JSDC

The Role of Social Networks in Migration
A Case Study of Out-migration from Uttar Pradesh to Mumbai

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ABSTRACT

Social networks have gained wider relevance in economics and other interdisciplinary sciences in recent era. Various literature and studies have been undertaken to assess the role and impact of social networks on migration. At one side it encourages migration and on other side to some extent it also acts as entry barrier and thus restricts migration if it is based on any caste, creed, religion or region. The literature on role of social network in migration is under explored as there is dearth of proper data source and is also difficult to evaluate. The present paper thus fills this gap. The paper makes an attempt to assess the applicability of network theory for the analysis of migration from Uttar Pradesh to Mumbai. The paper will unravel existing studies and literature across various disciplines on role of social networks in facilitating migration. To support the objectives and findings from literature, the study carry out a primary survey of 50 Auto-rickshaw and Taxi drivers at Andheri, Khar East, Chembur- Deonar and Jogeshwari in Mumbai. Snowball methodology has been used for selection of sites and study is solely based on primary data. Collected data were tabulated and analyzed with simple statistical tools. Finding of the study is that network positively affects migration decision by reducing transfer costs both in physical and monetary terms. Study by employing exhaustive literature review and field survey found that social networks encourage migration. Migration from eastern Uttar Pradesh to Mumbai is, to a large extent facilitated by social networks in case of auto and taxi drivers.

Key Words: *Social Network, Transfer Cost, Migration in India, Mumbai migrant workers*.
JEL Classification: O15, R23.

Introduction

Migration is most often adopted strategy by rural poor in Uttar Pradesh. In recent era migration has become foremost way to diversify risk and insurance in rural households. Scholars have recognized the eminent role of job referrals as a form of search for over fifty years (Rees 1966). The role played by social networks in destination has been of major interest in labour economics for various reasons. Firstly it is famous that, referrals are a widely used form of search for jobs in destination. Secondly,

researchers and scholars of migration studies need to recognize how and why social capital works as linkage between migrants and labour markets. Various theoretical efforts have been done to understand how networks mediate between prospective migrant and job market in destination and how it helps migrants to survive in unknown terrains at destination. Various studies found that social capitals have positive impact on migration (Haug 2008; Faist 1997; Fawcett 1987). Studies also found that social capital works as agent facilitating

migration and it also reduces transfer cost both physical as well as monetary terms.

Objectives

i)   To disentangle various existing literature on role of social networks in facilitating migration.
ii)   To understand to what extent social networks have informed and enabled out-migrant from Uttar Pradesh to Mumbai in exploring livelihood options in destination areas and survive in unknown terrains.

Data and Methodology

Present paper is kind of preliminary study to understand the role of social networks in migration from UP. The paper has undertaken exhaustive literature review to disentangle existing work on role of network in migration. To support the objective and theoretical findings, the study undertakes a primary survey of 50 auto rickshaw and taxi drivers at Andheri, Khar East, Chembur-Deonar and Jogeshwari in Mumbai. Snowball methodology has been used for selection of sites. The study is based on primary data. Focus group discussion and In-depth structured direct questionnaire method has been adopted. The collected data were tabulated and analyzed with the simple statistical techniques. The limitation of the study is that its limited to migrants from UP only that too even migrant engaged only in auto/taxi driving.

The paper is divided in four parts. Part one will be dealing with Introduction, Objectives, Methodology adopted and Justification of the Study. Part two will highlight and disentangle existing literature on role of social networks in facilitating migration. Part three will confer Results and Discussions with the help of case study of migrant Auto and Taxi drivers in Mumbai from Uttar Pradesh. Part four will be concluding remark.

Justification of the Study

Out migration from UP has increased significantly over the last two decades (NSSO and Census). Moreover out migration from UP to Mumbai has increased manifold in past two decades as per NSSO and Census data. Mumbai offers many employment opportunities in various sectors for migrants from UP as well as from other states. Various works have been done to assess the reasons triggering migration but very less work has been done to understand the migration scenario from Uttar Pradesh. Moreover

there is dearth of literature on role of social networks on migration from Uttar Pradesh to Mumbai. One of the major reasons behind this is that there is lack of any data source to assess the role of social capital on migration. Various kinds of problems arise in creating any general concept to measure social networks. Though few works have been done on Van rickshaw Puller and rickshaw puller (Ali, 2013; Alam and Asraful,2013) but our aim is to focus on role of social networks in facilitating migration in case of Auto and Taxi drivers in Mumbai from UP.
Given this background present study conducts primary survey of 50 Auto and Taxi drivers in Mumbai at various locations such as Andheri, Khar East, Chembur Deonar and Jogeshwari from Uttar Pradesh and makes an attempt to understand the role of social referrals and networks in encouraging migration to Mumbai from Uttar Pradesh.

