

**MIGRATION FROM RURAL AREAS :  
DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES –  
A REVIEW**

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## C O N T E N T S

	Page
Chapter-I Introduction ..	1
Chapter-II Volume and Pattern of Migration Census data-1981	11
Why People Move? 1981-Census Report 1983-N.S.S. Report	
Chapter-III Studies on Reasons for Migration	41
1. Macro Studies ..	42
2. Micro Studies - Rural-Urban Migration. ..	56
Chapter-IV Micro Studies - Rural Rural Migration. ..	77
1. Return Migration ..	103
Chapter-V Impact of Migration on Rural Life	109
1. Effect of Migration on Agricultural Productivity	110
2. Impact of Remittance	115
3. Effects of Remittances on Rural Income-Distribution	126
4. Migration and Technological Change in Agriculture	128
5. Effects of Rural-Rural Migration on Agricultural Production and Wagelevel ..	133
6. Demographic Consequences	135
Chapter-VI Summary-Conclusions and Research Gap ..	140
BIBLIOGRAPHY ..	159

STATISTICAL TABLES

Chapter-II	Page	
II.1	Percentage Distribution of population by type of movement, sex and residence (Place of Birth) 1961, 1971, 1981.	15
II.2	Percentage Distribution of population by type of movement, sex and residence (Place of last residence) 1971, 1981.	18
II.3	Percentage Distribution of Birth Place Migrants by type of movement residence and sex. 1961, 1971, 1981.	21
II.4	Migration Streams.	24
II.5	Percentage Distribution of migrants by reasons of various types of movements and by sex. 1981.	27
II.6	Percentage Distribution of migrants by reasons type of movement- Residence and sex-1981.	31
II.7	Percentage Distribution of migrants by streams of movement for each sex and reasons for migration 1981.	33
II.8	Volume of in- out and net-migrants in rural and urban areas by sex and reason of migration 1981 (All India) (N.S.S.O).	34
II.9	Percentage Distribution of migrants by reasons for migration (All India) N.S.S. Report 18th Round Feb 1963- Jan 1964.	36

Chapter-II		Page
II.10	Percentage Distribution of migrant households by nature of movement and reason for movement 1983 (All India) (N.S.S.O).	38
II.11	Percentage Distribution of migrants during the last one year, and the last five years by reasons for migration. Jan-1983-Dec. 1983 (All India) (N.S.S.O).	39
Chapter-V		
V.1	Percentage Distribution of households that have ever received remittances by major items on which remittances were spent. Oberai and Singh (1983)	122
V.2	Fertility rates of population 1982-86 (Raichur District) P.D. Mahadev (1987)	137

## INTRODUCTION

"Today through out the world migration is contributing to economic and social development by enabling man to overcome the tyranny of space".

|Joseph Spengler and George Myers (1977) |

Migration is closely related to the development process. Population movement provides an important network for transmission of ideas and diffusion of technology. "Migration also carries human capital to regions of destinations (giving rise to migrant remittances) entails investment in the employment of migrants, permits acquisition of new skills and accentuates economic cycle"<sup>1</sup> Migration serves as an important vehicle for social mobility. Migration to urban society which is dynamic and stratified on lines of achievement rather than ascription provides relief to the people from oppressive customs of rigid rural society. Therefore migration is recognised as "Development Fostering Process".

Rural migration towards urban centres play a significant role in national development. Rural out-migrants generally constitutes a more resourceful selective segment

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1 'Internal Migration' -Ed. Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger, page-11 (1977).

of rural society. Therefore their relocation in a more dynamic urban environment will improve the resource base of national economy. Since their opportunity cost in the origin area is likely to be lower than their urban wages, their transfer to the urban labour force will enhance the overall labour productivity and lead to higher levels of national output. It is also commonly believed that migrants have on an average a higher propensity to save than non-migrants. consequently it can be expected that migration will raise the economy's overall rates of capital formation.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, migration received favourable comments in the economic development literature in 1950s. Rapid rural out-migration was thought to be a desirable process in which surplus rural labour was gradually withdrawn from traditional agricultural sector to provide cheap man-power to fuel growing modern sector.<sup>3</sup>

The process was deemed socially beneficial since human resources were being shifted from location where their social marginal produce were often assumed to be zero to places where this marginal produce was not only

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2. Oberai and Singh (1983), Causes and consequences of Internal Migration, page-47.

3. Lewis-(1954).

3

positive but also growing as a result of capital accumulation and technological progress.

In India, the need for industrialization with a view to reducing population pressure on land and the poverty of the people was felt even before the introduction of planning. "The growth of industrialization would mean not only redistribution of population between town and country which has been proceeding silently but slowly in the last half century.....(but) also better alternative employment so as to take off the burden on the soil of a disproportionately large population".<sup>4</sup>

The first five year plan also emphasised the need for reducing the pressure of population on land. Transfer of rural population to industrial towns was considered to be a means to an end. Therefore since the beginning, development planning strategy encouraged the growth of urban centres. Many more new urban industrial centres came in to being along with the existing urban industrial centres under the industrialization programme during the first two decades of planning era. Planned development activities were getting concentrated at the four metropolital cities of India - Bombay, Madras, Calcutta - Delhi.

<sup>4</sup> Radhakamal Mukharji (1948) quoted by Ashish Bose-India's urbanization 1901-2000 A.D.(page 25), II Revised Edition (1980).



Huge investment in public utilities and infrastructure were carried on and they soon began to overgrow their capacity.

In general, the urban component of total population began to increase. At the turn of this century, only 10.8 percent of the country's population lived in urban areas. After 1921 the component of urban population began to increase gradually and by 1971 one-fifth of India's population became urban and by 1981, 23.7 percent of total (excluding Assam) that is more than 156 million out of 658.1 million (excluding Assam) began to live in urban areas.

This unprecedented fast increase is mainly through the process of rural urban migration.

Studies on rural urban migration reveal that 30 to 60 percent of the population of Indian cities are in the cities for less than 20 years. Larger the city greater the migration component of urban population. Cities with population of million-plus have a migrant population of over 50 percent - where as cities of 3 lacks or less population migrant population constitute to 30 to 40 percent.<sup>5</sup>

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5. R.P. Mishra (1978), Premi (1986), Laxminarayan (1986).

In 1981 there were 12, million-plus-cities having a total population of 42,022,854. This constitutes 26.91 percent of the total urban population in India in 1981. (156,188,507). In 1971 the total population of all the metropolises (Million plus city) was 29,558,582 of which migrants share was 11,757,395 (39.77 percent). This massive increase in the metropolitan population over a decade 1971-81 is on account of continuous flow of rural migration mainly due to the job opportunities created there in such sector of the economy as industry, commerce, administration and construction.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, it is said that in India urbanization has been essentially a process of migration to the big cities where there has been stagnation of small towns.<sup>7</sup>

This massive inflow of population has created numerous problems at these urban centres. Urbanization is proceeding more rapidly than urban development- The process of developing employment opportunities, utilities, housing and schools and other services, facilities and amenities which urban community requires.<sup>8</sup> Over crowding beyond the physical infrastructural capacity is responsible for deterioration of

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6. K. Laxminarayan (1986)

7. Ashish Bose (1983), State Policies and Internal Migration (An I.L.O. W.E.P. Study).

8. K.C. Zachariah, 1964 (page I.a.).

quality of urban life. Irrespective of whether an urban settlement is large or small the general picture is roughly the same throughout the country. Over crowding, shortage of housing, slums and almost inadequate provision of facilities and amenities like schools, play fields, parks, hospitals and water supply and so on. Migration from rural areas has extended rural poverty to urban areas. "Urban poor are only an overflow of rural poor in to the urban areas. Fundamentally they belong to the same class as the rural poor."<sup>9</sup>

The task force on planning and development of small and medium towns and cities (1977) in its report has exposed the negative aspects of contemporary urbanization process in India. According to the Report, much of the degradation in the quality of life in the cities is the direct result of incessant rush of people in large numbers from rural areas. Such a pattern of migration has the potent of social disintegration and conflict besides leading directly to the deterioration of conditions of life in the existing towns as resources and facilities are just not able to keep pace with the need of ever expanding urban migrant population.<sup>10</sup>

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9. Dandekar V.M. and Nilakanth Rath (1971) (page 33)  
E.P.W. 1971.

10. Ministry of Works and Development Task Force Report (1977) Vol.I.

India's sixth plan document makes a graphic reference to the impending peril of a break-down of all civic services and makes a strong policy recommendation for drastic measures to restrict the growth of population in the larger urban conglomerates.<sup>11</sup>

Rural urban migration is also viewed as a factor causing uneven development. These population movements deprive the migrant sending areas of innovative, young productive human capital and is likely to impare the development of these areas. The small and medium size towns will also be deprived of necessary human capital for their development.

Task force Report (1977) states that unbridled growth of large cities and metropolises aften resulted in the gradual decay of small towns in the vicinity. These large towns and metropolises continue to attract excessive administrative and economic activity to the exclusion of not only the smaller towns but also of the entire rural hiterland.

According to Todaro (1976) "migration in excess of new job opportunities is both a symptom and a contributory factor to under development in the third world."<sup>12</sup>

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11. Government of India, Planning Commission 1978 (pp-243-244).

12. Todaro M.P. Geneva I.L.O. (1976).

These strong negative consequences of urbanward migration have once again drawn the attention of academicians, Government and planning authorities towards the phenomenon of internal migration. Urbanward migration is no longer considered as a socially beneficial process necessary to help the process of development. On the contrary migration today is looked upon as a major contributory factor to the contemporary urban mess in India.<sup>13</sup>

In view of the aforesaid facts studies on internal migration have gained importance. "Lack of balance between rural-urban migration and urbanization on the one hand and urban development on the other hand carries a threat of major social and economic progress. In this respect studies of rural urban migration are important as they provide a part of needed factual basis for planning balanced development.....<sup>14</sup>

Rural-urban migration in a developing country like India is clearly a subject of considerable importance, especially if one can determine to what degree migration has been a help or hinderance to the economic and social

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13. Task Force Report (1977) Government of India, Planning Commission (1978) Todaro M.P. (1976) I.L.O.

14. U.N.O. Geneva Session 1959- as quoted by Zachariah (1964) (page-1b).

development of the country. Such a broad objective requires analysis of many facets of migration.<sup>15</sup>

If the very development strategy adopted in the post independence period is responsible for the sorry state of affairs at the metropolitan cities, there is the need for searching an alternative development strategy. A better understanding of the nature and characteristics of migratory flows and the causes and consequences of migration at the place of origin is essential for formation of alternative development strategy and for framing appropriate policies to influence development process in socially desirable direction.

The present study deals with the causes and consequences of rural out migration at the place of origin and its pattern and characteristics of migrants. The study intends to enquire whether rural development and poverty alleviation programmes can check cityward movement of the people and is there a need to check such outflow of population from rural areas. The study will also discuss recommendations of expert bodies in this regard.

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15. Zachariah (1964) (page 1b).

This study confines itself to voluntary rural outmigration permanent, semi-permanent and seasonal. Distress migration caused either by political factors or natural calamities do not come within the scope of this study. It is a study on various aspects of migration from rural base.

## CHAPTER - II

VOLUME AND PATTERN OF MIGRATION - CENSUS DATA  
1961 - 1981

II.1 Despite its immense economic, political and social significance, internal migration has received inadequate attention from the scholars in India.<sup>16</sup> The first systematic attempt to explain population mobility in the sub-continent through the census statistics was made by Kingsley Davis (1951). Based on 1931 census data Davis observed the general immobility of India's population - around 3 percent of the population moved between states. He suggested that predominance of agriculture, joint family system, early marriage, caste system, diversity of culture and language and illiteracy as the main reasons for the immobility of the population.

Using census data Zachariah (1963) made a detailed investigation into the internal migration in the Indian subcontinent during 1901-1931. He concluded that the extent of population redistribution in India during 1901-1931 caused by internal migration was small compared to the experience of some western countries. His findings support Kingsley Davis (1951) that internal migration is around 3 percent of the total population.

16. Gosal and Krishan (1975).



Zachariah (1963) states that interstate migration is only a part of the total population movement in any country. In India during 1901-1931 intra-state migration may have formed greater share of the total movement, but for lack of data such intra-state migration estimates could not be made satisfactorily.

Similar kind of work was carried out by Zachariah using 1941-1951-census data (1968).

#### Population Census Data In India:

In the census prior to 1961 the unit of analysis was a state or a province. That is, migrant was a person born outside the state of his/her enumeration. The only migration data available referred to inter-state migration.

Based on this data the pioneering works on internal migration in India by Davis (1951) Zacharich (1963) came to conclude that Indian population is non-migratory in nature. But in view of the large size of the federal units in India, the earlier definition of migrant adopted by census was unjustifiable.

In the 1961 census and there after a question on 'place of birth' was asked with reference to the place of enumeration and all persons born outside their place of enumeration were counted as migrants. Hence with 1961

census we get data on intra-district migration, intra-state migration and inter-state migration as well.

1971 census adds one more information 'The place of last residence' - Rural/urban. This was maintained at 1981 census alongwith the earlier, place of birth information. 1981 census goes further in enriching migration data by adding one more question on 'reasons for leaving the last place of residence.' The reasons were codified under five categories such as employment, education, family moves, marriage and others.

Due to these changes in population census data collection, it is now well-known that internal migration in India is substantive - around 30 percent and "Indians are responsive to economic opportunities and are not reluctant to seek their future in place other than their native place (Bogue and Zachariah: 1962).

#### Distribution of Migrant Population:

The census provides data on population by type of movement made by individuals. If the individual is enumerated in his/her place of birth or his/her place of last residence, he/she is considered to be immobile and he/she is termed as non-migrant. A migrant may move from his/her village/town of birth (or previous place of residence) to the village/town of enumeration within the same district

or another district in the same state/union territory or outside the state of enumeration. Statement-I provides the picture of distribution of population by type of movement (with respect to the place of birth) by sex, seperately for rural and urban areas as revealed from the 1961, 1971 and 1981 census.

It is observed that the percentage of migrants in the population declined from 33 percent in 1961 to 30.7 percent in 1981. Females are more migratory than males in both rural and urban areas. The proportion of male migrants in the rural areas was around 15 percent as compared to 35 percent in the urban areas. In the urban areas about 10 percent of the people are inter-state migrants. In the rural areas only 1.7 percent of the persons are inter-state migrants.

The 'last-Residence' concept also yields migration rates around 30 and there seems to be no change in the percentage of migrant population during 1971-1981 decade. Majority of female migrants prefer to move either within the district of their births or at best to other districts within the state. Distance plays an important role.

Statement-2 shows the percentage distribution of population by type of movement sex and residence - 1971 and 1981 with reference to the 'place of last Residence'.

Statement - 1

Percentage Distribution of Population by Type of Movement, Sex and Residence  
1961, 1971, 1981

Residence	Sex	Year	BIRTH PLACE				Total Popula- tion.	
			Same as the place of enume- ration.	Else where in the district of enume- ration.	In other district of the state of enumera- tion.	In other state/ Union Territo- ries in India.		Out- side India
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Total	Persons	1961	67.0	20.9	6.6	3.3	2.2	100.00
		1971	69.6	18.9	6.4	3.4	1.7	100.00
		1981	69.3	18.2	7.7	3.6	1.2	100.00
	Males	1961	79.2	10.1	4.9	3.5	2.3	100.00
		1971	81.1	9.1	4.7	3.4	1.7	100.00
		1981	82.0	8.3	5.2	3.3	1.2	100.00
	Female	1961	54.0	32.4	8.3	3.2	2.1	100.00
		1971	57.2	29.4	8.3	3.4	1.7	100.00
		1981	55.8	28.8	10.4	3.9	1.1	100.00

contd...

## Statement-1 contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Rural	Persons	1961	69.0	22.4	4.9	1.7	1.4	100.00
		1971	71.8	20.6	4.7	1.7	1.2	100.00
		1981	71.0	20.1	5.7	1.7	0.9	100.00
	Male	1961	84.6	39.7	2.9	1.4	1.4	100.00
		1971	85.9	39.0	2.6	1.3	1.2	100.00
		1981	87.4	37.9	2.8	1.2	0.7	100.00
	Female	1961	54.0	35.0	7.1	2.0	1.3	100.00
		1971	56.9	32.9	7.0	2.1	1.1	100.00
		1981	55.1	33.1	8.8	2.3	0.7	100.00
Urban	Persons	1961	55.2	14.0	14.0	10.9	5.9	100.00
		1971	60.7	12.0	13.2	9.9	4.2	100.00
		1981	61.7	12.0	14.0	9.6	2.7	100.00
	Male	1961	56.3	11.7	13.6	12.5	5.9	100.00
		1971	62.5	9.9	12.5	11.2	3.9	100.00
		1981	65.0	9.7	12.7	10.0	2.6	100.00
	Female	1961	53.9	16.8	14.4	9.1	5.8	100.00
		1971	58.7	14.4	14.0	9.0	3.9	100.00
		1981	58.0	14.6	15.6	9.2	2.6	100.00

Note: The 1981 figures exclude Assam.

Source - Census of India 1981, Census monograph No.2  
migration analysis (page-7) -(S.K. Sinha).

Statement - 2

Percentage Distribution of Population by Type of Movement, Sex and Residence  
1971, 1981

Residence	Sex	Year	PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE					Total popula- tion.
			Same as the place of enume- ration.	Elsewhere in the district of enume- ration.	In other district of the state of enumera- tion.	In other State/ Union Territo- ries of India.	Out- side India	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Total	Persons	1971	69.4	19.2	6.5	3.5	1.4	100.00
		1981	68.8	19.2	7.6	3.5	0.9	100.00
	Male	1971	81.0	9.3	4.7	3.4	1.6	100.00
		1981	81.7	9.0	5.1	3.2	1.0	100.00
	Female	1971	56.9	29.7	8.4	3.5	1.5	100.00
		1981	55.0	30.1	10.2	3.8	0.9	100.00
Rural	Persons	1971	71.7	20.7	4.8	1.7	1.1	100.00
		1981	71.0	21.0	5.6	1.7	0.7	100.00
	Male	1971	86.0	8.9	2.6	1.3	1.2	100.00
		1981	87.1	8.4	2.7	1.2	0.6	100.00
	Female	1971	56.6	33.1	7.0	2.1	1.2	100.00
		1981	54.8	34.0	8.7	2.3	0.2	100.00

Contd....

