

The Changing Pattern of Internal Migration in India

Issues and Challenges

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to understand the emerging migration patterns in India and issues underlying it. With globalisation, urbanisation and accompanying changes in socio-economic conditions, migrants are attracted to urban areas in recent times. The emerging migration pattern depicts confinement of migrants in lower socio-economic class in Urban India in response to the macro economic reforms. The latest NSS data (2007/08) on migration reveals a gloomy and divergent picture of recent migrants who have migrated prior to five year. Inter-state migration among males to urban area shows precedence growth reflecting migration of people from lower socio-economic class. The negative inter relationship between per capita income and interstate migration rate further confirms it. A steady increase of urban migrants in lower economic class indicating migration is dominated by poorer sections. This finding is completely different from the last NSS round where a direct relation between economic status of the individual and inclination to migration has been noticed. The reason for such divergent pattern of migration within a period of 10 years really needs to be investigated. Higher migration of lower social groups takes place to urban area compared to earlier period. All these variations in migration pattern are attributed to rural-urban disparities in socio-economic development and increasing urbanization. Given the current development and growth of urbanization, increasing regional disparities, it is likely that migration to urban area will accentuate more in future due to the changing nature of the economy. Hence, an enquiry into the changing pattern of migration is critical to explore the emerging issues, identify the challenges and main precedence required at policy level for urban development. At policy level the major challenge is to formulate migration policies which must be linked with employment and social services, to enhance the well-being of the migrant living in urban area.

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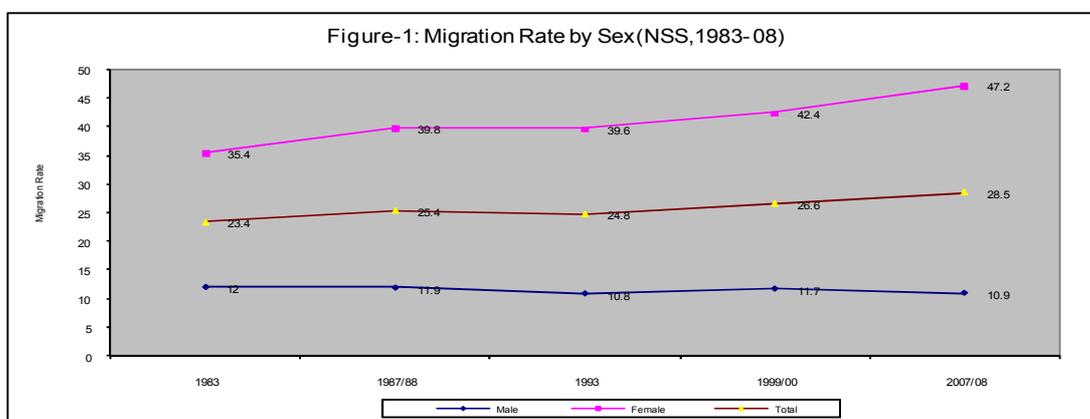
Introduction

Socio-economic changes taking place in India in the epoch of globalization have strong spatial implications. Studies on internal migration have indicated a decline in population mobility up to 1990's (Kundu, 1996, Singh, 1998, Srivastava, 1998, Bhagat, 2009). Conversely, the post reform period confirms an increase in internal population movement. The latest NSS figure (2007/08) shows internal migration in India has increased to 29 percent from 25percent in 1993. Interaction of various factors in the course of development can not only accentuate the pace of mobility but would lead to emergence of new migration patterns. There can be contrasting reasons for this current increase in the migration rate. On the one hand increasing unemployment, poverty, population pressure, environmental degradation, depletion of natural resources etc limits the livelihood options and may force people to migrate. But at the same time urbanization, better employment and educational opportunities, improvement in educational level, changing occupational pattern, development of transport and communication are the new impetus facilitating spatial mobility. Yet there are only limited studies that have focus on the changing pattern of migration especially after the reform period. Hence, it calls for a further critical investigation in to the trends and patterns of migration in recent years in India.

The objective of the paper is to provide a perspective on current trends and patterns of internal migration in India. On the process of analysing the pattern of migration an overview of existing research and debate on migration is also be brought out. The paper highlights the changes in population mobility in post reform era using the data drawn from 1999/00 & 2007/08 NSS rounds. The study also compares the NSSO findings with 2011 census results.

Description of Migration Trends

The migration statistics up to the early 1990s (from Census) shows a near stagnancy. Estimates from NSS also show a marginal decline in population mobility between 1987-88 & 1993 for overall population. This decline is attributed to the process of economic liberalization which implies the greater movement of capital and natural resources and growing immobility of population as stated by some authors (Kundu and Gupta, 1996). Nonetheless, a steady increase in internal migration has been witnessed in the post reform era from 24.8 percent in 1993 to 28.5 percent in 2007/08 (Fig-1)



Like wise, one can also expect an increase in migration on the basis of population figures from 2011 census. As compared to the projected population, the provisional population totals of Census 2011 shows an increase in population by 1.48 percent and it is expected this could be due to increasing migration.

Although overall migration trend is increasing, a significant discrepancy in migration pattern is noticed across gender. There occurs a continuous increase in female migration since 1983 where as a decline in male migration trend except between 1993 & 1999/00 is noticed and it is more pronounced in rural area. From Table-1 it is seen that male migration is declining in rural area from 7.2 percent in 1983 to 5.42 percent with marginal increase in the period 1987 and 1999/00. Like rural the decline in urban male migration is noticed up to early 1990's, however it has marginally gone up between 1999/00 & 2007/08. Hence, there is a need for further investigation as to why the male migration rate remains stagnant while female migration rate has substantially shut up over the period. It has been also noticed that compared to urban, male migration is quite low in rural area where as there is no such significant discrepancy noticed among females. The vast difference in the trend of male migration between rural and urban areas has led to several conflicting arguments.

