles mean the family and kinship and and they are : First Circle : Parents and immediate family members,like brothers etc. Second circle : Uncles and other closer relatives, Third Circle : Marital relatives, in-laws, either by own marriage or by marriages of first clircle members, Fourth Circle : Distant relatives, village people, friends* (cf : Islam, 1974; Inden and Nicholas, 1977)

After determining that the respondents did not migrate despite having had the opportunity to do so at certain point of their lives, I asked if they had ever been abroad, i.e. outside Bangladesh. The replies received had to be treated with caution. As the interviewer specified what the 'abroad' meant, many included West Pakistan in their list. This would have been correct if they visited West Pakistan after 1971 since Bangladesh was formerly East Pakistan before that date. So, a journey to West Pakistan before 1971 could not technically be called 'journey abroad'. About 10 respondents visited West Pakistan before 1971. However, this was disregarded during the interview but noted for the purpose of analysis. 64% of the sample stated that they went abroad, the rest had never left the borders of Bangladesh.

Reasons for Non-Migrancy

When asked why they did not take up the offer of migration abroad, the replies overlapped in the prompting list of the interviewer. The largest number of the respondents (82%) stated that they were happy at home, and the next largest (69%) stated that they were happy in their homeland. Only a small number of the sample regarded 'negative feedback from the migrants'(9%),, racism abroad(4%), and language problem (4%) as factors influencing their non-migrancy decision. 27% stated that they were so involved in their personal and family life at that time that they were not in a position to migrate.

I attempted to establish what the notions 'secure position' and 'happy state at homeland' meant to the respondents. As the interview progressed, it became apparent that the idea of a 'secure position' etc. among the respondents was differently interpreted. Their ideas reflected what is prevalent among the people living in villages and semi-urban localities. Most took the 'secure position' to mean a good family background and sufficient income. Whether this life or life-style lacks or contains modern amenities, good health care, good education and opportunities for their children was not clear. Similarly, the notion of 'the happy state in the homeland' sometimes simply meant loving parents and relatives. Many of the respondents dismissed any suggestion that political and natural calamities should be taken into consideration for the constitution of 'happy state'. For them, these problems would always be there (many mentioned the Will of Allah), but one could be happy simply by staying at home.

This being the crucial part of the research, I attempted to obtain an explanation before moving onto the next question. It was known and established that the respondents had the opportunity to migrate in the sixties, and at that time it was felt that the socio-politico-economic situation was not the same in the 1960s as it was in the 1980s and 1990s (the time of my meeting with the non-migrants). At the same

time, the financial benefit (viz. remittances from the migrants) of the migration was not so immediately felt in that region in the sixties as the first waves of Bangalee migration had just taken place, but by the '90s such benefits were obvious through massive private housing, and commercial building

I wanted to be certain that the respondents remembered the exact situation which led them to decide not to migrate. In the previous chapter dealing with the historical background of Bangalee migration from what is now Bangladesh, the researcher has noted the influence of "Migration Agents" (or 'labour traders', 'passage masters', cf. Graves, 1984) in the specific zones of migration Though the questionnaire did not include any reference to such "agents", in view of the recurrent "someone else told me" type of reference, I mentioned "agents" to the respondents in describing the "someone else". My objective was to find whether the idea of migration was channelled to them by such "agents", who are also known in Bangladesh as 'Adam Bepari' meaning Traders in Human Cargo. The respondents who were drawn into this discussion, confirmed that the "agents" had been around, that it was very easy to get in touch with them, and that they were known locally. When asked to describe such agents, pictures that emerged varied with the nature of the locality. In the town centre(cf. above), they were always very well-dressed. Some stated, 'As if they have come from England, and they use lot of English words in their conversation. They have their head office in Dhaka'. In the rural setting, it was usually a local 'Bhadrolok' who had associations with the town. Some of them even offered to transport people to England without any immediate cost to them, but such offers were only made to the well-off people of the village and to their own relatives, possibly because the cost could easily be recovered with interest .

I felt sufficiently assured at this stage that the means of 'migration' was available to the respondents during the period to which the discussion was being referred to.

Having ascertained this, I moved to the next question which invited the respondents to reflect on their own social position in relation to those who migrated. The question was open ended, no prompting was undertaken by the researcher. The results could be grouped in the following manner :

A. NEGATIVE towards migrants :

i. Money-wise, the migrants are better-off, but social status-wise, they have not acquired any new status. 20 (36%)

ii. Migrants have fared badly since their children are not culturally Bengali any more; the children have no status in Bangladesh. 15 (27%)

B. POSITIVE towards migrants :

Migrants are the lucky ones. They have escaped in time from what was to follow in Bangladesh. Status does not matter. If they educate themselves better in England, they will acquire status."Bengaliness" is useless. 10 (18%)

C. NEGATIVE towards themselves :

The situation here has become unbearable; " I should have gone". 5 (9%)

D. POSITIVE towards themselves :

We, by not leaving the country, are supporting the status of those who had left. Without this the community here, they (the migrants) would have nothing to be proud of (see note below). 25 (46%)

Note : the last statement was interlinked with the statements grouped in A. i & ii above.

The following is a summary of the opinions :

About Migrants	*About Non-migrants*
Negative : No status. Loss of cultural traits.	*Negative : Failed to take up the opportunity.*
Positive : Status is meaningless. Living comfortably and getting education is more important	*Positive : The loss of status of the migrants is compensated by non-migrants who by offering personal support ensured community approval.*

The above findings needed to be linked with the conception of own SEG of the respondents.

Table 5

A. Conception of own SEG by the non-migrants

	At birth i.e. by ancestry	Now
Upper class	0	0
Middle class	45	45 (82%)
Upper Middle class	2	2 (4%)
Middle Middle	3	4 (7%)
Lower Middle	5	4 (7%)
	55 (100%)	55 (100%)

As explained at the begining of this chapter, the conception of class and status is a very personal one in Bangladesh. None, who have a home, means to clothe and feed their family, and who can afford to send their children to educational establishments without much struggle, would consider himself lower than middle class. This is not very helpful for social analysis. I could not immediately accept the above conception of own SEG, and further analysis was deemed necessary to establish the validity of their claims. This has been attempted by using the standard SEG table used in Bangladesh, as explained in the Chapter 5.

Validation of Conception of Own Social position by Standard SEG

According to the standard academic usage, 'Middle Class' in Bangladesh is SEG III in which 2.51 to 5.00 acre land holding is stated. The people grouped thus use family labour as well as paid labour in the land. They work in close conjunction with the 'Upper Class' in various economic transactions. This group is prone to obtain education and boost their earning power by office jobs. By education and job, they

acquire a sort of mobility and upon increasing their landholdings and monetary wealth, they may move to the SEG IV,i.e. 'upper class'.

According to the above descriptions, the self-classification of the respondents predominantly as middle class may hold good. This is also correct if we regard the above groupings as our only means of SEG divisions in a country where agriculture is still the major mode of livelihood and where industrial developments are minimal. In the urban centres, the *nouveau riche* is a transitory class embedded in political rigmarole and whose existence depends on an 'ancestral link,' 'old boys' network, and the ability to borrow large amounts of money mostly from the corrupt lending system .

The Bengali word actually used by the respondents to describe their social status is '*Maddhyabitta*' which entered into the Bengali vocabulary during the British rule and by way of the British imposed land tenure system. (Karim, 1980). This is still a much preferred description of one's own social groupings. The term is used to reflect the apparent negation of 'poverty' as well as distancing oneself from the 'dirty rich people'. Many in this group, by virtue of educational attainments went to office and other jobs which the British created in India. Eventually, the 'organic intellectuals' (*cf.*Gramsci) were born in India out of this '*Maddhyabitta'* SEG. Without going into the details of educated 'Maddhyabitta', it can be suffice to note here that because of the 'middle' position, this group is more likely to have 'dual consciousness'. I shall return to this in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Validation of Social Class by Life Style

Spatial Effect on Life style and Status

A note about the spatial differences in Bangladesh is needed at this stage. Affluence and status may be considered interlinked since status in the society is reflected in life-styles, which in turn can, to some extent, be ascertained by the

house the people keep, furniture they buy, the way they dress and the language they use. However, the uniformity of these elements cannot be guaranteed due to differences in economic and social situations. In other words, people belonging to the same social group may have different life-styles and practices due to the 'social space' they live in. A rural landlord will have a much lower so-called standard of living than his counterpart living in the urban centres in Bangladesh, yet they both belong to the same status group or, to be theoretically correct, to the same class.

I took full notice of the rurality-urbanity of the location where the respondents lived. At the same time I did not disregard the signs and symbols reflected in the appropriate standard to confirm the claims of the respondents as to their groupings.

All 55 respondents lived in their own houses. When asked whether they had enough rooms for all the members of the family and the relatives, the answer had always been an unequivocal 'yes', although the researcher failed to discover 'enough rooms' as defined in the western world's or urban housing sectors. However, considering that further probing of this sensitive and private issue might jeopardise my relationship with the respondents, it was not pursued.

The following table details the ownership of modern amenities by the respondents.

Table 6

Ownership of Modern Amenities

Car	5 (9%)
Television - colour	52 (94%)
" b & w	3 (5%)
Cassette/Stereo	55 (100%)
VCR	45 (82%)
Refrigerator	46 (83%)
Motorized cultivation	6 (10%)
Own water pump	8 (15%)

Washing machine, freezer, lawn mower - none.

I then asked whether the respondents would migrate at this stage if they had opportunity. The answer was 'no' from all; but 20 respondents added they would not mind to go to England for a short while for a holiday, but definitely not to work.
The last statement that they would not go to England for work clearly reflect the lower esteem they hold about the work/jobs of a migrant Bangalee in Britain

In the last phase of the interviews, the open ended discussion usually ended up concerning the contributions made by their migrant relatives to their present position and their accumulation of properties. It transpired during this discussion that not only the migrant's relatives of the first circle (ie brothers, sisters, sons and daughters), but also the relatives of the second circle (uncles) have close monetary contact with the non-migrants. Twenty of the respondents acquired colour televisions from migrants, whereas cassette/stereos and cameras were left behind by the migrants for safekeeping. Ten respondents acquired refrigerators as 'presents/gifts'.

The picture was not very clear since all respondents insisted that the migrants presented these items out of love for their kith and kin. The picture altered when we moved into discussion about commercial estates, such as, shops, markets, and new houses. Thirtytwo of the respondents insisted that such estates that are known to belong to them are actually owned by the migrant members of the family. Direct supervision of these properties are undertaken by the non-migrant relatives. At the same time all 32 respondents insisted that they had no financial interests in these properties, but they are simply managing them out of love of their migrant relatives. Some (25%) asked me to note that these properties were nothing but a headache.

It may be worthwhile to specifically refer to a different survey conducted in 1987 in the same area of Sylhet in Bangladesh. Although the objective of that work was to assess the effects of out-migration on agricultural production in the sending zones,

some of their findings can be compared to our findings. According to the findings of that survey, 27% of Sylhet migrants hailed from landless or marginal land-owning families before the event of migration, and 25% came from big land-owning families owning more than 5 acres of land (Islam, 1987).

Whereas the latter compares favourably with my findings (of Table 3 above : 27% holding 2.51 to 5 acre land and 7% holding over 5 acre making 34% in the middle to upper SEG), their figure of 27% landless or marginal land-owning is not very close to my findings. The difference could be due to the fact that the above research used random sampling and "key-informant method", and that their "non-migrants" are simply non-migrants, not the people whom I termed as "could-be-migrants". At the same time, the above work found that over a third of the Sylhet migrants were under the age of 14, an age which we did not consider for all persons under 18 had been eliminated from our research as "dependents / minors".

Sense of Status and Migrancy

It is now possible to state that social situations, or relations of the people to the socio-economic structure as interpreted by themselves play an important part in their migrancy decision, or non-decision. Decisions in favour of migration is influenced by a large number of factors. The factor of the conception of own status can be very important. The question how one's own status could be improved naturally comes into that. To some, working and living in Britain are status boosting. Britain, in this case, is not just an industrially developed country to many, but it is the country of the 'rulers of the world'. At one time, the Muslim population of India used to establish and identify their ancestry to Persia in order to be treated as 'Ashrafs' and thereby gain 'aristocracy' (Alam,1988; Karim 1980). It is not surprising that centre of such association in the twentieth century could move to the new 'land of the rulers',*i.e*. Britain.

The decision not to migrate is usually taken by people who are not easily influenced by offers to improve their 'status' since they accept their existing status as satisfactory. That is not to say that the non-migrants form static cores of the sending zones; on the contrary they must have felt the dynamism of their own society and social relations from which they could not escape. The process of migration and non-migration may both be equally dynamic. Some authors have referred to the myth of the static society in the study of migration. Jackson in particular has attempted to dismiss this idea of a static society (Jackson,1969: 2).

Findings by Qualitative Research methods :

Out of the 55 non-migrant respondents, I selected 25 grouped in five groups, organised at their convenience. Factors, such as proximity, availability and knowledge of each other affected my groupings. After each group meeting, I chose one person and talked to him at length in a private meeting.So, I had five group meetings, and five individual meetings. The individual meeting was conducted as a 'depth interview'. Since the person selected was present with other members of a group, I could get his critical view from him about what others said.

Four group meetings were held in Sylhet and one in Dhaka. As stated above, the participants of these groups were already known to me by previous visit, and they knew that I wanted to talk to them about migration. In the preparatory stage of the group meeting, I said to them, " When I met you last time, I was asking questions. This time there will be no questions, just a discussion. You will be able to tell me anything and discuss it with others."

I prepared a 'guide card' for myself to ensure keeping the discussions on the right track, and steering them to obtain the information I was looking for.

The result was significant in some respects. In the structured interview, general topics like current migration situation, comparisons to byegone days, rich people etc

did not come up. In the unstructured interview, as long as they talked about migration, I did not stop them from talking freely. The following is some representative dialogue. One respondent said,

> " Why ask about the old days. We did not go. But what is happening now. All the people are trying to go away. Rich people send their children to the English medium schools, and then send them abroad for higher studies. From there they do not come back. America keeps them. In our time, we wanted to go for money and then come back. Those who went never came back, but they wanted to. With the rich people it is different. They don't even think of returning. As regards our people [meaning people of the same socio-economic standing] they still go for money, and to become rich. They come back to show off their money. They will go anywhere in the world. During the Gulf War they were queueing up at the Iraqi Embassy to go to Iraq to fight against the Americans. That was rubbish. They thought of taking the war as a pretence to migrate. They will go anywhere. They now go anywhere."

To this another respondent added,

> " You don't understand. he [i.e. the researcher] is talking about permanent migration. Those who go to the Saudi [all Arab Countries are Saudis to them] go for a short period, like going somewhere for a contract job. I think that because we have been going out for a long time, that's why the new generation wants to go. They don't want to stay here. They think they would make quick money. But they can't go. So, what happens is that they become unhappy."

After some time, one group member said,

> " No doubt it is all for money, money and money, as if life is for money. There was a time when no one from Bangla [i.e. Bengal, now Bangladesh] would leave the country. Did they die for money? Then we had self respect. Now we are beggars. ..".

To this another replied sharply,

> "Don't talk like that. You are talking of the old days. We did not need money then. We had everything that we needed. We raised our harvest, spun our clothes, we have poultry, fish, animals, fruits, vegetables ... what did we not have? But now ! What do we have now? You tell me. Have we got a harvest? Have we got land? Have we got fruits and vegetables? How many years have you not drunk fresh milk from your own cows? You buy milk powder for the babies. What have we got now. Nothing! Don't compare the old days with now. Our country is finished. If the young people can get away, they will."

Later, I asked one of the group members, whom I considered typical, to listen alone to these three comments and asked him whether he thought they were correct. He spoke calmly for a long time. The summary is as follows:

> "The condition of the country has become very bad. People migrate because they cannot earn enough here to lead a normal life. As a result of their migration, the place has become worse. They send money, and with that money their relatives live well. The young people don't want to work. They either wait for the money or wait for the day when they will migrate. In this area, there is hardly anybody to till the land. They all have become shahibs [gentlemen]. People are brought from other areas to till the land and cut the harvest. Even the builders come from other parts of the country. They come, build the houses and take away the money that the migrants have sent from abroad. It is a vicious circle. Once you have this madness, it will not go away. At one time, people went to England only from Sylhet, but now people of other areas are also going. They pay huge money to get a chance to go away anywhere. Many even go to India. They go legally, illegally - with any scruples they can find. Doctors go, engineers go, teachers go- everyone goes! Common people want to watch television, Sky programme, CNN- but how will they buy them? So, they ask for money from their relatives living in England or America. If they can't get them, they do unlawful things. But it is good fortune that some people still have their senses. They live their lives as they are. For those handful of people it is still possible to live here. All the people have not become crazy. But for how long will they stay sane? Their families demand all the luxury goods, some even want cars, if not a car then at least a Honda [popular name for any make of motorbike]."

Despite my intention to obtain data on non-migrancy, the unstructured interviews gave me information about what the non-migrants think about the reasons for migrating more than the reasons for not migrating. This is not surprising. The structured interviews recorded their reasons for not migrating, but the unstructured interviews gave them the opportunity to discuss 'migration from Bangladesh'. Results confirmed that economic reasons are not the sole reasons for migrating though they determine other social relations. Rich people do not migrate for money, but to achieve something which is not available in their homeland. On the other hand, common people of the 'migratory zones' like Sylhet have become conscious of their 'status'. They refuse to till the land and they have become victims of the remittances from their kith and kin living abroad. (Islam, 1987) They aspire to earn money and raise their 'status'. The flooding of the market with luxury goods and

people's inability to afford them, push them into the decision to migrate. People are not happy with subsistence production any more. They long to have a better exchange value for their labour. Capital uses them as labour resources. The indistrial centres of the world are changing, and labouring population follows the changes. The characteristics of migration are not decided by the people, but are determined by capital. That people now go to the Far East proves that a historical link with any country is not a determinant of choice for migration. Labour can be made to migrate to wherever capital is invested for a better return, and the labour will desire a better return for their labour. The two 'better returns' - capital's and labour's - seek each other out and match, and with a modern transport and communication systems available throughout the world the implementation of this matching is not difficult.

Case Studies

The following case studies are selected to emphasize certain attitudes of non-migrants on migration and migrants.