Statement-2 contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Urban	Persons	1971	60.0	13.0	13.6	10.3	3.1	100.00
		1981	61.4	13.4	13.9	9.3	2.0	100.00
	Male	1971	61.8	10.8	12.9	11.3	3.2	100.00
		1981	64.6	11.0	12.6	9.7	2.1	100.00
	Female	1971	57.9	15.6	14.4	9.2	2.9	100.00
		1981	57.5	16.2	15.4	8.9	2.0	100.00

Note: The 1981 figures exclude Assam.

Source - Census of India 1981, Census monograph No.2  
migration analysis (page-8) (S.K. Sinha).

1981 migration data analysis has also provided the pattern in the distribution of migrants population by type of movement. Taking only the birth place migrants. Statement-3 gives the all India picture of the migrant population by sex, residence and type of movement.

About 90 percent of the female migrants do not cross state boundaries. In the urban areas about two-third of both male and female migrants move within the state of their birth. About one-fifth of female migrants and one-fourth of the male migrants were born in other states/union territories in India. The share of foreign born migrant declined from 13.00 percent in 1961 to 6.7 percent in 1981; in the urban areas. The distribution pattern of migrants by type of movement in the states also gives the same picture (Census (1981) Monograph No.2, page-9).

#### Migrants by Stream:

Bases on place of birth (or last residence) and place of enumeration migrants are generally classified in to four migration streams.

1. Rural areas to Rural areas (R-R)
2. Urban areas to Rural areas (U-R)
3. Rural areas to Urban areas (R-U)
4. Urban areas to Urban areas (U-U)



Statement - 3

Percentage Distribution of Birth Place Migrants by Type of Movement Residence and Sex. 1961, 1971, 1981.

Residence	Sex	Year	Within States			Between states	From outside India	Total migrants
			Within District	Inter District	Total			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Total	Persons	1961	63.5	19.9	83.4	10.1	6.5	100.00
		1971	62.1	21.1	83.2	11.2	5.6	100.00
		1981	59.3	25.0	84.3	11.8	3.9	100.00
	Male	1961	48.7	23.7	72.4	16.8	10.8	100.00
		1971	48.3	24.7	73.0	17.8	9.2	100.00
		1981	46.0	23.3	74.8	18.5	6.7	100.00
	Female	1961	70.5	18.1	88.6	6.9	4.5	100.00
		1971	68.7	19.4	88.1	8.0	3.9	100.00
		1981	65.1	23.5	88.6	8.8	2.5	100.00
Rural	Persons	1961	74.8	16.1	91.1	5.5	4.4	100.00
		1971	75.1	16.8	91.9	6.1	4.0	100.00
		1981	71.1	20.2	91.3	6.1	2.6	100.00
	Male	1961	63.2	18.8	82.0	9.0	9.0	100.00
		1971	63.6	18.7	82.3	9.5	8.2	100.00
		1981	62.4	22.0	84.4	9.5	6.1	100.00
	Female	1961	77.4	15.4	92.9	4.3	2.8	100.00
		1971	76.3	16.1	92.4	4.9	2.7	100.00
		1981	73.6	19.6	91.2	5.1	1.7	100.00

Contd...

Statement-3 contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Urban	Persons	1961	31.4	31.2	62.6	24.4	13.0	100.00
		1971	30.5	33.6	64.1	26.0	9.9	100.00
		1981	31.4	36.7	68.1	25.2	6.7	100.00
	Male	1961	26.8	31.1	57.9	28.5	13.6	100.00
		1971	26.3	33.3	59.6	29.9	10.5	100.00
		1981	27.7	36.3	64.0	28.6	7.4	100.00
	Female	1961	36.5	31.3	67.3	19.7	12.5	100.00
		1971	34.9	33.9	68.8	21.9	9.3	100.00
		1981	34.8	37.2	72.0	22.0	6.0	100.00

Note: The 1981 figures exclude Assam.

Source - Census Monograph No.2 (page-9).

Statement-4 gives the percent distribution of internal migrants by stream separately for 'within state' and 'between state' migrants by sex and residence. It is observed that over the period 1961-81 the share of the movers from one rural area to another rural area within the country has declined from 74 percent of the total migrants in 1961 to 65 percent in 1981. Correspondingly the movement from rural to urban areas and between urban areas have gone up. This trend is observed both for males and females and also for migrants moving within the state and between the state.

The declining share of rural to rural movements is observed in most of the states. There has been substantial increase in the movement towards urban areas (Census monograph No.2 page-11).

## II.2 Why people migrate?

The 1981 census in India will be remembered as a landmark in the field of population statistics as for as the first time it attempted to collect information on the reasons of migration. 1981 census migration data on reasons of migration are classified as (a) Employment, (b) Education, (c) Family moved, (d) Marriage and (e) others. No doubt each broad classification vitiates the real reasons, it is not possible through the census to ask for reasons as

Statement - 4

Percentage Distribution of Birth Place Migrants by Stream, Sex, Residence and type of Movement, 1961, 1971, 1981

Type of Movement	Sex	Year	Migration Stream				Total
			R—R	U—R	R—R	U—U	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Internal Migrants	Persons	1961	73.8	3.6	14.6	8.0	100.00
		1971	70.3	5.5	16.3	8.9	100.00
		1981	65.4	6.0	17.5	11.1	100.00
	Males	1961	56.7	4.6	25.7	13.0	100.00
		1971	53.5	6.5	26.0	14.0	100.00
		1981	46.1	6.9	29.7	17.3	100.00
	Female	1961	81.3	3.2	9.7	5.8	100.00
		1971	77.7	5.1	10.5	6.8	100.00
		1981	73.4	5.6	12.4	8.6	100.00
Within State Migrants	Persons	1961	78.2	3.5	12.3	6.0	100.00
		1971	75.0	5.3	13.2	6.5	100.00
		1981	70.4	5.8	15.2	8.6	100.00
	Male	1961	63.3	4.7	22.0	10.0	100.00
		1971	60.1	6.6	27.8	10.5	100.00
		1981	52.4	7.2	26.5	13.9	100.00

Contd...

Statement-4 contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Female	1961	84.0	3.0	8.6	4.4	100.00
		1971	80.9	4.8	9.4	4.9	100.00
		1981	76.9	5.4	11.0	6.7	100.00
Between State Migrants	Persons	1961	36.8	4.5	33.8	24.9	100.00
		1971	34.1	6.9	31.5	27.5	100.00
		1981	29.7	7.0	33.8	29.5	100.00
	Male	1961	28.3	4.1	41.7	25.9	100.00
		1971	25.9	6.2	39.3	28.6	100.00
		1981	21.4	6.0	42.4	30.2	100.00
	Female	1961	46.8	5.0	24.4	23.8	100.00
		1971	42.7	7.6	23.3	26.4	100.00
		1981	37.7	7.9	26.1	28.3	100.00

Note: The 1981 figures exclude Assam.

Source: Census Monograph No.2, 1981 (Page-11).

detailed as that collected by the NSSO. The reasons for migration differ between males and females. The distribution etc., are presented for males and females and also for rural and urban areas separately, in Statement-5. More than one fourth of the male migrants moving within the state of enumeration go for employment. When the male migrants cross the state boundaries, half of them move out for employment. One-third of the within state male migrants move because their family had moved. Other reasons seem to be equally significant for male migrants. Hardly five percent of the female migrants go for employment. Only one percent of the male migrants cross state boundaries for marriage. Even when male migrants move within the state only 3.7 percent of them migrate for the purpose of marriage.

Among the male migrants who move from one village to another (Rural to Rural) more than seventy percent of them migrate for reasons connected with movement of the family and other associated factors. Less than 5 percent of these inter village male migrants go for education and just 5.5 percent for marriage 27 percent of the male migrate from towns to villages for employment. Perhaps these migrants are those who first moved in to towns from the villages and remain there unemployed and then go back to the village for reemployment. As such they may constitute a significant portion of return migrants to villages. In case of males

Statement - 5

Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Reasons for Various Types of Movements  
and by Sex 1981

Sex	Type of movement and stream.	Reasons of Migration					
		All	Employment	Education	Family moved	Marriage	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Male	Within State	100.00	27.6	5.2	31.6	3.7	31.3
	Between State	100.00	50.4	3.7	25.0	1.1	19.8
	Total	100.00	31.8	5.1	30.3	3.3	29.5
	R—R	100.00	19.5	4.2	33.7	5.5	37.1
	U—R	100.00	27.0	3.2	31.9	2.2	35.7
	R—U	100.00	47.5	8.1	23.5	1.2	35.7
	U—U	100.00	41.1	5.1	31.5	1.0	21.2
	T—R	100.00	20.5	4.0	33.4	5.0	37.1
	R—T	100.00	30.1	5.7	29.9	3.8	30.6
	U—T	100.00	37.1	4.7	31.6	1.3	25.3
	T—U	100.00	44.9	6.9	26.8	1.1	20.3
	T—T	100.00	3.8	5.4	30.3	3.2	29.3

Contd...

Statement-5 contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Female Within State		100.0	1.7	0.8	12.9	75.3	9.3
Between State		100.0	4.5	1.6	28.4	54.0	11.5
Total		100.0	1.9	1.0	14.3	73.4	9.4
R—R		100.0	1.1	0.5	8.6	81.7	8.1
U—R		100.0	3.3	1.1	21.2	59.3	15.1
R—U		100.0	4.2	3.0	29.3	51.5	12.4
U—U		100.0	4.5	2.1	35.9	43.6	13.9
T—R		100.0	1.3	0.5	9.5	80.1	8.6
R—T		100.0	1.6	0.7	11.5	77.5	8.7
T—U		100.0	4.3	2.4	32.1	48.1	13.1
U—T		100.0	4.0	1.9	30.3	49.5	14.3
T—T		100.0	1.9	1.0	14.3	73.4	9.4

Source - Census (1981) Monograph No.2  
Migration analysis (page-22) S.K. Sinha.



moving from villages to towns 47.5 percent migrate for employment. 23.5 percent for joining their families and about one-fifth of them move due to some other reasons. Only one percent of movers between towns and also from village to towns go for marriage. One-fifth of the males migrating to villages go for employment as against 45 percent for male moving towards towns.

For female marriage remains the main reason of migration from one place to another irrespective of the type of movement and rural urban status more than 70 percent of the female migrants change their place of last residence only for marriage. Employment and education do not induce female to change the place of residence. As the distance increases and the movement takes place across the state boundaries the percentage of female migrating for marriage declines and the share of the reason- "movement of the family" increases. The percent share of female migrants moving for other reasons varies from 8 percent for those moving from one village to another village to 15 percent for those moving from towns to villages.

Another way of looking into the relative distribution of migrants by reasons is to compare them by type of movement. Statement-6 presents the percentage distribution of migrants by type of movement for each reason in rural and

Statement - 6

Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Reason, Type of Movement, Residence and Sex, 1981.

Sex	Residence	Type of movement	R E A S O N S					
			All	Employment	Educa-tion	Family moved	Marriage	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Male	Total	Within State	81.4	70.6	87.2	84.6	93.6	87.2
		Inter State	18.6	29.4	12.8	15.4	6.4	12.8
		Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Rural	Within State	90.4	83.1	94.6	91.1	95.5	92.9
		Inter State	9.6	16.9	5.4	8.9	4.5	7.1
		Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Urban	Within State	70.9	64.0	82.2	75.6	84.0	75.4
		Inter State	29.1	36.0	17.8	24.4	16.0	24.6
		Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Contd...

Statement-6 contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Female	Total	Within State	91.4	69.8	84.9	82.8	93.7	89.4
		Inter State	8.6	30.2	15.1	17.2	6.3	10.6
		Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Rural	Within State	94.9	85.0	93.0	90.7	95.6	94.1
		Inter State	5.1	15.0	7.0	9.3	4.4	5.9
		Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Urban	Within State	78.0	73.8	79.0	74.1	81.0	77.9
		Inter State	22.0	26.2	21.0	25.9	19.0	22.1
		Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source - Census (1981) Monograph No.2.  
Migration analysis (page-23) S.K. Sinha.

urban areas separately for males and females. More than 70 percent of the migrants moving for employment restrict themselves within the state of their enumeration and the rest thirty percent venture to move out to other states for finding the jobs etc. For the urban areas however, 36 percent of the male migrants cross state boundaries for employment. For marriage only about 7 percent of the migrants go beyond the state of their enumeration. Thus irrespective of reason of migration majority of the migrants prefer to change their place of residence within the state of their previous residence and only few move to other states.

If we look in to the pattern of migration by stream (Statement-7) for each of the reason separately we find that about 80 percent of marriage migration takes place between villages. In case of movement of the family, only about one-fifth of the migrants move from one town to another town. In case of employment and education about 65 percent of the male migrants and 47 percent of the female migrants move from villages to towns (either for jobs or for higher or better education). These percentages are shown in the statement-7.

It is also of interest to look in to the volume of

Statement-7

Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Streams of Movements for Each Sex and Reason of Migration, 1981.

Sex	Streams	R E A S O N S				
		Employment	Education	Family moved	Marriage	Others
Male	R—R	28.2	35.9	51.4	78.8	58.5
	U—R	6.4	4.4	7.9	5.9	9.2
	R—U	41.1	41.4	21.4	5.2	18.6
	U—U	24.3	18.3	19.3	10.4	13.7
	T—T	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female	R—R	43.3	35.8	44.5	81.8	62.4
	U—R	9.0	6.2	8.1	4.4	8.7
	R—U	26.4	35.4	24.7	8.4	15.8
	U—U	20.3	22.6	22.7	5.4	13.1
	T—T	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source - Monograph No.2 Population Census 1981.

in and out migrants by reasons for males and females seperately for rural and urban areas. The absolute value of the estimated number of in and out and net migrants by reasons are presented in Statement-8. It is observed that for rural areas in migrants are less than outmigrants for all reasons of migration. This is true for both males and females. In case of urban areas more people pour in than they go out to rural areas. As a pure balance whatever out migration is from rural areas should be the inmigrants in to urban areas but in census tabulation inmigrants include those coming from 'unclassified' areas also. Moreover the outmigration figures both rural and urban areas of India includes the figures for Assam where as inmigrants do not.

Statewise figures of the percentage distribution of migrants by reasons for all internal migrants give the following features.

Statewise variations are observed but the pattern of distribution does not differ from the all India pattern. Marriage remains the main reason for female migration where as 'employment' and 'movement of the family' are the major reasons for male migration. In some states like Andhrapradesh, Kerala, Manipur and Mizoram reasons other than employment, education, family movement and marriage

Statement - 8

Volume of in, out and net migrants in rural and urban areas by sex and reasons of migration 1981 (in '000)

Sex	Reasons of Migration	Rural Areas			Urban Area		
		In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
Male	All Reasons	32051	43911	-11860	27870	15759	12111
	Employment	6582	13163	- 6581	12504	5847	6657
	Education	1292	2476	- 1184	1919	727	1192
	Family moved	10715	13137	- 2422	7459	4983	2476
	Marriage	1603	1693	- 90	305	212	93
	Others	11859	13442	- 1583	5083	3990	1693
Female	All Reasons	111916	120977	- 9061	29867	20424	9445
	Employment	1437	1890	- 453	1288	824	464
	Education	526	886	- 360	723	358	365
	Family moved	10645	13971	3326	9682	6197	3285
	Marriage	89677	93728	4051	14358	10115	4243
	Others	9631	10502	- 871	3918	2930	988

Source - Part-I Special 1981. Migration analysis monograph No.2  
(page-24) S.K. Sinha.

are dominant for male migration. For females employment and education do not induce significantly to move. For urban areas in-migrants are much higher than (for all reason) than the outmigrants even statewide and as such net migrants are positive in most of the states for each of the five reasons of migration. For males employment and for females marriage have remained the major reason to movements. (Census 1981 Monograph No.2 page-24).

Report of Internal Migration N.S.S. 18th (No.182, Feb. 1963 to Jan. 1964) and 38th Rounds (No.347, Jan-Dec. 1983):

The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) through its 18th round tried to collect data on the reasons for migration during Feb. 1963 to Jan. 1964. The NSSO classification of reasons are different from that of 1981 census. Moreover, the concept and definition of migrant population through the two sources do not compare well.

The classification of reasons adopted by the NSSO is quite detailed but the responses appear to suffer from ambiguity. Marriage does not appear to be main reason of female migration in rural area as is thought otherwise. Statement-9 gives the percentage distribution of migrants by reasons for migration as per N.S.S.O. report No.182 18th Round (Feb. 1963 - Jan. 1964).



## Statement - 9

## Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Reasons for Migration All India

Reasons for Migration	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. In search of employment:				
a) For the first time	3.9	1.7	11.3	1.1
b) For second time	8.8	2.0	13.1	3.5
2. To take up job	6.8	1.3	8.6	1.9
3. To start own enterprise, Profession and vocation.	5.5	2.4	4.2	0.9
4. For alternative employment.	2.9	-	3.2	0.4
5. Under Transfer or Service Contract	15.8	2.5	10.4	2.3
6. For studies	5.9	2.6	10.4	2.3
7. For health reasons	1.7	1.1	0.9	0.8
8. Because of better social amenities	10.5	8.7	2.7	2.2
9. Marriage (Effective)	0.8	12.4	0.2	12.0
10. To join earning member or chief migrant.	22.4	50.6	17.2	48.2
11. Retirement or discharge	1.0	0.3	0.1	-
12. Political exigencies	1.0	1.2	0.1	0.3
13. Splitting of families	2.2	4.0	0.7	1.4
14. Other reasons	5.4	7.0	3.0	5.2
15. Not Recorded	5.4	2.5	9.8	15.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source - N.S.S. Report No.182 table with notes on Internal Migration- eighteenth round (Feb.1963-Jan.1964).

In view of the strongly felt need for regular statistics on migration N.S.S.O has in the recent years integrated the collection of migration data with the regular quinquennial survey on employment and unemployment. The first such attempt was made in the thirtyeighth round survey operation. Following are the findings of the survey report- Statement-10.

.Statement - 10

Percentage Distribution of Migrant Households by Nature of Movement and Reason for Movement (All India) 1983  
(N.S.S. Report)

Per- centage by nature	Reasons for Movement							
	Rural				Urban			
	In- search of work	On work	Others	Total	In- search of work	On work	Others	Total
Permanent	13.58	12.30	33.35	59.23	13.96	17.30	17.87	49.13
Temporary Seasonal	9.22	5.41	5.40	20.03	6.91	3.03	10.84	20.78
Non- seasonal	2.75	6.21	11.78	20.74	5.77	9.73	14.39	30.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>25.55</b>	<b>23.92</b>	<b>50.53</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>26.84</b>	<b>30.06</b>	<b>43.10</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source - National Sample Survey Report  
Internal Migration 38th Round  
No.347 1983, page-9.