Table-1: Migration Rates by Sex and Place of Residence, NSS, 1983-08

| NSS rounds | Rural | | Urban | |
|----------------------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 38th (1983) | 7.2 | 35.1 | 27 | 36.6 |
| 43 rd (1987/88) | 7.4 | 39.8 | 26.8 | 39.6 |
| 49 th (1993) | 6.5 | 40.1 | 23.9 | 38.2 |
| 55 th (1999/00) | 6.9 | 42.6 | 25.8 | 41.8 |
| 64 th (2007/08) | 5.42 | 47.3 | 25.9 | 45.62 |

Source: Authors Calculation from various NSS Rounds

One possibility for decline in male migration could be due to employment generated through National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) in village level itself reduce rural to rural flow which in turn influence overall rural male migration. On the other hand studies shows that there occurs fall in rural employment in spite of

implementation of NREGA (Chowdhury, S.2011). Therefore, another reason for deceleration in male migration can be explained in terms of the jobless growth of Indian economy (de Hann, 2011). Further, a question arises why migration scenario is different in two periods of jobless growth that is 1993-00 (growth rate of employment is less than 1percent) and 2000-08 (growth rate of employment is 0.17percent). It is not plausible that jobless growth could be the exclusive reason rather it may partly explain the phenomenon. The other possible explanation could be under estimation of seasonal migration that may influence the overall growth of male migration. Studies shows that (Shylendra and Thomas, 1995, NCRL,1991; Srivastava, 1998, Kundu,2003) there is under reporting of internal migration data due to seasonal and circulatory migrants who are concentrated at the lower ends of the labour market spectrum and such type of mobility steadily increases over years(NCRL,1991, Deshingkar and Farrington 2009). Given these possibilities, it is difficult to answer the exact possible reason for declining male mobility in present scenario. Unlike male migration a continuous increase in

female migration observed irrespective of place of residence. Although preponderance of female in migration process is largely attributed to marriage, the emerging studies by (Shanti, 1991, Sundari, 2005; Araya et.al.2006) show that the pattern of female migration changing from marriage to other reasons especially economic ones.

Therefore, to explore the reasons for current trends in migration, it is crucial to have a look at the other dimensions of migration followed by distance wise migration.

Migration by Distance (Type)

Overwhelming evidence shows that there is dominance of short distance migration. However, it appears this trend is also slowly changing in the country at least among urban migrants. Table-2 shows that for 2007/08 in urban area male migration is higher in inter-district (39.31 percent) followed by inter-state (31.9 percent). Likewise, for female inter-district (42.51 percent) followed by intra-district migration (38.32 percent) dominate the migration flow. The table brings a number of changes in the patterns of migration over period. A decrease in intra-state mobility accompanied by an increase in inter-district and inter-state move irrespective of sex is observed. And the increase is found to be high in inter-state male migration in urban areas from 23.57 percent in 1999/00 to 31.9 percent in 2007/08.

Table-2: Percentage distribution of migrants in different distance categories, NSS, 1999/00 & 2007/08 (Duration<5yr)

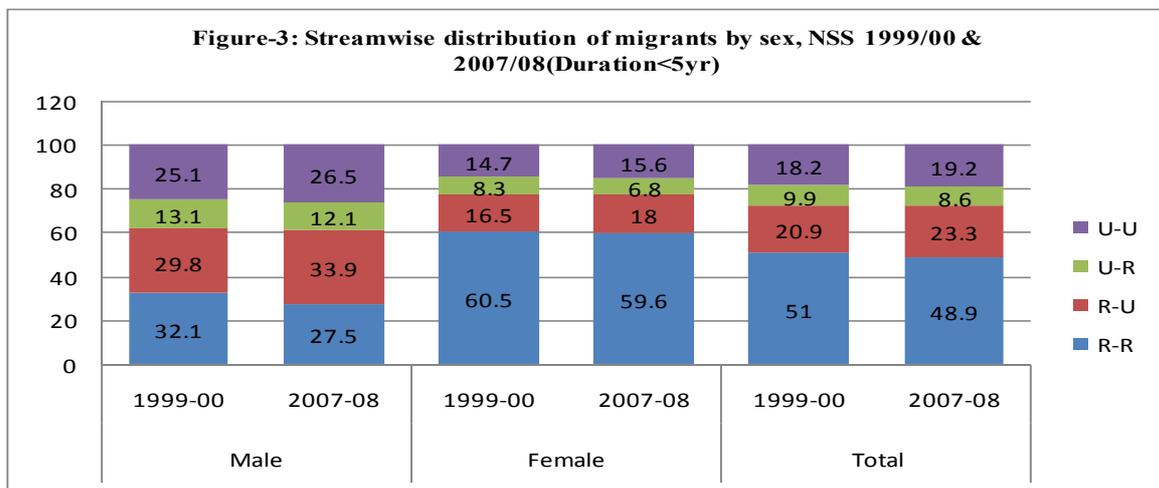
| Types of migration | Total | | Rural | | Urban | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 2007/08 | | | | | | |
| Intra-district | 37.59 | 59.05 | 52.5 | 69.57 | 27.71 | 38.32 |
| Inter-district | 34.71 | 30.33 | 27.77 | 24.15 | 39.31 | 42.51 |
| Inter-state | 26.27 | 10.33 | 17.77 | 6.07 | 31.9 | 18.72 |
| International | 1.43 | 0.29 | 1.95 | 0.21 | 1.08 | 0.45 |
| 1999/00 | | | | | | |
| Intra-district | 47.78 | 63.09 | 59.84 | 71.98 | 37.77 | 43.47 |
| Inter- district | 30.94 | 26.64 | 23.06 | 21.18 | 37.47 | 38.67 |
| Inter-state | 19.72 | 9.94 | 15.08 | 6.53 | 23.57 | 17.46 |
| International | 1.56 | 0.34 | 2.01 | 0.31 | 1.19 | 0.4 |

Source: Author's Calculation from various NSS rounds

The relative increase in inter-state migration is an indication that migration trend is moving towards economic reasons (Singh, 2009). Motivated by better employment opportunities as well as to pursue higher education people migrate to urban centres of developed states. At the same time a growing volume of micro studies shows abide by poverty, inequality and environmental vulnerabilities people from lower socio-economic strata of under developed states migrated to developed states in pursuit of getting employment. It is preliminary, however to say about the causes (push/pull) of increasing volume of interstate mobility rather a more detailed analysis is required to understand the type of people involved in interstate migration.