Review of Literature on Role of Social Networks in Migration

This section deals with existing literatures on role of social capital in facilitating migration. Networks positively affect migration decision, increasing outmigration rates in all social groups, except those too poor to migrate.

Albrecht (2013), in his paper studies the effect of co-worker-based networks on individual labour market outcomes and analyse how the provision of labour market relevant information by former co-workers affects the employment. The results suggest a strong positive effect of a higher employment rate in a worker's network of former co-workers on his re-employment probability after displacement. Caria and Hassen (2013), studies the role of networks in Ethiopia and found that reform in referral hiring procedures creates more inclusive job networks. Haug (2013), in his paper highlights that social capital at the place of destination has positive impacts on emigration intentions and return migration, whereas social capital at the place of residence has negative impacts on return migration. Meeteren and Pereira (2013), in their paper focuses on qualitative and quantitative data on the migration experiences of Brazilians living in Portugal and the Netherlands to reflect and expand upon the existing knowledge on the role of social networks in migration processes. Paper shows that differences in the ways migrants access and use social networks in their migration projects can be related to these different migration motives and profiles.

Dekker and Engbersen (2012), in their work mentions, social network facilitates migration. Paper mentions that data gathered while doing research reveals that social media helps migrants to maintain strong ties with family and friends, lowering the threshold for migration and also provide a means of communication with weak ties that are relevant when organising the process of migration and settlement. The paper concludes that social media are transforming migration networks and thereby lowering the threshold for migration. Krug and Rebein (2012), analyze the effects of information flow via social networks (friends, relatives, and other personal contacts) on monetary and non-monetary labour market outcomes. Paper shows the standard approach to investigate labour market outcomes in terms of how jobs are found is misleading. Paper focuses on comparative analyses of labour market outcomes on how individuals search for jobs and, more particularly, on whether they search for jobs via social networks. Using this approach paper found no evidence for causal effects on monetary outcomes such as wages and wage satisfaction. Lagerwaard (2012), in his research focuses on migration agents in Anand, India. Paper mentions that Migration agents are the key figures in the migration industry and are major and largely legal international business that facilitates migration.

Schmutte (2011), studies the emergence of job referral networks as an endogenous response to local labour market conditions. The model illustrates that referral networks are most dense at moderate levels of labour market tightness in labour markets where job information is hard, but not impossible, to come by through formal search. Using data on individual referral use from the Cornell National Social Survey, paper provide evidence in support of the model's implication that workers are less likely to find jobs through referral when there is more local competition for referrals. Yogo (2011), using Cameroonian data, analyses the effects of social network on job quality. In order to evaluate the effectiveness of social network as regard to job quality, paper makes use of both Heckman selection model and Ordered Logit model. Finding of the study was in contrast with previous studies. Job seekers who make use of social network do not necessarily get a good job. Paper also found that social network contributes to explain job quality differential according to gender and institutional sectors (formal versus informal).

Anjos and Campos (2010), in their paper mention that in recent years, migration has been modelled within the perspective of social networks. Models are based on the idea that migration flows are influenced by the social networks where the agents operate. Paper concluded that the agents that stay in the U.S. have network connections that are weaker than those of other agents.

Caliendo et al. (2009), in their paper analyze the influence of social networks on job search behaviour of unemployed individuals. The empirical findings underscore the established importance of networks on job search behaviour. Individuals with strong networks set a higher reservation wage, use informal more often and sent out more applications. In terms of expectation, they also have more optimistic outlook than people with weak networks. Johannes (2009), in his paper has examined the effect of social capital on household poverty using the 2001 Cameroon household survey. Analysis suggest that policy makers interested in improving the living conditions of households may be advised to consider promoting social capital as one relevant ingredient to achieve the Millennium development goals of reducing poverty by half.

Guilmoto and Sandron (2001), in their paper mentions that decision to migrate, especially for the pioneers and even more for residents of a developing country, is often made without very precise knowledge of the living conditions and employment prospects in the destination area whether it is a large city in the same country or a foreign country. Paper is analysis of this institutional context that allows one to understand the establishment of networks and channels within which individual migration often takes place.

