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MIGRATION IN INDIA: BOON OR CURSE



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ABSTRACT:

Migration is inevitable part of the development. In Indian situation even though more than 50% of the population is dependent on agriculture for their livelihood it is very essential to find out new avenues of employment generation. Therefore, industrial growth or industrialisation is one of the source for urban development. Various causes of migration, implications of migration, problems of migration all these aspects are discussed the in this present paper.

KEYWORDS

migration, urbanisation, industrial development, livelihood resources, employment, employment generation, urban problems

INTRODUCTION:

Migration in India is not new and historical accounts show that people have moved in search of work, in response to environmental shocks and stresses, to escape religious persecution and political conflict. However improved communications, transport networks, conflicts over natural resources and new economic opportunities have created unprecedented levels of mobility. But as we discuss in following sections, the increase in mobility is not fully captured in larger surveys often leading to erroneous conclusions about mobility levels in India.

Although significant in recent years, growth has been unequal in India (Balisacan and Ducanes 2005), characterized by industry in developed states such as Gujarat, Maharashtra and Punjab drawing labour from agriculturally backward and poor regions such as eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, southern Madhya Pradesh, western Orissa and southern Rajasthan. High productivity agricultural areas ("green revolution areas") continue to be important destinations, but rural- urban migration is the fastest growing type of migration as more migrants choose to work in better paying non-farm occupations in urban areas and industrial zones. Delhi and the states of Gujarat and Maharashtra are top destinations for inter-state migrant labour. Labour mobility has grown and will probably continue to grow once the economy recovers from the current crisis. The paper begins with a brief critique of official statistics, discussing their major shortcomings. This is followed by detailed accounts of the different sectors and subsectors employing migrant workers with case studies showing how migrants are recruited and the conditions in which they work and live. This is followed by an assessment of the magnitude of migration and the contribution of migrant labour to the Indian economy. The third part of the paper focuses on the human development impacts of internal migration using secondary as well as primary data collected from Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh in 2001/2, 2003/4 and 2006/7. The analysis addresses questions related to poverty reduction and political participation. The paper ends with policy recommendations to provide more support to migrants, reform policy and improve data.

1. Official estimates of migration

The two main sources of data on migration are the National Census and the National Sample Survey (NSS) and most estimates of migration are based on these.

The total population of India at the last Census was over a billion. According to the National Census for 2001 30% of the population or 307 million were migrants. Of these, nearly a third had migrated during the previous decade. It is topical to note at the outset that both the National Census and the National Sample Survey (NSS) use definitions of migration that are not employment related. These are change in birthplace and change in last usual place of residence. Secondly they give only the main reason for migration and thus miss secondary reasons which are often work related particularly in the case of women, third they count migrant stocks and not flows which are actually more important for policy and finally, they seriously underestimate categories of work that employ migrant workers. The findings of the Census and NSS on migration must be viewed against this backdrop.

Other patterns revealed by the census were:

1. There were 65.4 million female migrants and 32.8 million male migrants. However a majority (42.4 million) of female migrants had not migrated for work and had cited marriage as the main reason for the change in residence. Among males the most important reason for migration was 'Work/Employment'

given by 12.3 million male migrants.

2. Rural to rural migration still dominated and accounted for 53.3 million; Rural to urban migration: 20.5 million Urban to rural migration: 6.2 million and Urban to urban migration: 14.3 million.

3. Interstate migration has grown by 53.6%. The total number of interstate migrants was 42.3 million. Uttar Pradesh (-2.6 million) and Bihar (-1.7 million) were the two states with the largest net outmigration.

The 55th round of NSS of 1999-00 was the first to cover short-duration migration defined as: "persons staying away from usual place of residence for 60 days or more for employment or better employment or in search of employment". It estimates that roughly 1% of the Indian population or 10 million people migrated temporarily (NSSO 2001). But this is also a gross underestimate because the data do not properly count part-time occupations and short term migrations. The true figure probably lies at around 100 million as we argue later.

In sum, there are six major shortcomings of official data:

1. They tend to underestimate short term movements and thus underestimate or miss altogether, seasonal and circular migration which, according to recent village studies account for the bulk of migratory movements for work.

2. Women's migration is not adequately captured because the surveys ask for only one reason for migration to be stated. This is usually stated as marriage and the secondary reason i.e. finding work at the destination may not be mentioned.

3. They do not capture migration streams that are illegal or border on illegality i.e. trafficking for work and various forms of child labour. The census of India reported 12.66 million working children but estimates by agencies working against child labour such as The Global March and the International Center on Child Labor and Education (ICCLE) calculate that there are roughly 25-30 million child workers in India (ITUC 2007) and Human Rights Watch says that more than 100 million could be working because so many are out of education. Smaller studies and NGO assessments (some of which are reviewed later) show that child migrants form a large part of the workforce in several major sectors such as construction, brick-kilns, small industries, domestic work and farm work.

4. They do not count properly rural-rural circulatory migrants who work on commercial farms and plantations or rural-urban migrants who migrate for a few months at a time to work in very small industries.