Of the households migrated during the period of 365 days prior to the date of survey and found in rural areas, for about 59 percent of such households, the migration was permanent in nature. The corresponding proportion for the migrant households in the urban India was 49 percent. All most 14 percent of the migrant households respectively of rural and urban India have migrated permanently searching for work. Households with temporary movement searching for work accounted for 12 percent of the migrant households found in rural India and about 13 percent of the migrants households found in urban India. In the case of about one-fifth of the migrant households both in rural and urban areas their movement was seasonal in nature, about one-fourth of the migrant households in rural as well as urban India had moved for employment reasons.

#### Distribution of Migrants by Reason of Migration:

For each person reported to have migrated to the place of enumeration information relating to the reason (such as in search of employment better employment, transfer on service/business, studies marriage, migration of earning member of the family, political change, natural calamity etc.) for his or her emigration from the last usual place of residence was collected. Statement-11 gives all India

Statement - 11

Percentage Distribution of Migrants During the Last One Year and the Last Five Years  
by Reasons for Migration. Jan.1983-Dec.1983.  
All India

Reasons for Migration	Migrants during the last							
	One Year				Five Year			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Insearch of employment	12.40	2.04	17.63	3.17	11.20	1.24	19.40	2.29
Insearch of better employment	13.45	1.92	12.89	2.48	13.52	1.63	13.15	1.86
Under transfer or service/business	9.67	0.77	15.77	2.51	9.63	0.63	15.95	2.24
For studies	8.51	1.20	14.99	4.27	7.00	0.92	12.25	3.12
On marriage	2.51	58.22	0.71	26.15	3.80	67.90	0.05	34.15
Due to migration of earning member	27.23	23.84	26.22	51.95	29.08	10.12	27.69	48.25
For political change/ lack of security	3.68	1.58	1.59	1.31	4.14	1.66	1.91	1.31
Due to natural calamity	2.14	0.78	0.22	0.08	1.25	0.30	0.91	0.03
Other reasons	20.33	9.65	9.98	8.08	20.38	7.52	0.61	6.70
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source - N.S.S.O. Report on Internal Migration No.347, page-17.

percentage/ distribution of migrants during last one year and the last five year by reason for migration and rural-urban residence status temporarily for males and females. A little over one quarter of the males who have moved during the last one year had moved along with the earning member of the family 27 percent in the case of migrants found in rural areas and 26 percent in case of migrants found in urban areas. Of the male migrants enumerated in the rural areas a similar proportion reported searching employment/better employment as the reason for movements. The corresponding proportion for the male migrants enumerated in the urban area was 30 percent. For female migrants (last one year) while incidently marriage was reported as the reason for movement by majority (58 percent) in rural areas, only a little over one quarter of the migrants enumerated in the urban areas cited marriage as the reason for movement. More than half of the urban female migrants (52 percent) had to move because the earning member of the family moved. Where as only about one quarter (24 percent) of female migrants of rural India had to move because of this reason.

Almost a similar pattern is observed for migrants moved during the last five year period.- N.S.S.O. Report on Internal migration No.347.

CHAPTER - III  
STUDIES ON REASONS FOR MIGRATION

A major objective of migration research has been to explain its occurrence. Studies concerned with explaining migration can be divided into macro-level studies discussing migration movements between areas. These studies explain aggregate migration flows by identifying factors which make certain areas attractive to migrants and those which cause others to experience the loss of population. Micro studies are empirical studies based on the analysis of data collected in the special sample surveys-Urban/Rural. Such studies have as their main objectives the measurement of volume of migration, the causes behind such movement of individuals and the characteristics of such migrants during a specified interval or over a period of time. These studies are based on the assumption- It is the individual who decides about migration. Empirical micro studies can be classified into:

1. Urban level studies
2. Village level studies.

In the urban level studies rural migrants are studied in urban settings, and the village level studies

identify village characteristics and the individual motive for outmigration.

### III.1 Macro - Studies

Macro studies are based on census data. The first systematic work on internal migration in India is that of K.C. Zachariah 1963. The primary object of this study is to measure and describe the pattern of internal migration in the Indian sub-continent during the period 1901-31.

The estimates of internal migration by age and sex for each of the three decades 1901-1931 support the general belief that population in India is comparatively immobile and strongly attached to its village origin.

The second point and perhaps the important finding according to the author, is the peculiarity of the age pattern of net migrants. The author finds a considerable evidence to show that gaining states loose population at older ages and correspondingly that losing states gain at the higher age. This phenomenon is explained in terms of 'Return migration'.

"Because of the lower level of economic development

in India and of the educational standards of the people short distance and short duration migration may form a much greater proportion than in any developed countries. Large- areal units like the state of this study and long time interval such as a decade may conceal out more of the population movement in India"<sup>17</sup>.

The author finds the internal migration in India during 1901-1931 as highly selective of males. This difference which is particularly great among migrants to cities may be attributed not only to the state of economic development but also to peculiarities in the social organization. The regional variation in sex composition of migrants is generally associated with type of migration. Short distance migrants (Other than the rural urban type) were predominately women. As the distance increased the proportion of female decreased. One of the principle reason for this is the predominance of marriage migration among those moving short distance. In areas which gained population by migration, in migrants have on the whole a lower percentage of female than do outmigrants. In losing states in-migrants had a more balanced sex-ratio than did outmigrants.

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17. Zachariah (1963) page-333.



This work identifies the areas of population gain and loss and finds Indian population immobile and suggests low level of economic development and education responsible for nonmigratory nature of Indians.

Vaidyanathan (1967) concentrates on the factors responsible for migratory movement of population. He states that "the link between migration and economic opportunities as close and complex. On the one hand migration may be caused by economic factors, on the other hand migration itself may accelerate or retard economic growth in the sending as well as receiving regions while both situations may be present the former seems to be dominant one. This is as far as causes are concerned the picture of consequences of such migration for both sending and receiving regions is still more complex and has been the subject of different interpretations"<sup>18</sup>.

Vaidyanathan's study (1967) is based on the theoretical framework developed by Simon Kuznet and Dorothy Thomas in their Pennsylvanian study. In their view the presence of economic opportunity acts upon the distribution of population on the one hand and on the otherhand internal

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18. Vaidyanathan (1967) Ph.D. Thesis (page- 3-4).

migration itself stimulates economic development<sup>19</sup>.

Vaidyanathan (1967) finds that population redistribution in India during 1951 and 1961 was positively associated with redistribution of the total and primary labour force. This association is especially clear with regard to the male labour force. The net balance of migration tends to be positive for states with relatively high per capita incomes at the beginning of the decade and negative for states with relatively low income. This may be taken as an indication that migration tends to flow towards areas of greater economic opportunity and away from areas of less opportunity<sup>20</sup>.

Both 'push and pull' factors seem to contribute to urban net migration gains and rural net losses. Rural areas of depressed states (those having relatively larger measure of indebtedness, unemployment and landlessness) suffer relatively larger losses (or make smaller gains) than the rural areas of better off states suggesting the operation of a 'push' factor. The stronger and positive correlation of urban net migration with average industrial

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19. Vaidyanathan (1967) Ph.D. Thesis (page-4)

20. Ibid, (page- 273-75).

earnings seems to reflect perhaps the greater influence of the pull factor<sup>21</sup>.

Gosal (1961) gave a geographical perspective to the study of this problem based on 1951 census data, and identified the areas of in and outmigration. The same study was extended by G.S. Gosal and G. Krishna (1972) based on 1961 census data on internal migration. They examine the magnitude of internal migration, analyse migration streams and identify areas of in and out migration.

They have recognised four major flows of internal migration and state that viewed in spatial perspective inmigration has been the characteristics of following types of areas. Urban industrial concentrations, plantations, newly developed agricultural lands; multipurpose projects, sites. And other areas with developmental ac activities; mining areas.

By contrast the heaviest outflows of migrants have been from those regions where per capita agricultural productivity is low due to high population density, small size of agricultural land holdings and over dependence on agriculture. These areas include Ganga plain in Uttar Pradesh

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21. Vaidyanathan (1967) Ph.D. Thesis. (page-275).

and North Bihar, and the Coastal tracts of Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Orissa and Konkan. The excessively populated, overwhelmingly rural and predominantly agricultural Ganga plain experiences the largest magnitude of outmigration. Here the existing densities are seldom below 300 persons per K.m. and in many cases exceed 400. Nearly 90 percent of population is confined to rural areas and as much as three-fourth of population are directly dependent upon agriculture. Agricultural holdings average barely 1 to 2 hectares. Pressure of population has been very intense and has been relieved to some extent through large scale outmigration. Much of the same is said about migration from the coastal areas of Orissa, Konkan and Tamilnadu, where the pressure of population has been quite acute. The proximity of these tracts to the industrial urban concentration of Calcutta, Bombay and Bangalore-Coimbatore-Madurai respectively was another potent factor stimulating this process. The agricultural migration from the North Punjab plain stands in a class by itself as it was impelled not merely by increasing pressure on agricultural land but was also motivated by a strong desire for higher standards of living<sup>22</sup>.

Unequal distribution of natural resources lead to

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22. Gosal and Krishan (1975).

unequal development and regional inequality. Population moves from economically poor regions to economically prosperous regions<sup>23</sup>.

A unique study sponsored by UNESCO on "migration and Development is contributed by Biplab Dasgupta (1982). It is a study on internal migration on a broad canvass taking full account of its complex- multi-dimensional nature from historical perspective. It covers a wide range of migratory movements which can be classified by origin-destination relationship-rural-rural, urban-rural, rural-urban and urban-urban. The significant feature of this study is that it shows- migration propensity is closely associated with socio-economic environment, agro-climatic conditions, and the prevailing agrarian structure- factors which are beyond the control of individuals and families. Migration decision in these cases should be seen, primarily as a response to environment and changes in the environment.

*period of study?*

In this study migration is seen as a phenomenon with historical root and as being caused by three major types of changes in the social environment, -changes in the

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23. N.D. Kamble (1973) Tapan Pipalai and Niloy Mazumdar (1969). Bhupindranath (1981).

agrarian structure, changes in the settlement patterns and disasters in the context of given social system.

Indian villages lived a self-contained isolated life till the establishment of British power in India. in the middle of the 18th century. For the vast majority of the people migration was hazardous and pointless and the agriculture prosperous enough to make them content to stay at home. Except in the periods of severe drought when it became a question of life and death, most of the migratory movements were associated with pilgrimage, movement of the army and trade. Establishment of British Rule brought about qualitative changes in the self contained village system. The development of railways, roads and the telegraphic network broke the isolation of villages and linked them with the cities and other villages. It was no longer possible for the villages to remain isolated and self contained due to the british administrative and economic policies<sup>24</sup>.

Introduction of British manufactured goods on a large scale in Indian markets led to the collapse of traditional socio-economic set up and resulted in to the displacement

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24. Dasgupta (1982) Page 17 UNESCO study.

of artisans- weaver, blacksmiths, potters, tailors and so on. The unequal competition transformed the village artisans in to destitutes. Many of who found a new livelihood in the construction of railways and roads, the activities which were primarily responsible for their displacement from the village economy.

New jobs were created in the army in the industries and mines established by the British. The two major industries sponsored by British were jute and cotton textile industries located in Calcutta and Bombay to which migration of labour was organised by employers through jobbers. Most of the migrants to these metropolitan cities came from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar two of the poorest areas in the country. Mines, mainly coal later on iron, oil, manganese, zinc and many other minerals sponsored by the British companies constituted another type of growth centres which attracted migrants (Dasgupta, p.18).

The British rule brought about some significant changes in the organization of agricultural production. Agriculture began to be commercialised. Raw material like cotton and jute cultivation were introduced on a large scale to meet the demand outside India. Tea,

Coffee, rubber, indigo plantation set up by British encouraged further movement of migrants to these plantation areas.

The colonial system also gave birth to many new centres of commerce, industries, and government including the three leading cities of the country of today- Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Many of these were located on or near the sea which emphasized the role of trade in the colonial economic system. The new urban centres became as large as they are today by attracting a considerable flow of migrants from all over the country.

The disintegration of the self-contained village socio-economic system, displacement of the artisans, commercialization of agriculture, setting up of mines, plantations, factories and major urban areas as well as periodic natural disasters- all these combined to effect significant transfers of populations during the British period. This trend continued until the very last decade of British rule in India- the 40s.

#### Population growth and agro-climatic conditions-

One of the major areas of out migration is where the natural environment is harsh, land fertility is low



and water is scarce and where with population increase, even the minimum survival needs of the population can not be met. These are the areas which are most exposed to drought. And where outmigration can be seen as a necessity in order to maintain the fragile balance between human settlements and the very low carrying capacity of the eco-system. These are usually areas with low level of urbanisation and a narrow economic base. The Himalayan region, Eastern Assam Hills and a large part of Peninsular India, as also of the north west would be covered by this description. Here the population movement are usually seasonal, short distance, intra-rural and undertaken in groups (page-19)

#### Land Relation and Labour Use

Land reform measures enacted in most of the states in India during the 1950s were successful in eliminating the big, absentee land lords and the princes of the native states, and in establishing direct relationship between the state and the cultivator. But the land reform measures failed to safeguard the interest of tenants and to provide them the security against eviction. Large-scale eviction of tenants took place on the ground of resumption for self-cultivation. This increased the proportion of landless to

the rural population and also to the decline in the number and proportion of tenants<sup>25</sup>.

*Antenna?*

With the introduction of HYV technology the tendencies associated with commercialization have been accelerated, studies conducted on Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and the deltaic areas of Andhra Pradesh show that a major consequence of the introduction of the new agrarian technology is to increase land and asset concentration, to widen inequality in the villages and to increase substantially the proportion of landless in the population. This happens partly because of eviction of tenants by the landlords for self-cultivation (because of the profitability of cultivation) : and also because, often the small land holders lacking resources, access to administration and banks and having a low capacity to absorb risk, transfer the operation of land to a better off farmer and engage themselves in other activities including hired labour. (Dasgupta-1982, page-21).

Dasgupta finds a close relationship between migration propensity and the agrarian structure. The latter is represented by variables indicating land scarcity,

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25. Khusro (1961), Chattopadyaya (1975), Desai-Mehta (1962), as quoted by Dasgupta (1982) on Page - 20.

land productivity and land concentration. Villages with high degree of landlessness are found to be migration prone villages. But this does not mean that at individual level the migration propensity is higher among the landless. It is equally possible that the inequality might be instrumental in helping the better off to accumulate surplus and in enabling the members of those families to go to towns for schooling and for supplementing family earning from agriculture (page-22).

Bhattacharyajee in his Ph.D. thesis "Population Redistribution and Economic Growth in Karnataka 1951-71" (1977) discusses the relationship between migration and economic development, based on the theoretical framework of Simon Kuznet and Dorothy Thomas ("Population Redistribution and Economic growth United States 1870-1930") as stated by the author. The presence of economic opportunity acts upon the distribution of population on the one hand and on the other hand internal migration itself stimulates economic development. The author finds in his study of Karnataka a direct and a positive relationship between population redistribution and economic growth. Industrial development and their concentration in Bangalore, Mysore, Dharwad, Belgaum, South Canara districts and a part of Shimoga district is a

major cause for population gain. Agricultural development in Raichur, Bijapur, Hassan, Mandya, Belgaum, Bellary and Tumkur districts has been responsible for in-migration into these districts. Chikkamagalur and Coorg with plantation also attract immigrants.

Considering both agricultural and non agricultural development along with social and demographic development, the districts of the state of Karnataka are classified into three groups by the author. Group I consists of the districts of high level of development, Bangalore, South canara, Mysore, Dharwar and Shimoga. Eight districts are identified as areas of moderate level of development- Coorg, Bellary, Chitradurga, Chikamagalur, North Canara, Belgaum, Bijapur and Mandya. The last group consists of districts of low level of development- Bidar, Raichur, Kolar, Hassan, Gulbarga and Tumkur. The districts identified as areas of economic growth have experienced high level of net immigration. The districts having moderate level of economic growth have also attracted a large volume of migrants. There are two exceptions one in the case of South canara which though high in terms of level of economic development showed net loss of migration and other is Bijapur where the same phenomena

Reason?

is observed. All the districts with low level of economic development have experienced the loss of population due to out migration.

There is also constant movement of the population between various states of India. Karnataka also has gained population from Tamilnadu, Kerala and Andra Pradesh and lost to Maharashtra.

### III.2 Micro Studies on Reasons for Migration:

Micro studies analyse the migration of individuals. These studies are concerned with motives of individuals and with measuring and explaining migration selectivity i.e. propensity to migrate of different sub-groups of the population. In its final analysis migration decisions are to be taken up by the individuals- whether to move out or not. This decision is influenced by the socio- economic environmental setting in which the individuals live. Therefore migratory process is very complex and multi-dimensional. Numerous factors of economic, social, cultural and demographic character have been indentified and their combinations considered to motivate people to move. But of all these, economic factors have been singled out by the social scientists as the most significant motivating force.

The Indian joint family, caste system, the tradition of early marriage, diversity of language and culture and the rural agrarian culture have often been considered to be the factors impeding the movement of the people (Davis. 1951).

The changes that have been taking place after independence in the socio-economic environment with the introduction of development planning and the speed with which the urban population is increasing over the years has proved the falacy of the thesis that Indians are least mobile. Men are immobile stuck to their ancestral homes in the absence of better economic opportunities. Given opportunities they are not reluctant to move out. 'Migration is a function of development (Gosal, 1961) Migration datas in India || How? support this statement.

Economic motivation implies-search for employment and better/higher income. Absence of avenues for earning income in rural areas foster migration flows. The various urban surveys sponsored by the Research programme committee of the planning commission in India during 1950s, show that between 40 to 70 percent of the migrants interviewed said

that they had moved because of unemployment, meagre income or insufficient land (Sovani, 1966, p.69). These are considered to be 'push' factors driving out people from villages and the urban industries, trade commerce, service sector and the ever expanding informal sector are the 'pull' factors. Cities act as magnets attracting rural migrants to their folds. City jobs offer higher wages and this differential earnings further strengthens the pulling power of the cities. Michel Todaro (1976) says "It is not merely what people can actually earn but what people perceive of urban earning is a significant factor attracting people city ward. The larger the perceived income differential and higher the probability of getting urban job more likely the migration occurs."

evidence  
adduced?