1. *Parental responsibilities, combined with contempt for migrants*

Mr Miah is now 48. In 1968, when he had his opportunity to migrate, he was 24. His father was a farmer with 5 acres of own land, employing about twenty five farm hands during seasons.

Mr Miah was unmarried, and has been educated up to the age of 12 in a school in nearest town which was situated about eight miles away from his village. By 1962, when his paternal uncle left for Britain, almost everyone in the village was talking about the last chance of going to 'London' or 'Bilayet' (Persia was 'Bilayet' to Indian Muslims during the Muslim rule of India, but by nineteenth century England became the 'Bilayet', Alam 1988). Apart from his uncle, about twenty people had already gone. Stories of their 'success' and occasional remittances had already interested those remaining.

Without the knowledge of his father, Mr Miah obtained all papers, inclduing passposrt and visa, for which he paid 'large sum of money' (he forgot the exact amount) to a travel agent in town. But he could not take the final plunge as his father started becoming dependent on him for various farm works and estate management. Miah's father was very critical about his migrant uncle. According to Miah's father with so much land, with three crops a year, and a successful shop in the market, his brother should have had no wants. His uncle was very energetic, and he had his own money-lending business. Mr Miah sold back his passport and visa through the same travel agent at a price which was higher than what he had originally paid. He does not regret this. In his language,"If I kept the papers they would have become obsolete. At that time, eveyone wanted to go, and they needed papers. Papers brought good money. So I sold them".

Mr Miah's father is now dead. His uncle has been back home several times. He got married in 1973 and went back to England with wife. He still has his own money lending business in Britain. Mr Miah is now more-or-less his uncle's agent in Bangladesh. He bought some town properties for his uncle, and with his remittances built a 'market complex'. The renting out of the shops in the market complex is all under his control. He is now very busy.

About migrating to England or to anywhere else in the world, his opinion sounded confident and very simple,

> "In my youth, I was thinking about going, but if I went it would have been the greatest mistake. Many of my acquaintances and relatives are now in England and America, some have been to Saudi (all Arab Counries are called Saudis) and returned, but I know what they do there. All boast about high class jobs, etc. But I don't see why I should be working for others when I can earn a decent living here and have the respect and status in the society that my father built up."

Mr Miah's case was typical of some others I met. They hold the migrants in contempt, and even regard them as 'upstarts' who by buying land and constructing buildings in the village want to buy prestige to which they were not entitled to.

2. *Regrets for not having taken the plunge*

Some non-migrants held opposite views. One such view expressed to me by Mr. Karam is as follows :

> " I never tried to migrate though I had my chance thirty years ago. I liked my home, I was happy there. Now my country has passed through such a difficult period, the condition of the country as a whole has become worse, I sometimes think I should have gone. My children are unable to get a proper education here. They have no prospect of getting a decent job. They do not want to cultivate. As far as I am concerned, I am unhappy too. These people come back from England or wherever, with lots of money. They spend like mad, and talk big. Someone told me not to believe their stories. They all peel potatoes and onions in England. I say to them, so what. They lead their own life, they work and they get paid. Where is work here ? How would they have lived here? I also know many people of my age have not worked for more than ten years in England. But they get paid for working earlier. Someone like that came back to Bangladesh to marry off his daughter to a good village boy. He told me the truth that he had no work. But he was happy there with state money coming in to his pocket every week. Not like me. If I cannot work, my children will have to maintain me. But I don't know whether they would. I have some savings, but not in the bank. I don't trust them. So, I have some gold and properties. But they will not be enough. Two of my daughters are still not married. Unlike my Bilayatti friend (one who lives in England), I cannot go anywhere to marry them off."

When asked about the reasons for not migrating, Mr Karam said,

> " I was thirty then, married with two children. My father died from Sannyash disease (heart attack). I was the eldest son. My mother would have missed me. At that time no one took their families to London, so I would have had to leave my family behind. I could not really do that."

Mr Karam was a farmer originally. He sold off some of the lands after his father's death, and set up a clothing shop in the nearby town. Though he had no previous experience in this kind of business, one of his old friends advised him what to do. That friend was a clothing merchant and wholesaler. He would let Karam buy from his wholesale business whatever he wanted without having to pay immediately. Mr Karam did not know at that time that his merchant friend was not particularly favouring him alone, but that was his system. Now Mr Karam's business is almost mortgaged to his friend. About ten of his close relatives and friends have migrated abroad. They come home almost in succession and they always spend a lot of time

with him in his shop. They buy clothes from him for their 'poor' relatives as they would not buy them for themselves because of dated style. Mr Karam sounded particularly envious of his London friends.

I realized that he was very unhappy in that his apparent mobility from farming to shopkeeping was not particularly successful, but between the two life styles and income sources he was happy to have chosen the latter. Migration to England is still in his mind. He enjoys the stories of Brick Lane, Aston, Moss Side, Indian Restaurants, groceries, and pukka buildings with various social benefits in hard cash.

3. *Staying put amidst all adversaries and still happy*

Another respondent offered me the opportunity to investigate the effect of the Independence of India leading to the partition of India in 1947. Prior to that time the District of Sylhet was a part of Assam since 1912 (cf. Chapter 6). In 1947 Sylhet acceded to then East Pakistan, and Assam went to India. A large number of people from Sylhet and other districts of Bengal who settled in Assam had to return to their original homeland after 1947. Mr. Suruz was one of them. He came back in the same year. He was met by a travel agent in 1956 who advised him to go to London. At that time there was no visa restrictions for Commonwealth citizens to come to Britain.

In Mr Suruz's own word,

" This partitioning of the country now and then, and then joining up again made me move like mad. First I went to Assam which was just across my village. Many other villagers were with me. We were told that the land was free there. We went there with a Babu (a Babu is translated loosely as a Hindu gentleman, but in Sylhet's land context, a Babu is a large landowner who is Hindu), actually he took us there. He took us to lands where we could cultivate and raise as many crops as we liked. He would do all the official work, and even register the land in our names. In return he would take one-third of the crops, but he would pay the land rates etc. There was also a clear understanding that he would not take any more than one-third, even if that meant nothing.It meant that if the crop failed he would not punish us. In Sylhet, all our lands belonged to the zamindars (*cf.* Chapter 6) who did not care whether our crop failed or not. The area where I

got my land was only ten 'crosh' (approximately 20 miles) from my home. So, I could come home by cart (Bullock cart) whenever I wanted to. We were there for nine years. Then one day Babu told us to get out of Assam, otherwise, as we were Muslims and Bangalee,we would be killed by the Hindus and the Assamese.[1]

Babu stayed on, promising to look after our lands, and if possible he would bring us the value of the crops. So, we left Assam and came back to Sylhet. On coming back we were almost stranded. The other villagers did not take to us kindly. I made a lot in savings, but I was not very keen to till the land in Sylhet under the zamindar. I was day labouring as a farm hand. Then Pakistan government abolished zamindari. We could become owners of the land. With my savings I managed to buy some more land, but I had a bad harvest. Instead of touching the savings, I borrowed from the local money lender. Fortunately, my next harvest was very good, and I paid back the money lender. In 1956, this man came to sell me a ticket to London. I did not really want to go. My wife would not let me go. My parents had died. I could see the problems of the wives, children and old parents of those who had gone to London. I did not like the idea. Once I went abroad to Assam but I could always come back in times of need. Going to London would mean that I would be out of touch. What sort of people are they who left their families behind? I know that they have taken their families by now, but was it right in the first instance? After all, my need for money could be met here. Those who went thirty/forty years ago return occasionally. Their children came back to get married. They make big buildings in town and show off to each other. But don't we know them? A real big man does not need to show his money. Anyway what good will these buildings be to them?"

Mr. Suruz, now past seventy still works on his farms. Of his three sons, the eldest one lives with him with his family. The second son was married to a girl from another village. He was given a shop as a dowry in the village of his in-laws. He lives there. The youngest one went to college and he works in a government office in Sylhet. Mr Suruz was particularly proud of his youngest son's achievement. His two daughters have been married off when they were sixteen. He looked happy and content.

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[1]*Note : Assam was a separate administrative province of British India till 1947 when it became a part of the Republic of India. The ethnic mix policy of the British resulted into a large number of non--Assamese , particularly educated ones settling in Assam. They were mostly Hindu Bangalee. The Muslims were mostly peasants and farmers from Sylhet and Mymensingh District of present Bangladesh. On partition, Assam wanted to retain its independence as Assam, and the Assamese started a movement of Banglaee Khedao (get Bangalees out) to which both Muslims and Hindus were under attack, but it was the Muslim farmers who were particularly attacked, The Hindu Bangalees held many official posts , and in general Hindu Bangalees were given official protection.* Full details of Assam-India relationship is well documented by Myron Weiner (1978) in *Sons of the Soil*..

4. Support and happiness in personal social network in homeland

Another case worth mentioning here was that of Mr Latif. He has been an urban resident all through his life. On becoming a graduate in 1960, he went to West Pakistan and worked as a clerical officer in Karachi for two years. But he did not like the place and came back to Dhaka, capital of Bangladesh (then East Pakistan). At that time, Britain introduced the 'voucher system' to allocate a specified number of work permits for those intending to come to Britain. Such vouchers were reserved for skilled persons. Mr Latif applied and received a 'voucher'. He was not married and did not have any direct responsibility for his parents who lived in a suburban town. His father was a retired government officer with a pension. His elder brothers (he was fourth of the five brothers) were in service, and they used to supplement the father's pension in order to maintain the family home although no one else lived there except the parents. Mr Latif had been unemployed since returning from West Pakistan, and he had no savings. Since there was nobody to stay with the parents, his elder brothers asked him if he could stay with parents. He did not refuse, but at the same time he did not comply with the request immediately. He had a wide social network, developed from his family background and the university days. Many of his friends were working in the media and the government service. He managed to maintain his normal lifestyle with the help of some such friends for a year. Then he felt that he had become a burden to some of his friends. He went back to his parental home and obtained a job as a school teacher in a village. He served there for six months and came back to Dhaka. His plan to go to Britain was not in his mind any more. The voucher had expired. He was advised to renew it but he did not try to. Later he obtained a job in a small government office, and by virtue of his social network managed to get promotion faster than others who started with him. In the meantime, he had been keeping in touch with parents more than any of the other brothers. Once his father was ill, he availed himself of a long leave to stay in the parental home and keep everything running smoothly. Later he joined the banking

service, and managed to get himself posted to the town where he came from. He still lives there. His parents have died, and he is living in and looking after the parental home. His own statement about going to England runs as follows:

> " Yes, I got the voucher. At that time if I had ready cash, I would have probably flown on impulse. Raising the air fare was not really a problem, but asking the family members and friends would have created problems. It would be regarded as a sort of defeat. If I could tell them that I would be only going to England as a visitor that would be fine. But getting a work permit and flying would mean only one thing. Then there was the problem about looking after my parents. It was not that I was caring for them on a daily basis, but the knowledge that I was available to care in times of need was comfortable to my elder brothers and also to my parents. I was not financially solvent then, but at the same time I was not in trouble either. As my parents needed me, I could obtain enough money from brothers. But I needed a job for my own satisfaction. All my friends were working. In my parental town, my only non-working friend was the biggest landlord. He did not need to work. I had social connections and contacts, but I could not ask them for a job. So, I started on my own, and gradually built my career. Well, in the end my social network helped for the big jump, but that came only when I proved my worth. Not going to England does not bother me at all. After all, I managed to look after my parents till they died. That was a good thing, wasn't it?"

Asked about any close relatives abroad, Mr Latif said,

> " Two of my brothers are now abroad, but they are not truly migrants. One is internationally known in medicine, and the other one is well placed as a professional person. You know what I mean? They are not migrants."

Analysis of the Case Studies

Non-migrants do not really look upon the process of migration appreciatively. To them, migration is undertaken by the 'failures'. The personal situation of these cases reflects that their social positions are not conducive to migration. To them, their relationships with the homeland and with the mode of production are very close. Reasonable income from the lands and other activities seem to act as a deterrent to migration. The relationship with the economy of the country for these people is very close. Their social relationships at various levels seem to be satisfactory as far as they are concerned.

There seems to be a stigma attached to migration for some. Most of them hold the migrants in low esteem. Some consider them to be 'useless', even if they have remitted enough money back home and made 'palatial' buildings. On the other hand, many (like case of Mr Latif above) would not regard professional migration as 'migration'.

Compared with the social position of the migrants before migrating, the economic situation does not seem to be a major variable in a positive migration decision. Similar personal economy is observable among the non-migrants and the migrants. On the other hand, the personal situation, particularly one's personal relationship with the immediate family and relatives seem to exert a major influence in a negative decision. The trend of not taking one's wife and children in the first journey has been a deterrent to many. For the unmarried 'could-be' migrants, the sense of responsibilities for parents and older relatives, and the absence of any alternative means to look after them can also be negative factors.

Migratory Zones and Non-migrancy:

Of the 55 respondents called non-migrants, 45 were from the Greater Sylhet area of Bangladesh. Sylhet being a high migrancy area, it is commonly believed that all people who had had the opportunities or offers to migrate must have taken them up. In reality that has not happened. What then were the reasons for everyone not availing themselves of the opportunity to migrate? One might say that there must be a myriad of reasons for their migrancy non-decision, similar to large number of factors and variables affecting the decision to migrate. The unhelpfulness of the descriptive listings of 'factors' is clear from the above data and evidence. Marks and Richardson state,

> This society is assumed to be a conglomeration of individuals who exercise free choice in leaving or staying; the assumption eliminates all discussions of the organisation of the society from which they come.
> (Marks and Richardson,1984:5)

The rejection of conventional "push-pull" model by a majority of migration studies in and after the '70s (Thomas, 1973, 26; Amin, 1974, 21-22; Freund, 1981, to mention a few) does not mean that alternative satisfactory models have been found to study migration.

The data analysed in this chapter reveals that the reasons for non-migrancy (therefore, those of migrancy as well) cannot be rationalized. Even the macro and micro expansion of "push-pull" model (Saifullah-Khan, 1974) could be called, after Samir Amin, " a platitude which leads us nowhere " (Amin, 1974, 85).

Chapter 9

Migrants : Data and Analysis

In the initial preparatory stages of this thesis, I chatted endlessly with Bangalees from Bangladesh, Bangalees from West Bengal (India), Indian Punjabis (including Sikhs) and Gujaratis, other Indians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, Chinese of Hong Kong origin, Chinese of Malaysian origin, Indians from Africa, Afro-Caribbeans, Africans, Indians of Jamaican Origin, Indians from Mauritius and Indians from Surinam. These discussions with different groups of migrants (and non-migrants since many of them were born and nrought up in Britain) helped me to decide whether social relational aspects of migrants are worth exploring.

The reasons for the choice of Bangalees from Bangladesh as the universe has been explained in Chapter 1. I had already undertaken one academic research and several fact gathering exercises for both academic and non-academic projects relating to this ethnic group. My own homeland being Bangladesh and myself being a migrant gave me easy access to the community and individuals. How I came to have a sample of 150 migrants from Bangladesh has been detailed in Chapter 5 under subheading *Pilot Study - Migrant Sample* (Control Group A).

Empirical research with this group took place in three distinct stages : - firstly the 150 respondents were subjected to a structured questionnaire to obtain objective details. Secondly, a representative sub-sample of 50 were taken aside and interviewed individually to magnify and clarify aspects of the structured interview. The third stage was to hold separate group discussions of as many of these representative 50 as would comply, so that their views on 'migration' could be further explored following qualitative research methodology. I ended up with twenty four respondents to apply qualitative research methods. I tried to form six groups with four in each, but was obliged to vary the number of participants between three and six depending on their availability. In this way I obtained a

statistically sound subsample in my third stage. A proportionate stratified sample eventually emerged in the following way : Within the initial sample of 150 migrants; 125 were unskilled, illiterate or less literate Bangalee men, (forming category 'A') and 25 educated, professional and skilled Bangalees, (forming category 'B'). From this initial ratio of 5:1, a proportionate sample was carried into the third stage by having five groups (i.e. 20 respondents) from 'A' and one category (i.e.4) from 'B' creating another 5:1 ratio. This *proportionate sample* has been useful to obtain a balanced overall data and evidence.

Zonal representation in the sample

Most of Bangladeshi migrants in Britain are known to have come from the Sylhet Division of Bangladesh. Since this thesis has raised a concept of *zonal imbalance in postwar migration*, I attached some importance to ensure that Sylhet people are represented in the sample. It did not really require any extra effort to accomplish this. Of the 150 respondents. 120 were from Sylhet. The rest 30 were from other districts of Bangladesh, but characteristically all of the 30 said that they were from Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. After I had explained to them that their regional origins were required, it was established that 25 of them came from different regions, such as, Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Barishal etc., but at the time of migration all of them were settled in Dhaka. 5 respondents were of Dhaka origins. After three phases of collecting data and empirical evidence, the picture that emerged has been grouped under two distinct headings:

i. Personal details ,
ii. Socio-Economic position of the sample before migration, *and*
iii. Migration decision and aftermath.

I. PERSONAL DETAILS

The sample confirmed the generally held notion about the colonial migrants who arrived in Britain and other European countries after World War II. Such migrants were generally male, in their twenties, and the major migration was completed by 1971 with the highest numbers arriving between 1962 and 1971 (Appleyard, [1992]; Castles & Kosack, 1973; Castles & Miller,1993; Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Group,1980; Salt *et al*, 1994).

Table 7

Age groups

55+	54	(36%)
46 - 54	39	(26%)
36 - 45	35	(23%)
25 - 35	22	(15%)
	150	100%

Year of Arrival

Before 1962	55	(37%)
1962 - 1971	63	(42%)
After 1971	32	(21%)
	150	100%

The majority of Bangalees arrived between 1962 and 1971. In 1964, the issue of category C vouchers (unskilled labour) was stopped by Britain, although the issuing of vouchers for skilled and professionals continued. The restriction made decision making to migrate easier for those who had obtained visa papers before that date, and could not make up their minds.

It is also highly probable that the continued arrival of 'unskilled labour' after 1964 was due to the fact that the Manpower Department (then called the Labour Office) of the then Pakistan, recommended a large number of applicants as skilled

labourers. Many of the respondents who obtained visas for Britain after 1964 stated that one could 'buy' the 'papers' as a skilled worker, irrespective of possessing skills. It is possible that travel agents played a significant role in this matter, though this could not be substantiated.

