CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS
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The present study is an attempt to examine the causes and consequences of migration to slums of Chittoor town. The study was carried out in the slum areas of Chittoor town. The sampling unit for the study was the household which migrated into the slums of Chittoor town during the last seven years from the date of survey. All such households in the slums of Chittoor town were listed. There were 595 migrant households in all out of which 400 were selected at random for the present study following simple random sampling technique, due to constraints of finance and time. The respondent was the male prime bread winner who was also the head of the migrant household. Thus, a total of 400 male slum migrants were interviewed for the present study.

LIVING CONDITIONS OF MIGRANTS AT DESTINATION

HOUSING:

Majority (55.3%) of the migrant respondents were residing in huts. Nearly one-third of the migrant respondents were living in semi-pucca houses while those staying in pucca dwellings constituted over one-tenth of the total migrant respondents. Among the migrant respondents of different religious and caste affiliations, 8 per cent more of SCs and STs were residing in huts compared to their counterpart Non-SCs & STs, Christians and Muslims. Over two-thirds of the migrant respondents were residents of rented houses. Thus, majority of the migrant respondents
were hut dwellers irrespective of their caste and religious affiliation reflecting their poor housing condition.

**LIVING ROOMS AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE:**

Over two-fifths (43.0%) of the migrant respondents were residents of Kitchen-cum-living room houses with poor ventilation. Another 5.5 per cent of them were residents of single living room houses. The average household size per room was 4.5 for dwellings having Kitchen-cum-living room alone, 5.4 for single room houses, 2.4 for double room houses and 1.6 for three room houses. This indicates that concentration of population in Kitchen-cum-living room / single room houses was 2 to 2 1/2 times more than that in the double room dwellings and over 3 times more in relation to three room houses. This reflects greater overcrowdedness in Kitchen-cum-living room and single room dwellings.

**LIVING SPACE:**

One-fourth of the migrant respondents living in the residential units with a total plinth area over 26 S.q feet were more comfortable having an average living space of 6 to 7.2 S.q feet per person when compared to two-fifths of their counterparts living in households having a very congested living space of 2.2 S.q feet per person as the plinth area of their households was below 16 S.q feet. The per capita living space for three-fifths of the migrant respondents was below 3.5 S.q feet. This indicates that majority of the slum migrants were living under pathetic conditions having meagre living space.
AMENITIES:

Nearly three-fourths of the dwellings of the migrant respondents were having electricity. The remaining one-fourth of the migrant respondents were managing with Kerosene lanterns. Over two-fifths (44.3%) of the residences of migrant hut dwellers were not electrified reflecting their poor economic condition. Ventilation was poor in the residences of 55.2 per cent of the migrant respondents while over one-third of the dwellings of migrant respondents were having moderate ventilation. Only 8 per cent of them were residing in houses having good ventilation. Almost all the hut dwellers were residing in poorly ventilated houses suffocating inhaling smoke and dust emanating from the earthen oven frequently making use of fire wood and the dung cakes for cooking purpose having no provision for proper ventilation.

For drinking water, over one-half (53.7%) of the migrant respondents were depending upon public tap. Bore well was the source of drinking water for 45.3 per cent of the migrant respondents while only one per cent of them were having own tap in their houses.

Open areas were the places of attending to defecation for four-fifths of the migrant respondents. Nearly two-fifths (18.8%) of them were having toilets in their houses while very few (1.2%) of the migrant respondents were making use of public latrines for this purpose. Less use of the existing one or two public toilets was due to their poor maintenance and their improper location. Hence, open air defecation was favoured by majority of the migrant respondents which is detrimental to the health status of the people.
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE MIGRANTS:

The largest of the migrant respondents comprising one-fifth of the total were daily wage labourers engaged in building construction (13.0%) and industrial work (7.0%). The second largest (15.2%) of them were Hamalies whose nature of work is loading and unloading of goods from lorries/wagons/carts. Rickshaw pullers and Bullock-cart drivers were nearly 4 per cent of the respondents. Beedi rollers and cleaners in restaurants together constituted 6.1 per cent. Thus, one-half of the migrant respondents were unskilled daily wage earners reflecting the operation of 'push' factors in the migration of substantial proportion of the respondents to slums of Chittoor town. White collar employees such as clerks constituted nearly one-tenth (9.5%) of the slum migrants who moved on account of transfer of their services and 7.0 per cent of them were recruited as class IV employees after migration to the present place. Skilled workers such as mechanics and electricians (5.5%), drivers (8.7%), tailors (2.3%) and masonry & carpenters (6.8%) together have constituted nearly a quarter of the migrant respondents being attracted by 'pull' factors at the present place of district headquarters. Thus, majority of the migrant respondents were engaged in 'Blue collar' occupations being unskilled and illiterate persons drawn to urban slums on account of their poverty.