Rural-urban migration has increased significantly over the period 1961-1981. This has certainly led to acceleration of urban growth.<sup>27</sup>

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27. Dasgupta (1982) page-23.

Census (1981) report gives the percentage distribution of Birth Place migrants by stream, Sex, residence and type of movement for the period 1961-1981.

Internal Migrants	Sex	Year	Rural to Urban
		1961	14.6
	Persons	1971	15.3
		1981	17.5
		1961	25.7
	Male	1971	26.0
		1981	29.7
		1961	9.7
	Female	1971	10.5
		1981	12.4

Source- Census (1981) Monograph No. 2. Page-11, S.K.Sinha.

Though the urban unemployment is high the flow of urban ward migration continues. This is on account of hope of getting employment in a vast labour market of large cities. Indian cities have served as reception centres for the rural poor and to that extent they have lessened the rural misery<sup>26</sup>. The presence of a large

26. Ashish Bose (1980) India's urbanisation-1901-2000 A.D. (Page 59)



elastic informal sector is a major feature of urban life in India. According to various estimates the informal sector accounts for between two fifth and half of the earners in the major industrial centres in the country. Compared with the size of this sector its contribution to the national product is marginal. The vast majority of coolies, domestic servants, street peddlers and traders, magicians, car minders and so on are under taking these activities not because they are remunerative but because the alternative to these are unemployment and no income. The informal sector is usually dominated by migrants specially the more recent ones who do not see any immediate prospect of a regular job and who for various reasons are unwilling to return to their villages. The ease of entry small need of capital and skill and the flexibility of operation attract them to a wide range of informal sector activities<sup>27</sup>.

Though the income earned is low compared with income earned in organised sector. 'They are adequately in excess of their expected earnings in the rural sector net of cost of migration. These immigrants in the cities show an amazing capacity to survive and work under the most difficult

*Why not  
cost  
considered?*

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27. Dasgupta (1982) Page-23.

conditions in cheap slum huts, on pavements or staircase of public buildings and even to mobilize a certain amount of savings to be remitted to their family back in the village<sup>28</sup>.

Similar are the findings of Papola (1977) Banarjee (1986) M.S.A. Rao (1976).

It is generally assumed that desire for urban life style is one of the determinants attracting rural people towards cities. Urban amenities like education, health, planned housing, recreation and amusement, which are not there in countryside and Bright city lights acting as magnet to pull rural youth.

Ashish Bose (1965) in his study of Delhi has exposed the falacy of this popular assumption. His survey has revealed the miserable living conditions of millions of rural migrants in Delhi "To talk of the glamour of city lights and the comforts of the city life is to shut one's eyes to the basic reality of urban life to millions who drift from villages to towns and cities. The tragedy is heightened when one thinks of the choice before the villagers-

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28. Dasgupta (1982) Page-24.

In the city - Jobs without home

In the village - Home without jobs<sup>29</sup>.

Empirical studies arranged in a tabular form, given below shows the findings on the causes of out-migration to cities. Rural backwardness and stagnation is the main cause for pushing millions from their native villages. Harsh agroclimatic conditions like semiarid environment, poor quality of soil, uncertainty of rainfall, scanty rains have a major role to play. Population explosion resulting in to a crude land/man ratio is at the root of rural poverty.

Small uneconomic holdings, low productivity landlessness, unemployment/under employment, uncertainty of employment, seasonal nature of rural employment, low level of wages, displacement due to modernization, absence of opportunity for trained and educated are invariably the causes cited by the respondents for outmigration. They are pulled towards the cities, as they say, is on account of employment opportunities in the diversified urban economy, business scope in the urban centres (Picholia- (1974) better job/higher wage opportunities etc.

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29. Ashish Bose (1965) Yojana Jan. 26.

Outmigration of male members to cities in search of employment has introduced a change in the role-status of woman in the rural families. Women left at home manage agriculture in the absence of men. Male migrants adjust their home visits so as to be available for completing major farm responsibilities. Migrants supplement the family income through remittances and help the family to save for social functions like marriage and other investments<sup>30</sup>.

Rural educated are pulled by the diverse opportunities open to them in the cities. Education even up to primary and secondary level creates aspiration for urban jobs and a dislike for agricultural work<sup>31</sup>.

Dislike for traditional family occupation also induces outmigration. In a static rural set up there is least scope for novelty (Padki-1966) Banerjee finds dislike for agricultural work as a migratory motive, particularly important for migrants whose ownership holding exceeded 5 acres and for those who were metriculate and graduates.

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30. Brahme (1978) Padaki (1966) Hemalata Dandekar (1986).

31. Oberai and Singh (1983) Banarjee (1986).

Adoption of modern technology results in to displacement of traditional skilled labour. Yashwant (1962) finds introduction of pumpsets resulting in to displacement of skilled cobblers making leather buckets to pull water from well for irrigation. C. Parameshwarappa finds the displacement of weavers on account of availability of cheap mill made cloth (1981).

A friend or a relative provide<sup>g</sup>a link to the urban opportunities, communication through this source is viewed as an important mechanism by which the prospective migrant learns of the potential destination. Presence of a friend or a relative in a city/town is a major opportunity factor. Beyond providing information about potential destination they help migrants to establish themselves in a city. Assistance from this source reduces cost of migration (Cost of transport cost of subsistence till the job is found) People with neither the resources to finance the cost, nor relatives/friends to assist them may find it nearly impossible to move<sup>32</sup>.

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32. Oberai and Singh (1983) Mazumdar and Maxumdar<sup>g</sup> (1978) Padaki (1966) Hemalata Dandekar (1986) Upreti H.R. (1986).

John Connell et.al (1976) identify the characteristics of villages sending out migrants. All villages do not send out migrants and the propensity to migrate is also not same in all the villages. Therefore, it is important to recognize the characteristics of migration prone villages. The analysis of data by these scholars suggests that a high emigration from a village is intimately associated with unequal distribution of resources usually land and the migration flows consist of both rich and educated villagers and poor illeterate labourers. This analysis has led them to conclude two observations-migratory process is a complex one, single factor analysis of land based determinants of migration is inadequate. Hence several other land based explanatory factors such as men/land ratio, yield per hactare and commercialization of agriculture have to be taken together. The second major conclusion is that migration is intimately connected with the distribution of land between households, higher the concentration of land in the top 10 percent of the families, greater the intensity of migration in the villages. It is also noticed that agricultural labouring households have a highest propensity to migrate.

In the villages with unequal land distribution while household migration characterised the poorest group, individual migrants tended to come from more prosperous

households and these two flows co-exist in a same village. Indeed the two are intimately related- The surplus extracted from the economy by the rich in the villages where resources are unequally distributed, finance the migration of their sons for educational white collar jobs. Poverty of the labourers force them to migrate in search of work. Poor villages with inadequate land or insufficient resources to generate income will be migration prone. Overwhelming majority of migrants from rural areas come from relatively poor villages<sup>33</sup>. Such dualistic pattern of migration is observed by many more scholars in their respective studies. Yashawant (1962); Sovani (1966); Dasgupta and Laishley (1975); Oberai & Singh (1983); Banarjee (1986).

A major empirical work on Internal migration is that of A.S. Oberai and Manmohand Singh (1983). It is an intensive study on causes and consequences of internal migration in the Ludhiana district of Punjab. This district has a distinction of achieving both agricultural and industrial development. This study is based on the data generated in the two comprehensive surveys in Ludhiana district in 1977. One rural household survey and the other city household survey.

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33. Connell et all (1976).

Authors find a very strong empirical support for the importance of economic incentives in the decision to migrate. Only a small proportion of total migration is attributed to the attraction of amenities available in the urban areas.

A.S. Oberai, Prasad and Pradhan (1989) in their recent study on "Determinants and consequences of internal migration in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Kerala" have observed the following as the reasons for outmigration. Very difficult living conditions in the rural areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh is the primary cause for rural outmigration in these states. Poverty and unemployment are common reasons for moving out in all the three states. In Bihar it is the landless who are more prone to migrate where as in Kerala and Uttar Pradesh the landed groups dominate the flow.

The author of this dissertation wishes to present the following facts regarding population growth trends in Gulbarga District (Karnataka) to which she belongs.

According to the 1981 census the total population of Gulbarga district is 2,080,643. There has been an addition of 341,423 souls during the past 10 years and



in absolute figures this addition would equal the total population of two medium-sized talukas of the district. In spite of this massive addition, decadal growth rate comes to 19.63 percent only. This figure is very much lower than the state average of 26.75 percent. It is observed on the bases of census data that since 1931, though the population of the district has been increasing from decade to decade the rate of growth in each decade is very much less than the state average. However, during 1961-71 the decadal growth rate of Gulbarga not only measured up to the state average of 24.22 percent but also exceeded this figure by a slight margin. Once again during 1971-81 the trend has reversed itself and the gap between the two figures has widened. One of the reasons for this phenomenon appears to be the large scale out-migration that occurred in the district during the early seventies due to failure of rains and the consequent famine like conditions that afflicted several parts of the district for over two years. Further more the district has not achieved any spectacular break through in the agricultural and industrial development even though it has to be conceded that during the last decade civil works relating to several irrigation projects were taken

up in and about the district and there has been a spurt in the number of industrial establishment. It is only when the irrigation potential is fully developed that the impact of intensive cultivation on population growth would manifest itself.

Gulbarga region is situated in the dry climate belt and is devoid of lofty ranges of hills. The district lies in the region in which the rainfall is moderate to low besides being quite capricious. Gulbarga district has predominantly agricultural economy. Success of agriculture which is the major source of sustenance to the people of the district, depends mainly upon the timely and adequate precipitation during the season. In this regard Gulbarga is not quite fortunate. It is frequently afflicted by conditions of drought, scarcity and famine. In the matter of irrigation Gulbarga ranks amongst the most backward district of the state. Net area irrigated by all sources hardly constitutes 2 percent of the net area sown. Due to the pressure of population on land the per capita availability is 0.78 hectares as per 1981 census population.

Since all most the entire extent of cultivable land has been brought under the plough there is practically no

scope for adopting extensive cultivation methods. Intensive method is yet to make a dent in the economy of the district.

During the past decade all the 10 taluks of the district have registered a positive growth though at varying degree. But the rates of growth noticed in Afzalpur (11.89 percent) and Jewargi (12.24 percent) are much below the district average (19.63 percent) being at the same time less than half of the decadal growth rate experienced by the state as a whole (26.75 percent). Factors responsible for this low rate of growth noticed in these taluks cannot be easily identified as no detailed enquiry has been attempted. Since there has not been reports of outbreak of any epidemic and consequential spurt in death rates and there is no particular evidence to show that the birth rates in these taluks have dramatically come down the main reason for the low growth appears to be migration.

The above average growth rate noticeable in Gulbarga and Shorapur taluks may also be assigned to migration factor resulting in a substantial gain. Gulbarga taluk has in its limits the premier city of Gulbarga which in recent years is developing in to a seat of higher education. Being a seat of administration as the Head quarter of revenue division and of a district and an established centre of

trade, industry and commerce. Gulbarga city has continued to exert its pull in this region during the past decade also. As a result the population of the city has increased considerably and at the same time the rural areas of the taluks have also registered a steady growth. In the case of Shorapur taluk the fact that Uppar Krishna Project has been taken up in sites close to its southern borders seem to have had a favourable effect on growth trends. It is this taluk amongst the ten in the district that has registered a highest rate of 28.07 percent population growth for rural areas. This increase too appears to be due to immigration in to Shorapur.taluk.

All these factors may be responsible for outmigratory trends noticed by the population census 1981.

Source- Census of India (1981) Series 9- Karnataka,  
District Census Hand Book- Gulbarga District.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON URBANWARD MIGRATION

Author	Year	Area of Study Rural/Urban	Nature of Migration	Causes of Migration
1	2	3	4	5
1. Yashwant	1962	Rural Study	Permanent out-migration	Rainfed agriculture, Periodic droughts, poverty, landlessness, unemployment, small holdings, low income, unemployment of Goldsmiths and cobbler encouraged their out-migration.
2. Padaki	1964	Mithbav-Village, Ratnagiri District Maharashtra	Permanent Semi-permanent (working life migration) to Bombay	Shortage of cultivable land poor quality of soil, stagnant economic situation, uncertainty of income. 'Pull' of Bombay - Job opportunities. Job at Bombay reduces uncertainty of income. Supplement family income from land, higher cash earning and social prestige.
3. Sulabha Brahme	1978	Gulumb Village, Satara District, Maharashtra	Permanent Semi-permanent Migration-mainly to Bombay	Village is situated in the dry agricultural tract, Rainfed cultivation. Poor land/man ratio, subsistence farming. Poor access to credit and low risk bearing capacity make it difficult for them to experiment with new crop or adopt new technique of production. No employment opportunity. Displacement of traditional artisans-weavers potters.

contd...

1	2	3	4	5
4. Ashish Bose	1965	Villages around Delhi Studied by Institute of Economic Growth - Delhi	Permanent Semi-permanent migration to Delhi.	Small size of land holding, big family size, wages are low compared to urban wages. Landless are willing to migrate anywhere for employment with the entire family. Land holding migrant families individuals move out.
5. Picholia	1974	Udampur Village Rajasthan	Permanent Semi-permanent	Semi desert region not suitable for cultivation. No employment avenue Mahajans (money lenders) and business class move out to urban areas, leaving family behind.
6. Victor D'souza	1966	Dandeli An Industrial Town North Canara Dist. Karnataka	Permanent Seasonal in-migration from rural areas	Industrialization of Dandeli attracted people from neighbouring districts and also from out of the state. Mining and lumbering attract seasonal migrants from near by villages.
7. Zachariya & Hanumantappa	1966	Bankikodla Village North Canara Dist., Karnataka.	Permanent out migration	In search of employment to urban centres. No opportunities for employment of educated youth in rural areas. Special features - Higher caste Brahmins dominated the scene followed by goldsmiths. Halakki Gouda community associated with land did not move out.

contd...

1	2	3	4	5
8. J.R. Rele	1969	15 selected villages from Dist.Kolhapur Sangali, Sholapur of Maharashtra.	Permanent Semipermanent out migration	Lack of job opportunities to agricultural labour, craftsmen, production process workers. The households with higher incomes or bigger land holdings are the ones which send out more migrants than others.
9. Connell John, Dasgupta, Laishley Roy and Lipton Michael	1976	40 Indian Villages covering 7 states of India. Data collected by Agro-Economic research centres of Delhi, Madras, Vallabh Vidhanagar (Gujarat)	Permanent Semi-permanent outmigration.	Shortage of land, low fertility, commercialization of agriculture, unequal distribution of resources are key factors. Villages with high rate of migration have dualistic pattern of movement sons of rich families relatively educated migrate to cities for urban jobs. Labour households moveout in search of work.
10. Oberai and Singh	1983	26 villages of Ludhiana Dist. and Ludhiana City	Permanent in-migration out-migration and return migration	Economic incentives make both rich and poor to migrate. A small proportion of total migration can be ascribed to the attraction of amenities available in the Urban areas. Rural youth with primary and secondary education goes out in search of urban jobs/better jobs/higher income. To accompany family and attraction of friends and relatives at the destination.

contd...

1	2	3	4	5
11. A.B.Parame-shwarappa Ph.D. Thesis Mysore University, Mysore.	1981	3 Villages, Davanagere District, Karnatak.	Outmigration to Davanagere city.	Distruction of weaving industry Displacement of artisans - The villages are dry - rainfed villages Agricultural labour moved out for employment and to get relieved from indebtedness.
12. Najamkhan		Randomly selected 20 villages in Eastern Uttar Pradesh.	Permanent, Semi permanent out migration to Metropolitan cities & other big cities of Uttar Pradesh - Bihar - Punjab.	Excessive burden of surplus labour in villages poverty, unemployment low income due to small size of holding.
13. Hemalata Dandekar	1986	Sugao Village Satara Dist. Maharashtra and Migrants were followed at Bombay.	Permanent, Semi permanent out- migration to Bombay.	Rainfed cultivation. Poor produc- tivity of soil, small holdings, landlessness, unemployment poverty.
14. Biswajeet	1986	Rural migrants in Delhi	Permanent Semi permanent	Worsening of economic situation was the main reason for leaving the villages for the poor landless labourers. To obtain cash/to repay loan was the main reason cited by land owning class of people. To earn cash to repay debt does not mean distress migration but motive to improve econo- mic status. Dislike for agricultural work secured employment are other causes cited by migrants. contd...



1	2	3	4	5
15. Oberai A.S. 1989 Prasad Pradhan	1989	Uttar Pradesh Bihar Kerala		Very difficult living conditions in the rural areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Poverty unemployment pushed out people to search work. In Bihar it is the landless move out where as in Kerala and Uttar Pradesh it is the landed group.
16. S.R.Rustagi 1986	1986	Kanpur and Lucknow cities Uttar Pradesh.	Permanent Semi- permanent in-migra- tion in to cities.	Inadequate land, less income, unemployment, under employment, parents/relatives were already in the cities - Education - Transfers new postings.

## CHAPTER - IV

## MICRO STUDIES - RURAL RURAL MIGRATION

Of the four migratory flows identified under Indian census rural-rural migration emerges as quantitatively most dominant. This fact remained unknown until the mid-sixties till the publication of the full report of 1961 population census. Till then only one migratory stream was identified - Inter state migratory flow because of the definitional limitations. Now it is an established fact that most of the migratory movements in India remain confined within the vast rural areas of the country. The percentage distribution of birth place migrants by stream sex and residence for 1961, 1971 and 1981 is as follows:

		<u>Rural to Rural Flow</u>	
Internal Migration	Persons	1961	73.8
		1971	70.3
		1981	65.4
	Male	1961	56.7
		1971	53.5
		1981	46.1
	Female	1961	81.3
		1971	77.7
		1981	73.4

Source - 1981 Census Migration data analysis,  
Monograph No.2 (page-11), S.K.Sinha.

From the above statement it is observed that over the period 1961-81 the share of movers from one rural

area to another rural area within the country declined from 74 percent of the total migrants in 1961 to 65 percent in 1981. This trend is observed both for males and females and also for migrants moving within state and between state (Statement-4 Chapter-II). Though the rural-rural migration is a traditional pattern of population movement, its volume, direction and the distance covered is fast changing due to uneven rural and agricultural development in the post independence era.