The other way of examining the trends in migration is stream wise as it throws some light on the changing aspects of these types of migration.

The data presented in Fig-3 shows that around half of the migration flow is rural to rural in 2007/08. Around 1/4th of migrants constitute rural to urban followed by urban-urban and urban to rural. However, there occurs a wide gender difference in migration flow. For female rural to rural flow constitute the dominating category where as for male it is rural to urban. It is seen that for female rural to rural constitute 60 percent of migration flow which is less than 30 percent for male. On the contrary 34 percent of male migrated from rural to urban which is less than 20 percent for female. A comparison of data over the period shows that though rural to rural flow overwhelming the other streams of migration, the proportion has decline for both sexes. Perhaps creation of employment in villages through NREGA reduces rural to rural flow by mitigating distress/seasonal migration. The emerging migration patterns indicate that rural to urban flow shows an upward trend for both sexes, though the increase is insignificant for female. Urban to urban flow also shows a marginal increase between two periods.



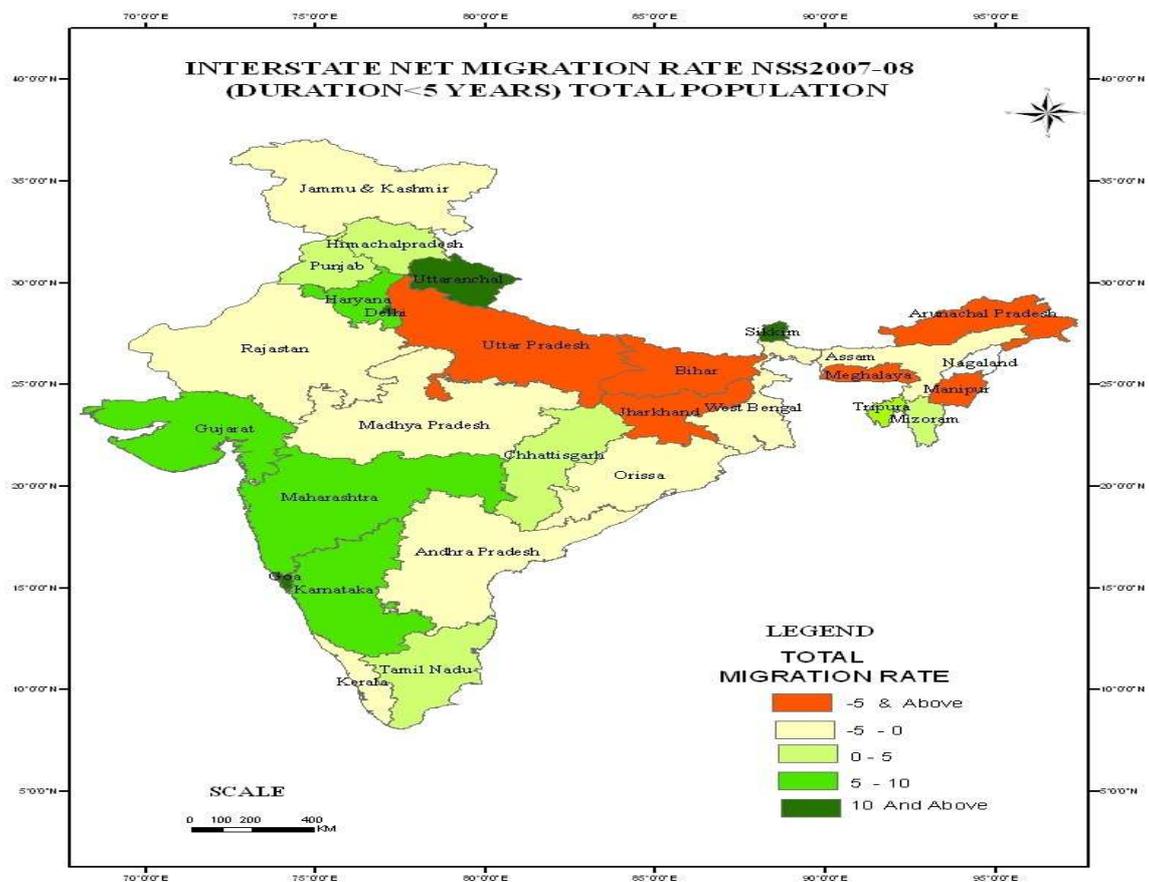
It is expected that with generation of employment opportunities in urban areas, migration from rural areas continuously increases. The latest NSS estimates shows that more than half (56percent) migration in the rural to urban flow is due to employment and there occurs an increase in salaried/wage earning class over the period from 28 percent in 1999/00 to 32 percent in 2007/08 which is declining in other types of employment. In this regard studies by (Shylendra, et.al.1995; Hann, 1997, Srivastava and Bhattacharya,2003) shows that the increasing rural to urban migration in recent years is largely endorsed to economic reasons as they mostly motivated by availability of urban employment in the expanding informal sector. Some development analysts hold that the structural reform adopted in the country since the early 1990s – the basic factor in India’s rapid acceleration of economic growth to over 8 per cent per annum in real terms for over half a decade – has opened up job opportunities in several globally linked sectors located in and around the cities, boosting rural–urban migration (Kundu, 2011)

Like India, the other South Asian and South East Asian countries experiencing rural to urban migration in response to alternation in the structure of economy that creates regular and remunerative wage work in urban areas leads high degree of spatial mobility (Gazdar, 2003, ADB,

2001, Acharya, 2003, Ping, 2003, Afsar, 2003, Thanh et.al.2005). On the contrary studies by (Kundu,1997; Mitra,et.al 2008) argues adverse impact of economic reform, slow growth in agriculture, poverty, unemployment etc increases rural to urban migration. Along with poverty and unemployment other factors like environmental degradation, and low impact of anti-poverty programme in providing employment results in labour migration to urban areas (NCRL, 1991). Besides economic factor, non-economic factors like education, changes in administrative boundaries (Singh, et.al.1998 James, 2000; Singh, 2009) also influence rural to urban migration. Overall it can be said that neither only push or only pull factors are influencing migration flow rather both group of factors influence migration simultaneously.