ECONOMIC CONDITION:

Nearly one-half (46.0%) of the migrant respondents were below the poverty line as their annual household earnings were below Rs. 12000. The annual household income was over Rs. 26,000 in respect of only 8.8 per cent of the migrant respondents. Thus, the economic condition of the majority of migrant respondents was poor.
PATTERNS OF MIGRATION TO SLUMS

INDIVIDUAL Vs FAMILY MIGRATION:

Family migration was predominant in the present study as the entire families moved along with the migrant respondents, they themselves being the prime bread winners in respect of nearly four-fifths of the slum migrants. Individual mobility was observed in respect of one-fifth of the respondents as most of them were bachelors at the time of their migration. Poverty and lack of employment opportunities for longer periods in a year especially in rural areas might have compelled many families to migrate to urban centers with the expectation of finding suitable work for one or more members in the family.

PLACE OF BIRTH:

Intra-district migration is predominant in migration flows to the slums of Chittoor town. Over three-fifths of the migrant respondents were intra-district migrants. Inter-district migrants have accounted for only 6 per cent of the respondents. The inter-state migrants were nearly one-third of the respondents; the single largest were from Tamil Nadu constituting 29 per cent because of its proximity to Chittoor town which is the district headquarters. The migrants from far off states of Karnataka and Kerala were negligible (2.7%). An overwhelming majority (74.0%) of the migrant respondents were rural-born which is the distinctive feature observed in migration flows to urban areas. This trend is more pronounced in intra-district migration. Over one-fifth of the migrant respondents were born in areas notified as panchayats while those born in
municipal towns constituted only 5.2 per cent of the respondents. Thus, majority of the migrant respondents were from rural areas.

In the present study over nine-tenths of the migrant respondents were the first movers comprising 74 per cent from rural areas and 18 per cent from urban areas. The remaining 8 per cent had come from other than their native place.

**DURATION OF STAY:**

Nearly one-third of the migrant respondents were residing in the slums of Chittoor town for the last 5-7 years. A steady increase in the proportion of migrant respondents with the addition of every year of stay was observed up to a period of 5 years. In other words, the flow of migrants to the slums of Chittoor town has been coming down steadily but slowly in the recent past because of diminishing employment opportunities particularly to all the working members of the migrant households, difficulty in finding accommodation, increasing costs of family maintenance besides improved facilities favouring commutation.

**DISTANCE OF MIGRATION:**

The volume of migration had decreased with increase in the distance of move confirming inverse relationship between them. About 60 per cent of the migrant respondents had travelled a short distance of less than 50 kms, in contrast to 21 per cent travelling 51 to 100 Kms 14 per cent travelling 101 to 200 Kms and only 4.7 per cent making a so journey over 200 kms. Thus,
majority of the migrant respondents to the slums of Chittoor town were from a short distance within a radius of 50 kms.

**ECONOMIC FACTORS IN MIGRATION TO SLUMS**

**OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN OF MIGRANTS AT ORIGIN:**

Majority of the migrant respondents were engaged in low paid occupations prior to their migration to the present place of destination. Nearly three-fifths (56.5%) of the migrant respondents were from primary sector comprising 40 per cent agricultural labourers and 17 per cent small farmers, which may be because of lower wages, uneconomical land holdings and frequent droughts badly affecting rural population, in general. A quarter of the migrant respondents were non-agricultural labourers mostly from panchayats and small towns. Thus, over three-fifths of the migrant respondents were agricultural and non-agricultural labourers reflecting their poor economic condition at the place of origin. Over one-tenth of the migrant respondents were skilled workers prior to their migration such as drivers, tailors, mechanics and electricians. Demand for their services is low in any given village or small town besides low returns for their work, thereby making them to migrate to district headquarters of Chittoor town in expectation of higher returns and greater demand for their skilled work. Majority of the migrant respondents were from ‘blue collar’ occupations who moved to the present destination of Chittoor town, finding it difficult to make both ends meet due to unemployment and underemployment in their places of origin, particularly in rural areas.
'ERCEIVED ECONOMIC CONDITION AT ORIGIN:

For the enquiry about their economic status before migration, majority (66.5%) of the migrant respondents reported that they hailed from households of 'poor' economic condition and other 4 per cent were from 'very poor' households. Over two-fifths of the migrants were from middle class families. Those from upper and upper middle classes had constituted only a small proportion (7.0%). The self-reported low economic status of three-fourths of the migrant respondents prior to their migration reflects the underlying 'economic' motive as the prime factor in their migration to slums with the hope of improving their lot in the urban district headquarters.