Intra-rural migration is heavily dominated by female migrants as shown in the table above. Female migration in India is mostly marriage migration due to the patrilocal system of residence after marriage. Hence it does not have any economic significance (1981 census of India Internal Migration Analysis, S.K. Sinha). Even where female migrate for economic reasons the movement is not independent. It is associated with family migration. She moves either with her husband or with her guardians. Besides matrimonial reasons migration of female is also owing to widowhood or desertion (J.P. Singh, 1986).

Broadly a distinction can be made between subsistence or distress migration and development migration. In the

whose terminology ?

former the people move out in search of work in order to survive. It covers a large number of construction workers, road building workers and other unskilled and semiskilled workers. Survival strategy is at the root of migration decision. The economic gains of such migrations are not sufficient to break the subsistence line. At best it might help migrants to buy food out of their savings to survive during months of unemployment. Development migration on the contrary is characterised by a higher level of skills training and education of migrants. Such migrants qualify for more remunerative jobs. In many cases migrants will have left behind their wives and children-parents. They remit a part of their income to their home at native place and this gives rise to development process. There will be improvement in living standards of people back in the villages. Besides this improvement in living standard there may be fresh investment in asset purchase, adoption of modern technology, investment in agriculture, small scale industries, education etc<sup>34</sup>.

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34. M.S.A. Rao (1976) Social change Vol.6.

Rural-Rural migration is usually seasonal and temporary. Generally it is characterised as subsistence migration. These movements of the people are closely associated with agroclimatic conditions of sending and receiving regions. The movement originates in the villages falling in drought prone regions, semi arid zones where cultivation is entirely rainfed. Hence only one crop is raised and after Kharif harvest there is no work on land atleast for the next six months. Due to poor quality of soil, productivity is very low. Income earned by the small land holding households is too meager to provide for the whole year. Under such environment migration mechanism alone can sustain population till the next agricultural seasons. The landless agricultural labour households, small land holding households move out to irrigated prosperous double cropped regions in search of work. Traditionally it used to be short distant movement within the district or to neighbouring districts. But with the success of Green revolution labour has started moving long distances across the state borders. (Thanks to Indian Railways.)

It can be said that such seasonal migration has

increased in volume and distance with the introduction of perennial canal irrigation and large scale application of High yielding variety of seeds under agricultural development planning in India. There are number of reasons for the increase in the volume of migration towards these developing regions, where land under irrigation increased.

First reason for the increase in the demand for labour is increase in the volume of agricultural work itself due to change in cropping pattern, crop intensity and greater productivity. Agricultural season is extended and nearly doubled in the wet villages - eight to ten months<sup>35</sup>.

Secondly serious time bottlenecks which arise between the harvesting of one crop and the land preparation for the other which require the mobilisation of large volume of labour within a short period. Local labour will be insufficient to meet these operational demands<sup>36</sup>.

Thirdly the very process of commercialization of agriculture and shift away from family labour necessitates dependence on seasonal migrant labour. With agricultural

35. Mahesh Kumar Sahu- Ph.D. Thesis. 1985 ISEC Bangalore.

36. Balkrishna and Others. (1980). Biplab Dasgupta (1982). Maheshkumar Sahu (1985). Gupta and Bakoo (1980). Manjeet Singh and Eyer (1982).

dependence on seasonal migrant labour. With agricultural prosperity in the developed areas women and children will be withdrawn from farmwork and this adds to demand for labour. Many land owners find it most convenient to hire a group of contract labourers from outside to complete harvesting against fixed wages or share of crop rather than entering in to complications about traditional share of local labour in harvesting and the problem of supervision. Outside labour which has no social roots with the village is easier to manipulate than the local workers and its presence usually keeps the wage level depressed compared with what it could have become without competition from the migrant labour force<sup>37</sup>.

Seasonal migration often takes place in groups and follows traditional routes across villages where people have been accustomed to their visits at a particular time in a year. It is not unusual for the same group of seasonal rural migrants to work for the same employer year after year<sup>38</sup>.

In the sugarcane growing areas with sugar factories seasonal migration takes place on a large scale. These

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37. Manjeet Singh and Eyer (1982). Dasgupta (1982).

38. Katti (1966); M.S.A. Rao (1978).

migrant workers are recruited by the sugar factories through labour contractors. Generally recruitment takes place in the drought prone dry agricultural regions in the neighbouring districts. After Kharif harvest the labour in those regions is unemployed and poor peasants are also in need of supplementary source of income. These prospective migrants receive advance payments through the labour contractor and their transport and accomodation is also arranged by these middlemen. These migrant labourers are exploited both by the labour contractor and the factory employer. They are preferred to local labourers, partly because of their traditional skill and partly due to the fact that their employment is flexible according to the needs of a particular operation- it can be stretched to any length of time. They can be hired and fired at will and the employers have no responsibility towards them once the season ends. Pathare and Dhangade's study of migrant sugar factory workers at Rahuri Ahmednagar district Maharashtra (1974) and Breman's study of Bardoli Sugar Factory Workers in Gujarath (1978) find the labour exploitation (Labour moving out of Khandesh Maharashtra) by the Co-operative Sugar Factories and observe that the



prevailing situation has led to the establishment of co-operative capitalism.

The success of Green Revolution technology in Punjab over the last 15 years had led to a new wave of permanent and seasonal migration. The net area sown in Punjab increased by 281000 hectares during the decades 1966-67 to 1976-77 indicating maximum utilization of land under cultivation. The enormous increase in the area under paddy particularly 1975 onwards has left very little breathing time to the farmers between the peak operations of wheat harvesting and paddy transplantation. Wheat harvesting and threshing need to be completed within a record period of one month so that the fields are immediately ready for the paddy crop. This time constraint was not operative prior to 1975. And this has created a heavy demand for labour. Tractors or threshers may have contributed to labour saving but the over all effect on labour demand tends to have been neutralized by associated factors like cropping intensity, intensive use of fertilizers, HYV, irrigation etc. A side effect of mechanization has been to create additional employment on repair

work shop, new grain markets at every local point and the opening of rice sheller<sup>39</sup>.

The peak season demand can not be met by local labour. The poor conditions of agricultural labour and small peasants in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar has not only filled the vacume by migration but has led to overflow. This has come as a God sent gift to farmers in Punjab. Who have found in this seasonal migrant labour a means of fostering their capitalist development of agriculture and making the green revolution much more greener<sup>40</sup>.

The massive influx of labour from Eastern U.P., Bihar and Orissa has considerably depressed the wages of local labourers. In parts of Ludhiana and elsewhere seasonal migrant labour have started settling down on a semi-permanent and permanent basis. These migrant labour is cheaper than the local ones and can be made to work for 12 to 15 hours a day. There is ruthless exploitation of these poor workers. Jat punjabi peasant employer prefers migrant labour to local ones due to least

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39. Manjeet Singh and Iyer (1982).

40. Manjeet Singh and Iyer (1982)

resistance by these helpless migrants to the practices of the employers. The local farm labourers mostly from scheduled caste and scheduled tribes are trying to organise themselves for better working conditions. To suppress this labour movement preference is given to migrant labour. The supply of such migrant labour is one of the main reasons why the real wages in Punjab have not risen corresponding to agricultural prosperity. Migration out of Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and tribal areas of Orissa is the subsistence migration hence no voice is raised against their ruthless exploitation<sup>41</sup>.

M.S.A. Rao's study of seasonal migrant labour in newly Tobacco growing areas of Andhra Pradesh (West Godavari Dist) also finds labour exploitation by the rich tobacco farmers. Tobacco development demands a large supply of labour having special skill. The labour who have already acquired such skill in traditional tobacco growing areas of Krishna and Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh move to new areas as the tobacco cultivation is declining there. The skilled workers are supplied to

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41. Amarjeet Chandan (1979); Gupta and Bakoo (1980); Manjeet Singh and Iyer (1982).

the farmers by the labour contractor called Mestri. Workers move in groups and usually the entire household moves.

Seasonal migrants because of their helplessness are being exploited by the capitalist farmers. This is reported from Punjab in green revolution belt, sugarcane growing and producing areas of Maharashtra, tobacco cultivating areas of Andhra Pradesh. Absence of special laws to protect the interests of poor seasonal migrants gives free hand to their employers. The migrants surrender to the wishes of the masters. This speaks of intolerable harsh conditions prevailing in their place of origin. There is an urgent need to give attention over this matter.

refs?  
details?

The survey on migration history of migrants in the rural Shimoga district (Karnataka) conducted by the Demographic Research Centre of Institute of Economic Research Dharwar finds rural in-migration as a function of economic development of Shimoga district (1971). Bhadra irrigation project, location of new industrial concerns, the extension of agriculture to cultivable

waste lands has opened vistas for gainful employment. This has attracted migrants also from contiguous states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala prompting them in due course to settle down permanently in Shimoga district. Many households which had temporarily inmigrated from Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu for the construction of Bhadra irrigation project have settled permanently. Irrigation also induce seasonal migration during specific season.

Discussion on rural-rural migration would not be complete without referance to new settlements in the major irrigation project areas. Bringing water in the drought prone areas has given birth to new settlements both of migrant peasants and agricultural labourers. This type of movement is called Developmental Migration by B.K.R. Raju (1989).

A research project undertaken by the department of Geography, Mysore University (karnataka) in the Tungabhadra Irrigation Project area of Raichur District (North Karnataka) reveals many interesting facts of migratory movements in to the area specified.

When the construction of the Dam began in 1945 several

workers were recruited to do the stone cutting and the construction of the dam- a large scale hydro-electrical irrigation project in the Dist. of Bellary (Karnataka). The Dam was completed by 1953. The dam is estimated to irrigate 1,244,786 acres of which 69.2 percent is in the state of Karnataka and the rest in Andhra Pradesh. Tungabhadra Command Area covers part of Bellary and Raichur districts of Karnataka.

The initial stream of migrants consisted of construction workers from Selam and Erode districts of Tamil Nadu. These workers were under labour contractors and some of them opted to stay in the command area, founding new colonies and continuing their traditional occupation. Since these colonies were at first temporary in nature they were called "camp workers" by public works department. Similarly many peasants displaced as a result of their land being submerged under the reservoir were also rehabilitated in the command area at other locations called "rehabilitation camps", so were also Lambanis a tribe in that region were given some land and were made to settle in new habitations<sup>42</sup>.

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42. P.D. Mahadev and Achutha (1987).

The Tungabhadra irrigation project was commissioned in the year 1953 and consequently an area of 2,32,000 hectares in Raichur district (Karnataka) was brought under irrigation from the left bank canal.

The irrigation culture was new to the local inhabitants of Raichur district who had been practicing rain-fed crop cultivation from the time immemorial. Because of their unfamiliarity with the techniques of flow cultivation they were sceptical about the benefits. They were keen to dispose of the lands even before the land was irrigated in order to avert what according to them was a disaster in the form of salination of the lands and loss of fertility. The price of land was unimaginably cheap Rs 300-500 per hectare. The new stream of migrants consisted of entrepreneurial farmers from Andhra Pradesh who were well versed in the technique of flow cultivation (Irrigation culture of delta area of Andhra Pradesh) rushed to these areas and bought lands, and settled down in the irrigation tracts. These new settlements called 'camps' are physically little apart from the old village settlements<sup>43</sup>.

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43. P.D. Mahadev and Achutha (1987); Vidya Sagar (1986).

The size of the camp varies from 10-15 houses to 100-150 houses where the immigrants are too few in number they lived in the main village itself. A 'camp' typically consists of group of land holders who have migrated from a cluster of villages and more often are related to each other although distantly. Migration in to the irrigated region occurred between 1950-1975 and is evidently a consequence of irrigation and agricultural transformation. There are over 200 such 'camps' new settlements in the Raichur district. It has been estimated that nearly 92000 migrants (1981) census) are residing in Raichur district<sup>44</sup>.

This study also finds a major flow of landless labourers from Andhra Pradesh who were skilled in the new technique of flow cultivation.

Similar studies have been conducted by T. Laxmaiah (1972) in mariyalaguda taluka of Nalaganda District Andhra Pradesh falling in Nagarjuna Sagar Project command area and Maheshkumar Sahu (1985) in Sambalpur District Orissa falling in Hirakud Project area. The findings are similar to that of Mahadevan's study.

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44. P.D. Mahadev and Achutha (1987).



Higher wages, better prospects attract labour and farmers from neighbouring regions- both seasonal and permanent.

B.R.K. Raju in his recent study on rural-rural migration (1989) between Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka also makes similar observations. It is a study of migrants in both places of origin and destination. The author says that such a double ended approach is designed to explain motivations, conditions and opinions in communities of origin and of destination. Most of the studies of migration in a rural area have been concerned with people not living there at the time of study and migrants are seldom been followed to their destination. Hence many of their characteristics are undermined and the details of the pull factors are often unknown. From this point of view B.R.K. Raju's work deserves attention. It has another plus point to its credit- Study of migrants in comparison with non-migrants.

The village of origin, Ardhavaram situated in Tadepalligudam Taluq of West Godavari District in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The geographical area in which the village is situated happens to be one of richest and

most fertile area in the district which produces paddy, sugarcane and other cash crops. Of the sample of 100 migrant house-holds at the point of origin 28 percent were landless and 30 percent owned less than 3 acres of land and another 28 percent of households owned 6.9 acres of land. These three classes-landless, small and medium peasants constitute 86 percent of total migrants. All these migrants and non-migrant samples are drawn from one particular caste- the Kshatriya.

The data reveal that those who are well-off economically preferred to stay in the village when most of the families belonging to their own caste experiencing unsatisfactory economic position were motivated to migrate. The point to be noticed here is that these migrants were not pushed away by the village but rather were lured and strongly motivated by the pull factor operating at the place of destination- Tungabhadra Project Command area, Karnataka. Here the pull factor was the bright chances of improving their own economic position rapidly. Disposing of their meager resources at reasonably higher prices and by purchasing with the same amount more land at cheaper rate at the area of destination is the causative pull factor. Such type of factor did not lure the non migrants since all most all of them were economically sound and satisfied with

their existing position and did not like to take a risk in the process (B.R.K. Raju : 1989).

Micro-studies on rural-rural migration have been arranged in a tabular form, given below shows the findings on the characteristics of point of origin and destination of migratory flows and the causes for out migration.

STUDIES ON MIGRATION - RURAL-RURAL

Author	Year	Area of Study.	Agro-climatic characteristics of point of origin and nature of migration	Causes for Migration	Destination
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.A.P.Katti	1966	Inmigrant receiving 12 villages Shimoga District Karnataka State.	Seasonal migration from neighbouring districts. Majority of migrants are drawn from backward and poorer sections of sending areas. Subsistence migration.	Predominance of 'pull' factor at the destination. Availability of work and higher wage rate attract migrant labours. Insufficient local labour is the cause for offering higher wages. Land lords encourage inmigration. Seasonal in nature.	Shimoga district (Karnataka) with highly fertile soil heavy rainfall evergreen forests, paddy, sugarcane main crop. Arecanut, plantain Gardens.
2.Katti A.P. and Jorapur	1971	Shimoga Dist (Karnataka) Three talukas: Hosanagar Bhadravati Shikaripur	Seasonal and permanent migration from other districts in the state as well as contiguous states - Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala. Both subsistence and Development migration.	Predominances 'Pull' factor - irrigation project construction work - Industrial employment opportunity, waste land cultivation Irrigation for cultivation increased the demand for labour.	Shimoga Dist. Iron and steel, paper mill at Bhadravati, Agriculturally developed district.

contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6
3. T.Laxmaih	1972	Mariyalaguda Tq. Nalgonda District. Nagarjuna-sagar Command Area, Andhra Pradesh Permanent and Seasonal Migration.	Neighbouring dry agricultural areas from non-ayacut villages to ayacut villages. Seasonal/Permanent and semi-permanent 'pull' factor much dominant than the 'push' Developmental migration.	Provision of irrigation facility tend to induce agricultural labour and small farmers from other counter parts of dry areas. Irrigation facility necessitates large scale labour input inducing migration. High wages induce inmigration of labour. Irrigation provision also attracts enterprising farmers having the knowledge and experience of flow cultivation.	Area of Study
4. Pathare and Dhangode	1974	Rahuri Ahemadnagar District Maharashtra	Khandesh region Maharashtra. Rainfed cultivation. Dry region. Uncertainty of rains and crop. Push factors act. Subsistence migration.	Poor economic conditions of native villages, Inadequate income earned by small farmers. Low wages of landless labour and unemployment nearly for 6 months after kharif harvest. Sugarcane harvesting is extensively spread for 5-6 months. Household units move to Rahuri in groups under a labour contractor.	Study area.

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1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Breman	1978	Bardoli area South Gujarat	Dry-drough prone Khandesh Maha- rashtra Seasonal- subsistence migration of landless and small farmers.	Sugarcane harvesting is extensively labour in- tensive. Skilled labour households move under a contractor.	Study area.
6. M.S.A.Rao	1978	West Godavari District A.P.	Seasonal migra- tion of skilled Tobacco harvest- ing labour from Guntur and Krishna districts of Andra Pradesh to West Godavari where Tobacco cultivation newly started. Movement from low opportunity area to higher opportunity area for survival.	Tobacco cultivation is declining in Krishna and Guntur and it has been taken up by the farmers in West Godavari Districts. Tobacco har- vesting needs skilled labour and it is labour intensive. Poor back- ward class labour house- holds move for finding work for the season. under a Mestri (Labour contractor).	Study area.