Inter-State Net Migration

It has already been noticed from Table-2 that the interstate male migration specifically in urban areas have increased. Given the spatial heterogeneity in the level of development, one can expect the interstate migration vary significantly between different states. Studies show that interstate mobility is generally low in the states with high level of poverty, illiteracy etc.(Kadi,et.al.1988) However, in recent years there is an increasing outflow of people from backward states reflecting migration of unskilled and low educated people.



The volume of interstate net migration is presented in Map-1. It is found that net migration rate is positive in developed states like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka, Haryana and Punjab indicating inflow of people to these states. This can be explained in terms of industrialization, availability of employment and social development of the states. On the contrary due to large concentration of population, inequality and poverty etc. states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan and north-eastern states supplies large number of migrants to economically developed state like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab and Delhi. However, Table-4 shows that over the period a significant change in net migration rate in some of the major states of the country is observed. Firstly, among in migrating states Karnataka followed by Gujarat is drawing large number of migrants. It has been expected that due to growth of IT sector, and opening up of informal sector, a large number of people both male and female migrating to these states. Secondly, in-migration to Punjab, Haryana, Maharastra etc though positive but shows declining trend. Thirdly, volume of out migration increases substantially in the states having low level of development. These findings go in line with the observation drawn from various micro level studies pertaining to interstate migration. The village studies carried out by (Rao,2001, Deshingkar,et.al. 2003, Karan,2003, Dayal and Karan 2003, Action Aid,2005) shows high level of out migration from poor and drought prone areas of backward states like Andhra, Orissa, Bihar, Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh to developed states due to opportunities in informal economy.

Table-4: Interstate net migration rate (Duration<5yr), NSS 1999/00 & 2007/08

| State | 2007/08 | | | 1999/00 | | |
|---------------|---------|-------|--------|---------|--------|--------|
| | M | F | T | M | F | T |
| Andhra | -2.31 | -1.59 | -1.95 | 0.91 | -0.03 | 0.45 |
| Assam | -2.28 | -2.44 | -2.36 | -1.52 | -1.13 | -1.34 |
| Bihar | -23.25 | -12.3 | -17.99 | -13.77 | -10.64 | -12.27 |
| Chhattisgarh | 2.43 | 4.59 | 3.48 | | | |
| Delhi | 93.38 | 44.57 | 71.51 | -18.74 | -26.81 | -22.42 |
| Gujarat | 13.77 | 5.19 | 9.72 | 2.88 | 3.47 | 3.17 |
| Haryana | 5.08 | 7.73 | 6.32 | 18.94 | 25.07 | 21.81 |
| Jharkhand | -9.63 | -5.98 | -7.86 | | | |
| Karnataka | 12.84 | 5.73 | 9.33 | -2.98 | -1.42 | -2.21 |
| Kerala | -2.44 | 1.1 | -0.58 | 0.69 | -0.46 | 0.09 |
| MP | -0.87 | -1.65 | -1.24 | 2.41 | 2.89 | 2.64 |
| Maharashtra | 13.51 | 6.1 | 9.94 | 12.56 | 10.44 | 11.54 |
| Orissa | -6.71 | -1.87 | -4.27 | 0.3 | -0.93 | -0.31 |
| Punjab | 7.92 | 1.29 | 4.8 | 13.96 | 3.31 | 8.92 |
| Rajasthan | -2.46 | -0.16 | -1.34 | -3.4 | -0.35 | -1.93 |
| Tamil Nadu | 1.55 | 0 | 0.76 | 0.47 | 0.77 | 0.62 |
| Uttar Pradesh | -11.59 | -5.52 | -8.66 | -2.69 | -2.18 | -2.45 |
| Uttaranchal | 33.75 | 18.67 | 26.41 | | | |
| West Bengal | -2.55 | 1.6 | -0.53 | 1.4 | 3.45 | 2.4 |

Source: Author's Calculation from various NSS rounds

On the contrary studies by (Oberai and Singh 1983; Skeldon, 2002; Bhagat, 2009) states with the increasing level of development of the state the migration rate both (In and Out) increase.

However, the correlation between Per Capita Income (2005/06) and interstate out migration from (2007/08) shows a negative and significant relation (-0.302) implies with increase in PCI, the interstate mobility declines. Hence, it is expected that the increasing interstate mobility is accompanied by unskilled and poor people. And inter-state mobility is linked with overall socio-economic development of the state.

Who are the Migrants? Economic characteristics

Since, migration is largely takes place from poor states it is necessary to look at the characteristics of migrants over the period. Although spatial characteristics of migration throw some light on the motivations for migration, it is difficult to say whether migration is distress led or development induced. Hence, to understand the nexus between poverty and migration it is important to analyse the economic characteristics of migrants in terms of poverty and the type of employment they involved.

Poverty and Migration Relation

Table-5 presents the data on migration by different economic class. It is seen from the table that migration rate is higher for higher income group followed by lowest economic class. The data presented for 2007/08 shows that migration rate for male is higher in Q5 class (5.75 percent) followed by Q1 class (4.88 percent). Like wise, female migration rate is 10.4 percent for Q5 class followed by Q4 (8.58percent) and Q1 (8.53percent) class.