5. They do not capture adequately the movement of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people mainly because these groups are engaged in short term migration and this is not measured properly in the surveys for the reasons stated above. There are numerous case studies which show high mobility levels among these groups.

6. They mis-represent the relationship between poverty and migration. While village studies show high levels of migration amongst the poor (not the poorest), official statistics show that migration is higher among better off groups because they cover mainly permanent migration which has a higher representation of people from more affluent and better educated backgrounds.

Much of the quantitative evidence in the Indian literature on migration is drawn from these datasets and so inevitably exhibits a number of shortcomings. For example Dubey et al (2006) argue on the basis of their analysis of the 1999-2000 round of the NSS that individuals from scheduled castes and

scheduled tribes and those with little or no education are less likely to migrate to urban areas. Kundu and Sarangi (2007) compare migrant and non-migrant populations to argue that the probability of being poor among migrants (both urban-urban and rural-urban including seasonal migrants) is lower than among non-migrants.

Major Migrant Employing Sectors

The Magnitude and Economic Contribution of Migration and the Characteristics of Migration Streams in these Sectors

A search through published and grey literature on migration shows that there is large number of studies which portray a very different picture of migration. They show that circular migration is the main form of mobility for work and that such migration is higher among the poor and especially SCs and STs. They also show higher rates of migration among women and children.

All three sectors of the Indian economy namely agriculture, industry and services employ very large numbers of migrant workers. Field evidence shows that the major subsectors using migrant labour are textiles, construction, stone quarries and mines, brick-kilns, small scale industry (diamond cutting, leather accessories etc), crop transplanting and harvesting, sugarcane cutting, plantations, rickshaw pulling, food processing including fish and prawn processing, salt panning, domestic work, security services, sex work, small hotels and roadside restaurants/tea shops and street vending. We piece together available information on the numbers of workers involved and their contribution to the economy. There are gaps in the information and we have not been able to cover all sectors but we can convey the significance of migration to India's economy. Some of the sectors are strongly associated with specific migration streams (e.g. migration from western Orissa for brick kiln work in Andhra Pradesh and migration from Bihar for agricultural work in Punjab) which have differing recruitment and remuneration patterns and varying impacts on human development. A small number are discussed here to provide insights into the recruitment practices of companies and agents and how they circumvent the legal system to extract cheap labour in return for few obligations to migrant labourers and their families. The earnings and human development impacts of these migration streams are discussed wherever evidence has been available. These accounts also show that distinctions between migration, trafficking, bonded labour and child labour are often difficult to make because of the widespread use of child labour in agriculture, industry and services and the poor working conditions of migrants. The next part pulls together all the available evidence to analyse the implications of migration for human development and how policy distortions and implementation failures can be addressed.

Construction

The construction industry provides direct employment to at least 30 million workers in India (Chen 2007) but recent expansions (before the economic crisis) had resulted in a higher number: trade Unions estimate that there were roughly 40 million migrant construction workers in India in 2008 (Sarde 2008). Although numbers will have gone down with the recent economic crisis there will nevertheless be a continuation of urban construction which will attract migrant workers. There is anecdotal evidence that some categories of returnee migrants from the Gulf have been absorbed in construction. Construction attracts both skilled workers (masons, carpenters) and unskilled workers and although there is some scope for upward mobility, poorer and lower caste/tribe migrants tend to remain in low-paid unskilled jobs. This is because of discrimination against them and being excluded from

opportunities to gain skills. Women work mainly as unskilled workers.

Migration for construction work has brought economic gains and freedom for many but has also brought incredible hardship and personal risk. Many analysts have concluded that it is coping at best and does not result in any long term accumulation for the poor (Reddy 1990, Srivastava 2003, Sundari 2005). However the situation has changed in some locations recently as migrants have acquired more confidence and knowledge of the labour market and have begun to negotiate jobs by themselves without depending on agents and contractors. This has led to faster improvements in living standards (for Madhya Pradesh see Deshingkar et al 2008). As the discussion below shows, the failure to properly implement labour laws has resulted in heavy costs of such migration especially because of the deterioration in living conditions, the inability to educate children and access health or subsidised food schemes. Two major streams of migration involving construction workers are discussed below; one involving tribals from southern Madhya Pradesh and the other involving scheduled caste workers from a drought-prone district in the southern state of Andhra Pradesh.

1.1 Brick kilns

Closely linked to the construction industry is the brick kiln industry which also employs large numbers of low caste and tribal circular migrants. There are 50,000 brick kilns all over India, employing, on an average, 100 workers (ILO 2005). Brick-kiln workers often migrate with their wives and children and if women are counted as well, the number of brick kiln workers in India is at least 10 million. Recruiting is done through an agent who gives the family in the village a wage advance of Rs 15-20,000. This is a substantial lump sum and is wrongly perceived by the workers and their families as a cheap loan because there is not interest. The money has to be paid back through work and the wages paid are well below the legal minimum effectively making the arrangement a kind of debt-bondage. The entire family comprising the husband, wife and children live on the site and work as one unit for the full season. The overall situation is exploitative as everything necessary to manage daily needs is sold by the employers and agents (at higher rates than the market) on credit and subsequently deducted from actual wages. Each couple earns between Rs 70-130 a day and many are cheated out of their full payment. They spend heavily on country liquor and usually come home with a saving of not more than Rs.1000- 2000 at the end of the season. Some are perpetually in debt and migrate again the following year so that they can get a lump sum to repay outstanding debts.