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1	2	3	4	5	6
7. T.K.Jayar raman	1979	Panchamah al District Gujarat	Seasonal migration of tribal labour for survival from Pancha- mahal Dist. one of the economically backward district. Scarcity conditions due to frequent failure of rainfall- cultivation is rain fed. It is a depress- ed hilly district. Push factor act.	Migrant tribals are owners of land. Their primitive outlook and inade- quate infrastructure have tide them to subsistence farming. Seasonal movement to irrigated areas and cities in search of means of subsis- tance. Irrigated areas provide employ- ment during the peak transplanting/harvest- ing period in Khaira district.	Irrigated areas in Khaira district Command area of Mahi-Kadana Irrigation project.
Economic Times Staff Corres- pondent.	1975 3rd Sept.	"			
8. Amarjeet Chandan	1979	Green Revolution Region of Punjab.	Seasonal migration of labour from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa in search of work- Subsistence migration.	Irrigated areas provide employment during the peak transplanting/ harvesting period in Punjab.	Study Area.

contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Oberai A.S. and H.K.M.Singh	1980 (EPW)	Green Revolution areas of Punjab Ludhiana District.	Within the State from one village to another. Permanent in migration and semi-permanent migration/return migration. Development Migration.	Since green revolution in 1960s rates of in-out migration has been increased. Outmigration is dominated by both poor and rich for gainful employment. It is individuals and not households. Incidence of migration is among migrants owning up to 5 acres is relatively low. Migration is economically motivated. Purchase of land which promised better income. Low rates of wages.	Area of Study.
10. Balkrishna, S.1980 S.V. Rangacharyalu, T. Pandurangarao, N.I.R.D. Hyderabad.	1980	Mandapur Centre Ramachandrapuram Taluk, East Godavari district Andhra Pradesh.	Eastern belt of Andhra Pradesh namely Shrikakulam, Vishakhapatnam, Vizianagaram districts. Rainfed. Dry land cultivation. Seasonal migration in search of livelihood. April-May-Nov-Dec.	Unemployment after Kharif harvest push labour from the region. Increased demand for labour in east Godavari district during paddy harvesting. Paddy harvesting demands more labourer as it must be completed within a short span of period, otherwise it results in to low yields. Local labour will be inadequate. Hence migrant seasonal labour is in demand. Employment higher wages induce migrants to irrigated areas.	Area of study.

contd...



1	2	3	4	5	6
11. D.Vasudeva Rao	1981	Rural areas of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar districts, under the command area of two river projects Malaprabha and Ghataprabha the tributaries of Krishna in the northern part of Karnataka State.	Permanent Migration of small land owners and landless labour from Non-irrigated area. 'Pull' of prospects at destination is primary cause. Development Migration.	Availability of land at cheaper price in the notified villages (for getting irrigation) induces aspirant migrant to buy land. Irrigation opens new prospects to those buyers. Job opportunities is the motivating factor for the noncultivators.	Irrigated villages of the taluk or district
12. Maheshkumar Sahu Ph.D.Thesis I.S.E.C. Bangalore.	1985	Villages from Sambalpur district Hiraakud Irrigation Command area Orissa State.	Permanent migration of peasants from Andhra Pradesh who were well versed in flow cultivation technique. Labour migrated from the same district and neighbouring dists. which do not have irrigation provision. Development Migration of peasants. Subsistence migration of labour from nearby dry areas.	Irrigation introduced intensive cultivation Agricultural operations became more labour intensive peasants moved to buy land due to better prospects peasant immigration followed labour inmigration.	Study Area

contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6
<p>13. Mahadev P.D. 1987 and R.N. Achyutha Mysore Univ., Dept. of Geography Research project, Sponsored by Inter National Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada.</p>	<p>Four Talukas of Raichur district Tungabhadra Command area Karnataka.</p>	<p>Construction labour, from Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh settled down peasants from Andra having the experience of flow technique migrated permanently Development Migration.</p>	<p>Irrigation project construction work attracted labour because of job opportunity. They settled down because of employment opportunities in the area once irrigation provided. Peasant migrants came from Andra to buy land to explore the prospects of irrigation. Native inhabitants sold land at cheaper price due to non-familiarity with irrigation culture.</p>	<p>Area of Study</p> <p>Tungabhadra command area in Bellary and Raichur districts Karnataka.</p>	
<p>14. N.E.C. Vidyasagar</p>	<p>1986 Mahakadaku village Kudalgi Taluk Bellary district Karnataka.</p>	<p>Semi-arid zone monsoon is uncertain village depends on monsoon for cultivation low amount of rain fall and its variability and tendency to cluster in a few months in a year gives no choice to crop. Growing cash crops is impossible. Millets are the only choice. The yield fluctuates from year to year.</p>	<p>Subsistence migration of people of this village has gone inevitable. Failure of monsoon, an imminent crop failure, non availability of work constantly haunt the people. Failure of monsoon is cyclical occurring once in every 3-4 years. Hence outmigration is recurrent through the years.</p>	<p>Tungabhadra command area in Bellary and Raichur districts Karnataka.</p>	

contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6
15. B.R.K. Raju.	1989	<p>The double ended approach is designed to explain motivation conditions and options in community of origin and of destination. Village of origin Ardhavaram situated in Tadepalligudem Taluk of West Godavari district Andhra Pradesh.</p>	<p>The geographical area in which the village of origin is situated happens to be one of the richest and most fertile area in the district which produces paddy, sugarcane and other cash crops.</p>	<p>Push factors cited by the respondents.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Under employment</li> <li>2. Increased pressure on land for tenancy.</li> <li>3. High cost of the land.</li> <li>4. Indebtedness</li> <li>5. Fragmented holdings.</li> </ol> <p>Pull factors as cited by respondents.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Presence of relatives and friends.</li> <li>2. Availability of land at cheaper rates.</li> <li>3. High returns.</li> <li>4. Availability of land for tenancy.</li> <li>5. Favourable climate.</li> </ol>	<p>Tungabhadra Command Area Karnatak.</p>
		<p>Destination - Settlements in Siraguppa Taluk, Bellary dist., Tungabhadra Command Area Karnataka State. Where migrants from Ardhavaram village are settled. The sample of these migrants is 100 households of Khatriya caste at the destination and 100 households of non-migrant Kshatriyas of some socio economic background at the village of origin Ardhavaram.</p>			

contd...

1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Upreti H.C. 1985 unpublished Ph.D. Thesis I.C.S.S.R. New Delhi.	1985	Rural Kumaon Dist. (Uttar Pradesh) Migrants in city of Jaipur, (Rajasthan).	Hilly Region Unfavourable Natural condi- tions for cultivation.	Economically motivated well established city contacts living in Jaipur city from Kumaon district. Due to un- favourable natural con- ditions agricultural income was uncertain, which is the main source of income.	Jaipur Rajasthan
17. A.K.Gupta and A.K.Bakoo	1980	Inmigrant Receiving village Ludhiana dist. Punjab.	Migrants came from overpopu- lated, backward regions of East- ern Uttar Pra- desh and Bihar in search of better employ- ment opportuni- ties. Staying for a period m more than one year in Punjab at the time of survey.	Better employment con- ditions in Punjab (Regu- lar employment and higher wages) attrac- ted 76 percent of sample migrants Natural calamities like flood and drought and the poverty pushed out (71 percent) proportion of migrants. Economic 'pull' factors were found more important than the push factor.	Ludhiana district. Punjab.
18. Manjeet Singh and Gopal Iyer	1982	-do-	-do-		
19. Shyam Narayan, S.L. Sharma, B.N. Singh.	1981- 82.	Rural Garwal District. Uttar Pradesh	Hilly region	Lack of livelihood, Hard living conditions in the remote places in the area people are prone to migrate to the plains for job opportunities and better living condi- tion.	Plains of Uttar Pradesh.

#### IV.1. Return Migration

It is well known that much of the rural to urban migration is temporary. The time that temporary migrants spend in the city varies from few months coinciding with agricultural slack season to their entire working life. Nelson Calls (1976) them Sojourners in the city. They retain close ties and active interest in their home place. Often they leave a part of their immediate family in the village if they own land or a house they cling to it. If they do not, they often try to acquire rural property or build a retirement house against the day when they return.

This pattern of migration has important economic consequences for both urban rural area. Temporary migration of labour increases training cost and lower efficiency at urban production centres. But such patterns reduce urban social cost of migration. Demand for urban social services like education medical service, housing etc., will be less than what it would be if entire family were to move. The

close contact that the migrants maintain with their native land facilitates transmission of information about employment opportunities and allows prospective migrants to engage in rural based search for urban job. Rural areas benefit from the new skill, experience, urban values which returnees bring with them. Further during their urban sojourn temporary migrants remit more to rural areas than the committed urban dwellers. Temporary migrants have a stake in the village life, hence make investment in land or other assets<sup>45</sup>.

The saving capacity of migrants is the positive function of their urban earnings. The probability of migrants intending to return to rural areas will be greater. Lower are his urban earnings. The higher is his level of earning the greater will be the opportunity cost of returning before the end of his working life. Thus it may be expected that the probability of return on retirement will be increasing function of earning<sup>46</sup>.

Causes for return migration are to be found both at urban as well as at native places. Economic insecurity forces rural migrants to keep ties with their folk back at

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45. Nelson (1976); Connell et.al. (1976); Banarjee (1982).

46. Banarjee (1982) Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics 44:4 Nov. Who will Return and Whom?.

home. Banarjee in his Delhi Survey (1982) found daily wage employees particularly those in informal sector would be more likely to express intention of returning to native land than those who have secured jobs in organized sectors, with social security. It implies that with better economic opportunities and living conditions return migration rates will decline<sup>47</sup>.

High cost of urban housing, high cost of living force rural migrants to leave their family back at home and move alone to cities.

Decision to return is also influenced by rural factors. Desire to return after shorter or longer stay in the city are strongly affected by their access to land or alternative income source at the village, by kinship structure, by the importance of age graded social role the cultural and religious significance of land<sup>48</sup>.

In the Indian joint family system the eldest son becomes the head of the family on the death of his father. If the members of his family are present in the village the migrants who are the eldest sons are likely to return<sup>49</sup>.

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47. Nelson (1976); Banarjee (1982).

48. Nelson (1976).

49. Banarjee (1982).

Many migrants return on retirement from urban jobs. Zachariah (1964) found that rate of return migration from Bombay are higher for migrants born in neighbouring states than for migrants of far distant states. But in a more recent study of migrants of Delhi resettlement colonies<sup>50</sup> belonging to lower socio-economic classes distance is found to be a weaker force in relation to socio-cultural factors. Of the migrants from Punjab, East Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, it is the U.P. migrants who showed greater preference for home return and not Punjabi migrants who are from close distance to Delhi. A percentage of Tamil and Punjabi migrants preferred permanent settlement in Delhi. East Uttar Pradesh migrants maintained close ties with native home by regular remittances and frequent visits by their female family members. The survey highlightens the importance of ethnic, socio-cultural factors in migration behaviour, even when prime reason for migration remains economic one<sup>50</sup>.

Padaki (1964) in his study of Konkan village observes migrants returning from Bombay after retirement and keeping close ties through annual visits during working life, making remittances throughout. On his return urban job is taken up by young sibling of the family. This he finds going on Alaka Basu and Others (1987).



in Ratnagiri District (Maharashtra-Konkan) as a migration tradition over a century. The same is the findings of Brahme (1978) and Hemalata Dandekar (1986) in Satara district of Maharashtra. Migrants bring new ideas and savings which influence the rural life style.

7 In many villages the migrants who return have saved up cash and sometimes goods which make them relatively wealthy compared with permanent village population and enable them to use the wealth to further improve their economic position in the village. This may have positive demonstration effect. Return migration is also influenced by the level of economic opportunity available in the rural areas. If the native rural area possesses investment potential migrants may consider returning before the end of their working life with capital and skill acquired at cities.

Return migrants act as agents of Socio-economic change which is evident from empirical Studies<sup>51</sup>.

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51. Padaki (1966); Oberai and Singh (1983).

However this depends on the type of migrants returned if the returnee is a failure at his earlier destination he can have no positive role to play except discouraging further migration. If the returnee is successful one, he can play a positive role in the development of rural economy<sup>52</sup>.

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52. Connell et al (1976); Dasgupta (1982); Oberai and Singh (1983).

## CHAPTER V

## Impact of Migration on Rural Life:

Research in to rural urban migration in India was hitherto mainly concerned with documenting volume and pattern of migration, migrant characteristics and causes of migration. In recent years many urban studies on migrant population have paid attention to the consequences of rural-inmigration to the cities. But considerably less attention has been paid towards the effects of out migration on rural life. Migration selectivity leads to loss of its more dynamic young members to the rural society. This pattern of migration gives birth to many questions, such as- Has the productivity of land changed? Has population pressure eased? Has wage level improved? Have they initiated the process of agricultural development? What are their effects on distribution of income and so on so forth.

The present chapter deals with these issues and aims to find out various effects of migration on rural life for which empirical evidence is available and finally to conclude on the basis of available material whether rural out migration is in the interest of individual migrant

house holds and the village economy in general.

#### V.1 Effect of migration on agricultural productivity

Rural emigration is the outflow of productive human resources. Migrants are largely young men, relatively educated and more ambitious and their loss to the rural productive process may have negative effects on agricultural organisation and productivity. Migration also leads to changes in the composition and quality of labour force. If there is unemployment and under-employment then migration reduces labour surplus and relieves the pressure on land. Labour/land ratio may improve, per-capit-income may rise and wages may increase.

But in fact the impact of migration on agricultural output is related to many factors. If the migration is temporary or seasonal and is synchronized with agricultural operations the impact would be zero. But if migration causes shortage of man-power during peak seasons-land preparation, weeding, transplanting, harvesting, it will produce an adverse effect on output. In that case following measures may be adopted to maintain productivity level or to avoid adverse effects of migration. Greater participation of women in farm work, increasing the proportion of the hired

labour, a shift in cropping pattern in favour of less labour intensive one and mechanization of agriculture.

In a village study in maharashtra (Brahme - 1978) it is found that male migrants to Bombay arrange their annual visits to native village so as to synchronise with heavy agricultural operations. Padaki (1966) finds no adverse effect on farm produce due to male migration to Bombay as paddy cultivation in Konkan is managed by women with the help of hired labour and greater reliance on family labour has kept agricultural wages stable at the former level. Hemalata Dondekar (1986) in her recent study finds increasing participation of women in farm activities in the absence of male members of the family. Dasgupta and Laishley (1975) find, a high level participation of women and children in agricultural work as a most typical response.

Participation of women, however is not possible in every type of agricultural operations, while transplanting, weeding and harvesting are usually the operations in which women take part, ploughing, transporting and threshing etc. will be undertaken by male labour. In the absence of male family members these activities are often conducted with the help of hired workers. It is for this reason one finds a close correspondance between migration propensity and the

level of employment of hired workers in a village.

Oberai & Singh (1983) do not find any fall in the land and labour productivity due to loss of family labour on account of male out migration. According to their findings gross output per acre rises significantly with farm size and this is also true in respect of output per acre of individual crop. Out migrant households have almost the same level of gross output per acre as non-migrant house holds. It is also found that out migration of members from the farming households do not lead to significant decline in family labour input, in terms of man-days per cropped acre. The authors suggest two reasons for it. First these households may have had surplus labour before out migration of family member(s) second the remaining household members may have intensified their work-effort at least in terms of man-days worked on the farm. As regards hired labour, outmigrant households use significantly more man-days per cropped acre which may be due to two main reasons- First the out-migrant and return migrant households use improved agricultural input and practices which require higher dose of labour much more than in-migrant and non migrant households (in Ludhiana Dist. Punjab 1983) second the departure of comparatively younger male members from out migrant households is likely to influence the age and sex composition of these households and may therefore

necessitate a greater use of hired labour. Another interesting observation made by the authors is-as between out-migrant and non-migrant households there is virtually no difference in the percentage of labour hired by large farmers, but in the case of small and medium farmers the percentage of labour hired is considerably more for out-migrant than for non-migrant households, which shows that the effect of loss of labour resulting from out-migration is, perhaps, felt more by small and medium farmers than large farmers. It is also observed that the cropping intensity does not vary significantly as between migrant and non-migrant households, and there is no evidence that the loss of labour by out-migrant households leads to a decline in cropping intensity.<sup>53</sup>

Where loss of labour is both substantial and long term, mechanization may follow outmigration migration provides both the justification for and the means (through remittances) to introduce mechanization. The absence of necessary amount of labour power in the village particularly during an intervening period between two crops induces villagers<sup>to</sup> adopt mechanization as a solution to their problem. Remittances of migrants provides him with savings which can be used for buying machinery needed as agricultural

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53. Oberai and Singh (1983).

inputs. Agricultural machinery which is not likely to be popular in conditions of wide spread rural unemployment and might meet with stiff social resistance become more acceptable when a condition of scarcity of man power is created through migration (Shrivastava 1968 as quoted by B.Dasgupta 1982). This is what has happened in high migration villages of Punjab and Rajasthan. However in a great majority of Indian villages the need for adopting such measures does not take place on such a scale as to reduce drastically the supply of man-power within the village. The impact of migration on agricultural output is for this reason is not negative<sup>54</sup>.

Oberai, et al<sup>55</sup> (1989) find that migration has led to some improvement in employment situation in rural areas of Kerala. In all the three states- Kerala, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar loss of labour due to outmigration of household member(s) is partly compensated for by increased use of hired labour and partly by increased participation of women in work. The loss of outmigrants' labour, therefore, does not appear to cause a decrease either in labour or land productivity; These have rather increased, giving support to Lewis's thesis of

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54. B. Dasgupta (1982) U.N.E.S.C.O. Study Page-27-28.

55. Oberai, Prasad, Pradhan and Sardana (1989).



disguised unemployment<sup>56</sup>.

## V. 2 Impact of Remittances

A major consequence of migration is the transfer of earnings of migrant in cash or kind between the migrant and the family members remaining in the village. Although remittances usually refer to money transmitted, the meaning has been extended here to include savings brought back by returning migrants and the savings received by family members of migrants in cash or kind.

Remittances from out migrants are likely to raise rural income and consumption. They may also encourage technological change which may further increase rural income. The net effect of remittances on the rural economy is however difficult to generalize. They may add to productive investment for the development and diversification of agriculture or of non-agricultural activities in the rural areas or be spent on housing and education or be used to relieve the poverty of those who remain behind. On the other hand they may be used unproductively for conspicuous consumption or for building an excessive degree of capital intensity in to agriculture with adverse effect on employment. Remittances may even erode work

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56. Oberai, Prasad, Pradhan and Sardana (1989).

habits since they increase resources without the need for any effort on the part of the recipient thus reducing pressure for economic and social change.

In addition the full-effect of remittances on the level and distribution of income in rural areas, depend on the size and frequency of remittances. These in turn depend on the type of migration (whether temporary, quasi-permanent or permanent) The type of jobs on which migrants are employed, their income, their living cost (which determines their capacity to save) the extent of their interest in the household's land and the needs of the family members they have left behind and the relationship of migrant with the family.