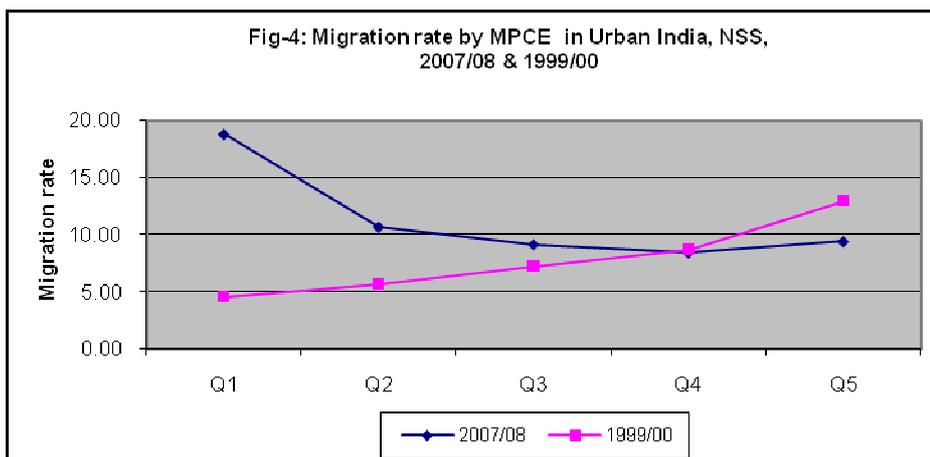
Over the period of time, migration trend is increasing for poorest where as it declines for other economic class. For instance, in 1999/00, migration rate is found to be 1.81percent for male in Q1 economic class which increased to 4.88 percent in 2007/08. On the other hand it declines from 9.8percent in 1999/00 to 5.75percent in 2007/08. The same pattern observed for female also. The increasing trend of migration in lowest economic quintile indicates in recent time poor are contributing more to migration.

Table-6: Economic characteristics of migrants by MPCE class, NSS, 1999/00 & 2007/08

| MPCE | Total | | Rural | | Urban | |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 2007/08 | | | | | | |
| Q1 | 4.88 | 8.53 | 2.79 | 7.97 | 22.47 | 14.27 |
| Q2 | 2.72 | 6.93 | 1.52 | 6.24 | 10.12 | 11.23 |
| Q3 | 2.87 | 7.34 | 1.60 | 6.55 | 7.88 | 10.45 |
| Q4 | 3.98 | 8.58 | 2.45 | 7.99 | 7.09 | 9.81 |
| Q5 | 5.75 | 10.39 | 2.98 | 9.87 | 8.03 | 10.80 |
| 1999/00 | | | | | | |
| Q1 | 1.81 | 5.98 | 1.66 | 6.00 | 3.30 | 5.81 |
| Q2 | 2.03 | 7.32 | 1.74 | 7.29 | 3.94 | 7.51 |
| Q3 | 2.68 | 8.19 | 2.02 | 8.01 | 5.53 | 8.96 |
| Q4 | 4.08 | 9.49 | 2.83 | 9.04 | 6.98 | 10.52 |
| Q5 | 9.80 | 12.31 | 6.19 | 11.18 | 12.62 | 13.24 |

Source: Author's Calculation from various NSS rounds

This is in contrast with the arguments by studies (De Hann, 1997; Deshingar, 2003; Skeledon, 2002; Bhagat, 2010; Singh, 2009) that migration is largely takes place from better off groups and unprivileged people are less likely to migrate. The rural-urban difference in migration rate shows that compared to rural area migration rate is higher in urban area and the difference is prominent in lowest economic class. The male migration rate in urban area is higher in poorest quintile (22.47 percent) followed by poorer class (Q2) that is 10.12percent and so on. This indicates a wide difference in migration rate between first two economic classes in urban area where as in rural area the difference is less. Like male migration, in the case of female also same pattern is observed. The linkage between migration and poverty is completely different for two periods especially in urban India. To show the urban peculiarities in migration over the period we have presented the data for total urban migration rate diagrammatically in Figure-4. In 1999/00 the migration pattern follows a straight line with upward trend indicating with increasing economic status migration rate also increases. On the other hand in 2007/08 it slopes downward with slow increment at highest end as shown in the figure-3. This shows there occurs a wide difference in migration rate between two periods and poorest are more likely to migrate in recent years.



The gender difference in migration pattern indicates dominance of poorest is higher in the case of male in urban area where as in all other category irrespective of place of residence migration is higher for female. The data shows that in urban area 22.5percent male are in Q1 class which is 14.5percent for female. This shows poverty becomes a major determinant for migration in recent years and it is higher for male.

It is clear that trend in migration is changing in the period of rapid economic growth. The major change is noticed from rich to poor and the poorest are resorting to migration as a strategy for survival. It is against the expectation that poorest will not resorting to migration as it involves certain amount of investment in terms of transport and urban settlement. However, even with all these handicaps increasing trend of migration of poorest is perhaps an increasing vulnerability of poorest during the period of rapid economic growth.

In this context it is important to understand the type of employment the migrants involve in the place of destination as well as the occupational status before their migration.

Employment Pattern of Migrants

Table-7 gives the distribution of migrants by their activity status before and after migration. The table shows, there is a shift in the occupational pattern after migration, accompanied by a rise in the proportion gainfully employed.

There is an increase in proportion of migrant in salaried and wage earning class followed by self-employed irrespective of sex after migration. Among the employed women before migration the incidence of casual labour seemed to be high accounting for 48.5 percent of female employment. While 38.5 percent of women were self-employed, the corresponding proportion for regular/salaried category was 13 percent. But after migration there is a significant increase in both salaried jobs and self-employment is noticed. Around 4 percent increase is found in self-employed and 7 percent in salaried/wage earning class. Casual wage employment had fallen substantially accompanied by increase in other categories of employment. A study by (Sundari, 2005) Tamil female migrant worker found that poorer women who are mostly illiterate and unskilled were easily absorbed as cultivators/labourers in agriculture in their place of origin. Lack of skill is a major handicap for these women in urban area who cannot seek casual wage employment leads to decline in the share of casual labour and forced to go in for self-employment. The same pattern also observed for male migrant.