There is a strong similarity of the above situation with the attempted procurement of skilled indentured labour in the nineteenth century for plantations where slavery had been abolished. It has been noted in Chapter 4 of this thesis how a Dutch agent stationed in Calcutta,India complained about the 'quality' of the indentured labourers he received through the British authority. Instead of getting people skilled in the use of 'cutlass and shovel', he received worthless people like 'beggars, old sepoys, brahmins and people from great cities' (*India Office Record*, EP932 (1877): Appendix, August A:7).

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITIONS BEFORE MIGRATION

One major task in the empirical evidence of this thesis was to determine the Socio-Economic Group (SEG) of the migrants before arrival. But this became greatly problematic because the socio-economic grouping system of Bangladesh (*cf.* Chapter 5) is totally different from that of the western industrialized countries. The following data are first presented in crude form as received from the migrants themselves.

Table 8
Property Holding Before Migration

Residential		
Own Home	76	(51%)
Share in Parental Home	130	(87%)
Residential plots	33	(22%)
Non-Residential Estates		
Land (Cultivable)	43	(29%)
Share in Parental land	130	(87%)

Most of the respondents possessed either their own property or a share in the parental properties. A number of respondents did not differentiate between having a property of one's own and having a share in parental property. In Bangladesh and generally in the Indian sub-continent, parental properties are usually taken as belonging to the sons by right as well as by law.

Of the residential plot owners, most of them were urban or semi-urban dwellers in Dhaka and Sylhet. In the rural areas, distinctions between residential and non-residential areas are usually determined by the cultivability of the land concerned, but the tradition of closely knit communities based on extended family networks also determines many residential zones. It is only very recently that the government of Bangladesh has attempted to intervene in all areas to enforce planning regulations. According to official sources, there are records of households as 'non-farm households' and 'farm households' (Bangladesh, Govt.of .*Statistical Pocketbook*, 1993). However, for the migrants who left Bangladesh 25 to 30 years ago, the above was not of much concern.

Table 9

Occupation / Means of livelihood before Migration

Agriculture (Own land)	67	(45%)
Size of holding		
upto .50 acre 20 (13%)		
upto 2.5 acres 32 (21%)		
upto 5 acres 15 (10%)		
Agricultural labour (no land)	35	(23%)
Unskilled factory work	5	(3%)
Professional Job (Doctors)	6	(4%)
Office Jobs, teaching	17	(11.5%)
Not working	17	(11.5%)
(Students, waiting to migrate, living with parents)		
Unemployed (looking for jobs)	3	(2%)
	150	(100%)

Sixty eight percent, *i.e.* 102 of the respondents were dependent on agriculture, and the rest were engaged in various jobs. The two percent who stated that they were looking for jobs were the only 'unemployed' in the sample.

The above picture again corresponds to what can be termed as the 'generally held notion' about the colonial migrants referred to above. Still, it was thought that this would require further probing, and the matter was raised for detailed discussion during the qualitative research stage. It emerged from there that although the respondents were landowners, the situation of their relations with production had changed in the past radically. The changes occured due to various land reforms that were introduced during the British Rule and later when the British left.

Case Studies of Migration caused by changes in the Land tenure system

In the words of one respondent Mr. Matin Miah:

> " I heard that my grandfather was the biggest farmer in our village, with acres of farming land, as well as owning several fishing ponds. My grandfather regularly paid his revenue and other presents to the zamidar (*cf*. Chapter 6) of the area, and he was made the head of the village, often settling disputes among the villagers by arbitration. He also paid for a pukka (brick-built) mosque and madrasa (religious education school) in the village. Later the British built a school to which my father and paternal uncles went. My father being the eldest took the responsibility of looking after farming. But then there was a war (the Second World War).
>
> "The Government (British) ordered all grain to be sold to them directly. My father had no alternatives. He was paid for the grains, and he was not allowed to keep the seed for next season. When he went to buy seed, he was astounded by the price. However, he managed the seed for the next two seasons after which he could not sow fully in all the lands. He was soon in debt, and the zamindar who was so good to my grandfather and father put him in debt. Later, the zamindar usurped a few plots of good land from my father. By the time I was old enough to understand what was going on, my father still had enough land but he could not cultivate them because of debts and lack of investments in livestock, tools etc. My father sent me to school, saying that our future would depend on education. I think I was ten when the War ended. I finished the highest class in the local school, but could not go to town for furthering my education.
>
> "Then the British left. Soon the zamindar of the village also left for town leaving someone else in charge. This man was nasty, and kept harassing all the villagers for revenues which were not due. Sometime after that we heard that there will be no zamindar. We rejoiced, but in reality nothing happened. The same man came for revenue collection, telling us that he had the legal authority to collect the

revenue. By the time I was twenty, we had all the lands in our name, a large household, and relatives in the village, but we were in debt to the jotdaar. The lands were lying barren, some of the fishing ponds were choked with 'kochu' (water lily like growths) and income was almost nil. My father told me to go to town for jobs. But what could I do? I could not go to the town as a labourer. I would not go as a 'Kaamla' (wage labourer in agriculture). Later someone told me about going to London. I pursued the matter, and my father sold some lands to get my passport and passage money. And here I am. Still here. Don't know any more".

During his narration, others in the group continued to nod in agreement. I asked them if that was what happened to them as well. Not many of them could render good details, but offered support and slight criticism to the statement by Mr Miah.. One stated, "Not exactly, but nearly the same". Another stated, " After the British left, the situation became worse." A third person who migrated after 1971 said, "Creation of Bangladesh meant that there was no law and order".

Attempts were made during the qualitative research stage with later groups to discuss the above statements. It emerged that most migrants felt that there had been changes in their socio-economic situation. The long statement quoted above was read out for further comments. One Mr. Shafi from the second group meeting elaborated further,

"You see, it is not always grain and foodstuff that we grew. We planted jute before the rainy season. Jute brought us cash. The British used to ship jute to London (meaning England), so it was good money. But once you fail the main harvest , it is difficult to catch up, whether with grains or jute. What happened to Matin Miah was commonplace to many farmers. Did he mention jute?"

On being informed that Mr Miah did not mention jute crop, he continued,

"You see it is not only rice and other foodstuff like pulses, mustards etc, but jute is the crop that brings cash. The roots left in the soil to rot after jute is cut become the compost for the next rice harvest, and so on. You see, farming is not just an one off process, it is a continuous process. Once the chain is broken you cannot catch up. That is what happened to Matin Miah, and partly to my father, and many others."

One respondent Mr Huq from Category 'B' (Educated/ skilled/Professional) stated,

" My father was a Talukdar (privileged to collect revenue on behalf of the king with the right to obtain a portion of the revenue for personal use and of land areas usually smaller than what is held by zamindars, see Chapter 6). He was well respected by the villagers, and he was an idealistic person, very interested in music and art. The income from revenue's share used to be good, but it could

have been better if my father attended the books himself. However, we had no complaints. All my three brothers (the respondent was the third child) and two sisters went to high school, and as they passed, two went to the college. All of us were supposed to follow suit. We had wants, but we could do without them. I heard from my eldest brother that during the War (Second World War), my father rendered good service to the King, and he was rewarded for that, but the situation changed after the war. The farmers were leaving the lands, some people of the village long gone to Assam, came back and started creating problems for the locals claiming lands which they claimed to be theirs. By partition time (i.e. Independence of India in 1947), revenue collection dwindled, and also it became difficult to obtain 'Kaamla' (farm wage labourers) for cultivating whatever farming lands we had. By 1952, when there was a change in land tenure system, alarm bells started ringing.

"My father,though old by then.started a small engineering company in the town to offer engine repairs, car services, tools supply etc. My eldest brother ran this business, but the income was not enough. In the meantime, my sisters were growing up, and by custom they would be marriagable soon. There was no problem of finding the right bridegroom, but in order to perform the ceremonies in style and standard commensurate with my father's position, we would have needed a lot of monies than what we had at that time. So, my father secretly borrowed money from a Mahajan (moneylender). After the wedding of my first sister, we were told of the size of the loan. My eldest brother said that he would manage the business in town, but we should try something else, like trying to go to England, earn money and send some home. It was appreciated by all that our social position would deteriorate as time went by without such drastic steps. Eventually I took the plunge."

From the above data and case studies, it is apparent that the socio-economic positions of most of the respondents have undergone major changes. The rapidly altering land tenure system after Indpendence in 1947 disturbed the patterns of life-styles and livelihoods of many. The status that the peasants with their own lands to till enjoyed was gradually eroded. The Permanent Settlement Act of 1798 created big zamindars in Bengal, and by that the old *village system* of India as a whole was lost. By that process many peasants became wage labourers, but the old system of tilling their own land persisted in some form or other for a long time. The abolition of the zamindari system created havoc among the peasants more. The moneylending system was full of deceits and trickeries, and the ordinary peasants always lost. As the system changed, it affected the people who depended on land in various ways. One common factor among them is that the changes eroded the respectability of their lives in the local social system.

Case Studies of Non-Land related Migration

In contrast to the above migrations where land and land tenure system played an important part, the following are a few case studies where migrations or migration-decisions were not land related. Mr Raman came to England in 1969 as an articled clerk to work in an accountancy firm. He said,

> " I still don't know why my father was desperate to send me to England. I never wanted to leave my friends and big house to come to this chilly damp country to live in one room for five continuous years. But now after so many years, I look at the whole thing in a different way. My father was a professional (a Quantity Surveyer, in the all powerful then Dhaka Improvement Trust), but he never studied in England or anywhere else. He was often passed by for promotion by others with some training undertaken or qualifications obtained in England. He was right, but I don't see why it should be so."

Dr. S.Jamil. was able to explain what Mr Raman did not see. In his own words,

> " When I was studying medicine, professorship was the aim of some colleagues, and some just wanted to practice medicine to save lives. Both ambitions were appreciated and well respected. That was in the '50s. As we reach the '60s, the situation changed drastically. All doctors were asking for more money, either in salary or in private practice (patients pay directly to doctors). Again, unless the doctor in private practice had hospital contacts, private patients would not come to him. As more doctors were produced, professorship and other jobs in the hospitals started becoming scarce since not enough hospitals were being established. It is the competition which determined that doctors should have foreign qualification, at that time it had to be British qualifications. So, you see in order to get credibility we needed some sort of British qualification stamps."

When asked why such doctors after obtaining British qualifications did not return home, Dr S.Jamil. stated,

> " Those who qualified went back almost immediately. And those who did not could not go back, could they ? It would be regarded as a failure in the homeland. But apart from ego matter, what really happened was that most of the overseas doctors had been working as Registrar for six months or so in one hospital. That was the period Registrars are usually appointed for. Then they had to apply for another job. This was very frustrating. Then there was a big expansion of National Health Service. More G.P.s were needed. Many doctors aspiring to have qualifications, such as MRCP, or FRCS, or MRCOG (repectively, membership obtained by examination in medicine, surgery and gynaecology) in the long run gave up the strenuous rota of work and study, and became G.P.s. They were mostly married and had families. The General Practice suited them well, and they settled here."

In reply to further probing about those who went back, he added,

" It is not so that those who went back home stayed there. Many had to go back. As I told you before that professorship or higher position in the teaching hospitals are scarce in Bangladesh, everyone with higher qualifications did not get the postings they expected. Also as time passed, the political situation in the country changed drastically. One could not get a top position just with qualifications, but one needed political and social connections. Such things were unheard of when I was a medicine student or practising in Bangladesh."

Social Prestige in Bangladesh

The question of social prestige and status came up almost in all group discussion. Mr. Selim of category A (Unskilled) said,

" When I was in Bangladesh, we did not think much of social prestige. As far I was concerned, I remained content as I was. Anyway, people respect you by what you are and not by what you have. But now, it is all different. People get prestige because they have higher connections, such as relatives in high offices, or contacts with M.P.s, ministers etc. Also some people buy prestige with money. But to have money you need connections."

A member of the same category criticised the above speaker for being vague. His argument was that now that money can be earned in England, one could go home with lots of money and buy prestige without political and social connections. The conception of social prestige was further probed through both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Table 10

Father's/Legal guardian's occupation

Agriculture (own land)	85	(57%)
Agricultural labour	25	(17%)
Service	20	(13%)
Living on land	20	(13%)
	150	100%

Seventy four percent of the respondents came from families with agricultural background. Thiteen percent came from households whose heads were in the service, and heads of the family of another thirteen percent were sharecroppers living on the income derived from land.

Table 11

Standard of living before migration

(Sample size 50)

Modern amenities (available at that time, fridge, radio, transistors)

most	44	88%
as necessary	6	12%

It was not found necessary to ask all the respondents about the amenities available to them before migration. A representative segment of the total sample was asked these questions about running water, electricity, musical instruments, wireless, cars etc. In the '60s such amenities were mostly available only in the urban centres.

Table 12

Social Circle before Migration

Of the same livelihood & standard of living	87	(58%)
Higher than respondents	25	(17%)
Lower than responents	20	(15%)
No reply	18	(12%)
	150	(100%)

This data was obtained by asking the respondents what was the background of their immediate social circles, viz. friends, relatives etc. Those who said (17%) that they were of higher standards were subjected to further questioning to clarify the conception of 'higher standard'. It came out that three distinct elements were considered by them. These elements in order of importance were, *hereditary prestige, higher caste* and *money*. By *hereditary prestige*, they meant what their fathers and forefathers were. Big landlords, zamindars, talukdars, government officers, Army officers, well known people in Public life (politicians) were regarded as people of higher standard. Among the Hindus, the *higher castes* were determined by birth, and among the Muslims some were Ashrafs (like descendents of Persian/middle eastern Muslim people who came to the Indian sub-continent from 10th century onwards.) Although Islam does not allow caste system, two groups called Ashrafs and Atrafs, respectively higher caste and lower caste are recognized

in the Indian sub-continent. (*cf.* Alam, 1988; Karim, 1980). Abundance of *money* was appreciated by all, but it did not occupy a place of importance in the list. One said, "Money buys a lot of things, but not prestige".

Table 13

Conception of own social status before Migrating

Upper Class	35	(23%)
Middle Class	85	(57%)
Lower Middle Class	30	(20%)
Lower Class	0	(0%)
	150	(100%)

Whether their conception of their own social standing fits in the officially and academically accepted classification is not exactly a question which this thesis is designed to examine. But this issue has strong bearings on the question of social relations. One's conception of own social standing has been a vexed question in many social surveys (Goldthorpe *et al,* 1969), and in social stratification/mobility theories (cf. Lipset and Bendix, 1954). A further breakdown of the above table by two groups revealed that 17 (68%) of the 25 in category B (educated) considered themselves as belonging to upper class, with the rest 8 (32%) stating that they belonged to middle class. Only 18 (14%) of the 125 in the category A (unskilled) stated that they belonged to the upper class, whereas 77 (62%) of the same group claimed to belong to middle class. The claims of the repondents in the category B (educated) did not require much validation for reasons that higher education in the Indian sub-continent as a whole had only been the prerogative of a few rich and middle class families most of the time . In another research, I termed them as 'non-economic migrants', meaning that they did not migrate for purely economic reasons (Alam, 1988). But as I explored further, I found that many of them did intend to enter the British labour market along with aspirations to furthering their education and obtain higher professional qualifications.

Still, these findings seem to contain contradictions in that the people of such classes, particularly those belonging to the higher echelons of the villages and highly educated people including professionals, would not generally be expected to migrate as 'labour migrants'. This requires further explanation.

Towards the explanation, we need to answer two intricately related questions. Firstly, can the claims of respondents belonging to the higher class be validated, and secondly, if so validated, would they migrate knowing that they would go into a lower social position ? In other words, would not migration be considered downward mobility rather than upward ?

In feudalism, polarization exists between the lords and the serfs, the lords being upper class as a rule. But in India's 'village system' (cf. Marx,1853; detailed discussion in Chapter 6 of this thesis), such question of lords and serfs did not arise. Each village operated independently and the system did not demand lordism of any kind. Land could not be brought or sold. It belonged to the village, and therefore, serfs did not exist. The *village system* was destroyed, and the land became a merchandisable commodity under the British. Even after the wholesale destruction of the *village system*, and after a large number of farmers became landless wage labourers under new modes of production, large numbers of farming people continued to own lands. In areas where the zamindari system prevailed, a zamindar was the landlord only of the lands belonging to him, otherwise he was only a revenue collector. As explained in Chapter 6, zamindars could seize the lands belonging to farmers. Still, private ownership of farm lands could not be totally eliminated. The size of the lands thus owned varied, and the social classes of people owning farm lands depended on the size of the land.

The Socio-Economic Groups (SEGs) of Bangladesh is largely based on land ownership. (The European concept of SEGs is based more or less on an 'industrial society' mode, and cannot be compared with Bangladesh SEGs without modification.) This thesis has earlier determined that people owning 2.51 acre to

5.00 acre of lands can be called middle class, and those owning over 5.00 acre are upper class according to a Bangladesh socio-economic consensus. So, the claims of the respondents on examining their landholding seem correct.

Further data and evidence are required to find out why people accept lower positions by migration. The following are an attempt to determine this aspect :

Table 14

Reasons for Migration

(Total sample =150)

Everyone else was going	130	(87%)
Could not maintain old lifestyle	120	(80%)
Wanted to make quick money	35	(23%)
Got married to a British subject	10	(7%)
Studies	40	(27%)
Not much prospect at home	75	(50%)

In the structured questionnaire, this was an open ended question, and there was no prompting of the respondents. Many gave more than one reason, and they were later grouped in summary form under the above captions. 50 respondents were later asked to elucidate the meaning of "everyone else was going". It transpired from their replies that it was meant to reflect 'a craze' for going to England at that time. It did not appear to be a reason for going. But the second reason, under the caption 'Could not maintain old lifestyle', for which an almost similar high number of replies were received , explained somewhat the true feelings of the respondents. Some of the typical expressions that were summarised under that captions are, "Situation changed for the worse", "As days passed, we became poorer and poorer", "Prices were going up all the time, but our income remained static", " New influential people came to our areas, they would not respect us any more", "Our contentment was in what we were, not what we possessed, but the new time arrived, and everything was judged by what you possessed. We could not afford the luxuries

that were becoming available in towns", "We could not keep pace with changes that were taking place in every sphere of life" etc.

The data presented above in Table 9 has not been stratified between the control groups. This is because the respondents as a whole gave similar reasons for their migration. Even some of the so called 'unskilled' migrants stated that they wanted higher qualifications (total 40 out of 125). Further explorations were made during the qualititative research stage with both the control groups.