High cost of urban living, specially the lack of housing and joint family ties compell migrants to leave their wives and children back at villages. These single migrants constitute a big chunk of total migrants in big cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi. These migrants send money, home regularly and live as frugally as possible in the city (Ashish Bose 1965).

Apart from income the level of remittances is also affected by the initial purpose of migration. If it is a

target migration in the sense to earn a specific amount of money for a specific purpose, migrants will return once the target is reached and the amount will be used for specific purpose-marriage, purchase of an asset, redeeming family debt etc<sup>57</sup>.

In more stabilised long term migration remittances may be sent regularly and with varying degree of frequency. Spending of remittances reflect the economic condition of recipient family. Remittances supplement the family income and the majority of remittances are consumed in every day household needs. If the migrants come from poor families the usual tendency is for the remittances to be used to repay debt, increase food consumption, improving and extending family residential building and buying property. Schooling of younger family members is also given a high priority by the migrants (Brahme 1978, Padki 1966, Shrivastava 1968). Several agricultural labour migrants from eastern Uttar Pradesh to Punjab were remitting income mainly to defray consumer debt in their home villages so as to avoid the need to sell family land during spring 1973 (Connell et al 1976). "Migrants make substantial contribution to the basic economic survival of number of families in the village. Remittances supplement earnings eaked out

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57. Banarjee (1986).

of megar land holdings. They also improve the asset base of some families by allowing lumpsum investment in agricultural machinery, livestock, agricultural input and housing. Whether for survival or for development the migrants and their families pay the price- Thirty years or more of seperation during the most productive years of man's life. During this period the village loses its best educated, most able men to the city"<sup>58</sup>.

In case of families which are better off and have already met their basic needs, remittances may be used for capital assets and agricultural inputs.

Simon in a study of Uttar Pradesh found on the basis of survey carried out in 1964-65 that the flow of remittances from migrants had facilitated shift in cropping pattern to risk enhancing and investment demanding cash crops<sup>59</sup>.

Shrivastava argues on similar lines and suggests that migrants continually send money to their relatives left behind who spend more than before on agricultural impliments and fertilizers (Shrivastava 1966).

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58. Hemalata Dandekar (1986).

59. Simon (1966) quoted by Dasgupta (1982) and Oberai and Singh (1986).

In the areas with long tradition of migration to work in the towns and in the army it is possible to find some association between migration and agricultural modernization. Migration helps some of the poor families to improve their economic and social position, eventually to meet their need for food, shelter and schooling of children and to enable them to make some investment in land out of remittances received from the towns<sup>60</sup>.

Oberai and Singh (1983) in Panjab, find out-migrant households receiving remittances having higher proportion of their cultivated area under cash crops than non-migrant households and this difference is comparatively greater for small than for large farms. This suggests that the remittances from out-migrants do enable family households to shift to cash crops which generally carry a relatively higher degree of risk and also demand more investment.

Oberai & Singh's study of Punjab provides us fund of information on remittance and its use. Decision to remit mainly governed by the closeness of relationship of migrant with the family left behind. Nearly all husabands who have outmigrated have sent remittances, only half of those classified as children have done, so. Married out-migrants

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60. Dasgupta (1982).

are little more likely to remit than the un-married.

Outmigrants from cultivating households appear to be less likely to remit than those from non-cultivating households. It is explained by the fact that cultivating households can more easily draw on the land for support. Outmigrants from landless households and more with small holdings are relatively more likely to send remittances than those from households with large holdings (Oberai and Singh - 1983).

Remittances are primarily used for consumption purpose and productive use finds secondary place. Table given below shows that more than three quarters of households spend their remittances on food and clothing and more than one quarter, on household items. The only other primary item being ceremonies including weddings (9.6 percent of the households) only a small proportion of households (6.1 percent) use remittances for productive investment, the larger part being used for purchase of agricultural land, farm equipment and inputs such as seeds fertilizers and pesticides.

Households receiving remittances are divided in to three broad categories- Farming, non-farming entrepreneurial and non-farming non-entrepreneurial. It is the

first category that makes the greatest use of remittances for investment. Only 2.4 percent of the households belonging to the third category spend their remittances on uses other than consumption. This means overwhelming majority (81.6 percent) of households of the third category spend their remittances on consumption use. This shows the lowincome, wage-earning status of many households of this category which contains a fair number of low caste people. Debt-repayment is found only among the cultivating category of households. The importance of ceremonial expenditure is observed in all the three categories of households. Use of the remittances for education of children is found only in the cultivating households.

The overall pattern of expenditure depicted in the statement 5.1 appears to be consumption oriented. The authors argue that it should not be interpreted as being mainly unproductive. In an economy in which levels of living are low, consumption expenditure may often be functional and may induce significant improvement in labour productivity.

All most all the households that use remittances for productive purposes are cultivating households. These are

Statement - 5.1

Percentage Distribution of Households that have ever Received Remittances by  
Major items on which Remittances were spent

Item of Expenditure	Farming Households (N = 195)	Non-farming Entrepreneurial Households (N = 36)	Non-farming non-Entrepreneurial Households (N = 170)	All Households N = 395
1. Productive investment	11.3	5.6	0.6	6.1
2. Children's Education	2.1	-	-	1.0
3. Debt Repayment	6.2	-	1.8	3.8
4. Ceremonies (incl-wedding)	11.3	11.1	7.1	9.6
5. Food and Clothing	70.3	83.3	78.8	75.9
6. Housing and Household goods (incl.luxury items)	23.6	19.4	27.1	25.1
7. Consumption (4+5+6)	89.2	94.4	98.2	92.2

\* Column percentages are not additive since some households spent remittances on more than one item.

\*\* The sum of different types of households does not add up to 395 because of the overlap some of the farming households also own non-farming enterprise.

Source - Causes and consequences of internal migration - page 107.  
(Oberai and Singh 1983).



heavily concentrated in the middle range of land holdings (5 to 15 acres).

The table also shows that about one quarter of households receiving remittances spend them on household goods and housing improvements which suggests that remittances do matter in raising their standards of living.

Further since household goods are mainly produced in urban centres remittances may have an important effect on the demand for industrial and other goods. On the other-hand the changing pattern of consumption and the raising demand for industrial goods may adversely affect the growth of employment opportunities in rural areas and induce further migration (Oberai & Singh 1983).

Remittances are not just an economic phenomenon but involve complicated social perspective as well. To the migrant they may represent his continued stake in the village economy and social hierarchy. Both to him and to his wider family unit they are a means by which to enhance standing and prestige in the community. In this way remittances are essentially conservative re-inforcing a traditional set of value (Connell et al 1976).

Out migrating areas are generally resource poor regions,

with low level of investment potential. Therefore migrant families receiving remittances fail to use them for productive purpose and in turn increase consumption demand for urban goods. This will help urban employment and not rural. This was the case with Umedpur- a village in Jalore district Rajasthan which falls in the semi-desert region of the state (K.R. Picholia; Economic Times; 1st Dec. 1974).

In the absence of investment potentials of the place, many households may use remittances to invest in education thereby stimulating further migration. In Senapur (a Uttar Pradesh village) Simon noted that the increase in remittances had led to a large increase in expenditure on education among many households as they try to emulate the first successful migrants (as quoted by Connell et al 1976).

A.S. Oberai, and others (1989) find in Bihar, Uttar-Pradesh and Kerala states a substantial in flow of resources to the rural areas through remittances from out migrants. The proportion of remitters is also fairly high- 72, 67 and 47 percent for Bihar, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh respectively. The fact that proportion of remitters is lowest in Uttar Pradesh and highest in Bihar may suggest that the need of

out migrant households for remittances is much higher in agriculturally poor regions like Bihar and Kerala. There is not much difference in the proportion of remitters between those who go to rural areas and those who go to urban areas. The overall proportion of remitters is large in all three states, partly because a large majority of out-migrants are 'individuals' leaving their families behind in poverty. The percentage of households from which only one member has outmigrated is high in all the three states. 86, 66 and 71 percent in Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh respectively. In all the three states the size of remittances is higher for out migrants from cultivating as compared with noncultivating households. Remittances are received by all income classes among out migrant households although the poorer group received more on average in all the three states.

The impact of remittances on the incomes of out-migrant households has been substantial. The incomes of outmigrant households on average increased by 48, 74 and 25 percent in Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh respectively. Outmigrants to Gulf countries from Kerala though uneducated earn more hence the high percentage increase in their family income through remittances. The authors argue on the basis of their findings that poorer outmigrant households benefit

relatively more from remittances, which is reflected in the reduction in inequality in household income distribution among outmigrant households in all three states. More than half the households receiving remittances spend them on household goods, food and clothing. However about 9 percent of cultivating households receiving remittances in Uttar Pradesh also spend them on productive investment. Expenditure on education also has some importance in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.<sup>61</sup>

### V.3 Effects of Remittances on Rural Income Distribution:

It is very difficult to generalize effects of remittances on rural income distribution. Since they may enhance the inequality or narrow down the inequality of income distribution depending upon- who receives the remittances and how much? It also depends on relative propensities of migration among different segment of the rural population.

If migration is concentrated among fairly rich and fairly poor then income inequality may tend to grow. However if the very poor migrants are 'pushed' out from the village family as a whole, the beneficial effect on wages may reduce income inequality.

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61. Oberai, Prasad, Pradhan and Sardana (1989).

If migrants from richer house-holds predominate and remittances go to relatively prosperous farmers who can as a result introduce technological innovations leading to higher output and income, migration will eventually tend to increase inequality in income and land ownership distribution and may induce further outmigration. K.R. Pincholia's study of Umedpur village\* (1974) shows an increase in household income inequality due to remittances. The village Umedpur received considerable income by way of remittances from the migrants. This income was Rs.55,250/- or 40 percent of the total village income during the year under reference certainly benefited the families. But it divided the village community into two broad classes with vast disparity in the living standard. Remittances were not invested in the village due to absence of investment potential and this phenomenon made the village economy a consumption economy rather than a production economy. Migrant families enjoyed pucca houses and consumer durables. Remittances were hardly spent on village goods to help the village economy.

*Acute?*

Punjab study of Oberai and Singh find out that the

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\* Village Umedpur is situated in a semi-desert part of Rajasthan (Jalore Dist.) and the migrants are the marwari mahajans-money lending class of people.

remittances raise the average income of outmigrant households by 30.7 percent from 4,676 rupees to 6,112 rupees. (1976-77) of remitters 94.7 percent sent money during the last year for which they gave information (1976-77).

Remittances have reduced the relative gap between the bottom and the top income groups in the rural areas of Punjab. It is also revealed that remittances raise the share of the bottom 30 percent of outmigrant households from 2.35 percent of income to 7.03 percent. Remittances improve not only the distribution of income among outmigrant households but also the overall distribution of income in rural areas.

*Why the left hand? - the left states?*

#### V.4 Migration and technological change in Agriculture:

Adoption of modern agricultural technology requires surplus resources and risk bearing capacity. Rural to urban migration can facilitate this via its dual role in the accumulation of surplus through remittances and through the diversification of source of income in the control of level of risk<sup>62</sup>. Therefore it is expected that migration may play a favourable role in introducing technological change in agriculture. As noted already in the previous

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62. Stark I.L.O. Geneva (1976).

section, the reduced supply of family labour encourages farmers to adopt one or the other of the following compensatory measures, in order to maintain the level of production and family income- greater work participation by the remaining family members, greater reliance on hired labour and recourse to labour saving capital equipment. Second, the reduced supply of labour is also likely to push up agricultural wage rates and stimulate the adoption of labour saving technology.

We have also discussed the effect of remittances on agricultural investment. Remittances provide required financial resources for the purchase of agricultural equipment and other inputs. Urban job is an alternative source of income, the migrant cultivating household will be willing to bear the risk of new technology.

In addition to this resource flow information flow generated by the successful return migrant is very important. The return migrants bring with them financial resources, knowledge and skill acquired in the towns mines and army and a new world perspective (Shrivastava 1968). They may possess skills required to overcome bottlenecks inhibiting technological change notably mechanical skills which are rarely available in the remote rural areas. Migrants may also introduce cash crops and establish marketing outlets

for goods produced in rural areas, there by extending the markets which in turn promote commercialization of agriculture.

The empirical evidence available on the effects of migration on technological change is both limited and inconclusive. One popular opinion is that technological change in agriculture will reduce demand for labour and thus induce further migration. On the contrary cases exist where technological developments seems to have created new opportunities in the rural areas and have consequently reduced the propensity to migrate. (Sardar Patel University 1973 as quoted by Oberai & Singh p 117).

Punjab study by Oberai and Singh (cited) analyses the effects of migration on production and technological change in agriculture and indicates several important features.

First, outmigration of youthful members from the farming households does not appear to have adversely affected the adoption of HYV technology. Second, among the migrant households returned migrant households appear on an average to be relatively innovative. This is largely because returnees possess better skills and resources than the others.



On the adoption of capital intensive technology it is observed that the percentage of households using a tractor is higher among the migrant households than among the non-migrant. There is no significant difference in the use of threshers and tubewells as between migrant and non-migrant household. Within the three main migrant groups the percentage of households using a tractor is on an average, higher for returned-migrants than for out-migrant and in-migrant households. Among out-migrant households receiving remittances the proportion owning a tractor is much higher among large farmers than among small and medium farmers. This suggests that large farmers use remittances for investment in capital goods. A larger percentage of returned-migrant and out-migrant households use improved agricultural practices as compared with non-migrant households.

With regard to labour use the finding is that the Green-Revolution has not altered the inverse relationship between farm size and labour use. It is the same with out-migration, where loss of family labour, particularly by the small and medium farmers receiving remittances, appears to be made up by substitution of wage labour.

Modern inputs and improved agricultural practices which increase the productivity of land such as the use of

chemical fertilizers, HYV seeds, seed treatment and line planting also promote the use of labour.

Mechanization such as the use of a tractor with or without a range of implements (cultivator, leveller, harrow, seed drill) tend to decrease the use of labour though its negative influence is not as strong as is widely believed.

But it is not certain that the use of a thresher is labour displacing (Oberai & Singh 1983).

In Kerala, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh (Oberai, Prasad, Pradhan- 1989) also migration has produced favourable effects on production and agricultural technology. The rate of adoption of HYV is highest among return migrant households followed by out migrant households. This pattern is fairly consistent across the three states. With respect to use of costly modern implements (like tractor, thresher and tubewell) the pattern is not uniform in the three states. In Bihar the use of such implements is highest among out-migrant households who receive remittances. In Kerala and Uttar Pradesh their use is highest among out-migrant household who do not receive remittances. This is perhaps due to the fact that relatively more outmigrants in these two states come from richer households. The use of modern implements is higher among return migrant than

among out-migrant households. It is also found that a relatively large percentage of migrant households, taking outmigrant and return-migrant together use improved agricultural practices as compared with non-migrant households. The differences between the out-migrant and return migrant households are not however, uniform while in some cases the out migrant households show better performance in others it is the return migrants. Even with regard to use of irrigation a relatively large percentage of return-migrant and out-migrant households use irrigation as compared with non migrant households.

A comparison between migrant and non migrant households with respect to land productivity indicates that it is highest among return migrant households followed by out-migrant households, and lowest among non migrant households in all three states.

As regards labour productivity it is higher among out-migrant and return migrant households. Land productivity and labour productivity is lowest in Bihar and highest in Kerala. (Oberai, Prasad and Pradhan (1989)).

V.5 Rural-Rural migration also produces certain impact on agricultural production and wage levels:

Seasonal migration of labour on a large scale to Punjab from eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Nepal

help cultivators to maintain high yield. Availability of labour during peak season specially for transplanting weeding and harvesting is quite essential to maintain yield. Delay will cause loss of productivity (Dasgupta) wages have remained lower in relation to agricultural productivity in Punjab because of the availability of cheaper labour from other parts of the country (Dasgupta 1982). In the absence of the inflow of seasonal labour wage level would certainly be much higher than what it is, due to labour shortage<sup>63</sup>.

This is also true in other parts of the country wherever flow irrigation technique is used and where there is inflow of seasonal labour from outside the place<sup>64</sup>.

We have already noted in the III Chapter on causes of migration that there is inflow of peasant migrants from the areas having irrigation culture to the areas where irrigation is introduced newly, in the command areas of river projects in the first two decade of planning era. The native inhabitant cultivators of these droughtprone areas were not familiar with flow irrigation techniques. The migrant peasants who were well versed in irrigation

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63. Manjeet Singh and Iyer (1982).

64. T. Laxmaiah (1972) Balkrishna and Others (1982) Maheshkumar sade (1985).

culture, played a significant role in introducing new technique of cultivation and diffusion of knowledge among natives. They have contributed a lot for the success of new-agricultural technology in their destinations<sup>65</sup>.

#### V.6 Demographic consequences:

Migration produces certain demographic consequences because of age sex selectivity of migratory process and change of socio-economic environment. The fertility rate depends upon age-sex selectivity of migration and the nature of migration and also the environmental impact.

Migration of unmarried males of young age might result in imbalance of sex ratio both in rural and urban areas, and influence the proportion of persons able to find marriage partners. Secondly large scale outmigration of married males in search of employment means separation of husbands from wives during the crucial life cycle phase when couples are fertile and economically active. This may have the effect of lowering the completed family size. Thirdly the decision to migrate and to start the family tend to occur at about the same age period. Since marriage, migration and labour force participation are conscious decisions of individuals, it is possible that a person may delay his marriage so that he can migrate and help out his

65. Maheshkumar Sahu (1985), Mahadev and Achutha (1987), T.Laxmaiah (1972), B.R.K.Raju (1989) and Vasudevrao (1981).

family. All these factors may reduce fertility and check population growth. Migrants at urban centres may get influenced by urban way of life and may accept small family norms. Returning migrants may also spread new values and information about family welfare and family planning<sup>66</sup>.

*finalizing on these hypotheses?*

If the migration is seasonal or for a short period there may not be any impact on fertility rate. But in case of permanent or semi permanent migration, empirical studies show that the fertility rate is influenced.

The study of villages around Delhi showed that statistically significant differences exist in the fertility rate between villages with high and low migration propensity. Since male migration leads to increased work participation of women there is a fall in the fertility rate. (B. Dasgupta Laishley 1975).

P.D. Mahadev (1987) in his study—Impact of irrigation on the demographic aspect— A case study of newly irrigated area in India (Raichur Dist Karnataka) finds demographic changes in the irrigated areas within a short time span and he attributes this change primarily to the migration of enterprising peasants from Andrapradesh in search of better economic prospects.