Table-7: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Occupation Before and After Migration (Dur <5yr, 15-59 age)

| Activity Status | Male | | Female | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| | BM | AM | BM | AM |
| Total | | | | |
| Self employed | 28.86 | 26.01 | 38.67 | 41.96 |
| Salaried/wage earner | 40.06 | 54.41 | 12.8 | 19.17 |
| Casual Laborer | 31.07 | 19.59 | 48.53 | 38.88 |
| Rural | | | | |
| Self employed | 26.88 | 33.33 | 40.24 | 47.04 |
| Salaried/wage earner | 32.81 | 35.23 | 6.85 | 9.01 |
| Casual Laborer | 40.31 | 31.43 | 52.91 | 43.95 |
| Urban | | | | |
| Self employed | 30.09 | 22.26 | 31.88 | 21.85 |
| Salaried/wage earner | 44.55 | 64.22 | 38.44 | 59.34 |
| Casual Laborer | 25.37 | 13.52 | 29.68 | 18.81 |

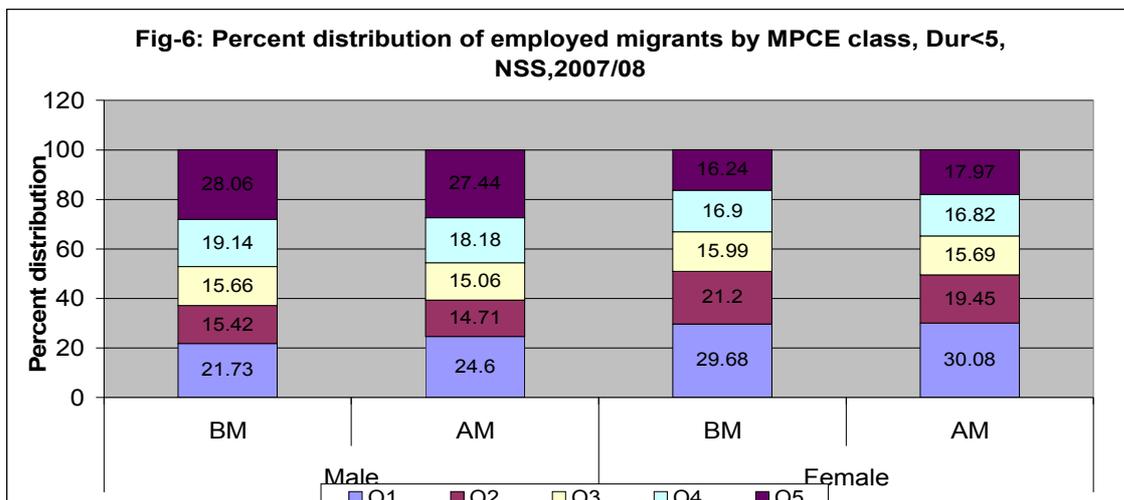
Source: Author's Calculation from NSS 64th round(2007/08)

In the case of male around 14 percent increase is noticed in salaried class with decline in employment in other categories. The rural-urban difference in employment shows a different picture. The rural-urban distribution of worker shows that in rural area, there is substantial increase in self employed category followed by salaried worker. On the other hand in urban area, the proportion of self-employed worker decline irrespective of sex. Increasing proportion of self-employed female is observed in rural area from 40.2 percent to 47.04 percent while salaried female migrant worker increases substantially in urban area from 38 percent to 59 percent. This pattern also holds true in the case of male migrant.

Form the table it is observed that the proportion of casual labour declines after migration irrespective of sex and place residence, giving rise to other categories of employment. The occupational pattern

of migrant in urban area shows there is a substantial increase in regular/salaried jobs. Generation of higher income in service sector compared to other employment category may attract more migrants to such employment. However, the increasing proportion of migrants in salaried class does not imply their better off economic condition. Since so many type of occupation clubbed in the salaried/ wage earning class, it is difficult to argue whether the increase in migration to such occupation is in response to poverty or for better employment.

Conversely, distribution of migrants by migration status and MPCE (from 2007/08) indicates larger proportion of migrants are higher in poorest economic class especially among female. Of total female employed migrants 30 percent are in Q1 class followed by Q2(19.45 percent) and so on. Unlike this the proportion of male migrant is higher in Q5 class(27.4 percent) followed by Q1 (24.6 percent). Distribution of migrants before and after migration shows that, there is increase in employed migrants especially among male from poorer class. In fact, the male migrant in Q1 class increases by 3 percent. However, in other economic class it remains stagnant or shows marginal decline. For female, both Q1 and Q5 class show slight increase and other group remain constant.



Hence, it can be said that perhaps due to higher mobility from lower economic class salaried class shows an increasing trend after migration. This gives the impression that migration is largely confined to lower strata of the society. An in depth analysis of the nature of works held by women in regular/salaried will give a gloomy picture since most of the female migrant from lower economic class employed in this sector.

It is not clear that how within each category; the pattern of employment varies after migration. For instance, in case of rural-urban migration, prior to migration most of the self employed persons engaged in primary activities but after migration most of them shift to other sector because the very nature of urban area restricts such activities (Banerjee,2009). Hence, a detailed classification of industrial classification of migrant worker by their occupational pattern gives a better insight regarding the motivation for migration.

Industrial Classification of Migrant Worker (NIC, 2004)

The Occupational classification of migrants on the basis of National Industrial Classification code - 2004 is shown in the Table-8. The NSS estimates for 2007/08 reveals that agriculture constitute a major share of employed female relative to other occupational categories both prior to and after migration followed by manufacturing, education, trade and commerce etc. Unlike this, the proportion of male migrant is higher in manufacturing (25.99 percent) followed by Trade & Commerce (24.5 percent) and agriculture (12 percent) where as the proportion is higher in agriculture before migration (28.4 percent).

However, there exists rural-urban differentiation in the pattern of employment. In rural area the proportion of migrant is higher in agriculture especially among female indicating feminisation of agriculture. Economic necessity of the household, lack of education and skill pushes female to engage in agriculture activities. On the contrary, in urban area concentration of female is higher in service sector (PA+ Education + Health) followed by manufacturing. Manufacturing sector consists of agro industries that include textile, garments, leather and leather products, beverages and food products, tobacco, paper products etc. and therefore employ most of women workers. Besides trade and commerce constitute a significant share of female employment. While in the case of male migration both manufacturing and trade and commerce constitute equal and highest share that is 28 percent respectively.