Children are an essential part of the workforce hired by contractors for brick work. A recent unpublished study of 300 brick kilns around Hyderabad showed that as many as 35% of the total migrants were children, of which 22% were of elementary school age. According to Sristi child labour is much a part of the brick making process that if a family does not have a child, a child from another family is hired (Sristi 2008). These child labourers are extremely vulnerable and become part of unwritten, exploitative, contracts with labour contractors. Hardly 10% of the migrants are registered with the labour department. Often, contractors take migrants in the middle of the night to escape detection. Many migrating children eventually drop out of school. A recent unpublished study of 300 brick kilns around Hyderabad revealed that as many as 35% of the total migrants were children, of which 22% were of elementary school age (Panigrahi 2006). Although migrants are allowed to send their children to schools in other states, there are often language barriers and schools may not be available near work sites. The working conditions of brick kiln workers have been widely condemned. Brick kiln work has many of the characteristics of bonded labour - restricted freedom, hiring workers against advances, long working hours, underpayment and physical and verbal abuse of the workers by contractors and employers.

1.2 Textile Industry

The textile industry in India (including the garment industry) is the largest foreign exchange earner among all other industrial sectors and provides direct employment to around 35 million people. A large proportion of these workers are migrants, judging from micro-studies (Unni and Bali 2006) but it is difficult to put a precise figure on the numbers. The textile industry is extremely complex in its structure, with handlooms and home-based production at one end of the spectrum, to capital intensive, large mills at the other. Small, privately owned power looms now dominate the industry. Yarn production is still in large mills but 78 per cent of the cloth production occurs in smaller power looms and handlooms. According to labour statistics published by the Labour Bureau 31% of the workers in the manmade textile industry were migrants.

The conditions of textile workers are described by in a study of Bhiwandi, the largest power loom site in Maharashtra "A visit to Bhiwandi reminds one of scenes usually associated with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution: thousands of persons sleeping in or next to numberless ramshackle sheds in which the deafening sound of the looms is heard 24 hours a day, with no ventilation, proper light, children doing tedious work for long hours, and dust and dirt everywhere. The exact number of power looms is unknown, as is the specification of their production, the ownership of looms, the quantity of work done on behalf of the mills." (Ramaswamy and Davala 2008).

The garment industry is a sub-sector of the textile industry and also generates many jobs for migrant workers. India's readymade garment exports increased significantly as a share of total exports (12% or Rs 254,780 million in 2001-2). There were 1,001,000 garment workers in 2004 (Mezzadri 2008). While the number of workers in formal employment is going down due to fewer registered factories, the numbers in small and unregistered units is growing and employers often choose to employ migrants because they are easily controlled (Ghosh 2001). In order to evade stringent labour laws, larger factories have now split their operations into groups of 11-15 workers who work on the same premises. If any worker divulges information during labour inspections he or she is given no further work from the next day (Unni and Bali 2006).

The Garment Industry in Delhi

A case study of the Delhi garment industry which accounts for 35-40 per cent of the value of the country's total garment exports estimated that there are 3,000-4,000 production units where poor, first generation industrial workers are hired by contractors known as thekedars from rural areas. Migrant workers are preferred because they do not pose the threat of unionization. The workers stay in the city for the production cycle and then return to their villages (Mezzardi 2008). Garment units employ large numbers of women migrants. The work is characterized by long hours, and a lack of health and welfare benefits, minimum wages, and job security. Work-related illnesses and disorders include: headaches and stress-related fatigue, back problems, disturbances of the menstrual cycle, repetitive strain injury, loss of weight, respiratory problems, kidney and bladder infections from retaining urine for long periods of time, and sinus problems and allergies from the dust and materials used.

Embroidery work is now big business for traders and exporters in the garment sector. Many of the workers are Muslim boys and young men from Bihar who work in small units in villages outside Delhi. Workers are paid piece rates and are almost completely invisible in the global supply chain. Interviews and group discussions with migrants in sending areas of Bihar show that these jobs are regarded as well paid and have helped many families to accumulate assets and repay debts (Deshingkar et al 2006).

Silk Industry

Sericulture is a labour-intensive industry and employs roughly 6 million people in different stages of production including rearing silk worms, reeling thread, twisting, dyeing, weaving, printing and finishing (Ministry of Textiles) in all its phases, namely, cultivation of silkworm food plants, silkworm rearing, silk reeling, and other post-cocoon processes such as twisting, dyeing, weaving, printing and finishing. It provides employment to approximately 6 million persons, most of them being small and marginal farmers, or tiny & household industry mainly in the hand reeling and hand weaving sections. Mulberry silk is produced extensively in the states of Karnataka, West Bengal and Jammu and Kashmir. About 85 per cent of the country's production is contributed by the Karnataka. Silk thread making and sari folding have now become notorious for employing large numbers of children.