Mr. Sharif from category A (Unskilled) said,

" To understand the changes that were slowly taking place, you will have to know what it was like earlier, I mean some time before we migrated. In the village, we could get whatever we needed. The agricultural income went down radically during my father's time, then a lot of "Kaamla" (farm wage labourers) left the village for towns or elsewhere. We were left to do our own farming. It was not technically possible to do all these ourselves (meaning with the members of the family only), we needed farm hands. Then there was the maintenance of the livestock, animal husbandry, and so on. It was not that that "Kaamlas" were not there, but they could no longer be maintained in the old way. You see, traditionally such Kaamlas used to be a part of the household, or if they had families, the whole family could become part of our households during busy farming seasons. Their food and clothing were our responsibility. They lived in their own houses, but they spent nearly all day with us, including their women spending time in our house. They would get a fixed sum in cash or in crops.
"As time passed, such 'Kaamlas' were no longer available, and we would not accept outsiders in the same way as before as household members. As a result the new 'Kaamlas' were rather unattached workers, and were only after the money. In our village and in other villages around ours, outside field workers usually came from southern districts of Bangladesh during the harvesting season, which needed more manpower. They worked intensively for a week or so and were paid immediately by a share of the crop harvested. But the all year round 'Kaamlas' tied with the household, could not be obtained."

To the above, Mr. S. Miah added,

" What happened is that the Kaamlas vanishing from the village was not our fault. Factories were being built in towns, in Dhaka (capital of Bangladesh), in Naraynganj (famous for jute industries), Tongi (both as new manufacturing centres) and the labourers were enticed from the villages. Eventually, we became the manual labourers in our land. This was below our status. Not that we could not do it, but in doing four labourers work by one, you could not remain the same person as before."

In another group within the same category A (unskilled), Mr. R. Ali, now 65 who came to Britain when he was 35 spoke in the same vein but with a different perspective,

" First, we had to tackle with the new government. In the past (i.e. during the British period),we did all we could to avoid meeting the officials and we dealt with zamindar's men. The British Government did not directly intervene in our village life. There were new laws and rules, and we heard that some areas had a difficult time because of those new laws. But we were more or less untouched. We became poorer, but that was probably our fate. Then we had Independence [i.e. 1947]. In a few years time, zamindars were gone. But we were already suffering, and there was no one around to plead our case to and have a compassionate hearing. The new officers who came would only say, 'This is the law, that is the law, we are instructed to do this and that'. We had to find the revenue money irrespective of the fact whether we had had a good or bad harvest. So, we continued to borrow. Zotdaars (new moneylenders, cf. Chapter 6) started to lend us, but soon we realized we could not pay them back.

"*In the meantime, the lands remained uncultivated since we could not hire the Kamlaas.* The situation was getting hopeless. Our only hope was the children, I mean the boys. One of our sons was getting education in town. In the end he got a job, but as soon as he was married he stopped helping us. I was gradually becoming disillusioned with my life. I could see that my position in the village was getting worse. People who had showed respect in the past were not even greeting me in the market or in the mosque. I sold some good land through a good jootdaar, and contacted a travel agent. At that time the air ticket was only two thousand taka, but I paid nearly six thousand taka, and the agent fixed everything, passport, stamps everything."

Dr. S.Uddin., a medical practioner from the category B stated,

" Most of the doctors from the Indian sub-continent would say that they came for qualifications and then they would return home. That is true particularly for those who came with a Government scholarship. But there were other doctors and professional people who came with work permits. They did start a professional course almost immediately and also started in a job. As far as I am concerned, I did not wish to return home after gaining qualifications. I was not tied to a job at home. I could have practised privately and also work in a hospital in then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). But I did not like that idea. So far, I have seen others doing that, and their lifestyle, despite the good money they make, never impressed me. My father was a magistrate. When I was a medical student, *I was thinking of leading a lifestyle like my father's.* But as I qualified as a doctor, I became disillusioned. It would have been an uphill struggle to become a professor, and too much hassle and *lack of prestige* for the whole family if I did not get higher position in my profession. Then there was the politics in the country, also the petty politics in the hospitals. I knew, before I came here that I could easily obtain hospital jobs, and that would have been enough for me to lead a decent life. In fact I made my mind up to stay here. At least, my parents, though they missed me then, are now happy in the knowledge that I am a doctor in England."

Mr. J.Ahmed, a local authority officer reiterated the same,

" What the Doctor said is very true. It is also true for many Master Degree holders from the University of Dhaka. England could offer us a place of peace in comparison to the din and bustle of our oriental life. We were prepared to do jobs lower than the ones we would do at home. But at least, there will be money, money to spend as I wish, money to buy clothes, money to do whatever I want to do. This may sound stupid, but if you consider the fact that even if you earned sufficient money back home, you would not be able to enjoy it. As a teacher (Mr J.A. was teaching in a well-known college in Dhaka), I was earning enough with extra income as examiner, and notebook writer, but it did not bring me the social prestige I thought I would have. The society was changing rapidly.

The professors and lecturers in the university were our role models. We wanted to be like them. But when I became one of them, I started realizing why most of them always looked grim and serious. As a student, we thought that their serious looking faces were the reflections of their serious mind. But I later realized that their serious looks came from their unbearability of life. I started as a casual labourer in England. I could not think that I would get a teaching position in England. Gradually, I woke up and started applying for professional and office jobs. Sometimes, I still miss my homeland, I could be one of the people living there. But the sheer thought what I would have to do daily as a living brings me back to the reality. I have by now forgotten my dream of becoming a teacher. There would have been no status and prestige for which I had struggled day and night as a student. But the corrupt officers and people in high public offices have a continued monopoly of status and prestige. I could not live there. I know as a local government worker, I am a nobody here, but at least I have the satisfaction of not competing for status with some moneyed idiots."

Of the educated people who went back, Mr. Z.Rahim said,

" Many went back, particularly those with Ph.D.s. They went back at a time when things were better. Also at that time they could not get good jobs in England. I knew three such Ph.D.s who worked as a milkman, shop assistant and restaurant waiter. Some of them are still here. One runs a travel agency, two own restaurants. Another with double Ph.D.s in science has become a ethnic minority language teacher. No wonder that most of them went back, and eventually went to other countries like Australia, Canada, and the United States.

But the doctors with the highest British qualifications returned quickly. They realized they would not get high positions in the medical service of Bangladesh. One doctor told me that he got a posting as an Associate Professor with the promise from the hospital authority to make him full professor as a vacancy arose. When the vacancy arose, he was passed over by another less qualified doctor because of the latter's close 'connection' with people in power. He came back to England."

The answers to the question if the migrants were aware of the conditions of Britain when they decided to migrate are grouped under four sub-headings as follows:

Table 15

Knoweldge of Destination Country

A. Source		
Returnees	85	(57%)
Relatives & friends (by letter)	65	(43%)
Travel Agents	78	(52%)
B. Job Prospect		
Ease of getting jobs	150	(100%)
C. Nature of jobs available		
Unskilled Jobs (factory jobs)	87	(58%)
Catering Jobs	40	(27%)
Professional jobs	18	(12%)
Not sure	5	(3%)
	150	(100%)
D. Living accomodation		
Pre-arranged temporary	130	(87%)
Would find as arrive	10	(7%)
Professional arrangements(students)	10	(7%)
	150	(100%)

Most of the migrants knew that they would be able to obtain employment when they arrived. In the sixties, the myth of 'full employment' in Britain was rife in the Indian sub-continent. There was not much variation in their sources of knowledge about the destination country. People who returned from England either for holidays or permanently were the major source of information (57%); travel agents played the second major source (52%); relatives and friends already in England contributed a little less (43%).

A majority of the prospective migrants knew that 'factory jobs' were available in abundance (58%), and only 18% anticipated the possibility of landing professional jobs. The availability of catering jobs was known to about 27%. A small number of people (3%) simply came without knowing anything about the job market.

This issue was probed cautiously lest the researcher hurt their feelings. But the fear proved to be unfounded. Most of them talked openly. The four groups from Group A (unskilled) freely admitted that they never expected anything more than a labouring job, "but money was good". When the researcher tried to argue that it meant lowering their social prestige, most of them laughed. One Mr. Muhib said,

> "Social prestige was left behind in Bangladesh. We did not expect social prestige in England. We came knowing fully well that we shall work in factories. All of us worked there. Day and night we worked and we lived in the same house, sometimes sleeping in the same bed by rotation. We were ourselves a community with mutual respect and understanding. We cooked for each other, we looked after each other. My brother was in Oldham. There, some of them had problems of locating the street and the house where they lived because they could not read English. To many all the streets and houses looked the same. So, others piled bricks at the corners of their street, and some more in front of the house so that when they came back from factories in the evening, they could easily find the street and the house.
>
> "We knew each others from Bangladesh, and we knew who was what. The system that we followed in Bangladesh for social prestige was continued here. I mean if I or another person was respectable in Bangladesh, he would be so here as well with everyone. After all, the homeland is the most important point in our lives."

Mr. Latif clarified this further,

> " Doing a factory job in England is far better than toiling at home. We knew that this was below our prestige to have become a 'Kaamla', but this is England. Here we had respect from the system. They paid us on time, showed respect and generally did not treat us badly. It is only some headstrong young men who made comments about us, and called us names. But we did not bother. We believed in what you call 'Sramer Marjada'('dignity of labour')."

The 'dignity of labour' concept was further explored. The researcher asked how they learned the phrase. No clear cut answer was received from anyone. They 'heard', and liked the phrase and that was all could be deduced from various statements.

The researcher later put the question of 'dignity of labour' to the category B (educated). It transpired from their discussion that the phrase "Sramer Marjada' (Dignity of labour) was a catchy phrase which they had learnt in school. It was actually meant to show respect for the manual labourers. It was a sort of humanitarian philosophy to them. The researcher asked whether such philosophy boosted their own status as non-manual worker. After a few moments of silence, one respondent emphatically said,

> "No, no! You got it wrong. It actually helped us to undertake labouring tasks in the home and school. It was so fascinating that I even learnt how to drive a rickshaw (a tricycle with seats for two passengers; used as the most available private hire transport in Bangladesh). Although I would never do it for a living, the dignity of labour concept made me show my friends that I respect manual labourers".

Asked about the lower position in jobs which they knew they would be exposed

to once they migrate, Mr. K.Malik said,

> " Yes, I anticipated it. But it was O.K. for me. I did not migrate for money or higher position. I had enough money back home. I migrated because I could see things changing very fast. Our social position was always good. We used to enjoy local people's respect and attention from all the government officials when they were posted in the area. But gradually, both were diminishing. My father started confining himself within the home. He would not even go to the local Officer's Club (such officer's clubs exist in almost all town centres, and being a member by virtue of one's job or position in the community is an added prestige). I was myself going through a crisis about my position in the society. *I realized I would never be able to be someone like my father the way he was in his young age,* nor like the people I admire, such as successful actors, high government officials, orators and some public figures. I knew something of that sort was expected of me by family and friends. In the end I decided I would go to another country where these would not bother me. *Mind you, I am not saying that I would have been a failure in my own country.* I mean that I could not be what others expected of me. So,the lower position you talk of - I thought I would not mind that in any western industrial country , as long as it is not demeaning to me personally. Main thing is that I could not face the reality of the changes that were taking place in my country and at the same time I did not like the gradual erosion of our respectability in the society."

Mr. B.Akhtar from the same category (educated) offered an alternative and elaborate evidence about the resigned acceptance of lower position upon migration. He said,

" You see that the socio-economic positions of our country differ greatly from those of European countries, although somewhere in a vague way they do resemble each other.You have your Royalty, Lords, Ladies in England. They are the true upper class. The rest are all subjects. In our country, we do have Nawabs, direct descendents of Moghuls and Persian people. But they were not able to keep their positions after the British left. They still remain the big people of the country, having worked their way to become industrialists, big merchants, exporter-importers. They have been able to manipulate this in their favour because of their hereditary connections with the power holders of the country. But they are small in number. They are not seen or heard of much. But a large number of the people, though not of such high class or blue blood have been in good positions in Bangladesh. Even before the British came, such people by virtue of their learning, intelligence, power of oration and arbitration in disputes, and other qualities occupied higher positions in the eyes of the villagers. Within the Hindus, such positions were guaranted for higher castes. The caste system determined their social positions. But as the British came, a new class gradually emerged.

"They are the ones who received English education. At first it was those higher castes of the Hindus and higher classes of Muslims who received such education, not many from the common Muslim people. But the common Muslim people eventually caught up with the Hindus. This destabilized the old system of allocation of respectibility in the country as a whole. By the time the British left, and India was divided into two, many common people with good education came to claim their higher position in the society. Many got it through jobs in the government offices and in medicine, teaching, law, engineering, politics etc. But such higher positions needed to be guarded all the time. Many of them did not admit the rural agricultural or other background of their parents or grandparents, although many unassuming persons openly admitted it. In the sixties when there was the offer of skilled immigration to Britain, many educated people from this category left the country with a view to improving their qualifications and return to gain higher positions. You know that many of them have not gone back. This system was getting stable gradually in then East Pakistan until 1971 when it became independent Bangladesh. Then there was radical changes. Many of the people who rose into higher positions during the Pakistan period occupied more powerful positions. I read somewhere that there were only 10 millionaire families during Pakistan time, now there is more than 2,000 millionaire families in Bangladesh.

"But those 2,000 rich people have not been able to share their affluence with other educated people of the country, or with the people already in respectable jobs like medicine, teaching etc. The latter were losing out in the rat race of becoming rich quickly, or having cars and other western consumer goods that were freely available in the open market. As soon as these people get a chance they migrate - whether to England, or America, or Saudi [Arabia], or Malaysia, or Singapore, or Australia, or anywhere else. They go. We hear that many educated Bangladeshis are taxi drivers in New York, many doctors and teachers are opening small shops

like travel agencies in Singapore. But they don't mind - they have escaped from the deterioration of their social status in their own countries, and they don't mind doing anything. You will have to go to live in Bangladesh and you would understand why an educated person is even willing to sweep the streets in Hong Kong or whatever."

The researcher asked the above respondent that if these people could buy the consumer goods and amenities locally, would they still have migrated. At this Mr Akhtar asked the researcher if he had said anything to suggest that. When pointed out that he said about "losing out in the rat race of becoming rich quickly, or having cars and other western consumer goods", he said in obvious state of agitation,

" That's not what I meant. It was not really those western toys I meant, I was mentioning the status and positions associated with them".

Analysis of the above :

During the discussions on 'prestige', it appeared that most of the above respondents had some fixed idea of 'success' for themselves in their homeland. For the rural people dependent on land the 'prestige' and 'status' in society depended on the attitudes of people and institutions around. On the other hand, for people of towns with education, each had some kind of some concrete examples before them. This situation is known in sociology as *comparative functions of reference groups.* (Runciman, 1966). Dr. S. Uddin above realized that he would never be able to be *like his father* (who was a magistrate), and also as a doctor *he would not be able become a Professor* . Similarly, Mr J. Ahmed lamented that he migrated because he would not have become like his idols of lecturers and professors in the homeland.

Secondly, the 'prestige' issue was seen by most respondents in relation to the homeland. The 'dignity of labour' slogan has been remembered by many and they thought that becoming members of the working class (or for some doctors accepting lower positions in relation to their qualifications) in England was not disrespectful.

Migration of the Children of the Elites of Bangladesh :

A side issue arose in the group discussion with Group B (educated) about the migration of rich people, particularly of their children. Though collection of data on this was not in the guide card, the discussion that followed proved helpful in some way. According to most, rich people are sending their children abroad because the educational establishments are not efficient enough to impart quality teaching. At the same time, most higher educational establishments, particularly universities are full of hooligans, and political killings are rife. These are taken as valid reasons for sending children abroad by those who can afford it. But the crucial reason was offered by one participant. According to him,

> " These children of rich people continue to operate in their parental businesses from abroad. With the internationalisation of markets, Bangladesh is also doing business internationally,both as exporter and as importer. The really rich people would not like to see their children controlling uneducated factory workers, such as in garment factories or ill-planned glass or cotton factories. *At the same time, they would be well advised to stay away from government jobs, teaching etc because that would mean rubbing shoulders with 'commoners'*. So, they send their children abroad. Of course they buy top class houses or maisonettes for their children to begin with. Money has never been the objective of that exercise!"

Whether the above constitutes migration is not ascertainable at this stage, but many such past cases have eventually entered the British job market.

Table 16

Expectations from Migration

To return with what I need	105	(70%)
Nothing in particular	25	(17%)
Would be better off on return	20	(13%)
	150	(100%)

This question was put to all respondents in an open ended format. The replies varied, some of which were short and some lengthy. They were grouped into the above three statements after some further probing at the end of each interview. In the first one (70%), the answers that were grouped were such as; enough money to

return, establishing business in England, qualifications, arranging a good match for the children (particularly of daughters). On further probing, most agreed that all such matters they have said really meant they expected higher social prestige.

Some answers (13%) were categorical about their possible higher positions when they would go back. 17% did not expect anything in particular.

iii. MIGRATION DECISION AND AFTERMATH

Table 17

Present Occupation

Unemployed	53	(35%)
Semi-skilled*	25	(17%)
Unskilled jobs*	22	(15%)
Professional	20	(13%)
Semi-professional	30	(20%)
	150	100%

*(*people in catering either as owner/partner or employee entered themselves in these two categories)*

The replies in this section cannot be totally relied on. All the respondents from category B (Educated) stated they were employed, but at least two were already known to the researcher as unemployed. The notion of skilled and unskilled jobs was not very clear among many respondents. Any factory job was regarded by them as skilled or semi-skilled job. For example, a lathe machine attendant assisting the operator claimed to be a skilled worker. Also those who had been working in catering trade considered themselves as skilled workers. Office workers classed themselves as semi-professionals. Respondents with British qualifications at degree and post-degree level simply stated that they were professionals irrespective of the actual work they perform. Such incongruities have not been challenged or re-examined because they were small and could be ignored for the sake of preserving good relations with the respondents.