The industrial classification of migrant workers prior to and after migration states that there is decline in migrant workers in agriculture sector. Compared to male the concentration of female in agriculture is higher both before and after migration. In rural area the proportion of agriculture female migrant is 82 percent before migration which declined to 77 percent after migration. In urban area there is sudden decline in female migrant worker from 35.3 percent to 6 percent in agriculture. It show female left agricultural work in rural area and migrates to urban area and joins manufacturing and other service sector largely. The decline in female migration in agriculture is accompanied by increase in the share in manufacture and trade and workers in private household as domestic worker. The same pattern is observed in the case of male. Unlike agriculture, in other types of occupation there is increase in proportion of migrant worker. Migrants as manufacturing workers, trade and commerce workers and in education show a significant increase after migration in the case of female. Female migrant as workers in private households have been increasing significantly after migration especially in urban area from 1.3 percent to 8 percent. With progressive socio-economic changes, female having some level of education engaged in other economic activities outside the home. Hence, to care for children and aged, most of the women hire domestic servants to reduce the double burden of work. Hence, the demand for domestic servants increases in recent years a lot as it become a necessity in almost every person's life. Most of the unmarried female from nearby villages belongs to low caste and low income group migrated to cities to work as domestic servants. Social network also act as a facilitating factor in this context.

Table-8: Industrial Classification of Migrant workers (USPS), (Duration<5yr) for 15-59 age, NSS, 2007/08

| Activity Status of migrant before and after migration | Total | | | | Rural | | | | Urban | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------|------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| | Male | | Female | | Male | | Female | | Male | | Female | |
| | BM | AM | BM | AM | BM | AM | BM | AM | BM | AM | BM | AM |
| Agriculture & Allied | 28.39 | 11.95 | 73.3 | 62.77 | 31.82 | 30.37 | 82.14 | 77.1 | 26.27 | 2.53 | 35.3 | 6.08 |
| Manufacturing | 14.66 | 25.99 | 9.54 | 12.15 | 15.89 | 21.04 | 7.42 | 8.58 | 13.91 | 28.53 | 18.69 | 26.28 |
| Construction | 11.35 | 10.29 | 3.09 | 4.01 | 14.39 | 10.59 | 2.45 | 3.06 | 9.47 | 10.13 | 5.87 | 7.75 |
| Transport & Communication | 7.51 | 9.45 | 0.43 | 0.43 | 6.47 | 6.65 | 0.2 | 0.13 | 8.15 | 10.89 | 1.38 | 1.62 |
| Trade and commerce | 20.34 | 24.5 | 3.77 | 6.61 | 18.52 | 16.32 | 1.73 | 2.95 | 21.47 | 28.69 | 12.57 | 21.08 |
| Public Administration | 8.34 | 6.59 | 1.2 | 1.31 | 4.03 | 3.35 | 0.62 | 0.76 | 11 | 8.25 | 3.66 | 3.50 |
| Education | 4.45 | 5 | 4.57 | 6.83 | 4.81 | 6.7 | 2.88 | 4.67 | 4.24 | 4.13 | 11.83 | 15.37 |
| Health | 1.43 | 1.74 | 2.22 | 2.26 | 1.25 | 1.42 | 1.25 | 1.08 | 1.54 | 1.90 | 6.4 | 6.91 |
| Workers in Pvt. Household | 0.44 | 1.04 | 0.44 | 2.24 | 0.31 | 0.39 | 0.25 | 0.8 | 0.53 | 1.37 | 1.29 | 7.91 |
| others | 3.08 | 3.44 | 1.44 | 1.39 | 2.51 | 3.17 | 1.08 | 0.86 | 3.43 | 3.58 | 3.02 | 3.48 |
| Total | 8,044 | 10,034 | 3,675 | 4,646 | 3,798 | 4392 | 2,725 | 3418 | 4,246 | 5,642 | 950 | 1,228 |

Source: Author's Calculation from NSS 64th round (2007/08)

If one should analyse the industrial classification of worker through gender lens, one found significant gender difference in the employment pattern of migrant. Gender disparity in employment pattern of migrants shows predominance of female in agriculture while concentration of male other sector. In trade and commerce followed by transport and communication concentration of male migrant is high. Unlike other sectors, in manufacturing sector proportion is equal across gender. Following inferences drawn from the foregoing analysis:

1. The declining labour force participation of migrants in agriculture and other allied activities is an indication of economic growth. With economic growth, one would expect there is shift in employment from agriculture to other sector.
2. Non-farm employment is heavily biased towards male workers. In the face of shrinking livelihood and absence of skill there is preponderance of women in agriculture. As a result, the agricultural workforce and wage work is increasingly getting feminised. Overcrowding of women in agriculture, should be considered as a negative sign, an illustration of women's disadvantages position in the economy and an indication of increased disparity and poverty (World Bank, 1991).
3. There exist rural-urban differences in employment pattern of migrant. In rural area agriculture sector become the major source of employment where as in urban area it is industrial and service sector. The increasing labour force participation of migrants in non-agricultural activities indicates that migrant workers preferred to join to such activities for higher remuneration. Besides, one may also state that there is flow of skilled labour to trade and commerce, manufacturing sector.

4. A proportionately higher percentage of women found in private household as employed persons in the post migration stage. Women in such category largely worked as domestic worker². The sheer economic necessities force them to enter to such kind of activities. A number of studies on domestic worker point out that increasing poverty and unemployment in rural area led them to migrate to urban area and join in any kind of activities (Behera, 1991; Banarjee, 1985; kalpagam, 1994, Ghosh, 1996; Bhatt, 2001). A study made by Neetha (2004) states migration for domestic service is largely female driven phenomenon where women play a primary role in migration and survival of the family. The increasing labour force participation of female after migration indicates females are no longer passive movers rather they economic responsibility of family or may be the sense of independence motivate them to find for a job. At this stage it is important to understand the specific reasons for migration and its change over the period to understand the changing migration pattern. Data presented in table-9 shows that though various factors facilitate migration, employment among males (43.02percent) and marriage among females (64.6percent) constitute the significant reason.