ELF-REPORTED FACTORS IN MIGRATION TO SLUMS:

From the self-reported five prominent reasons given by the respondents for out-migration from their native places, 9 crucial factors have emerged of which 7 were related to economic dimensions. Rank ordering of the factors stated by the migrant respondents had revealed both the 'landlessness' and 'lower wages' as the equally important top most powerful factors influencing out-migration of the rural-born respondents. For the urban-born migrant respondents, 'lower wages' had emerged as the fore-most prominent factor for departure from their native places. 'Lower wages' were also rated as 'second' in order of importance by both the rural- and urban-born respondents for their out-migration. 'Less scope for prosperity', 'drought', 'in search of employment' and need for 'independence' had emerged as the third, fourth, fifth and sixth prominent reasons for out-migration of both the rural and urban-born migrant respondents. Thus, the negative factors at origin such as landlessness, lower wages, frequent droughts and
neconomical agriculturally non-viable landholdings were the prime factors instrumental in the out-migration of the rural-born respondents.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS IN MIGRATION TO SLUMS

AGE SELECTIVITY IN MIGRATION:

Age of the prospective migrant is expected to have significant bearing on the process of migration. Three-fourths of the migrant respondents were of the prime productive age group ranging 20-34 years, the peak being observed between 25-29 years of age. Age selectivity was also observed controlling for the place of birth of the migrant respondents. However, the peak in age selectivity in respect of the rural- and panchayat-born migrants was observed in the age group 15-29 years as against 30-34 age group for the municipality-born migrant respondents, which is due to their differential educational status and differential factors in operation influencing their migration. Nevertheless, the greater concentration of migrant respondents in the prime productive ages ranging 20-34 years is due to the underlying 'economic motive' in their migration.

EDUCATIONAL SELECTIVITY IN MIGRATION:

The literacy and educational attainment of the migrant respondents was also low. Illiterates had constituted nearly a quarter of the migrant respondents and another 7.3 per cent were literate but having no formal education, together comprising one-third of the total migrant respondents. Their migration may be largely influenced by negative factors at origin. Two-fifths of them were having low level of education below matriculation. Matriculate and above had
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constituted over a quarter of the migrant respondents. Thus, educational selectivity also operates even in respect of the migrants to the slum areas who are generally of low socio-economic status.

**MARITAL STATUS:**

An overwhelming majority (78.7%) of the migrant respondents were married before their migration to the present place. Only a fifth of them were bachelors at the time of their move. These findings demonstrate the greater probability of family migration in search of employment on account of their poverty at the place of origin.

**FAMILY SIZE AND MIGRATION:**

Propensity to migrate tends to be greater in couples having fewer living children. In the present study, the largest of the migrant respondents constituting one-third of the total respondents had two children at the time of migration to the present place and the second largest comprising over one-fifth (22.0%) of the respondents had only one child. With increase in the number of living children from 3 onwards, the proportion of migrant respondents had declined sharply confirming low propensity to migrate among the couples having higher family size of four and more children. This is largely due to greater financial burden of supporting the family at the place of destination. Thus, the probability of migration is greater among the parents having a small family of 1 - 2 children.
FAMILIAL FACTORS IN MIGRATION TO SLUMS

FAMILY STRUCTURE:

Analysis of the family background of the migrant respondents revealed nine-tenths of the migrants hailing from nuclear families while the rest one-tenth of them were from joint families. The preponderance of nuclear families in migration flows to slums is because of family migration for economic reasons.