Mines and Quarries

By one estimate there are around 3 million people working in artisanal and small mines in India (Lahiri-Dutt 2006) which are mainly illegal. Other estimates are higher: a Rajasthan-based NGO, the Mines and Labour Protection Campaign, estimates that there are two million workers in the M&Q sector in the state (quoted in Lahiri-Dutt 2006). There are additionally 4-5 million quarry workers in Maharashtra according to Santulan, an NGO working on education (quoted in AIF 2006). This is in contrast to the formal mining industry in India which employs just 560,000 people and this number is coming down.

Mica Industry

A case study of the mica mining and processing industry in Andhra Pradesh by the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) shows widespread under-reporting of both production and employment in order to escape royalty payments to the government. Mica production in India is concentrated in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan. Mica mine owners do not report casual and temporary workers on the rolls and do not show them in their statutory returns to the Director General of Mines safety (Subrahmanyam 1985). Mica processing units are operated by the mica owners, the dealers who work as middlemen between the mine owner and the exporters. All these agencies besides recruiting their own workers also outsource to home splitters. A common malpractice is to employ workers on a temporary basis even though the mine is under continuous operation. In Andhra Pradesh, such workers are listed in a 'B' register. These 'B' registers are the muster rolls for workers who have been working for more than three months. To avoid the statutory requirements of changing the status of a temporary labourer into a permanent labourers after three months, the names of the workers along with the names of their parents are altered. In this way the mine owner avoids paying the minimum wages, provident fund, bonus and other benefits.

Migrant workers are preferred because they are not unionized and are employed by the contractor so do not create disputes. They also tend to work harder under the direct supervision of the contractor and they do not have to be paid bonuses, provident fund payments etc. The mine owners approach contractors (sirdars) whenever they need more workers. The contractor recruits a group of 30-30 workers and pays a small advance to each worker, at their native village on signature of a promissory note in which they specify their assets (cattle or small land holdings) as collateral. The workers stay in dormitories at the site. The mine management pays the daily wages of these workers to the contractor

who makes a profit because he pays the workers much less than he receives.

2. Agriculture

Peak season operations in agriculture continue to be performed by migrant labour. For example there were more than 819,000 migrant workers, mainly from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, in rural Punjab in 2007 accounting for 23% of the workforce engaged in agriculture sector activities (Singh, Singh and Ghuman 2007). Although most find work for only 50 days in a year in agriculture they migrate in the hope of finding casual work in urban areas after the peak seasons of wheat harvesting, paddy sowing and paddy harvesting are over. Many are absorbed by small industries. Similarly paddy transplanting and harvesting in the Bardhaman region of West Bengal attracts around 500,000 migrant workers every season (Rogaly et al 2001, 2002). In addition to these there are migration streams which involve the poorest migrants such as sugarcane cutting and child workers such as cottonseed work which we discuss below.

6.1 Sugarcane Cutting In Western India

Maharashtra, Gujarat and Karnataka are the leading producers of sugar in India. The Maharashtra sugar industry alone produces nearly 40 percent of India's sugar. According to official statistics issued by the Maharashtra State Sugar Cooperative Federation, there are 1.6 million sugarcane farmers growing the crop on 0.7 million hectares of land, producing 60 million tonnes of sugarcane. There are 172 sugar factories in the State providing employment, directly or indirectly, to 15 million people.

The industry employs more than a million cane-cutters who are almost always SC, ST and OBC migrants with little or no land from the poor, arid districts of the Marathwada region. The cutting cycle lasts for six months from November to April/May. Cane cutters usually migrate in families and are recruited by a contractor against an advance payment. The contractor provides very basic accommodation without proper sanitation. Access to fuel and drinking water are difficult and this increases the work burden on women. While the earnings from such work are good compared to work in the village, the working and living conditions are so poor that they have been named as

Why People Migrate to Urban Centers?

Broadly, there are five factors, which determine the push and pull conditions operating in the decision of people to migrate to urban centers:

- (i) Economic factors,
 - (ii) Demographic factors,
 - (iii) Social and cultural factors,
 - (iv) Geographical and physical factors and
 - (v) Political and institutional factors.
1. Economic Factors:

The poor economic conditions and lack of employment opportunities in villages are the main push factors that drift the rural population to the urban areas. The rural areas, which are less developed,

have poor agricultural conditions and greater population pressure on land, push the surplus population to urban centers. According to an ILO report, cited by N.V. Sovani in his book *Urbanization and Urban India* (1996), the main push factor causing the worker to leave agriculture is the lower level of income. In almost all countries, incomes in agriculture are lower than in other sectors of the economy. On the contrary, better economic conditions, including employment opportunities available in urban areas, operate as pull factors to attract rural people towards them. Rates of migration to different cities are generally different depending upon the capacity of urban centers to absorb the incoming population and provide them sufficient livelihood. While some cities have greater industrialization and economic development, others do not have so much of development and employment opportunities. In India, cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Ahmadabad and Hyderabad had been pulling largest number of people from rural areas. Till 1980s the trend of migration had been towards such big cities.