Table- 9: Reasons for Migration by Sex, Place of Residence (Duration <5 yr), 2007/08 & 1999/00, India

| Reason | Total | | Rural | | Urban | |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 2007/08 | | | | | | |
| Employment | 43.02 | 2.78 | 29.67 | 1.78 | 51.81 | 4.76 |
| Education | 17.34 | 4.42 | 23.12 | 2.78 | 13.54 | 7.67 |
| Marriage | 1.79 | 64.58 | 3.59 | 78.14 | 0.6 | 37.82 |
| Family | 22.07 | 21.03 | 20.03 | 10.32 | 23.42 | 42.17 |
| Others | 15.78 | 7.19 | 23.6 | 6.99 | 10.63 | 7.58 |
| 1999/00 | | | | | | |
| Employment | 39.19 | 2.91 | 30.92 | 2.06 | 46.05 | 4.78 |
| Education | 11.83 | 2.19 | 11.42 | 1.49 | 12.16 | 3.73 |
| Marriage | 2.75 | 64.62 | 4.8 | 76.53 | 1.04 | 38.4 |
| Family | 25.33 | 21.91 | 25.76 | 12.71 | 24.97 | 42.15 |
| Others | 20.91 | 8.38 | 27.09 | 7.21 | 15.78 | 10.94 |

Source: Author's Calculation from various NSS rounds

However comparison of data over the period shows a significant discrepancy in the reasons for migration. Of all reasons an increasing percentage of migrants for education are observed irrespective of sex. Percentage of male migrant for education increases from 11.8percent in 1999/00 to 17.34percent and in the case of female it increases from 2.2percent to 4.4percent.

The rural-urban difference in migration shows that among male employment becomes the major reason for migration irrespective of place of residence. In the case of female marriage (78.14percent) become the major reason for migration in rural area where as in urban area it is family moved (42.17percent). Over the period there occurs a change in reason for migration by rural-urban status. Percentage of male reporting economic reasons for migration increases in urban area where as in

² Domestic worker are those whose work includes sweeping, washing, mopping, cooking, taking care of children etc.

rural area it increases for education. Increasing proportion of male migrants for employment reason in urban areas indicating migration is increasingly used as a survival strategy. In the case of female, employment is declining in rural area from 2.06 percent in 1999/00 to 1.78 percent in 2007/08 and almost remains same in urban area. On the other hand migration for education shows a steady increase. Increasing mobility especially among females for education is a welcoming step, as it reflects social development and also an indication of supply of future skilled worker. Declining female mobility in rural areas for employment in the course of development becomes a major issue which needs further investigation. One possibility may be increasing mobility of female towards higher education. Another reason may be the failure of the economy to create additional job opportunities reduces female migration for employment reason.

Summary of Findings and Policy Suggestions

The present paper depicts the current trends, patterns and characteristics of migrants. A number of key issues emerged from the study.

The latest information on migration reveals a gloomy picture of recent migrants with a decline in male migration, increasing interstate mobility among male in urban area, steady increase of urban migrants in lower economic class and decline in labour force participation especially among females. Male migration especially in rural area shows a declining trend. Perhaps the stagnant employment growth may discourage labour mobility and also influence the LFPR. The decline in male migration also expected to be the outcome of successful implementation of NREGA or may be due to increasing seasonal migration which is not fully captured in the data. It is expected that short term employment opportunities created under NREGA in rural area reduces seasonal and distress related migration but it has not able to reduce rural to urban flow. This is evident from the steady increase in migration rate in low economic quintile in urban areas. In this situation more attention is needed to create long term and non-farm employment generating opportunities in rural areas to curb rural to urban mobility among poor. The growing regional inequalities and ecological forces bring significant increase in interstate migration among male. However, data limitations partly explain labour migration in relation to environmental forces.

The evaluation of existing studies also shows that seasonal migration increased over the time which is not fully captured in survey data. Furthermore, the challenge is how we will incorporate in our studies a much more comprehensive migration scenario that may include these types of movements. On the research side, there is an urgent need for more disaggregated data on occupations that capture part-time and seasonal activities. Census and National Sample Surveys need to be supplemented with additional module (Deshingkar, 2009). The unprecedented increase in poorest class in urban areas could also be expected to be accompanied by increase in seasonal migration. For livelihood and survival, in the lean season the agricultural workers may make temporary shifts. One would then stipulate a positive association of seasonal migrants with poverty. In this regard, the urban planners and policy makers' needs to devised policies and programmes for such economic deprived section.

India is likely to experience rapid urban growth and concentration of people in urban areas will be rapidly increasing. It is expected that urban population will increase to about 40 % of total population by 2021(Ministry of Urban Unemployment and Poverty Alleviation and Ministry of urban Development, Government of India, 2005). The share of migration to urban area increases from 33 % in 1999/00 to 35 % in 2007/08. Given the current development and growth of urbanization it is likely that migration to urban areas will accentuate more in future. The low rate of growth and uncertainty in income in agricultural sector, reduction in livelihood opportunities in rural area due to structural adjustment programmes has led to out-migration from under developed regions. As a result of this most of the migrants become absorbed within urban informal economy. Hence, the challenge for policy makers is to formulate migration policies linked with employment and well-being of the migrant living in urban area. The policies should be explicitly implemented addressing the problem of urban poor migrants who are largely accommodating in urban informal sectors. It has been argued (Deshingkar,2009) that although India has one of the most comprehensive systems of pro-poor programs in the developing world, the millions of poor migrant labourers cannot access these for the entire time that they are away due to proof-of-residence requirements. Thus, the Public Distribution System-supplied food grains are inaccessible to them, as are government schools, hospitals, and other pro-poor schemes. There is an urgent need for these to be made more flexible and different states need to reach agreement on how this should be done. Even though a number of laws exist to protect the rights of migrant workers, especially in India these are widely disregarded by employers and intermediaries because of a lack of political will to implement them and ignorance among illiterate migrants of their rights as workers. There is a need for widespread awareness creation among the general public, policymakers, and migrants themselves.

Another major area of concern is to focus on female migration because the pattern of female migration changes from marriage to employment and education reasons. Substantial gap remains in research and policy arenas related to migration and gender, hence, more research is also needed to understand migration in a gender lens. Internal migration in India has been considerably increased, still a great deal remains to be done subject to its dynamism.

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