Rees (1996) highlights the role of social capital in labour market in US and found that migration is facilitated by networks. Fawcett (1989) highlights the positive role of migration networks and linkages.

Major Findings from the Literature Review:

- Social capital works as mediating agent between prospective migrants and job markets in destination.
- Social networks encourage migration based on caste, creed, religion and region.
- Social networks reduce transfer costs of migration both in physical and monetary terms.
- A social network initiates chain migration and allow us to understand why

migration still continues even if wage differential is zero.

- Social network also acts as entry barrier in labour market sometimes.

Results and Discussions

Present section deals with the results and discussion from field survey in Mumbai.

Birth place of Auto and Taxi Drivers from Uttar Pradesh in Mumbai

Table 1 shows that most of the migrants are from eastern Uttar Pradesh. This signifies that as western part of UP is both developed and have industrial areas, eastern part is underdeveloped and lack any other kind of income earning opportunities apart from agriculture.

It was recorded during field survey that majority of the migrants belong to families whose primary occupation is farming. Migration acts as most opted risk and income diversification strategy by rural poor as mentioned by auto and taxi drivers from Uttar Pradesh in Mumbai.

Another way of explaining this table can be that in Mumbai most of the migrants in case of auto and taxi driving are from eastern Uttar Pradesh, there might be the case that people from western UP migrate to other states, such as Delhi, Gujarat or Punjab.

Previous Occupations of Auto and Taxi drivers at both Origin and Destination

Table 2 highlights that at origin most of the migrants (78 percent) were studying before migrating to Mumbai. Data suggests that no one came for study purpose in Mumbai nor anyone was doing current job i.e. auto and taxi driver in origin. Another major fact highlighted from data tabulation and analysis is that there are just 8 percent migrants who were doing farming at origin rather 78 percent were studying before leaving origin and only ten percent was the share of migrants who were doing both farming and studying simultaneously at origin before migration. Moreover most of the migrants as per reported by auto and taxi drivers left studies either because they failed in some classes and majority left because they have been called up by relatives to Mumbai for getting engaged in some kind of jobs.

In destination data suggests that there are only 20 percent migrants whose previous job was auto and taxi driving whereas 80 percent of migrants were engaged in various kinds of casual workers. The reason behind getting engaged in other jobs apart from auto and taxi driving is that most of them were learning driving while staying in Mumbai and were engaged in some jobs and others were waiting for driving license to get ready.

Auto and Taxi Drivers by Religion and Caste

Table 3 suggests that majority of the migrants are from upper caste. Brahmins are highest in number i.e 52 percent, followed by Rajputs/Kshatriya i.e 36 percent.

OBC are 4 percent and SC is 12 percent. Unlike findings of most of the study done yet present study highlights that upper castes migrates more in case of auto and taxi drivers from Mumbai. Munshi (2003), has highlighted the impact of caste based networks on migration.

Previous Destination of Auto and Taxi Drivers in Mumbai from Uttar Pradesh

Data analysis shows that for most of the migrants, Mumbai was their first destination. **Table 4** shows that around 78 percent of respondents reported that Mumbai was their first place of migration. The reason for this can be that most of the respondents' relatives or friend were already there in Mumbai and were also doing well.

Network played role in migration of auto and taxi drivers in Mumbai from eastern Uttar Pradesh. Most of the migrant reported that they are staying near around the people from the same origin. Remaining migrants reported Kanpur, Lucknow and Haryana as their first place of movement.

Various Referral Agents for Migration from Uttar Pradesh in Mumbai

Table 5 highlights that only 3 percent of the migrants reported that they came on their own in search of job whereas rest 97 percent of auto and taxi drivers mentioned that they came to Mumbai with the help of relatives (72 percent), friends (16 percent) and father (09 percent) respectively.

This denotes that most of the migrants already had someone from origin in Mumbai promoting migration. Moreover they also cut the transfer cost of migration in both physical and monetary terms.
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Reasons for leaving Rural Hometown

In reasons for migration also in **Table 6** we found that most of the migrants migrated to Mumbai because there are already many people in Mumbai and also they are doing well.

We can say that network plays very important role in migration from rural eastern Uttar Pradesh in present case study.