BIRTH ORDER OF MIGRANTS:

The birth order of the person in the family has bearing on propensity to migrate. The male children only are taken into consideration for analysis here as the female children leave parental home soon after marriage. The largest of the migrant respondents in the present study (31.2%) were found to be of second birth order. The first-born had constituted over a quarter of the migrant respondents and the middle born were third in position in the volume of migration to the slums constituting 17 per cent of them. The lowest was observed in respect of the only / single 'male child' families comprising only 7.2 per cent of the migrant respondents which may be due to lack of alternative source to shoulder the family responsibilities in their absence, followed by the last born (8.3%) and the last but one (10.5%) being still young and dependent on parents. The second born who generally may have no immediate responsibilities for the family and relatively more mature than the last born is more likely to migrate.
SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT PLACE OF DESTINATION:

Seven-tenths (69.0%) of the migrant respondents had made several personal visits to the present place of district headquarters prior to their migration. Relatives residing at the place of destination were the source of information for 28.5 per cent of the migrant respondents while only 2.5 per cent of them had friends as informants.

KIN ASSISTANCE AT DESTINATION:

Nearly one-third of the migrant respondents having kith and kin at the present place could receive at least some help from them. With regard to finding accommodation, 55 per cent of them had received 'much' help while moderate help was received by another one-fifth of them. Kith and Kin were reported to be of 'much' help for one-sixth and one-fifth of the migrant respondents in starting petty business (other than financial assistance) and finding 'wage work', respectively. In seeking employment and financial help for starting petty business, only a negligible proportion of the migrant respondents could receive assistance from their relatives residing at the place of destination.

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION FOR THE INDIVIDUAL MIGRANTS

A) CHANGE IN ECONOMIC CONDITION:

SELF-REPORTED IMPROVEMENT IN ECONOMIC STATUS:

In fact, the overwhelming majority (85%) of the migrant respondents felt improvement in their living conditions at the present place of destination compared to their place of birth. Nearly
one-fifth (18.3%) of the slum migrants had stated much improvement in their economic condition at the present place. No improvement in economic condition was reported by over one-tenth (12.0%) of the respondents and another 2.5 per cent of them felt deterioration in their living conditions after migration to the present place. Much improvement in economic status was felt by one-third (33.0%) of the municipality-born migrants as against a half of it respect of the panchayat-born (17.9%) and rural-born (17.3%) migrant respondents. Over one-fifth of the migrants could save some amount and another 17 per cent of them had acquired immovable property such as house site (s) and residential dwellings. Nearly nine out of the ten beneficiaries among the respondents opined that the achieved improvement in their economic condition would not have been possible for them if they had stayed back at their native places. The reported improvement in the economic condition of the migrant respondents is made possible due to higher returns/remuneration besides greater participation of the family members in economic activity either as daily wage workers or self-employment directly contributing to the family economy after migration to the present place.

PERCEIVED CAPABILITY OF RAISING CHILDREN:

The perceived capability of raising children felt at the present place of destination had decreased sharply with increase in the number of children they perceived as capable of supporting at their places of origin. Majority of the migrant respondents felt capable of supporting only 2-3 children at the present place because of the high cost of raising children in urban areas compared to rural areas as every thing is to be purchased in the urban centre paying high prices. When controlled for the place of birth of the migrants respondents, greater portion of the rural-born
than the panchayat and municipality-born migrant respondents felt incapable of supporting at the present place of destination as many children as they felt capable of rearing in their native rural areas.

B) CHANGE IN FERTILITY BEHAVIOUR :

CHANGE IN PERCEPTION OF FAMILY SIZE :

Three-fourth of the migrant respondents believing in pre-determination of family size prior to migration had changed their opinion after migration to the present place of destination favouring modern perception of family size as a matter of 'choice of the couple' rather than chance, which is a positive sign. 67 to 77 per cent of the migrants changed their opinion from fatalistic view to modern perception concerning family size. When controlled for the place of birth of the migrant respondents, the degree of positive change concerning family size was observed to be 78 per cent in respect of the rural-born, 74 per cent in the case of panchayat-born and 67 per cent of in respect of the municipality-born respondents. The relatively less change in respect of the municipality-born respondents was due to fewer respondents believing in fatalistic view prior to migration. In terms of absolute members, the positive change was observed to be greater in respect of the rural-born respondents.

CHANGE IN PERCEPTION OF OPPORTUNITY COSTS OF HAVING A LARGE FAMILY :

The present study being conducted in the slums of district headquarters the opportunity costs of having large number of children are expected to be high in urban areas compared to rural areas and small towns. For this purpose, structured statements were prepared focusing on 12
different opportunity costs of large family size to each of which the respondents had to respond choosing one of the given five alternatives viz., strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree and strongly disagree reflecting their true opinion. Most of the migrants were strongly affirmative of the high opportunity costs associated with a large family size viz., heavy work for mother, restricts social participation, more expenses in the family, restricts recreation, much problems in the family, difficult to rear, much worry about the future of offsprings and restricts gainful employment of the mother.