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66. Oberai and Singh (1981) Migration- Urbanisation and fertility- Arthavignana- 23: 3-4 Sept-Dec. 1981.

The fieldwork<sup>67</sup> carried on in the irrigated talukas of Raichur Dist. (Karnataka) revealed the fact that migrant families were much aware of family planning concept and took advantage of family planning camps organized in the area where as the local farmers were hesitant to go to these camps and did not take advantage of it. It is also noted that fertility rates over a time period of 5 years 1982-1986 is falling in case of both migrants and non-migrants. And in case of migrants fertility rate is found to be substantially less. The table given in his work is reproduced (Table V.2).below:

Statement - 5.2

Fertility Rates of Population 1982-1986

Year	Total Fertility Rate Migrants	Locals
1982	3.0395	4.5665
1983	3.1950	4.1950
1984	2.4925	4.5980
1985	2.3065	3.3250
1986	2.1840	3.3280

Source - P.D. Mahadev, 1987, Research Project, Dept. of Geography, Mysore University, Mysore.

In their Punjab study Oberai and Singh (1983) find, the fertility pattern for similar population groups are significantly different in rural and urban areas. Families

67. P.D. Mahadev (1987).

in urban areas desire and have a smaller number of children than those in rural areas. Migrants to the urban areas have slightly higher fertility than natives, but lower fertility than rural stayers. In the rural areas out-migrants and return-migrants have lower fertility than non-migrants. It has also been observed that migrants tend to marry at a later age and that separation has the effect of lowering their completed family size. Increasing migration and urbanization therefore are likely to reduce fertility as well as the over all rates of population growth in the economy.

*What about  
rural-urban  
migrants  
versus  
rural-urban  
migrants?*

Halli's study of Bombay (1976) and Rastogi's study of Lucknow (1986) and Kanpur cities in Uttar Pradesh support the findings of Punjab study.

#### V.7 Observation:

Rural-urban migration, viewed from the rural base gives an encouraging account of the phenomenon, migration has not adversely affected agricultural output and family income. <sup>9)</sup> On the contrary migration has provided for the survival of millions who are drifted away from villages. Out migration from rural areas is largely a survival strategy for millions.

Urban remittances have improved income and consumption levels of rural poor migrant households. They have also



provided resources for agricultural investment. There is improvement in land and labour productivity and encouragement for adoption of modern agricultural technology. Remittances have also helped to reduce rural income inequality (an increase in consumption expenditure by the poor).

But from the point of view of big cities (million +) this movement of population is an undesirable one, poverty, unemployment, slum growth, squatter housing congestion, pollution and the total deterioration in the urban quality of life in the big cities of India are all attributed to rural migration. It appears therefore that there is an urgent need to check this human flow towards big cities of India.

Hence the dilemma faced by the policy makers- whether to allow the flow to continue or to check it. What measures are to be followed both in the interest of big cities and the villages and for promoting overall development of the economy?

CHAPTER - VI  
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

## VI.1

"..... as the level of education rises, the tendency to travel greater distance to seek employment increases. If this is true as a general pattern throughout the country it may be expected that, as school attendance in the village increases there will be increased flow in to the cities of literate rural youth seeking their fortunes. Many people fear that as a result of economic development, Indian cities will soon be flooded with illiterate, unskilled and inexperienced agriculturists who will only burden labour market, with large quantities of man power that cannot be absorbed."<sup>68</sup>

Expectations and the fear expressed have come true within a decade's time. Urban population has begun to swell and urbanization is taking place at a very rapid rate. Millions of rural migrants march towards urban centres in search of employment. There is a phenomenal growth of metropolises (cities having more than a million inhabitants) in recent history of India's industrial urbanization. The country is witnessing an unprecedented flow of migrants from rural to urban areas especially to

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68. Bogue and Zachariah (1962) In 'India's Urban Future' Ed. Roy Turner.

bigger cities (K. Laxminarayan, 1986). In the early decades of planning this movement of people was favoured as a natural outcome of development process and was encouraged by income differential. It was taken as a long run solution to rural poverty and unemployment.

By the end of fourth five year plan it was increasingly realized that rural outmigration towards large cities is the root cause of urban problems like poverty, unemployment, slums, squatter housing, overcrowding and the near breakdown of infrastructural facilities. And industrial growth is not enough so as to absorb the rapidly pouring rural migrants. "Looking back to the last three decades one cannot help observing that the hope pinned on rapid industrialization as a most important instrument of economic regeneration of the country has been contradicted by the actual events, inspite of concerted efforts at planned economic development through five year plans. Similarly the hope of urbanization bringing about modernization and social change in the country has also not been realized".<sup>69</sup>

This state of affairs has given rise to a need for a

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69. Ashish Bose (1980) (II Revised Ed.) India's Urbanization, 1901-2000 A.D. (Page-26).

National policy formulation with regard to rural out-migration towards metropolises. A debate is going on within the academic circle whether there is a need to arrest or to regulate and redirect the flow away from metropolises.

The Task-force on planning and development of small and medium towns and cities- ministry of works and housing Government of India in its report (1977) has attributed urban poverty, unemployment, deterioration of urban quality of life, slums, squatter housing etc. directly to the rural migration, and recognises the situation as desperate one. It gives a call for doing something immediately to regulate if not halt altogether the unabated flow of people to the cities. "What is needed to avoid this appalling situation is to mitigate the 'push' factors of the rural areas and simultaneously not to strengthen the 'pull' factors of the towns" (p.84). ...."A rational and natural smooth disposal of population among the various categories of settlements (villages, towns, cities, metropolises) is the only answer if one (urban) or the other (rural) or both are indeed to be saved". (p.84). The report pleads for the extension of urban infrastructure to some extent to the vast rural areas as a first step and quantitative and qualitative improvement gradually but regularly and this should be made as an integral part of the total development process even as a positive step in helping healthy urbanization.

The Task Force (1977) is convinced that among the many other steps that have to be taken to save the urban centres perhaps the most important one is regeneration of rural areas (particularly in our present stage of development) as well as small and medium towns.

The report emphasises that the disadvantages of many areas are not always basic but only reflect the absence of socioeconomic overheads. Industrial growth of considerable magnitude at regional and subregional development plans has to be worked out to find a solution to the problem. "In many cases and particularly where industries are not particularly tied to the sources of rawmaterial, fuel etc. it would be desirable to use them as tools of balanced regional development even though the initial overhead cost may appear to be higher" (Task Force Report page.86). Report recommends "A greater degree of attention, from the point of views of industrial decentralization is indicated towards the existing towns with a population varying from 50,000 to 3,00,000. There are about 328 towns (1977) and cities in this category. These urban settlements almost all of them should have the potential to provide a reasonably balanced urban life to the inhabitants and also to ensure a regular growth of industrial development. Such animated urban entities of varying population sizes and

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functional characteristics would then play a vital role in stimulating the development of the periphery and the hinter land development, at once, in an economic and social sense. "Instead of smothering each other, the town and village would be partners in a healthy family, the rural, urban continuum would have been established" (Task Force Report (1977) Page 86).

The Absence of National migration strategy is attributed to two reasons.<sup>70</sup> Firstly the crucial link between socio-economic problems and migration in the past been neglected and never in fact recognized. Migration in other words is not usually regarded as a problem and concern of public policy. Secondly the impact of various development programmes on migration has rarely received serious consideration. Government programmes have not been seen as factors that may influence migration trends, rather they have been designed mostly to respond to these trends.

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The conferance suggests following measures to cope with the problem arising from migration.

1. The policies and programmes that encourage people to stay in rural areas.

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70. U.N. Development programme Welfare and Development. Centre. Conferance Report Bangalore-1980 (Feb 10-17).

2. Those that discourage people from moving to identified and disignated areas.
3. Those that encourage people to move to smaller urban areas.
4. Those that encourage people to move to rural areas.
5. Others that cope with problems in the urban destination areas.

The first category of policies and programmes will include- land reforms, agricultural development schemes, rural electrification and regional development. These programmes are aimed at dealing with the structural problems of rural areas that are pushing migrants out to the urban areas. Such interrelated problems in the place of origin include rural poverty, problems of tenancy, low agricultural productivity, rural unemployment and under-employment etc... The report makes it very clear that unless development fruits reach the poorer sections of the rural society these programmes cannot produce any impact on migration.

The second suggestion of the working group (U.N. Development Programme- Conferance Bangalore- Feb. 1980)

consists of measures to stop or discourage entry of migrants to the selected cities. This form of measures are irrelevant in a country like India where citizens enjoy fundamental right to move for livelihood and will create host of administrative problems in its enforcement.

The third suggestion is, encouraging migration to smaller urban areas which is feasible and extremely important step in arresting the movement towards metropolises. Relocation of economic activity away from the large cities help diverting the flow towards the smaller urban areas. Development of regional capital, dispersal of industries through industrial estates are good examples of this approach.

The fourth measure suggested aims at redirecting the flow of migration away from the densely populated urban areas towards rural areas through special programmes.

In the fifth category fall most programmes that deal with problems of urban growth such as inadequate urban services (e.g. garbage disposal, water supply, housing shortage the problem of slums and squatters, the general deterioration in the law and order situation and in the physical as well as the social environment).



All these programmes are meant for improving the living conditions of the urban people. But "any efforts to improve living conditions for the urban poor may stimulate increased migration".<sup>71</sup>

Empirical studies on Rural-urban migration have provided enough evidence to show that rural outmigration is caused by rural underdevelopment, rural poverty and unemployment, unequal distribution of rural productive assets, low income and wages, uneconomic holdings and fragmentation and lack of amenities of civilized life. Therefore it appears that development activities in rural areas will slow down the flow towards the urban centres. Rural development will increase income and employment, thus diminishing the pressure of primary motivation for migration namely 'Economic gain'. Rural development will also provide the amenities like education, health, electricity, piped water etc. and people may be withheld from being 'pulled' by urban attraction on this count.

The proposition that development activities in rural areas will reduce rural-urban migration is advocated by prominent scholars like Michal Todaro, Richard Jolly and

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71. World Bank Staff working papers No.215 (1975) Task Force Report (1977) Ministry of Works and Housing on "Planning and Development of Small and Medium Towns and Cities". Page-84.

others. They recognize rural development activities as a means of reducing urban-ward migration. They want the government to take certain steps to reduce imbalance between urban-rural structure to fill the gap between urban and rural income and employment opportunities. According to these scholars, a creative well designed programme of rural development with focus on income generation, both farm and non-farm employment growth, health delivery, educational improvement, infrastructural development such as electricity, water transport etc. and the provision of other amenities are the only viable long run solutions (Scott Gross, 1983).

But few other scholars like Roda, Salley Findly and Scott Grosse have questioned the validity of this proposition. According to these scholars development activities in rural areas may even increase rural-urban migration and there is no clear cut relation between the level of development in rural areas and the rate of migration to the cities. They argue that higher income and wages at the point of origin will have a positive income effect on migration and there<sup>by</sup> the rate of migration will go up. For example the families with higher income have a greater ability to finance the move of a family member to city. Higher income families typically enjoy better information

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about urban opportunities which facilitate migration independent of actual income. Migration is typically selective of more educated rural inhabitants while educational attainment generally rises with income level so that in the long-run higher income should lead to more people becoming educated and leaving rural areas. Finally the rising aspirations that are triggered by improved level of living in rural areas, may stimulate many to be attracted by what they see as even better opportunities to improve their lot in urban localities (Roda- 1977).

Widespread empirical support exists for a positive income effect on urban- ward migration in India. Household level migration studies have shown that urban migrants on an average come from both better off and poor families. Members of better off families move in search of better opportunities to learn and to earn.<sup>72</sup>

A thorough review of migration literature in India indicate that very little research has been focussed directly on, the impact of rural development on rural

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72. Sovani (1966); Dasgupta- Laishley (1975); Connell et al (1976); Oberai and Singh (1983); Oberai, Prasad, Pradhan and Sardana (1989).

outmigration. In the absence of such studies and on the basis of whatever information is available we may conclude that rural development will receive a mixed response- survival migration may decline and development migration may increase.

Rural Development programmes such as land- reformation measures, green revolution, HYV technology, mechanization of agriculture, non- farm economic activities, integrated rural development programmes, poverty alliviation programmes etc. may induce or arrest the flow of outmigration through their effect on income and employment generation. Therefore there is an urgent need for investigation in this field, in differant part of the country:

Irrigation is the key component of agricultural development, we have noted that provision of irrigation increases the demand for labour, changes the technology of cultivation, increases the productivity of land through intensive cultivation. This helps to keep people employed at the village level and protects them from being 'pushed' out of the village.

Therefore irrigation should continued to be given priority under planning. Private investment in minor irrigation schemes should be encouraged and supported by

the state. State investment in minor and medium irrigation schemes must be given equal importance along with major irrigation projects.

In dry- drought prone areas, new technology should be innovated for conservation of soil humidity. Watershed programmes be extended through out the region. A proper co-ordination of different departments of the state- such as public works, irrigation, agriculture, forestry planning, rural development etc. has to be worked out for the success of any development activities at rural level. Special care of these regions under regional planning is essential as these are migration prone areas.

Irrigation will also provide stimulus for secondary and tertiary sector activities. Agro-based industrial activities, trade and commerce will have vast scope that generate income and employment for the people, because of agricultural surplus and higher per-capita income of the people in the region.

We have already noted that extension of infrastructural facilities to towns and rural areas, development of small and medium size towns in to growth centres, decentralisation of industries may play a big role in diverting the flow away from big cities. Empirical studies have no evidence to show

that the urbanward migration of the poor is due to "Bright city lights". Millions who live in slums and on pavements of metropolitan cities are not attracted by city comforts but with a sheer desire to survive. Therefore the above shown measures will certainly regulated the flow in the interest of all concerned.

*Which studies examined this growth?*

Migration is in the interest of individual households, agricultural development and village economy. Remittances help to improve living conditions of migrant's family at home and provide means of survival to millions, helps capital accumulation and investment on land. (Chapter V).

Industrialisation and urbanization strategy has failed to solve the basic problems at grassroot level, through its trickledown effect or through backward and forward linkage process. Effects of development through industrialization has been concentrated in the big cities and has benefited only a certain class of people. The urban poor the rural mass has remained outside the purview of growth benefits.

Therefore an alternative development strategy-urbanization through agricultural development appears to be a realistic one and capable of covering the rural mass. Impact of rural change on urban development is also an important topic for investigation. Hence there is a great

need for the academic enquiry in this particular field.

Growth centres need not necessarily be industrial centres. Instead they are to be a combination of agricultural and compatible industrial growth centres. Places with such potentials have to be identified and supported under national and regional planning process (As in the case of Punjab-Ludhiana-experience- Oberai and Singh, 1983). Redistribution of population towards such new growth centres should be the strategy of planning in the years to come. Instead of concentrating population in few big industrial cities (Western model), dispersal of population in a large number of growth poles appears to be a viable solution to the current problem.

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What we want is not a total ban on the rural out-migration but a voluntary response of the migrants to move away from big cities towards smaller urban areas. If enough of employment opportunities are created in the smaller towns through public and private investment,

there is no doubt that the flow will get redirected to smaller urban centres. "Migration literature provides strong empirical support for the importance of economic incentives in the decision to migrate" (World Bank Staff papers No. 215 Sept. 1975).

It is time that we frame a National Urbanisation Policy and the National Migration Policy.

#### VI.2 Research Gap:

We have large number of data based literature on the volume of migration between the states, between the districts of the same state and within the same district. Much of the research, documents the volume, origin, destination and characteristics of rural urban migrants. Many city based studies and slum studies reveal these characteristics of rural migrants. The improvement of data collection by census machinery has made such studies more convenient. 1981 census gives the information on reasons to migrate. Hence census have become a primary source of data for migration studies.



Migration is a human problem hence it involves human sentiments and feelings. It is a process of uprooting thousands of households from one sociocultural environment to another-more so in case of migration towards metropolis. People may receive cultural shocks during their process of resettlement. Even though economic gain is the prime causative factor other aspects of life get affected by such movements. Hence migration studies are to be treated as "inter-disciplinary studies" rather than as a narrow single disciplinary concerns. We do not find such an approach being adopted in the presently available literature.

Less attention has been paid to migration within the rural sector and to the consequences of migration for sending and receiving communities. There is resource drain- both human and material (agricultural surplus) from rural areas. What are the consequence of it is not studied at all from rural view point in detail.

Rural development programmes are in operation since 1974. But its effect on outmigration from rural areas is not yet investigated. There are few studies on the impact of irrigation projects on migration but there is a need for further investigation of this from the point of view

of medium and minor irrigation schemes. In general we do not have empirical studies on the impact of government development policies on population redistribution explaining the correlation between individual migration as well as comprehensive programmes in the rural areas. Impact of land reforms, green revolution etc. on migration is yet to be studied in different parts of India.

Migration has often been studied as an isolated phenomenon rather than as one variable among many interactions in the process of economic development. Migration is an integral part of development hence studies should take up migration in any region as a product of development process in the region.

Rural poor living in the urban slums have attracted much attention of researchers. Immediate motivation for migration, migrant characters, occupational composition etc. have been documented. But it is not known whether they will be willing to go back to their native lands or to towns nearby if fair income and employment is assured to them or will the urban bright lights tempt them to stay back in the slums. Such studies are necessary to help to frame policy measures.

Research on consequences of migration tends to focus

heavily on individual migrants. Whether he is better off or not at the destination with reference to new occupation and income. It is argued that institutional set up in rural India has remained stable because the dynamic, energetic young people outmigrate. But there is no evidence to it. Dasgupta in his UNESCO study on Indian migratory movement poses the question- will the traditional rural leadership ever allow the younger generation to introduce changes in the institutional set up? This question is yet to be varified by research.

*But there are references contrary to this statement earlier in the thesis.*

A significant weakness in the current migration research is brought to light by one of the reports of Inter-National Development Research Centre- which holds good in case of India. "Existing models of determinants of migration generally explore back only to the level of most proximate causes of migration. They do not go back further to determine basic structural changes such as a change in investment pattern, land tennure pattern, foreign and domestic markets and so on. Yet it is the more basic factors which will presumably have to be altered in any policy to direct migration. In this regard not enough attention has been given to the elements of investment,

sectoral change and productivity which are most amenable to government influence..". (Social change and internal migration International Development Research Centre, Ottawa Canada, 1977).

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