
UNIT 1 THEORIES AND TYPOLOGIES OF MIGRATION

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

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

Let us look at the objectives of reading this Unit.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to:

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

1.3 DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF MIGRATION

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

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

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

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

Box No. 1

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

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

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

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

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

Box No. 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Box No. 2

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

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

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

Check Your Progress:

1) Define 'Migration' in a simple way.

2) What is understood by:

- in and out migration
- receiver and sender population

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

1.4 MODELS AND THEORIES OF MIGRATION

Let us first discuss models of migration.

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

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

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

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

Look at the following to understand step wise migration.

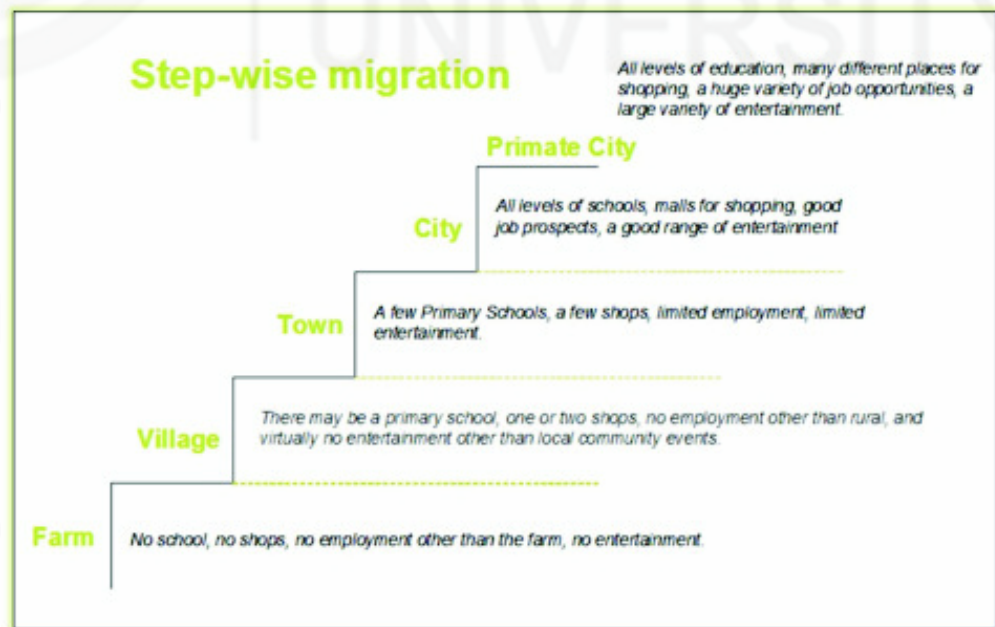


Fig. 1.1

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 1.2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Check Your Progress:

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

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

Let us now learn about factors that determine migration

1.5 DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.6 CLASSIFICATION OF MIGRATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Small Town → Cities → Big Cities/Metros

Darbhanga → Patna → Delhi

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

Main types of migration trends include:

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

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

Check Your Progress:

1) Differentiate between the following forms of migration:

- Immigration and emigration*

- In-migration and out-migration*

- Long-term migration and short term migration*

- Step and return migration*

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

1.7 GENDER AND MIGRATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

Box No.4

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

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

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

1.8 LET US SUM UP

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

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

1.9 UNIT END QUESTIONS

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

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1.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

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