There seems to some mobility among the category A (unskilled). 25 respondents in this group wished themselves to be counted as job holders in semi-professional fields. On closer examination, it became apparent that any office job is considered by many as 'semi-professional'. Although the term was not intended to mean any office job, the researcher took into consideration the fact that re-questioning the respondents would not serve any purpose since it is their own perception of their jobs which matters in this thesis. 20 respondents of the category B (Educated) stated they hold professional jobs and 5 stated that they hold semi-professional jobs, such as local authority and ethnic minority advice jobs.

The 35% unemployment of the sample was recorded mostly in the upper age categories. There were 49 unemployed persons in the 55+ age group with 4 from 46-54 age group. Many of them looked older than their stated age. The possibility of understating age in the passport (they did not have any birth certificates as they were not issued) was jokingly explored at which most of the respondents of upper age brackets nodded. One respondent laughingly said, "Maybe, but we did not know our real age, the travel agent or whoever made the passport wrote our age".

Apart from their being older than the stated age, the researcher looked into another phenomenon of their working life cycle. People from the farming background in Bangladesh have a different pattern of working life. They marry early, the average male age being 24.0 in 1974 (Bangladesh, Govt of, *Population Census*,1974) but in the 1950s and 1960s it was known to be lower (approximately 20.5 in 1951). They have grown up children by the time they are 40 or 45. The sons usually take over the major jobs in the field and elsewhere, and the fathers usually take advisory and supervisory roles by the age of 50. This is more or less supported by the figures of average life expectancy in Bangladesh which was 54.8 in 1984 (Bangladesh, Govt of, *Birth, Death Sample Registration*,1984). Even now, the pension age in government service is 57 (Bangladesh, Govt of, *Statistical Yearbook*,1993).

The above shows that many of the respondents, now in the higher age bracket, have obviously reached the age of retirement in their minds. So, their present unemployment and living on Income Support and other Benefits is not considered by them as out of order, or demeaning in the community. On the other hand, their unemployment gives them enough time to devote to religious activities, visiting the homeland, and consolidating family affairs such as properties in Bangladesh.

Table 18

Happiness in the Job (Total sample 93, ie eliminating unemployed)

Happy	28	(30%)
Reasonably happy	15	(16%)
Unhappy (slightly)	18	(19%)
Not happy at all	10	(11%)
Could be better	22	(24%)
	93	100%

Those in employment were asked to tick one box and a space was left for any comment. The evidence received did not divulge anything particularly interesting, except one wry comment 'Does it matter?'. However the breakdown of replies received from the category B (Educated) expressed happiness (both 'happy' and 'reasonably happy' replies). 22 (24%) 'Not happy at all' replies came from younger age group of Control Group A(unskilled).

Table 19

Fulfilment upon Migration

	Both categories	Category A (unskilled)	Category B (educated)
Fulfilled - fully	36 (24%)	28 (22%)	8 (32%)
Fulfilled - partially	67 (45%)	53 (42%)	14 (56%)
Not fulfilled	35 (23%)	22 (18%)	13(52%)
Don't know	12 (8%)	10 (8%)	2 (8%)
	150 (100%)		

Note : Percentage of column 1 is against 150, of column 2 against 125, of column 3 against 25.

A total of 103 (69%) stated that their objectives of coming to Britain have been fulfilled in various degrees. 36 (24%) was fully satisfied. Further stratification of the sample showed that the satisfaction upon migration was slightly different in the two Groups. 22% (28 out of 125) respondents from the category A(unskilled), and 32% (8 out of 25) from category B (educated) were satisfied about their migration decision. The two categories of respondents showed a different pattern in the matter of 'partial satisfaction'. 42% (53 out of 125), and 56% (14 out of 25) are noted as partially satisfied from the two control groups respectively. 23% stated that migration has failed them. This was rather high (52%) among category B(educated), and low (18%) among category A (unskilled). 8% from each group were unsure about fulfilment aspect in their migration.

Closer examination of the evidence reveals that Hospital Consultants, GPs with good practice, high class catering establishment owners, and older unemployed people were mostly happy with their migration venture. Unhappy ones were GPs in small practice, doctors with high British qualifications working at below consultancy positions at hospitals, barristers, people with family problems (such as problems with children not conforming to homeland traditions, particularly in marriage matters), and finally those who on occasional visits to Bangladesh and meet their old friends and relatives who are now well established in private and public lives.

Table 20

Contact with Homeland

A. **Personal visits**

More than once a year	38 (25%)
Once in two years	65 (43%)
Once in three years	26 (17%)
Irregular (between 4 and 10)	16 (11%)
Never	5 (3%)
	150 (100%)

B. **Contact with relatives and friends**

Regular (monthly)	95 (63%)
Regular (3-4 times a year)	25 (17%)
Not much contact	30 (20%)
	150 (100%)

C. **Keeping abreast with the developments at homeland (depth of knowldge tested by way of discussion)**

Political developments	125 (83%)
All developments	55 (37%)

Most of the respondents maintain close contact with homeland, including learning about political developments. This confirms that migrants 'half live' in their countries of migration.

One respondent Dr. Zubair who gained MRCP (Membership of the Royal College of Physicians) in Britain and who is working as a Consultant in a hospital said,

> " As far as my success in life is concerned, I don't really think migration made much difference. I came here when I was 28, now I am 50. If I had returned home after gaining MRCP ten years ago, I would have by now - I mean not immediately - have a position of my choice at homeland. But I was impatient, and I was concerned about my social prestige that an MRCP should not be working as an Assistant Professor. I now realize that such a notion was wrong. But the fact remains that I migrated for the same social prestige issue. I stay put with the idea that I am doing a useful job here, and that makes me happy."

In contrast to that statement, a barrister Mr. Ramzan sounded totally disillusioned having decided to practise in England. In his statement he spoke of his dream of high social status and enough money in the following manner,

> " In Bangladesh or in the sub-continent (ie. Indian sub-continent), Barristers form the top social class. Barristers play an important role not only in the legal arena, but also in political spheres. But in England, barristers play a sub-ordinate role, often subservient to solicitors. Funny that we get high respect from all communities, but not really from the profession itself. On top of that we continually face discrimination. Some solicitors openly state that Indian or Black barristers are unlikely to win a case. I think I shall be going back soon."

The researcher got involved in some questions and answers during the group meetings. The following is a summary of conversation with category A (unskilled).

Question : Do you think your migration decision was right?

S.Zahur: Looking back, I don't think so. I have now got a house, some money and that's all. But I am most unhappy. Having to live here for such a long period, though we have many countrymen now, and our families, I feel it is not right. When I go back home for a visit, I am surprised that many of my old friends are living quite prosperously. My other relatives also look happy. You see, I could have earned and lived like them if I did not migrate.

Q : So you consider that your migration decision was wrong.

S.Zahur: Yes.

Another Respondent Mr. Quamrul spoke with emphasis about the attitude of his homeland people about migrants.

Mr. Quamrul: I wanted to be rich and prosperous in the village, and that's why I migrated, but after 20 years I feel that it was useless. On the other hand, I have more problems than before. At one time, I belonged to my village, but now as I go back, I feel distant from everything. This is so due to the fact that migrants are simply regarded as source of money by relatives and local shopkeepers. They don't see in us anything else. I cannot tell them that the life we lead in Britain is very hard, and that money does not come easily. They would not believe that.

Q : Why not ?

Mr. Quamrul: I don't know. May be people who returned earlier told them of a rosy picture in Britain. But that is not the point. They know quite well what we do here. Therefore, all they want is to see our money.

Q : But many migrants have built palatial buildings in their villages. Haven't they?

Mr. Quamrul: Yes, some have. And that has created more problems than solved.Everyone who lives abroad is expected to have lots of money.

Another respondent Mr. Moin in the same group elucidated the above by stating;

Mr. Moin :Once I was going to Bangladesh. We have to land in Dhaka International Airport and then change planes to go to Sylhet. For some reason, we were put up in a high class hotel in Dhaka. But they were not giving any food. On enquiry, a hotel staff said to us, 'The restaurant is open, you can buy whatever you want'. One of the passengers replied, 'We are not going to

buy them; by law you are to supply food'. At this the hotel staff became angry and said, 'Don't show me laws. What do you know of law, you spend your days and nights in England by peeling onions and potatoes'. You see, they know of our low status, and they treat us like that. But if we spend money then they would welcome us.

Q : Are you all saying that your migration decision was wrong.

Mr. Moin : Well may be, but considering what was the situation when we first decided to come to England and what we wanted to achieve, it was not a bad decision. We are settled somewhere, that's all. Some of our countrymen are really happy in England, some are not.

Q : People from Bangladesh are still migrating to other countries. What do you say about that?

Mr. Quamrul: They are different. Except for some going to America, the rest are short time contract labourers, and many illegal ones. They go singly, no family, nothing, and come back after a (stipulated) period. They are not like us - not permanently removed.

Q : Do they enjoy higher status when they go back to Bangladesh?

Mr. Quamrul: Not really! Maybe they will be better off if they managed to get lots of money, otherwise it does not mean anything.

This issue of 'success' in their migration venture was raised in all group interviews. Some respondents who insisted that their migration ventures were successful spoke in the following manner,

"At least I got away from the daily humiliations and sufferings [in the homeland]. What does it matter what I do here ?" (Mr. Reaz,a local government worker)

"Once I was asked to go back by a big businessman who would pay me salary as large as that of a high government officer, plus a partnership in a chain restaurant busines in Bangladesh. His aim was to introduce British Indian Restaurant food in Bangladesh. But I declined since I would not work as a 'chef' in Bangladesh. I can be a chef in England, but not in Bangladesh. It would be too derogatory for me to be a chef there. Actually, if I did not migrate, I would have achieved nothing in comparison with my friends and relatives (meaning his peer groups). I am OK here." (Mr. Maruf, a chef in an 'Indian' Restaurant)

"I have done a lot of work for Bangladesh from here. Through the Bangladesh Medical Association, we have managed to obtain recognition of medical degrees of Bangladesh in Britain. For this and other work, I feel successful. If I stayed in Bangladesh, I would have been just one of the doctors. In that way I feel I have been successful here." (Mr. Pahran, a General Practioner)

"As far as I am concerned, I am happy for not having to work as a farmer any longer. Here I am a worker, I get wages, and when laid off, I get Social Security money. The government looks after me in illness, my children's education is free, I can do what I like. Yes, I think, it was a success." (Mr. Rabbi, a factory worker, now unemployed)

Analysis of the answers in respect of 'success':

It seems that the homeland is a constant and live issue with the migrants. Their successes or failures are related to their homeland. The 'chef' above considers his job in Britain acceptable to him, but he could not accept the same position back home. The consultant would not accept a position lower than full professorship in Bangladesh, but he was happy to remain a consultant for rest of his life in Britain. On the other hand, someone escaped drudgeries of life in Bangladesh, and another enjoys social benefits of the welfare state available in Britain.

Earlier analysis on 'prestige' and 'status' question yielded almost the same result. It cannot be resolved from the evidence received anything remarkable related to migration. It seemed like a simple spatial relocation for jobs and different lifestyle. The crucial questions in migrations, such as choice of the countries to migrate, subservient positions of the migrants, ethnic differences etc. did not come up in any answer.

Intention of Return and Opinions about Homeland

These two questions were asked by structured questionnaire, but their analysis in tabulated form is deemed unncessary. Except 12 respondents, all of them said they would like to return, 'but'. The 'buts' are various, but they are uniform in matters of 'children not willing to return', 'after completion of children's education and when they are settled', 'upon retirement'. Of the 12 who spoke differently that they would return soon, 6 have already gone back during the last stage of this research including the barrister (above).

Opinions about the homeland were extreme, such as 'the country has gone to the dogs', 'India will soon take over the country', 'Politicians should be shot dead'. 20 respondents stated that the country is now being ruled by Razakars (collaborators - who sided with Pakistan during the 1971 War of Independence).

Gradations of Migrants by Countries of Migration

The evidence on this aspect was not specifically collected. It came as an additional information volunteered to the researcher during qualitative research stage about the present day migration of Bangalees to the U.S.A., Arab Countries and the far East. One respondent put it clearly, "Of the countries where our people are migrating now, Britain is on the top of the league, next is America, the worst is Saudi Arabia and Far East". When asked to explain further he said, " Britain has been our home for such a long time, and because we get all the social benefits, enjoy all political and social rights, particularly we get a slice of our home in the shops, it is just like a second Bangladesh, isn't it?"

Summary and Conclusion

Migrants themselves did not have much to determine in their migration matters. One of the established patterns and trends of postwar migration has been 'old colonial link'. The use of that link was decided by the old colonist, not by the old colonial population. An "immigration welcome" signal was sent to Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) and people responded to it. Despite two hundred years of British rule, the rural population of Bangladesh do not speak that language. So, a language rule can be overlooked for the majority of the migrants. For educated and professional people, the language link helped, but that can not be seen as determinant for coming to Britain.

The route of migration to Britain from the point of view of the migrants was mainly through the travel agents, who had close connections with the government

offices to obtain passports, etc. The activities of the travel agents were more concentrated in Sylhet division as they found a ready made group of customers.

The predominantly lower SEG migrants with not much industrial skill were anticipated by the British government until 1962. Britain as a country of migration was given a favourable signal through word of mouth, and some elements of prestige was associated with it. Still, this was not directly stressed by any respondent. On the other hand, the 'prestige' issue remained firmly embedded in the minds of the migrants only in relation to Bangladesh. It appears that an old slogan like 'the dignity of labour' helped some migrants overcome the lowering of their position upon migration. It is also found that that there is an element of myth regarding the composition of the migrants. That they come from lower SEG seems to be a myth. They are put into jobs for lower SEG once they have migrated by the country of migration. In their own country, their social position was usually higher than thought. This applies equally to unskilled as well as educated/professional migrants.

The majority of the migrants who have settled in Britain permanently seemed to be negatively happy and fulfilled by their migration venture. They are happy because they have managed to live well without having to fulfil expectations of their own or of others.

Considering that this thesis is about the act of migration, and not a treatise on the consequences of migration, the above evidence collected should be sufficient for moving onto the final chapters.

Chapter 10

Towards a Theory of Migration

The final objective of this thesis is to offer a theory of postwar migration. The questions that need to be answered at the beginning are whether a theory of postwar migration is *needed*, and if so, whether the theory would be *applicable* only to the postwar situation. It is also necessary to explain *which major discipline* the theory thus offered will fall into.

Do we need a Theory of Migration ?

The *need for a theory of migration* has been felt by the academic world since the turn of the last century. Ravenstein's Laws, produced in 1885, can be regarded as the first attempt to formulate a theory of migration. In the early and middle parts of this century, many 'theories', sometimes no more than descriptions and analysis under phrases such as 'Push-pull', 'Chain' etc, have been offered. Many of them have been later rejected as ahistorical. Subsequent attempts based on the principles of economics have produced a number of migration theories. Many of them have been declared as unacceptable as they are based on marginalist school of economics. All these are detailed in the theoretical part (Chapters 2 to 4) of this thesis. It is apparent that there is no one generally acceptable theory of migration. Therefore, this thesis believes that a theory of migration is needed.

Universal Applicability of a Theory :

The next question that needs to be answered is whether a theory developed by studying only one segment of the phenomenon can be *applicable* to human

migrations as a whole. Postwar migration has taken place at a time when new nations are still forming forming, and ethnic origins of population living in certain territories (formerly not known as nation states) are being defined and stressed. In the prewar period, population movements contributed to the structure and ethnic composition of the new nation states. So, population movements in the postwar period can be regarded as distinct and it is possible to frame a universally acceptable theory of migration. Despite the limitation of empirical research conducted in this thesis, it has taken full note of the historical specificity of postwar migrations. The applicability of the theory developed from this research will be dependent on a definition of migration.

The known history of men and women on earth bears testimony to the fact that population has never been tied to certain spatial areas throughout the ages, and that the ethnic origins of nations, culminating in modern nation states have been diverse (Smith, 1986). European people, particularly the British who settled in foreign lands permanently were called the 'settlers'. As more Europeans joined the settlers in those countries they created social and work environments which were homogeneous to their original cultural patterns. Demographically, these movements are migrations. But their migrations are not usually compared with the migrations of people of non-European origins. Gary Freeman and James Jupp state that Australia and the United States "began life as settler societies founded as colonial outposts of European powers" (1992: 9) presuming that the settlers are settlers, although the title of the monograph under their editorship is *Nations of Immigrants*. Such a discord between the title and the contents, is due to a lack of agreed definitions of 'settlers' and 'migrants'. We need to agree upon definitions of the two terms. Once we have definitions, we will be able to judge whether a theory of migration can be univesally applicable.

Which Discipline should Accomodate Migration Theory ?

Major disciplines which have contributed to the study of migration, are Demography, Economics, Political Economy, Social History, and Sociology. All these disciplines have made significant contributions in our understanding of the phenomenon of human migrations from beginning to now. Two of them, Demography and Economics attempt to fit migration phenomenon into their existing theories and/or theoretical frameworks. Outside these, the pioneering work of Castles and Kosack (1973) falls into the domain of political economy. Important works on Social History of migration have appeared in the late '70s and '80s (*e.g.* Holmes,1988; Pooley and Whyte,1991; Fryer,1984). Social History and Demography offer excellent empirical grounds on which a theory can be developed. But these disciplines themselves are not geared to offer theoretical treatise unless the authors go beyond the peripheries of their disciplines (such as Ceri Peach has done,*cf.* Peach, 1968, and 1990). It is only Sociology that attempts to develop a theory of migration from within the discipline itself. Many authors have specifically studied migration for developing sociological theories (eg. contributors in Jackson, *ed*, 1969), but no general sociological theory has emerged.

Robert Miles has found that there is no sociology of migration available to us and he considers that "the development of a sociology of migration would be an empirically and theoretically rewarding initiative" (1993:126). This thesis echoes the same and attempts to offer a sociological theory of migration. At the same time, this thesis believes that migration studies can be undertaken by any discipline, even medicine, but the salient theory of migration has to be sociology based. On the other hand, migration studies itself can become a major subject on its own, similar to empirical subjects, such as Public Administration, Social Policy etc., but not a discipline in itself.