But, due to capacity saturation of such cities, the trend of migration has now detoured to the state capitals and other regional urban centers. Exodus of rural population to a few big urban centers of the country continues though not to the extent it was earlier. About 60 per cent of Indian urban population, therefore, lives in class I towns of the country. Frenetic migration of rural population to urban centers (particularly big urban centers), as we have been observing, has been due to the urban-centric industrial development policy of India. The economists, like Colin Clark and Lester Brown, have opined that the public sector expenditures in India and other less developed countries have been urban-biased. The migration towards urban centers is not due to economic opportunities but also because of many other amenities and avenues. Educational and health services, higher wages, entertainments and better standard of living available in cities also pull the rural people towards them. Since both the factors, push and pull, determine who, why, where and to what extent migrates, it is debatable whether push factors are more important or the pull factors. Most of scholars are of the view that rural-urban migration is largely due to poverty and lack of economic opportunities in villages are more significant factors than the availability of employment and other facilities. The push factors thus are more important to determine rural-urban migration. However, recent urban conditions have ceased to attract a large number of rural populations. Eminent Indian demographer, Ashis Bose is of the opinion that due to rising unemployment in urban areas, there is a trend of what he calls 'push back'.

2. Demographic Factors:

Differential population growth rates in different areas determine the migration trend. Generally, there is higher fertility rate and natural population growth in rural areas. Due to better health services and educational proliferation, population growth in urban centers is relatively lower. These conditions are held responsible for rural-urban migration too.

3. Social and Cultural Factors:

Social and cultural factors also play a great role in rural-urban migration. In rural areas, traditional values are much stronger and obligatory than in urban areas. Community is taken as superior to individual. On the contrary, in urban areas, the people enjoy much greater freedom and have liberty of unrestrained observance of modern values. The modern and western values are highly attractive to the youth. Therefore, this class of population is more motivated to urban-ward migration. Today, there is acute shortage of agricultural labourers in many areas of the Indian countryside. Take the example of eastern Uttar Pradesh, where the main reason for this is the unwillingness on the part of the villagers to

work on the fields of the landlords of their own villages. The traditional Indian caste-class structure has a great impact on the young population of the lower castes, particularly the scheduled castes. In the traditional rural economy, the scheduled caste people were destined to carry out agricultural labour work. With the proliferation of education, political development and radical arousal of consciousness among them, the young population among them now detests the higher landed castes and refuses to work on their fields.

Only a few elderly people of the lower castes, due to their binding with the legacy of old relationships with zamindars, continue to work in the fields. The young population prefers to migrate to other places like Punjab or so even if they have to work on the agricultural fields. Working in their villages would not ensure as much the dignity as they now desire to be ensured in their lives. This situation has caused an acute shortage of agricultural labour in the villages forcing the erstwhile zamindars to sell the unmanageable parts of their land to the peasant class of the village. These kinds of developments have led to radical change in the class structure of the villages. The twin processes of bourgeoization and proletarianization have taken place to cause the swelling of the middle class of the villages, particularly of the north India.

4. Geographical and Physical Factors:

Physical conditions, distances, climate and natural environment and natural calamities like tempests, floods, earthquakes and droughts have also been the determining factors in the nature of exodus of rural population to urban centres.

5. Political and Institutional Factors:

The state policies regarding rural-urban and inter-state migration have played a crucial role in the transfer of population to the urban areas. If the state policy does not put restrictions on the free movement of population, the shift would be normal and exigent to the existing conditions. But if the state does not allow too much urban-ward migration and settlement in urban areas, the drift of population from rural to urban areas would be only limited. Mumbai has been a centre of great attraction for the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar poverty-stricken population but due to recent agitations waged by Shiv Sena/Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS) have forced the immigrants to go back to their native villages and also repelled the exodus of the new aspirants. In New Delhi and some of the southern cities like, Chennai, Bengaluru and Goa who also has major issue of migration from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and also from Bangladesh. In these cities regional political parties like AIDMK, DMK protest and created some valiant against immigrants.

MAJOR CAUSES OF MIGRATION IN INDIA

Migrations are caused by a variety of factors including economic, social and political factors. They are briefly described as under.

1. Marriage:

Marriage is a very important social factor of migration. Every girl has to migrate to her in-law's place of residence after marriage. Thus, the entire female population of India has to migrate over short

or long distance. Among the people who shifted their residence more than half (56.1%) moved due to marriage in 1991.

2. Employment:

People migrate in large number from rural to urban areas in search of employment. The agricultural base of rural areas does not provide employment to all the people living there. Even the small-scale and cottage industries of the villages fail to provide employment to the entire rural folk. Contrary to this, urban areas provide vast scope for employment in industries, trade, transport and services. About 8.8 per cent of migrants migrated for employment in 1991.