Minimum No. of Weeks of getting Job in Mumbai after Migration

Table 7shows that majority of the migrants got job within three weeks of migration. This indicates that social capital reduces the monetary cost and physical cost of searching job at destination of migration as well as chances of being unemployed for longer time to least.

The study also found that most of the migrants were employed very soon in some occupation before joining as auto and taxi drivers. Cumulative percentage of migrants employed shows that almost hundred percent of migrants were engaged in some work within five weeks of migration. Migrants reported that their relatives, friends already have looked for some part time job in Mumbai while they learn auto/taxi driving and their driving licence get ready to get employed as auto/taxi drivers.

So they already were offered with some job such as watch man, vendor, electrician etc meanwhile they were learning driving. Again its visible that network be it caste based, region based or occupation based helped lot in migration from eastern rural Uttar Pradesh. Various studies also found that migration networks allow better understanding of processes of work in their birth and their dynamics (Guilmoto and Sandron, 2001). Same study also found that migration themselves is powerful forces that serve to reduce uncertainty in developing countries.

Conclusion

From exhaustive literature review and empirical field analysis, present study like much other previous work done, have confirmed the relevance of social networks in facilitating migration. Social networks plays very important role in facilitating migration from eastern Uttar Pradesh to Mumbai. Our findings from literature support the findings from field survey. Family members become role models through their achievements in Mumbai for other aspiring migrants

from UP. Social networks reduce the transfer cost both in physical and monetary terms and also increases chances of employability at destination. Study also found that a social network facilitates migration as chain. Along with so many benefits associated with migration networks one major drawback is sometimes it may act as entry barrier in migration industry if it caste, religion or region based. Lessons drawn from role of social network in facilitating migration helps us to understand why migration still persist even when wage differential is zero and also allow us to better understand the processes at work in their birth and their dynamics. Overall, our findings show that researches and scholars on migration need to move beyond the once common interpretation of the role of social networks, based solely on community or kinship relationships to consider all different agents both in the origin and destination country. This way, we will be able to unravel more of the fundamental mechanisms related to the growing expansion of migration processes and flows over time.

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Tables Used:

Table 1.Auto and Taxi Drivers by their Birth Place (In percent)

Place of Origin of Auto and Taxi Drivers in Mumbai					
Pratapgarh	Jaunpur	Sultanpur	Gazipur	Bhadohi	Sant Kabir Nagar
36	22	14	12	10	6

Source: Field survey in Mumbai, 2013

Table 2.Table Auto and Taxi drivers by Previous Occupation both at Origin and Destination (In Percent)

Previous Job at Origin and Destination		
	Origin	**Destination**
Auto/Taxi Driving	0	20
Farming	8	-
Casual workers (Worker at Petrol Pump , Watchman, Milkman, Vendors, Mechanic, Electrician etc	4	80
Studying	78	-
Farming and Studying	10	-

Source: Field survey in Mumbai, 2013

Table 3.Auto and Taxi Drivers by Religion and Caste (In Percent)

Religion	100 (Hindu)
Caste	
Rajput /Kshatriya	36
Brahmin	52
OBC (Baniya)	4
SC (Kori)	12

Source: Field survey in Mumbai, 2013

Table 4 .Previous Destination of Auto and Taxi Drivers of Migrants from Uttar Pradesh (In Percent)

Previous Destination of Migrants	Percentage of Migrants to Particular Destination
Mumbai	78
Others -----	---
Kanpur	10
Haryana	4
Lucknow	8

Source: Field survey in Mumbai, 2013

Table 5. Various Referral agents for Migration from Uttar Pradesh in Mumbai (In Percent)

	Relatives	72
Migration referred by	Friends	16
	Father	09
	Self	3

Source: Field survey in Mumbai, 2013
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Table 6.Reason for leaving Rural Home Town (In Percent)

No future in hometown , unviable land holding,	Less source of income, diversification of income and poverty reduction	Liabilities (Sisters or daughters marriage)	Lots of people were doing well in Mumbai. (Network or social capital)	Others.
16	33	7	40	4

Source: Field Survey in Mumbai, 2013

Table 7.Minimum No. of Weeks of getting Job in Mumbai after Migration
(In percent)

Number of Weeks	Percentage of Migrants employed	Cumulative Percentage of Migrants employed
1	21	21
2	36	57
3	24	81
4	17	98
5	2	100

Source: Field survey in Mumbai, 2013