Towards a theory of Postwar Migration :

Postwar migration studies in the western European countries have been characterised by many currents and crosscurrents of thought. Some of them are based on observation, some on empirical evidence, some on theoretical principles of more than one discipline, and some have been influenced by Amercian 'sociological studies' initiated by the Chicago School of Sociology (*cf.* Chapters 2 and 4). Despite the varieties of grounds on which these studies, particluarly the ones produced in the wake of '60s 'labour migration' from the Caribbean countries and the Indian sub-continent to Britain, are based, two common factors are discernible in them. One is the application of classical migration theories (Ravenstein's Laws, 'Push-Pull', 'Chain migration', Petersen's typology etc.*cf.* Chapter 2), and the second being, emphasis on the 'colour' and 'race' of the migrants. Of the literature produced with the 'colour' and 'race' as the major theme, many of them fall within the field 'Race and Ethnic Relations' studies with certain chapters or sections devoted to 'migration' (Rex, 1968; Banton,1967; Dummett, 1973; Patterson, 1969; Rose *et al ,* 1969 , etc).

Some authors have chosen to describe the patterns and trends of postwar migration, but refrained from spelling out a theory (Castles and Kosack,1973). In fact, the classical migration 'theories' such as 'push-pull', 'chain migration' have been used and complemented with 'surplus labour theory' with emphasis on the relationship between the 'South', the 'impoverished regions' and the 'North', the industrially developed regions. It seems that the 'surplus population theory' combined with the impoverished region phenomenon did not encourage many authors to go beyond the 'push-pull' model developed immediately after World War II (*cf.* Chapter 2). The differences of 'racial origins' of the migrants have been stressed in most of these studies. Even the authors who reject the concept of 'race', have tended to use the concept as a descriptive term and also as an analytical tool (Sivanandan, 1982; Gilroy, 1987).

The result is that postwar migration studies have not been able to offer a theory of migration in the light of new population movements. This statement is not made to undermine or belittle the importance of the studies referred to above. This thesis acknowledges the significant contributions they have made in the wake of large scale 'black' immigration to Britain and Europe. It was in fact an opportune moment for some to make attempts to eradicate 'racism' nurtured by the European countries as a whole and also to make amends for the colonial injustices of the past. It was also necessary at that time to dispel the deterministic and popular ideas developed for centuries about the 'black' people since they came to work and live amidst the Europeans. Their attempts have certainly helped the development of anti-racist strategies in many governments, institutions, and private enterprises. At the same time, many European people have been provided with the words to denounce 'racism' from within their own communities.

But they have not provided a theory that could explain the new migration of the postwar era. In other words, emphasis upon the issues of 'racism' and 'ethnic relations' has failed to develop theories of migration in the light of new patterns and trends of population movements.

Ever Changing Patterns of Migration

The task of theorising on any issue can be difficult and complicated by new developments. In the postwar period, developments in population movements have been rapid, with patterns and trends changing within less than a decade. In Britain, the official welcome of postwar immigrants, marked by the arrival of *SS Empire Windrush* from Jamaica in 1948, ceased by the passing of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act. Further Acts and Laws made primary immigration almost impossible. The family reunion processes and new marital arrangements brought further 'immigrants' from the New Commonwealth Countries.

Any theory of postwar migration could be based on patterns and trends of the phenomenon. Generally speaking, the western European experience of migration in the first ten to fifteen years after World War II are as follows:

- movement of population from impoverished regions to the industrially developed regions, including migration from the European periphery to western Europe;
- the flow of migration often developed from old historical links,eg.the colonial link;
- demise of the contract labour system in western Europe;
- permanent settlement of the above migrants, thought to be temporary both by the migrants and by the receiving countries; and
- permanent settlement of the migrants soon led to their families joining them.

The above trends were also evident in Canada, the U.S.A. and Australia. For example, in Canada, immigration policies immediately after World War II were to allow only Europeans. The 1966 White Paper on immigration introduced a non-discriminatory points system, by which non-Europeans could come (Breton *et al*, 1990). Family entry had always been encouraged in Canada. Similarly, Australia which allowed only Europeans in the postwar period, eventually started allowing non-Europeans by late '60s. Despite their having family migration policies, the male surplus situation prompted changes in the immigration laws in 1975 to accept women as the heads of families, thus encouraging single women to migrate to Australia.

By the '70s, such migration came to a halt as most European countries changed their immigration policies. This was followed by the movements of refugees and asylum seekers arriving in the European countries (Widgren, 1991:9). The previous pattern of migration to western Europe was not sustained. In fact, apart from family union and new marital relationships, no further labour migration of an unskilled

nature has been taking place. According to Castles and Miller, "a fundamental restructuring of the labour process and of the world economy" brought a total change in the migratory pattern (1993:77).

Typology of New Migrations offered by Appleyard :

According to Appleyard, the typology of international migration of the '90s is as follows :

- *permanent (settlers),* including persons admitted under family reunion schemes;
- *temporary contract workers* . . . ;
- *temporary professional transients* . . . ;
- *clandestine or illegal workers* . . . ;
- *asylum seekers* . . .; and
- *refugees* as defined by the 1951 UN Convention ...

(Appleyard, 1992:22-23. *Italics as in original*)

This typology fits the global migratory pattern of the time. This pattern can be called a new development since the seventies and it is markedly different from what had been observed during the earlier decades, when primary migration leading to settlement was encouraged by different countries including Britain. Appleyard's second typology *'temporary contract workers'* though present in the sixties in West Germany under the 'guestworker' system, the new *'temporary contract workers'* can not be called the same. The new *contract labourers* going to the Middle East & Far East countries are strictly 'temporary' with no hope of obtaining resident status now or in the near future. Many of them end up in prison or being deported without legal representation. A recent report states that there are at least fifteen thousand Bangladeshi labourers in prison and labour camps in Malaysia (*The Janomat Newsweekly*, 7th April 1995). Many of them have been branded as illegal, but the legal *contract labourers* are branded illegal if they are without a job.

The rest of Appleyard's typology are being experienced by the western European countries in varying degrees only in recent years. His *'temporary professional transients'* category does not record professional and academic permanent migration, though this type of migration is at present gaining momentum from the 'third world countries'. At one stage, particularly between 1945 and 1970, the 'brain drain' phenomenon used to relate to parts of the British migration to Australia, Canada, the U.S.A., South Africa and elsewhere, but in the '90s, there is a massive 'brain drain' from the 'South' to everywhere in the world. From personal observation and published information in the form of "Letters from overseas" columns of two leading weeklies of Bangladesh (*The Bichitra,* and *The Khaborer Kagaj* published from Dhaka, Bangladesh), I gather that many highly educated and professional people have migrated to the Far Eastern countries in recent years when those countries started receiving temporary labour recruits. It is also learned from the above sources that many such migrant professionals, including doctors are engaged in odd jobs in Malaysia and Thailand, and also in the U.S.A.

New Migration Trends as identified by Castles and Miller :

Castles and Miller have identified four general tendencies of migration movements around the world which are likely to play a major role in the next two decades. These tendencies are, *globalisation of migration, acceleration of migration, differentiation of migration* and the *feminisation of migration.*

By *globalisation of migration,* the authors mean that more and more countries are affected by migratory movements at the same time, and the diversity of the areas of origin are increasing in such a way that most immigration countries have entrants from a broad spectrum of economic, social and cultural backgrounds. *Acceleration of migration* is about the increase of volumes of migrations in all major regions. The third tendency *differentiation of migration* means that "most countries do not simply have one type of immigration, such as labour migration, refugee or

permanent settlement, but a whole range of types at once". *Feminisation of migration* is an expression the authors have used to mean that women play an increasing role in all regions and all types of migration, and that apart from more female labour migrants, some refugee movements are marked by a majority of women. (Castles and Miller 1993: 8-9).

Problematics of Developing a Theory of Migration

The purpose of referring to the above is to recognize that migration trends and patterns in the postwar period have not remained static as time progressed. The patterns and trends of the '90s recognized by both Appleyard, and Castles and Miller are in stark contrast with earlier patterns. The South and North divisions are no longer mentioned, nor are words such as 'old colonial ties', 'impoverished regions', 'surplus populations', 'some sort of linguistic links', 'unskilled labour', 'peasant migration' uttered in relation to the new global population movements.

As time progresses, new migration patterns are created. In the '90s, the U.S.A. is fast becoming the next country of permanent migration for many Bangalees from Bangladesh. The reason is that the U.S. Government have opened up channels for such migration. 'Lotteries' are held every year to allow fifty thousand immigrants yearly from some selected South Asian countries (including Bangladesh). By their immigration policies, a person receiving a 'Green Card' can take his/her immediate family (including dependent parents) to the U.S.A. (Press release, published in *Janomat Newsweekly*, London, October 1994).

Some of the migratory zones of the past, such as Turkey, Italy, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran in the southern Europe and Middle East on one hand, and Japan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand in East and Southeast Asia on the other hand, have now become countries of immigration (Castles and Miller, 1993: 5 -7). Middle Eastern countries have become established for temporary migration for

Bangalees. After the Gulf War, both Saudi Arabian and Kuwaiti governments have pledged to take further manpower from Bangladesh. Recently, the Kuwaiti government has promised to compensate Bangalees who had to leave Kuwait during the Gulf War, and they have asked for fifty thousand extra manpower from Bangladesh in 1995 (Source: *Janomat Newsweekly,* April 14, 1995). This shows that the choice of the countries of migration does not rest with the migrants. Yet it is a commonplace experience to read, 'such and such number of migrants have arrived', whereas it should have been written as, 'such and such countries have organised the arrival of such and such number of migrants'. Migrants do not 'arrive' according to their discretion, they are made the subject of discretion of the governments of the countries of migration.

Under constantly changing patterns, there may not be much scope to formulate a theory of postwar migration. In Chapter 4 of this thesis, a theory of *zonal imbalance* has been developed. It has been noted there that certain zones within a migratory country can participate more in migration than other zones. It has also been shown that such zones do not remain permanent. This rejects the 'chain theory of migration'. In Bangladesh, new migratory zones are now being created, and the new migrants are mostly from the educated town people. A trend has not yet been established or become visible to theorize on this.

As migrations become more complex than before, migration studies have become increasingly segmented. Much has been written on the migration of black people to the European countries. A theory based on that particular example will naturally be narrow. Migration of black people is only a part in the total migration phenomenon. But how much of the 'white' migration should be taken into account needs to be decided. It seems that a theory of postwar migration must establish whether 'black people migrating' is a situation different from 'white people migrating'. Earlier in Chapter 3, this issue has been discussed in the empire building and colonial

expansion contexts. It has been established there that 'domination' and 'power' are two important elements in deciding 'migratory status' of a person or a group of persons. Accordingly, empire and colonial settlers could not be called migrants.

Having said that it may be possible to argue that the European migrants in the postwar period should be regarded in the same category as any other migrants, but only *with some differences*. The first major difference seems to be the treatment received by the migrants. European migrants to European dominant countries are treated differently than the non-European migrants. Second, the cultural homogeneity or non-homogeneity in the new place needs to be considered. Earlier, this thesis reflected on whether a Bangalee migrant arriving to Brick Lane in London should be considered to have moved into a culturally different territory. The same thought may occur in relation to Europeans migrating to Australia or the U.S.A. and choosing to live in European quarters. Apart from the spatial transition, none of the two groups may experience different kind of cultural transition. In both situations, such migrants usually enjoy the company of people from their home countries, speak the same languages (even dialects), practise the same lifestyles (albeit some changes necessary due to different climatic conditions), follow their distinct religious and social customs, and sometimes work amidst their own people (*e.g.* for a Bangalee in Brick Lane, working in catering trade, shops, garments factory, schools, offices, ethnic minority associations etc.).

Categorizing Different Migrants and Migrations

There are differences between the two cases of a Bangalee and an European. The specific points to consider in this situation are as follows:

- Similarities / Dissimilarities of the socio-political infrastructure of the new countries of residence with that of homelands,
- Proximity to / distance from of that infrastructure.

Depending on these two, there may be a need to categorize migrants. A Briton arriving in Sydney and working in responsible position at the Sydney City Authority may not experience much changes in his/her socio-cultural, workplace and even market place surroundings. At the same time, he/she has the feeling to have associative relationships (being a member of the same dominant ethnic group) with the power structure of the new country. This situation is different for the Bangalee migrant referred to above. He/she may continue to live in a social surrounding similar to his/her homeland, but the historical fact of subordination and lack of access to 'power' in the socio-political infrastructure would continue to decide his position as a migrant, despite any equality ruling in the new country. Furthermore, the cultural differences strengthened by 'multi-cultural' practices will distance him/her from the mainstreams of the new country. Whether such differences will replicate among the new generations is not a question this thesis is geared to answer, but it may be suffice to add that as time progresses, State in the new country will definitely find means to underline the differences. Presuming this, Appleyard states, " ... wide and widening income differentials between the North and South can be narrowed only by economic policies initiated by the North and directed towards economic and social development of the South" (1992:9). His policy package is actually delivered with a subdued idea, possibly unintentional, that migration from the South to the North should be considered undesirable.

From the above it can be discerned that to be called 'migrants' and to be included in a theoretical treatise on migration, all people who move from their original spatial/ residential locations and 'migrate' to spatially removed countries or territories may not qualify.

This means a new typology of migrations from persepectives which have to be different from both Appleyard (1992) and Castles and Miller (1993) is needed. The following is an attempt towards that. I would like to stress that the following is not

a new typology, nor does it offer groupings into which all people who have moved from their 'original place of residence' (if there was any) should fit. It is only an attempt to understand different kinds of migrations towards developing a theory of migration.

(a) *Demographic Migration* (including settler migration, slavery and indentured labour),

(b) *Politically /Administratively Defined Migration*

(c) *Socio-Cultural Transition Migration,* and

(d) *Non -Sociocultural Migration*

Demographic Migration takes place when people move from one spatial location to another, resulting in the formation of a new group identifiable only within the new country. This new identity is irrespective of their original ethnicity which in turn was different from the indigenous population of the new location. This thesis considers that settler migrations, forced and semi-forced movements of people, such as slavery and indentured labour migrations are to be considered demographic migrations. They are part of the same population movements that had occured for centuries globally until the formation of nation states in Europe, and kingdoms and empires in South and East Asia (e.g. Mughal Empire, the Mughals were not Indian in origin). These migrations are not the same as the ones detailed below.

Politically/Administratively Defined Migration occurs when people are required to obtain permission of the political or administrative authority to move within a country which has been divided politically after years of being one country, e.g. India into Pakistan and India, and later Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, or East Germany - West Germany, or North Korea - South Korea. In most of these instances, there are *no* socio-cultural variations between the people of two parts of the country.

Socio-Cultural Transition Migration is where the people move beyond the socio-cultural homogeneity in and/or practices of the countries of origin.

A ***Non-Sociocultural Migration***, on the other hand, can be a *demographic* or a *politically defined migration* where the people move into another homogenous socio-cultural environment or a country. This category can accomodate what is known as 'internal migration'.

It can be argued that *Demographic Migration* should be all encompassing. It is true that the task of demography is to study all population movements and their nature as well as their compositions. But this thesis has already discussed that since many population movements are no longer termed 'migrations', a distinct category is needed to group them.

The absence of a category of 'labour Migration' may be noted by some. This thesis does not consider that 'labour migration' can be a category in itself. That the migrants, either on a short-term or long-term basis, including refugees and asylum seekers, enter into the labour markets of the destination countries is too obvious requiring any analysis. The labouring elements in migrations are not of that much importance as the production systems in the countries of migration. In other words, *modes of production* in the countries of migration require more analysis in determining migrations than the compositions or characteristics of 'labour' in migration. Labour is made to respond to the demands of capital, not *vice versa.*

One might also feel that 'refugees','asylum seekers' or 'illegal migrants' should have a separate category. This thesis wishes to argue that they can easily be accomodated within the above four categories, such as a South Korean migrating to North Korea can be accomodated in the second category of *Politically/Administratively Defined Migration ,* whereas if he/she is a refugee in the U.S.A., he/she can be put in the third category of *Socio-Cultural Transition Migration.* Types of migrants can be

innumerable. The international consultants in a 'high tech' world, professionals in scientific and technological field, and the highly-skilled, whom Appleyard calls *professional transients ,* sometimes know no barriers. It is possible to add on, but they too can be grouped in one of the four categories in the same way as has been accomplished with the refugees, etc. The objective is to encompass the movements within a framework, so that an agreement may be reached regarding the nature of the 'move'. It must also be stressed that the categories offered are about categories of movements.

Defining Migration

This thesis wishes to stress that *Socio-Cultural Transition Migrations*, the third category above is the one which can be said to constitute sociological migration. This has not been stated earlier by any sociologcal or migration literature, though most of them (as examined in Chapter 2 of this thesis) dwell on this category of migration. This category of migration, if accepted for further analysis can also confirm that *only* the migrations of poor and unskilled people in search of jobs and money are *not* to be the concerns of migration studies. All *socio-cultural transition migrants* need not fit the *Seventh Man* (Berger and Mohr,1989) descriptions. There are always significant migrations of people from higher status groups (Salt and Findlay, 1989). Sometimes, their presence is not considered a problem. Likewise the presence of highly skilled persons contributing to the world of science and technology is quite often hidden by calling them persons 'of international repute'. But this thesis would stress that they too are migrants in the same way as unskilled/semi-skilled people who are distinguished by crossing the boundaries of socio-cultural homogeneity.

This thesis can now offer a *provisional* definition of Migration in the sociological sense. This is similar to the definition of a 'Migrant' offered in Chapter 1.

> *Migration is a movement of population by which the people travel to live in a spatially different area where the dominant socio-cultural practices are different.*

This is called provisional because further dimensions such as forces that cause migration are to be incorporated after the evaluation of the empirical evidence.

Wage-labouring Class of Bangladesh

One particular aspect of the twentieth century migration needs to be stressed here. A person has more chances of becoming a migrant if he/she has been made into a wage-labourer, devoid of any vested interest in the core activities of production. The British rural-urban population movement and later emigration to all over the world were made possible due to the availability of the wage-earning class. Bryan Turner writes,

> ...capitalism developed in the countryside through the enclosure of land which forced the peasantry to become wage-earning class of agricultural labourers on rural enterprises whose produce was destined for European markets. The Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth century therefore took place in a society which already had established most of the critical elements of a capitalist infrastructure. (Turner, 1988:38)

In Bangladesh, the *village system* had been destroyed by the new land tenure system and revenue collection methods introduced by the British in 1793 by the Permanent Settlement Act. Rural industries had also been destroyed in the beginning of the British rule. Consequently, a wage labouring class was created. At the same time, vassals and subvassals like zamindars, talukdars, jotdaars etc. have been established in relation to the land (*cf.* Chapter 6). In other words, along with a system of making a wage-labouring class, a new feudal class had also been created in Bangladesh.