3. Education:

Rural areas, by and large, lack educational facilities, especially those of higher education and rural people have to migrate to the urban centres for this purpose. Many of them settle down in the cities for earning a livelihood after completing their education.

4. Lack of Security:

Political disturbances and interethnic conflicts drive people away from their homes. Large number of people has migrated out of Jammu and Kashmir and Assam during the last few years due to disturbed conditions there. People also migrate on a short-term basis in search of better opportunities for recreation, health care facilities, and legal advices or for availing service which the nearby towns provide. Table 1 gives an idea of impact of different reasons on migration.

Table 1 India: Proportion of in migrants according to Causes of Migration, 1991:

Reasons of Migration	Total migrants (Lakh persons)	Per cent of Total in-migrants	Per cent of male in-migrants	Per cent of female in-migrants
Marriage	1303	56.1	4.0	76.1
Shifting of family	356	15.3	26.6	11.0
Employment	204	8.8	ii a	1.8
Education	45	2.0	4.8	0.8
Business	53	2.3	6.0	0.5
Other reasons	360	15.5	31.6	9.8

'Pull' and 'Push' Factors:

Urban centers provide vast scope for employment in industries, transport, trade and other services. They also offer modern facilities of life. Thus, they act as 'magnets' for the migrant population and attract people from outside. In other words, cities pull people from other areas. This is known as "pull factor". People also migrate due to 'push factors' such as unemployment, hunger and starvation. When they do not find means of livelihood in their home villages, they are 'pushed' out to the nearby or distant towns. Millions of people who migrated from their far-off villages to the big cities of Kolkata,

Mumbai or Delhi did so because these cities offered them some promise for a better living. Their home villages had virtually rejected them as surplus population which the rural resources of land were not able to sustain any longer.

Intra State and Inter State Migration as seen in India

Internal migration is of two types, viz., intra state migration and interstate migration.

(i) Intra State Migration:

This type of migration takes place between two parts of the same state. Table 2 shows that a very high proportion (69.33%) of the intra state migrants was classed as rural to rural migrants while 9.10 per cent of the migrants were classed as urban to urban, 15.74 per cent rural to urban and 5.84 per cent urban to rural. Nearly three fourth of the total intra-state migrants were females, mainly caused by marriage. As much as 75.77 per cent of the female migrants belonged to the rural to rural, 11.95 per cent rural to urban, 5.23 per cent urban to rural and 7.04 per cent urban to rural. Among the male migrants, nearly half belonged to rural to rural, 15.38 per cent were urban to urban 27.27 per cent were rural to urban and 7.68% were urban to rural.

(ii) Inter State Migration:

Volume of interstate migration, i.e., migration between two states is much smaller than the intra-state migration simply because of increase in distance. Most of the inter-state migration takes place along border between two neighbouring states. Of the total inter-state migrants 28.4 were rural to rural, 32.83 rural to urban, 7.17 urban to rural and 34.6 urban to urban (Table 2).

Table 2 Intra State Migration Patterns (19914) in Percentages:

Type of Migration	Total	Males	Females
Rural to Rural	28.40	18.02	36.71
Rural to Urban	32.83	41.42	25.95
Urban to Rural	7.17	6.67	7.58
Urban to Urban	34.6	37.90	29.75
Percentage of total inter-state migrants	100.00	44.48	55.52

Table 12.3 shows that females outnumbered males in half the streams of inter-state migration. Of the total 36.71 per cent were rural to rural, 25.95 per cent rural to urban, 7.58 per cent urban to rural and 55.52% urban to urban. Of the total male inter-state migrants, about 18 per cent were rural to rural, 41.42 per cent rural to urban, 6.67 per cent urban to rural and 44.48 per cent urban to urban.

Internal Migrants Can Be Classified Into Following Four Migration Streams

Based on the rural or urban nature of the place of birth and the place of enumeration, internal migrants can be classified into following four migration streams:

(a) rural-to-rural,

- (b) rural-to-urban,
- (c) urban-to-urban, and
- (d) urban-to-rural.

(a) Rural-to-Rural (Rural Turn Over):

This stream of migration dominates over all other streams in terms of volume of migration. An outstanding feature of rural-to-rural stream of migration is the preponderance of female migrants. Studies made by Zachariah (1964), Bose (1965), Agarwal (1968), Narain (1975), Bhande et al. (1976), Premi (1976) and Kumar and Sharma (1979) have shown that this preponderance of female migrants is primarily due to the prevalence of patriarchal residence after marriage (marriage migration). According to Indian tradition, the girl has to move from her parents' residence to the residence of her in-laws and live with her husband.