After independence in 1947, the system changed at structural level by the abolition of the Permanent Settlement Act. But the abolition did not reverse the situation for the majority of people. Instead, it increased landlessness among them (Omar, 1978;

cf. Chapter 6). So, Bangladesh had a large wage labouring class of peasantry origin ready for industrial call up. At that time, the political order remained feudal, while the young educated class became the 'intellectual' group influencing social and cultural ideologies of the society. The two groups, i.e. the political power group based on feudalism and the educated group, did not enter into a direct conflict with each other, at least in the beginning. The educated class, in fact, formed the likeness of a bourgeois class in the urban centres of Bangladesh where capitalist development had been forming but only under the control of the ruling elite of West Pakistan. The attemp of the educated class in Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) to gain political power resulted in the eventual 1971 Bangladesh War of Independence fought against West Pakistan (Alavi, 1972). However, we shall restrict ourselves in the discussion of what the socio-economic situation was before 1971.

The status and prestige in the pre-1971 Bangladesh society was ideologically portrayed in various ways, but they were mostly based on the traditional value system of the society with ancestry and caste as the decisive elements. The society as a whole was striving to follow the road to capitalism without a visible capitalist infrastructure, particularly since money to invest as capital was lacking. As a result, the *cash nexus (cf.* Marx, explained in Chapter 1) that explains social relations in a capitalist society did not, strictly speaking, form in Bangladesh. But the economic still determined the character and place of various institutions within the social formation. The economic dominated the cultural, political and ideological relations in that society. The traditional value system, although talked of and fondly held by many, as our empirical study has confirmed, could not remain as the force which determines the above relations.

Before the establishment of Bangladesh, except for a few feudal families, the majority of people of Bangladesh had been reduced to either a employment seeking or a wage labouring class. The empirical evidence collected above from non-

migrants or could-be migrants on one hand, and from the migrants on the other, shows that the offers for migration were either declined or accepted depending on their personal analysis of their own social positions.

Myths of Postwar Migration

Myth of Economic reasons :

Economic reasons are often put as the basic force that cause migration. But this thesis argues that social reasons are more important than economic reasons. For, the economic does not directly drive a person into action. It only contributes to the determination of cultural, legal and ideological relations in the society. It also determines the place of various institutions within the entire social formations. This develops a set of practices which are experienced differently by different people. Some people strive to change these new social relations by some course of action. Migration can sometimes be seen, if there is a possibility, as one such course of action.

Myth of Decision-making by the Migrants :

The above situation does not automatically lead people to migrate. Because, the migration decision, often stated as a decision taken by the migrants themselves, is in fact taken by the country of migration. The much heralded concern of the western industrially developed world about the new complex global population movements are complex only because true pictures are not revealed. The immigration decisions by most of the countries receiving short term or permanent migrants have been taken by inter-governmental consultations. The issues of passports, visas, and channelling of necessary information are organised by the governments of the destination as well as of the sending countries. Under the sub-heading *Problematic of Development of a Theory of Migration* above (in this chapter), it has been shown clearly how the U.S.A. is fast becoming the next country of permanent migration from Bangladesh.

At the same time, Middle Eastern countries and some countries in the Near and Far East are becoming the countries for 'short term migration'. The decision was not the decision of the Bangalees of Bangladesh.

Decision making processes in migration occupies a considerable volume in migration studies, but they are often dismissed the next day. The reason is that the migrants *manufacture* some lofty reasons, whereas they only took part in decisions made for them. All that should have been asked is what procedures they had to follow to get visas or work permits to migrate. Any subtle question beyond that could not be truthfully replied to. The ideological character of the construction of some questions put to the migrants need to be explained here. A question such as 'Why did you decide to migrate ?' is ideological because it put the onus of migration-decision on the migrants as if no state or inter-state aparatus existed. But if asked, 'How did you manage to migrate ?', the migrants would be able to explain the resources that were available to them and doors that were open.

Myth of Choice of Country of Destination :

Migrants *do not choose* their country of migration. The choice is placed before them by the countries that require them. Even in a situation like it is in the '90s when Bangladesh government have been approached by the governments of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Thailand, Japan and Korea for manpower supply, the choice lies not with the migrants, but largely on the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) of Bangladesh.

Though the 'colonial link' between India and Britain did not operate at the level of new migrations, it certainly did for the British passport holders who as British subjects had rights of entry to Britain until the changes incorporated in the immigration laws. The 'mother country phenomenon' described in Chapter 4 of this thesis was such a 'link'. Such a 'link' has also been made use of by some migrants at

a later stage by obtaining educational qualifications and experience, gained at the country of one time ruler, whose legacy had been left in the former colonies. But the link itself was not their choice. This is now explicit in the light of new 'links' forged with many countries for migration. Such historical and colonial 'links' do not mean anything in the '90s. The only 'link' is that of 'manpower needs' of the prospective country of migration. Some even reflect on religious links since predominantly Muslim Bangladesh has developed a manpower link with Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries. This is again a fallacious assumption, since the 'religious links' are not maintained for technical and military manpower requirements, as the Gulf War has demonstrated. At the same time statistics and data presented by Arnold and Shah in 1984 clearly show that the composition of Asian migrant workers in the Middle East included nearly 240,000 from India (largely of Hindu origin), 142,000 from Pakistan, 63,000 from Bangladesh, 151,000 from Korea and 105,000 from Thailand in 1982 (Arnold & Shah, 1984).

Myth of Lower SEG in migration :

It has been generally agreed that the majority of the postwar migrants from Asia and the Caribbean Islands formed the resources at the lower rungs of the labour market in the British economy. The Asian migrants in particular were not very literate, or were illiterate, and they came from the peasant stocks of their countries of origin.

The literacy rate in Bangladesh is poor. According to the 1991 Census of Bangladesh, the literacy rate of the population of 7 years and above is 32.4% in the whole country. This 32.4 % is made from different rates in different districts which ranges from lowest 19.5% to highest 53.9%. In the Sylhet Division (which has been upgraded as a Division only in 1994), the rate ranges from 22.3% to 33.8% (Bangladesh, Govt. of, Bureau of Statistics, 1993). As most Bangalee migrants arrived in Britain from that region, it appears that general idea of low literacy among

them can be supported. But the application of low literacy rate to determine the SEG of the people can be a fallacy in a migration context. Migration is in itself an expensive proposition in the postwar period. The amount of money needed in the '60s for a Bangalee migrant was over 2,000 Taka just for the air ticket Incidental costs of passports, work permits, clothing, pocket money could be more than double the air fare, not to mention of hefty commissions charged by most scrupulous travel agents. The whole exercise was beyond the means of the 'lower SEG' of Bangladesh. This migration was not the same as the 'gold rush' or rush for the 'new world' that was experienced by the Europeans to go to the American continents. At the same time, certainly there was no assisted passage scheme of any kind.

The migrants are brought in to fill the lower categories of jobs in the western European countries and the NICs. What needs to be determined in migration studies is not how the migrants are classified in the country of migration according to that country's SEG system and by jobs they hold after migration, but by the SEG of the migrants before migration and occupational / social levels in their countries of origins.

The creation of the above myths of migration can be attributed to a few specific reasons. First, the theories produced on migration in the early postwar period have been rejected and branded as ahistorical, because they were based on marginalist school of economics (*cf.* Chapter 4); Second, the totality of the phenomenon has not been comprehended because the majority of writings on migration have been based only on the western Europe's postwar experience of migration, and the kind of migration termed as 'voluntary migration'; third, preoccupation with the ethnic compositions of the migrants diverted the attention of many from the focal issues of migrations. The result, emanating from the above three, is that migration studies have become ideological to a great extent. The thoughts expressed by the European governments, and International Organisations, such as OECD, EEC, UN etc about

migration are those of 'concerns', and are sometimes oblivious of the fact that extra manpower for capital was urgently needed. Appleyard's policy document which stresses 'income differentials' between countries (1992), though excellent in summarizing all kind of migrations happening in almost all countries of the world, is marred by its being problem-driven.

Viewing Migration from Migrants' Point of View
(based on historical and empirical evidence) :

Human migration, whatever reasons may cause them, is undertaken by people. Migration does not happen in a vacuum. Conditions have to exist, and people must be prepared to respond to those conditions in a certain manner. One part of what Gramsci called *dual consciousness* has to be exploited ideologically. Once the people are made to act in a particular manner which yields benefit to the dominant and capitalist class, the processes for the future are set in motion. People then become a part of those processes. Whether these accrue benefits to the people then becomes irrelevent.

One such process is migration. Migrants are made to believe that it is their own action by which they have migrated. At the time of migration, people do not reflect much on the socio-cultural transitions, their thoughts are concentrated on getting away from some immediate problems, or resolving some problems. The reality as constructed for them is such that to the best of their beliefs, they are migrating on their own accord. It is only after a laborious period that they realize the consequences of 'their actions'. But in the meantime, the State mechanisms which had originally triggered 'their actions' have developed other systems to soften the adverse impact on migration. In case of socio-culturally different migrants, 'race relations', 'equal opportunities', 'multi-culturalism', 'naturalisation for citizenship' are such softening tactics. Migration is not a problem, it is a tragedy for some as long as the great divide of nation and class exist.

The historical evidence of Bangladesh in this thesis has revealed the long and uneven road to changes in the *mode of production* in that country, and gradual transformation of people into wage labouring class. The country which once had a flourishing system of agriculture, fisheries, livestock, small industrial crafts and artisan products of the highest quality (such as muslins) have been made to disband its artisanship and craft production, and to depend solely on agriculture. The system of production and distribution of farm produce had also undergone changes to such an extent that the peasants lost all the lands and became wage labourers. The small landholding that continued in practice was not enough to sustain the traditional lifestyles of such landholders. On the other hand, the emergence of an educated group could only create another job seeking class. Political power remained in the hand of old feudal class whose loyalty to the colonial ruling power was unabated. The market economy of such a country works without investments and thereby without many technological innovations. It becomes labour-intensive, and the labouring class can only be paid subsistence wages.

The whole society awaits a change. The responsibilities of their economic ills are put on the shoulders of people (erroneously called the State) running the country, not on the economic systems in force. Miliband's analysis which describes power in a capitalist state as a 'plurality of competing elites' who are held together by a multiplicity of familial, religious, educational and cultural ties (Milband, 1969), is particularly apt for Bangladesh or Pakistan. In such a society, according to Marx's *cash nexus theory,* the economic determines the character and place of various institutions within the entire social formations. And the economic dominates the cultural, political and ideological relations in the society. Common people, either the masses, or educated groups become bewildered at the disppearance of traditional values and their fondly held value systems. Even if we wish to consider Weber's alternative model of 'closed community relations' and 'open associative relations' that

determine the social relations in society, the net result comes to the same. The changes in both affect the social relations and erode the traditional value system.

Migrants from such a society are the disillusioned people who have experienced the changes. The peasants who pack up for another country, do so in a calm and placid state, determined to bring back the old value system by their action. They dream of amassing enough money and return home to get back what they think they lost due to their lack of money. On the other hand, the educated people who are not close to the dominant power elites of the country experience disappointments at almost every turn of their adult lives.

The poetics of a sophisticated lifestyle that they had dreamt of do not exist. Professionals like doctors, scientists and engineers feels betrayed by the system, the service seekers find themselves in a corrupt system, and the people who choose an independent livelihood such as journalism and the legal profession are belittled at every turn of their existence. They strive fruitlessly for some period and then give up. Migration to whatever country or situation is a boon to them. The struggle to achieve the poetics of life is over. Upon migration, they are no longer pursuing their ideals. The concept of 'Sramer Marjada' (dignity of labour) make them carry on in a socio-cultural environment that is alien to them, and where they can still dream of what 'could have been'.

The chef in Birmingham would not return home, despite having been offered a plum job because the job is that of a chef in his homeland. The junior doctor in a British hospital would not return to Assistant or Associate Professorship job in his homeland because he would be a 'junior' to the full Professor. The chef and the doctor are the same person - a person who rejected the social relations that exist in his homeland.

Servitude to capitalist exploitation, or making a 'decent' living in a capitalist economy is welcome relief for a migrant because he is insensitive to the new social relations that he experiences after crossing the border of his socio-cultural boundaries. He has become a migrant, enjoying all the academic and political attentions as a member of 'ethnic minority'. Sometimes he participates in various activities within the 'community' and makes contact with the dominant power holders in the new country. Depending on what he was, what social position he had in his country of origin, he attempts to reconstruct a new world for himself within the 'community' but ends up replicating the original societal set up from where he came (Alam,1988).

He does not react to racist taunts from 'ignorant' indigenous population, nor is he surprised by institutional discriminations. He knows that such misdemeanours will be taken care of on his behalf by the State and by some 'white' people who confess that the 'white' society is 'racist' and who would try to make amends. Sometimes he may go back to his homeland for holiday only to show his indignation directed to the situation prevailing there, or as a model of civilised being. But at heart, he continues to suffer and keep track of social, cultural, political and economic events of his homeland. He feels that the homeland has disowned him, not that he disowned the homeland.

Capital's Use of Migrant Labour

Colonial powers started making use of forced 'migrant' labour in the form of slaves as early as mid-seventeenth century. This type of labour has not been an innovation of the Europeans, but such labour in bondage had been in use in classical Greece and Rome. In the modern period, slavery had not been started by the colonial power. There is evidence that Arab trades of flesh was common in the fifteenth century onwards, and that African rulers and merchants collaborated with the European slave-dealers. This means that slaves as money-saving labour had been recognized

long before the European started dealing with slaves. But the fact remains, as Peter Fryer puts it that "before the coming of the Europeans the institution of slavery was not widespread in Africa" (1988:10). The same author calculated the staggering profits made by the engagement of slaves in plantation labour. Depending on the historical specificity, capital's use of the slave trade resulted into different mode of production, e.g. Marxist regard that in the southern states of North America, use of slaves resulted into *agrarian capitalism using slave labour,* and this was different from *slave mode of production.* After the abolition of slavery, indentured labour filled the gap.

'Branded labour ' in Capitalist Mode of production

Capital's need for 'cheap' and at the same time, this thesis wishes to add, 'branded labour', is often overlooked. By 'branded labour' this thesis means those labour who are deterministically different from the ruling authority and their members. The use of such 'branded labour' in India in the tea plantations that the colonial powers initiated is well exemplified. Apart from the reasons of shortage of indigenous local labour, it is not explained why the tea plantations in Assam and Sylhet used distinctive tribal people from various parts of India (*cf.* Weiner, 1978). That a policy towards the creation of a 'plural society' had been pursued by the British colonial rulers in many parts of the world is noted by Rex (1970). In such societies, the ethnically different people meet only at the market place, but not socially, thus enabling the ruling authority to maintain control over the people by using the socio-cultural divisions among them.

Capital does not only need 'cheap labour', it also needs to maintain authority over them in the process of capital accumulation. According to Wallerstein, the world capitalist system which started as early as mid-seventeenth century, and the movements of people since then are to be seen as complementary and contributing to the extension of that system (1980). Some authors find the above untenable in the

light that all population movements since that time were not directed towards 'wage-labouring'.

At the same time, it has been argued that connection between capital accumulation and migration may not be direct, but mediated. In this thesis, the connection, whether direct or mediated, is fully recognised. The connection was not a tool for nation building, but it was a tool for maintaining differences among the nations. The 'branded' migrants, distinct from the rest of the population, are merely 'resources' for use by the capital in the industrially advanced nation states, and in the postwar period to date in the NICs (New Industrial Countries), particularly countries in East Asia. Labouring people's distinctiveness and differences from the members of the dominant groups are ensured by two specific ways:

(a) By the caste system as practised in India, and

(b) By ensuring the lower cultural levels of the working class as practised in the industrially developed countries and now in the NICs.

However one explains culture, one has to admit the use of culture as stressing the social asymmetrics within the indigenous population and direct sub-ordination of wage labourers. (In stating this, I have used Richard Johnson's theory freely altering its applicability for this thesis. He argues "culture involves power and produce asymmetrics in the abilities of individuals and social groups to define and realise their needs (Johnson, 1983 : 3).)

Such 'branding' can be perceived in the legistative support toward a migrant labour system in the postwar period. The continued invitation and allowance of immigrant labour (eg. in the U.S.A. at this moment) despite recession and high unemployment in a country is often explained in terms of localised labour shortage. In theory and practice, this 'localised labour shortage' argument does not hold good. Some authors have expressed British ambivalence in this issue and regarded this as 'racist'

intervention in the political decision-making in immigration (Green, 1979; Sivanandan, 1976). Surely, the NICs had their feasibility studies before massive investments in industrial developments. The use of foreign labours (branded because they are foreign) in the East and Far Eastern countries might have been planned beforehand.

The above brings this thesis to argue that the use of 'free' labour (Marx, 1973; well explained by Miles, 1987) which can be shed at short notice should it become necessary, must have been a condition of the industrialisation programme in the NICs. Such 'free' labour better be 'foreign' and ethnically distinct. The fact that the 'skills' of the new migrants have not been emphasized as relevant in practice (but on paper only) is evident from the choice of migrants from the peasant population of non-industrial countries. In other words, capital accumulation process is better served by a 'branded labour' system, and such labour is offered by migrants who undertake a *socio-cultural transition migration*.

View of Non-Migrants on Migrants and Migration

From the empirical evidence of Non-migrants of Bangladesh (Chapter 8), it appears that people who had had opportunities to migrate at the time of a major migration tendency in the *zone (i.e. Sylhet)* but did not migrate, do not think highly of migration. It is also understood from the evidence that those who did not undergo very much social change at that time, or who could adjust in the new social set up, would not migrate. But if the mode of production in Bangladesh had undergone drastic changes, and the process of the formation of a large wage-labouring class had been complete or nearly complete, their non-migrancy could not be explained.

It will be necessary to demonstrarte here the limited effectiveness of 'non-migrancy' evidence. The sample of the evidence has been chosen in relation to the migrations of the '60s. Though most respondents were categorically anti-migration,

some admitted that it had been possibly a mistake by not migrating at that time. Bangladesh as a small nation state does not exist in isolation. The capital accumulation process that was started by the British in mid-eighteenth century is still going on, and the dynamism of changes in social relations has not stopped. People who did not migrate at one time occupied some specific social positions in relation to the socio-economic situation of the country.

It is possible to infer that they were satisfied with their positions. But now, new people in the same positions may not be happy with themselves. On the other hand, a large slice of total migrants from Bangladesh has become 'temporary migrants' to the Middle East countries, and to the Far East and East Asia. Statistics of state organised migration from Bangladesh are maintained by the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) of Bangladesh. According to BMET published figures, 188,124 people have left Bangladesh in 1992. From the figures of four years prior to that (1988 to 1991), the 'new' migration totals nearly half a million. Unskilled people are approximately fifty percent of the total which comprises professionals, skilled and semi-skilled people. No sociological survey is available about the breakdown to determine the social positions (according to Bangladesh SEG *cf.* Chapter 5) of the unskilled people.

The point to determine here is whether people in the same positions as the 'non-migrants' of this thesis, now migrate. Upon observation, and from various wrtings in Bangladesh newspapers and magazines, their social positions do not seem to be very different from the migrants of the '60s. It can be inferred that similar people as the non-migrants' of this thesis have migrated by now. This means that as time progresses, the attitude to migration may change, and also that migrations which are predetermined as 'short term' may be more acceptable to some. (Though short-term in concrete reality does not make much difference in migration, since the migrants of

the '60s thought that was a 'short-term' venture). In other words, migrations have continued unabated from Bangladesh across all social divisions.

Capital accumulation processes which drastically changed *modes of production* in Bangladesh (*cf.* Chapter 6) affecting *social relations* at all levels have ensured that the employment seeking and wage-labouring class would migrate as and when capital requires them. In this the people's resistence to migration soon crumbles down. Countries they now migrate to, have no previous links of any sorts, their length of stay is indefinite, their social position in the countries of migration is undetermined, the zones they migrate from are varied (defying the 'chain migration'), and no other factors apart from wage earning factor and need of capital at some territory (no list of 'push-full' factors are needed for them) play any role in their migration.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

Postwar migration has attracted the attention of the academic world from various points of view, but more from the point of view migrants' ethnicity than the migration process itself. This thesis argues that such extra attention could have been quite appropriate in migration studies, if only those studies had produced a definition of migration to begin with. Towards meeting that deficiency, I have offered four categories of migrations, *a.Demographic Migration, b.Politically/ Administratively Determined Migration, c.Socio-Cultural Transition Migration, and d.Non-Sociocultural Migrations.* The concerns of most migration literature and a large number of sociological writings are centred around the third category. I have also argued that *socio-cultural transition migration* constitutes sociological migration in the light of postwar global situation when ethnicity and cultural differences are accorded greater attention.

Many authors have criticised Wallerstein's world system (1974) and tried to prove that capitalism cannot always be linked with migration, stating that not all migrations are wage-labour oriented. Examples of non wage labouring migrations are given as political refugees, asylum seekers etc. A simple answer to this criticism is that one must look for the forces which have turned these people into 'refugees' or 'asylum seekers' in their countries of origin. In another argument, Robert Miles has stated that if *relations of production* are considered to be an essentially defining feature of a *mode of production*, then the fact that the forced migration (slavery) put such migrants in *slave relations of production* means that there can be no direct relationship between capitalism and migration in that instance (1987:6). This argument can be invalidated on two grounds: first, slavery did not cause migration

but a forced 'demographic migration' took place by slavery; and though slaves were not wage-labourers, they performed within the same capital-labour relationship where surplus value of labour can be appropriated by capital towards capital accumulation processes; secondly, when one looks at the relationships between capitalism and migration, one has to look at *mode of production* prevailing in the countries of origin from where migration has taken place. This thesis does not find any real contradiction between Wallerstein and his critics. Migration is induced, it does not happen in a vacuum. The inducement by capital is not achieved directly, but through different phases. The great upsurge in emigration from Britain in the eighteenth century happened because of capital's need for expansion. The emigration was made possible because of various changes, particularly by the introduction of 'enclosure' system which destabilized the relationships of peasants to the lands and made them into wage labourers. Capital had played its part, but it required other changes as a result of the *capitalist mode of production* before migration could happen.

The postwar migration which has been generally termed as 'voluntary' due to certain ideological explanations, has been examined by highlighting the myths. Myths of economic motives on the parts of the migrants, myths of decision-making by the migrants, myths of the choice of the country of destination, and myths of lower SEG in the postwar migrations have been exposed above. The historical evidence from Bangladesh, a specifically postwar migratory country, and empirical evidence collected from both migrants and non-migrants show the falsehood of such myths.

This thesis has introduced a new concept *'branded labour'* applicable to the postwar migration. The *socio-cultural transition migration* fits neatly in this description. This concept can explain why true migrations, as different from settler, or empire building migrations, generally consist of people of different ethnicity (or

of different tribal origins) having characteristics by which they can be differentiated from the members of dominant groups. In state organised migrations, this phenomenon is readily discernible. Cultural differences are then maintained as part of maintaining asymmetrics.

This thesis agrees with the *cash nexus* theory of Marx and Engels and later developed by Marx (with full awareness that I risk being called economistic and /or functionalist). According to this theory, the economic in a capitalist society determines the character and place of various institutions within the entire social formations, thus dominating the cultural, legal/political and ideological relations in the society. Together with this, *mode of production* which is the relationship between the relations of production and the forces of production, has been taken into account to determine how changes in *mode of production* in Bangladesh since the promulgation of the Permanent Settlement Act in 1793 to the Abolition of Zamindari Act 1950 have created a large wage labouring class. The above changes have altered the fabric of old social relations in Bangladesh society based on the simple value system and value judgments into different a kind social relations in which the economic dominates the cultural, political/legal and ideological relations.

The result is that the common people have been attempting to resolve the problems of having to live in different social relations without being able to grasp the causes of such changes. The *dual consciousness* (Gramsci,1971) of the people of Bangladesh, one part of which is the revolutionary consciousness has been suppressed by the ideology of dominant and capitalist class. This was made possible by the *hegemony* of the postwar western super powers in most developing countries of South Asia.

The postwar need of extra manpower in the western European countries arising out of massive emigration of European people to the 'New World', and to Australia have been met from various areas of the world according to some historic 'links'.

This link has been sometimes regarded as a permanent link in migration theory. A closer examination of *zonal imbalance* in migration clearly reveals that the colonial link with India did not produce migrants from all areas of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The migrants of Pakistan originated mostly from Mirpur and Azad Kashmir, those of India from Punjab and Gujarat, and those of Bangladesh from the Sylhet region. This negates the myth of imposition of colonial links.

The *zonal imbalance* had been created by the governments and agents in association with the governments to serve some specific purposes. This may suggest that if changed *mode of production* affected the whole country, such *zonal imbalance* would not persist in migration. The migrations of '80s and '90s to the petroleum-rich Middle Eastern countries and NICs of the East are characteristically devoid of any *zonal imbalance* in Bangladesh. Therefore, relationships of the changed *mode of production* with migration from Bangladesh remain unaltered.

This thesis believes that there is no *direct* relationship between capital and migration. Capital induces changes in *mode of production* of a country, and the *cash nexus* resulting out of changed *mode of production* ensures that a new kind of multi-dimensional *social relations* which are not a set of positions, nor a set of actual people, but a set of practices, emerge. Under such circumstances, people experience dislocation, and some become particularly vulnerable and look for escape routes. As and when capital requires more manpower, its agents look for such manpower in places where reserves are likely to be found. For Britain, such places were the Caribbean Islands and the Indian sub-continent, for Germany they were the southern parts of Europe, for the Netherlands they were Surinam and other islands, and so on. The old 'link' was only that of information link, not a reason for selections. The presence of a sizable migratory group which would be supported by the relevant governments was one determining factor in establishing the 'link', the second being 'brandability' of them by some visible criteria.

The people who have undergone extensive changes in their social relational aspects of living responded with a view to resolve the problems either by saving enough money, or by gaining qualifications and return. Others rejected the idea of migration. For those who migrated, the idea of a short term work abroad did not bring any desired result due to the fact that the their objective of changing their social relations on return could not be fulfilled. The *social relations* have not been determined by the presence or absence of some objects such as money for investment or qualifications/experience, but by a process of capital accumulation which continue to remain in force. The inability to fulfil their dreams on return makes most home-coming migrants return again to the countries of migration if the law allows.

The provisional definition of migration offered in Chapter 10 can now be perfected in the following way :

Migration, in the sociological sense, is a socio-cultural transition of place of residence, triggered by capital's need for manpower that should ideally be distinguishable from the members of the dominant population in the country of migration. The process of migration is induced through changes in social relations caused by the capitalist mode of production which contribute to the formation of a wage labouring and job seeking class and by 'cash nexus' which affect changes in the social, cultural, political/legal and ideological relations in the society from where people migrate.

A theory should be able to provide explanation of major events of a phenomenon, and at the same time cover areas bigger than its focal point. The success of a sociological theory will be dependent on external factors; therefore, such external factors will also need to be explained in the theory. It should also be able to distinguish between similar phenomena so that its singular applicability can be maintained. The above definition of migration meets all such requirements. The definition offered can be a step towards a sociological theory of migration.

APPENDICES

Appendix I : Pilot Study Questionnaire

Appendix II: Questinnaire - Style 1 - For Migrants

Appendix III: Questinnaire - Style 2 - For Non-Migrants

APPENDIX 1

Pilot Enquiry Questionnaire

(In Bengali, with English translations)

১। প্রথমে কবে বিলাতে এলেন ? ..... সন
তখন বয়স কত ছিল ? .....
কি হিসাবে এলেন ? .....
[1. Year of Arrival ? Age then? Status on arrival]

২। আসার কতদিন পরে কাজ পেলেন ? .....
আসার আগে কি কাজ করতেন ? .....
[2. How soon started working? Occupation before coming to Britain]

৩। এসে প্রথমে কোথায় উঠলেন ? .....
এখন কোথায় থাকেন ? ভাড়া না কেনা?.....
[3. Housing- on arrival, and now?]

৪। ভবিষ্যতের জন্য কি করবেন ? .....
দেশে বাসাবাড়ি বানিয়েছেন কি? .....
[4. Future plan? Properties, etc. in the homeland?]

৫। প্রথমে যা কাজ করতেন এখনো কি তাই
করেন? .....
না বদলিয়েছেন .....
এখন কি করেন .....
[5. Changes in occupation in Britain, present work]

৬। বিলাতে আসা কি সার্থক হয়েছে ? .....
[6. Opinions on migration- was it worthwhile?]

APPENDIX 2
QUESTIONNAIRE

STYLE 1 - For Migrants

PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Date of Birth :
   and/or Age brackets, 25 - 35 ❑ ; 36 - 45 ❑ ; 46 - 54 ❑ ; 55 + ❑

2. Year of Arrival : Before 1962 ❑ ; 1962 - 1971 ❑ ; After 1971 ❑

3. i. Marital Status at that time : Married / Unmarried
   ii. Marital Status now : Married / Unmarried

PROPERTY HOLDING

4. HOUSING
   Before Migration Own house ❑ ; Parental ❑ ; Other ❑
   any other information. . . . . .
   [including residential plots]

5. LAND HOLDING
   Before Migration Cultivable land in own name ❑
   Cultivable land share in parental land ❑

   any other information. . . . . .

6. HOUSING IN BANGLADESH After Migration
   Own house ❑ ; Parental ❑ ; Other ❑
   any other information. . . . . .[including residential plots]
   In BRITAIN Own house Yes ❑ ; No ❑ ; if no, is it rented or does it belong to your own people,such as your son, etc. ;

7. LAND HOLDING IN BANGLADESH After Migration
   Cultivable land in own name ❑
   size of holding : Upto .50 acres ❑ ; upto 2.5 acres ❑ ; upto 5 acres ❑
   Cultivable land share in parental land ❑
   size of holding : Upto .50 acres ❑ ; upto 2.5 acres ❑ ; upto 5 acres ❑

   any other information. . . . . .

EDUCATION
8. Level (please state) . . . . . where obtained. . . . . .
   any other information. . . . . .

OCCUPATION BEFORE MIGRATION
9. OWN OCCUPATION
   Agriculture (own land]
   size of holding : Upto .50 acres ❑ ; upto 2.5 acres ❑ ; upto 5 acres ❑
   Agriculture (as labour)
   Unskilled Jobs ❑ Professional Jobs ❑ Office Jobs/ teaching ❑
   Not working , please explain . . . . . .
   Unemployed (actively looking for jobs)
10. FATHER/LEGAL GUARDIAN'S OCCUPATION
   Agriculture (own land]
   size of holding : Upto .50 acres ❑ ; upto 2.5 acres ❑ ; upto 5 acres ❑
   Agriculture (as labour)
   Unskilled Jobs ❑ Professional Jobs ❑ Office Jobs/ teaching ❑
   Not working , please explain . . . . . .
   Unemployed (actively looking for jobs)

SOCIAL SITUATION BEFORE MIGRATING

Social circles

11. What was the following situations of your most intimate friends

HOUSING . . . . . .
EDUCATION . . . . . .
OCCUPATION . . . . . .

Your own concesption about your social class/status

12. Which group in the following you belonged before migrating
Upper ❑ ; Middle ❑; Lower Middle ❑ ; Lower ❑

MIGRATION

13. Why did you migrate ?
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

14. How did you learn about such a possibility?
From returnees ❑; Travel Agents ❑; Relatives & Friends ❑

15. Did you know whether it would be easy or difficult to get a job in Britain ?
Easy ❑ ; Difficult ❑

16. What kind of jobs did you expect to find in Britain ?
Unskilled-factory jobs ❑ ; Catering -restaurant jobs ❑ ;
Professional/Office Jobs ❑;
Any other . . . . . .

17. What sort of accomodation you thought you would get?
. . . . . .

18. What did you expect to get from migration?
. . . . . .

UPON MIGRATION

19. Your present occupation
Skilled Job ❑ ; Semi-skilled job ❑ ; Professional Jobs ❑;
Semi-Professional jobs ❑ ; Office Jobs ❑ ;
Any other (eg. catering, own business)
. . . . . .
Unemployed ❑ ;

20. Are you happy in your present occupation/job ?
Could be better ❑ ; Reasonable Happy/O.K. ❑ ; Unhappy ❑;
Happy ❑ ; Nothappy at all ❑ ;
Any comment . . . . . .

21. Do you feel fulfilled by migrating to Britain ?
Fulfilled - fully ❑ ; Fulfilled - partially ❑ ; Not feel fulfilled ❑ ;
Any other . . . . . .

RELATION WITH HOMELAND

22. Personal visit : Frequency
More than once a year ❑ ; Once a year ❑ ;
Once in 2 years ❑ ; Once in 3 years ❑ ;

Any other frequency ❑ ; Never ❑

23. Contact (letters or telephone) with Relatives and Friends in Bangladesh:
Frequency (please state) . . . . . .
Not much ❑ ; rarely ❑ ;

24. Do you keep yourself abreast with developments in Bangladesh ?
Yes ❑ ; No ❑ ;
If yes, which one you learn more about
Political developments ❑ ;
Economic, cultural etc. ❑ ;

WOULD YOU LIKE TELL ME ANYTHING MORE ?

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

WOULD YOU LIKE TO DISCUSS MORE ALONG WITH SOME OTHER BANGALEE FRIENDS SOMETIMES IN FUTURE ?

Yes ❑ ; No ❑ ; Not Sure ❑ .

APPENDIX 3
QUESTIONNAIRE

STYLE 2 - For Non- Migrants

PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Date of Birth :
and/or Age brackets, 25 - 35 ❑ ; 36 - 45 ❑ ; 46 - 54 ❑ ; 55 + ❑

2. i. Marital Status : Married ❑ / Unmarried ❑
If married, single marriage ❑ ; More than one marriage ❑ ; Divorced/Separated ❑

If more than one, please specify . . . . . .

PROPERTY HOLDING

3. HOUSING
Own house ❑ ; Parental ❑ ; Other ❑
any other information. . . . . .
[including residential plots]

4. LAND HOLDING
Cultivable land in own name ❑
size of holding : Upto .50 acres ❑ ; upto 2.5 acres ❑ ; upto 5 acres ❑
Cultivable land share in parental land ❑
size of holding : Upto .50 acres ❑ ; upto 2.5 acres ❑ ; upto 5 acres ❑

any other information. . . . . .

EDUCATION
5. Level (please state) . . . . . .
any other information. . . . . .

OCCUPATION
6. OWN OCCUPATION - At the time when you had opportunity to migrate
Agriculture (own land]
size of holding : Upto .50 acres ❑ ; upto 2.5 acres ❑ ; upto 5 acres ❑
Agriculture (as labour)
Unskilled Jobs ❑ Professional Jobs ❑ Office Jobs/ teaching ❑
Any other jobs, please state. . . . . .
Unemployed (actively looking for jobs)

7. OWN OCCUPATION - Now
Agriculture (own land]
size of holding : Upto .50 acres ❑ ; upto 2.5 acres ❑ ; upto 5 acres ❑
Agriculture (as labour)
Unskilled Jobs ❑ Professional Jobs ❑ Office Jobs/ teaching ❑
Any other jobs, please state. . . . . .
Unemployed (actively looking for jobs)

MIGRATION KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE

8. a. Who and how many in the family have migrated ?

. . . . . .

b. Did you ever go abroad ? Yes ❑ ; No ❑ ;
Detailes, if yes . . . . . .

c. Why did you not migrate ?
. . . . . .

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

YOUR OWN CONCESPTION ABOUT YOUR SOCIAL CLASS/STATUS

9. Which group in the following you belonged before migrating
Upper ❑ ; Middle ❑; Lower Middle ❑ ; Lower ❑
Any other . . . . . .

10. OWNERSHIP OF MODERN AMENITIES
Car ❑; TV - Colour ❑; TV- B & W ❑; Cassette/radio ❑;
VCR ❑; Refrigerator ❑; Motorized cultivation ❑;
Water pumps ❑;

11. Are you happy in your present occupation/job ?
Could be better ❑ ; Reasonable Happy/O.K. ❑ ; Unhappy ❑;
Happy ❑ ; Nothappy at all ❑ ;
Any comment . . . . . .

WOULD YOU LIKE TELL ME ANYTHING MORE ?

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

WOULD YOU LIKE TO DISCUSS MORE ALONG WITH SOME OTHER BANGALEE FRIENDS SOMETIMES IN FUTURE ?

Yes ❑ ; No ❑ ; Not Sure ❑ .

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