Apart from marriage migration, there are several other factors which contribute to large scale rural-to-rural migration. Migration of agricultural labourers and movement of people to the newly reclaimed areas for agricultural purposes constitute the most important component of such migrations. In slack agricultural season, a large number of villagers move out to seek casual employment in irrigation projects, construction of roads, rail-roads and buildings and other miscellaneous menial jobs. Normally, rural-to-rural migration originates from crowded areas of low productivity and is destined towards sparsely populated areas experiencing large scale developmental activities. Such a migration may take place even for longer distances and may result in permanent redistribution of population.

(b) Rural-to-Urban:

Rural-to-urban migration is next only to rural-to-rural migration in terms of volume of migration. Rural-urban migration is caused by both push of the rural areas as well as pull of the urban areas. In rural areas appalling poverty, unbearable unemployment, low and uncertain wages, uneconomic land holdings and poor facilities for education, recreation and other services work as push factors. By contrast, the pull of urban areas may include better employment opportunities; regular and higher wages, fixed working hours, better amenities of living, facilities for education and socio-cultural activities (Chandna, 1992). The glamour of urban life and rigid caste system in the countryside have given further strength to push and pull factors. Both poor and rich from the countryside migrate to the urban areas under the influence of push and pull factors. While the poor migrate out of economic compulsion to eke out their living, the rich migrate due to their desire for better and greater comforts of life. In brief, Rural-to-urban migration is an outcome of interplay of forces hostile to comfortable living in the villages and of availability of lucrative opportunities in urban areas (Raju, 1987).

Both males and females migrate from rural to urban areas but males have always outnumbered females in this stream of migration. If rural-to-rural migration is women-migration, rural to urban migration is man-migration. The rural-to-urban migration has substantially affected the areal distribution of population and has contributed a great deal to urban growth in India. While the rural population grew by 18.12 per cent in 1991-2001, the urban population recorded a high growth rate of 31.13 per cent during the same period. It has been estimated that about one-third of the total urban growth in India has been due to migration (United Nations 1984). This had led to overcrowding in urban centres resulting in great population pressure on the urban infrastructure. The growth and spread of slum areas, as a result of population pressure, is quite glaring and painful. According to Delhi

governments' economic survey 2003-04, Delhi's population grows at the rate of 4 lakh per year out of which 2.5 lakh is due to migration from the neighboring states. Almost half (49.61%) of the migrants are from Uttar Pradesh, followed by Haryana (11.82%), Bihar (10.99%), Rajasthan (6.17%), Punjab (5.43%), West Bengal (2.79%), Madhya Pradesh (2.71%), The remaining 10.48% migrate from other states.

(c) Urban-to-Urban (Urban Turnover):

This is a stream of migration which is believed to be dominated by the middle class people (Singh 1980) about 9-10 per cent of the total migrants belonged to this stream of migration in 1991, with females outnumbering males. Generally, people migrate from small towns with fewer facilities to large cities with more facilities. This is the reason that class I cities have grown at a much faster rate as compared to other towns. In fact, small towns are constantly losing to big cities. The vacuum thus caused in small towns is filled by the subsequent in-migration from the surrounding rural areas. This migration forms a part of what is known as step-migration.

(d) Urban-to-rural (Pushback or Reverse Migration):

This stream has the lowest volume of migrants accounting for 5.84 per cent only in 1991. However there has been slight increase in this stream of migration between 1961 and 1991. Such a movement takes place at the advanced stage of urbanization when urban centers are characterized by over-congestion, haphazard growth, high cost of living, heavy pressure on public utility services unemployment, etc. Table 12.2 shows that females outnumber their male counterparts in this stream of migration. This is largely due to matrimonial alliance (Premi, 1978).

Only 27.4 per cent of total population (i.e., 230 million out of 843 million persons) were enumerated as migrants by 1991 census. The percentage was 30.6 in 1971 and 31.2 in 1981. Of the total migrant population 62.14 per cent were born within the district of enumeration. It is called intra-district migration. More than one-fourth (26.05 per cent) were born in other districts of the same state and slightly more than one-tenth (11.82 per cent) in other states of the country. Thus, proportion of migrants declines with the increasing distance.

The cause, kinds and theories of migration of people:

Migration is defined as permanent or semi-permanent change of residence of an individual or group of people over a significant distance. It is an element which determines population growth and population structure in an area.

Causes:

It can be natural calamity, climatic change, epidemics, over population, better employment opportunities, desire to get rich quickly need for political freedom.

Kinds of Migration:

Migration can be voluntary and involuntary. People migrate for economic benefits under voluntary migration and involuntary includes social, religious and political. It can be short-term where

people move for short periods and long-term where they move for good. The long-term migration is called emigration. Migration may be international, inter-regional, inter-urban or intra-urban. On the basis of time, it may be temporary or permanent. On basis of number it can be individual or mass, it may be politically sponsored or voluntary. On the basis of social organisations it can be family, clan or individual. Migration can be internal (within the country) and external (outside the country).

Results:

Migration plays an important role not only in dispersal of political, social, economic and religious ideas, but also of cultural traits. In fact it is intimately linked with development of transport networks.

Theories of Migration:

"E.G Ravenstein" formulated the laws of migration and his generalizations were based on empirical studies of population movements in U.S.A. and Britain and arrived at certain conclusions.

- a) Majority of migrants go only a short distance (distance decay law).
- b) Migrants going long distance generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce and industry.
- c) Each current of migration produces a counter current of lesser strength.
- d) The natives of towns are less migratory than remote areas.
- e) Females migrate more frequently within the country but males frequently venture abroad.
- f) Most migrant are adults, family hardly go for it.
- g) Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase.
- g) Main causes of migration are economic.

"Everett Lee", who propounded his theory in 1965, generalised four factors that influence the decision of an emigrant.

1. Factors operating in area of origin
2. Factors operating destination
3. Factors that act as intervening obstacles
4. Personal factors those are specific to the individual.

Migration and Trends of Migration in India

The movement of population from one region to another is termed as migration. Migration is commonly of two types: temporary and permanent. Temporary migration encompasses annual, seasonal or even daily movements of population between two cities; it is also called 'commutation'.

Migration can be divided into the following types on the basis of origin and destination:

- (a) Rural to rural R R

- (b) Rural to urban R U
- (c) Urban to urban U U
- (d) Urban to rural U R

In some cases, the population moves from villages to small towns and then to a bigger metropolitan city: this may be termed 'step-wise migration'.

Migration owing to a number of attractions offered by a city is interpreted as migration due to 'push' factors; on the other hand, people move out of villages due to 'pull' factors— such as better opportunities of employment, education, recreation, health care facilities, business, etc. outside villages. Some 'push' factors are unemployment, poverty, social insecurity, political instability and ethnic conflicts.

Trends of Migration in India:

Pattern The pattern of internal migration may be divided into the following: intra-state movement in the case of movement of people within the state itself, and inter-state movement when the migrants cross the borders of a state and settle down in another state. The bulk of intra-state migrations were not caused by economic factors. Since about three-fourths of all migrants were females, it becomes obvious that marriage was the prime reason for such migration. Generally, about one-half of male intra-state migrants belong to rural-to-rural category. Most of these R R migrants are from backward states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. It is obvious that migrants moved from their place of origin in search of better jobs in agricultural farms or other establishments in rural areas. Out-migration mostly takes place from underdeveloped states like Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. Migrants had a tendency to move into comparatively developed regions like West Bengal, Maharashtra, the National Capital Territory of Delhi, Chandigarh, and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Assam and Madhya Pradesh also witnessed in-migration but on a lesser scale. Uneven development between regions is believed to be the major cause of migration. It is unfortunate that most of the major metropolitan cities of India are currently witnessing heavy in- migration and consequent population growth due to work opportunities offered by these cities. Cities like Delhi, for example, are badly affected by huge influx of migrants.

Impact of Migration on Major Cities in India

In India problems related to massive poverty- induced migration from rural to the major metros are due to lopsided, unplanned and over-congested urbanization which has caused overall deterioration of urban environment in India. Most of the metropolitan cities are growing at an alarmingly fast rate and, according to UN estimates, most of them will double their population in the next 12 to 15 years. Increasing low-quality migration of the poor to urban areas has already led to urban involution, decay, poverty, exploitation, insecurity and inequality among the migrant population. As most of the migrants are poor, landless, and illiterate and lack basic skills, they fail to get jobs in the capital-intensive production system of urban India. These unskilled migrants are absorbed by the unorganized sectors which are characterized by low

Todaro's Theory on Rural-Urban Migration!

Todaro accepts the logistics of Lewis-Fei-Ranis model of rural-urban migration but only with reservations. According to him, this theory may correspond to the historical scenario of migration in the western socio-economic milieu but does not explain the trends of rural-urban migration in less developed countries. The Lewis model assumes that there would be faster capital accumulation, which will be invested in modern industry causing new jobs in abundance. It implies that there would be labour transfer at the rate proportional to capital accumulation. But Lewis and his followers could not foresee that it could be possible only when technology would remain the same. But capital accumulation leads to capital-intensive industrial expansion based on advanced technologies, which yield high economic growth but there would be lesser labour absorption. The modern industry has limited labour absorption capacity. Todaro's model does not advocate simply the rural-urban wage differentials as the basis of migration as is claimed in all migration theories. According to him, the migrant is much rational and calculative in his decision to shift to a particular city. He also takes into consideration not only the wage differences but also the probability of getting a job in the urban area. Migration, thus, is determined more by rural-urban differences in expected earnings, rather than in actual earnings.

Following are the basic characteristics of Todaro model of rural-urban migration:

1. Migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic consideration.
2. Migration is decided on the basis of expected, rather than actual, urban-rural wage differentials.
3. Probability of obtaining urban job is inversely related to the urban unemployment rate.

Francis Cherunilam, commenting on Todaro's migration model, writes that while the model is correct in holding that there is no possibility of full employment in urban areas, it is not correct to assert that the act of migration is always rational and well-calculated. Todaro is also wrong in not giving any importance to non-economic factors in the migration process.

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