DECLINE IN DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:

The decline in desired family size consequent on migration to the slums of Chittoor town was observed to be of the order of one child less for 40-50 per cent of the migrant respondents favouring 3 and 4 children prior to their migration and 1-2 children less in respect of 50 to 60 per cent of those favouring large family sizes of 5 and 6 children.

FAVOURING FEWER CHILDREN FOR OFFSPRINGS:

Nearly 9 in every 10 of the migrant respondents were favouring only 2 children for their offsprings and another 1.3 per cent were advocating only one child. When controlled for the religious and caste affiliation of the migrants, four-fifths of the SCs & STs and three-fourths of the muslim migrant respondents, who are traditionally known for them high fertility, were favouring only two children for their marriageable offsprings. The decling trend in fertility is to a great extent due to increasing difficult felt by the parents in rearing children now-a-days besides increasing concern of the parents for the well-being of their children.
C) CHANGE IN FAMILY PLANNING BEHAVIOUR:

INCREASING AWARENESS OF FAMILY PLANNING METHODS:

Over one-fourth of the migrant respondents were aware of 3 or more methods of family planning prior to migration while they were 3 times more (85%) after migration to the present district headquarter. Awareness of the 4 to 5 methods of family planning was observed in less than one-tenth (9.2%) of the migrant respondents before migration in contrast to one-half (53.0%) of them after migration to the slums of Chittoor town. Almost all the migrant respondents were aware of the permanent methods. Regarding spacing methods of family planning, less than a quarter of the migrant respondents were aware before migration in contrast to 87.0 per cent after migration to the present place. Positive opinion about family planning was held by 69 per cent of the respondents prior to their migration which had increased to 92 per cent after their migration to the present place of destination. Only a small proportion (3.3%) of the respondents were holding negative opinion and another 5 per cent were neutral in their attitude about family planning. The preceding observations clearly demonstrate the positive effects of migration for the migrant respondents.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS:

Poverty coupled with unemployment and underemployment seems to have forced the rural young people to migrate to the urban areas in search of work and livelihood. A majority of the migrants living in the slums have felt improvement in their economic condition compared to their situation at the places of origin. Migration to slums, although, has positive consequences for the migrants, it is not advisable to allow large scale migration to slums. Heavy influx of
population exerts much pressure on the limited space and amenities in urban areas resulting in mushroom growth of slums besides shortage of all amenities for peaceful and comfortable living in urban areas. In contrast, the shortage of manpower at the places of departure on account of large scale migration adversely affects agricultural production and distorts the composition of the population.

Rural-urban variations in wage earnings and better prospects for development in urban areas are the crucial factors for the migration of the rural people in their prime working ages. Hence appropriate intervention strategies which are feasible and acceptable to the people are to be launched to discourage greater mobility to urban centres from the rural areas. Suggested below are some of the strategies which would help in reducing in-migration to the urban areas.

1. Effective implementation of various rural employment schemes such as drought prone area programmes which would generate employment for the rural masses and also alleviate their sufferings.

2. Development of irrigation facilities (canals, tanks, deep and shallow tubewells and river irrigation) should be on the basis of rural regeneration and agricultural modernisation in drought prone areas.

3. Rural industrialisation promoting cottage, small-scale or agro-based industries would facilitate absorption of unemployed and under-employed workers in agricultural activities.

4. Promotion of poultry and dairy development in rural areas to achieve white revolution and to make meat available at lower rates would not only generate self-employment but
also improves the nutritional status of the people particularly infants and children and thereby helping in bringing down the size of the family as the parents would be more confident about the survival of their children.

5. Effective implementation of land ceiling and fair distribution of excess land recovered as well as government land to the genuine and deserving people with financial assistance for agricultural operations would not only reduce out-migration but also increases agricultural production.

6. A strong viable agricultural co-operative should be established, so that small pieces of land can be cultivated together to get better results. Bank loans should be provided to the farmers at minimum rate of interest.

7. Strengthening co-operative farming system and encouraging mechanisation of agriculture viable in respect of marginal and middle class farmers through co-operative system would also arrest out-migration besides having depressing effect on fertility on account of decreasing demand for child labour.

8. Implementation of commercial cropping pattern to raise the earnings of the rural residents.

9. Fixation of reasonable prices for the agricultural commodities and arranging storage, marketing and transport facilities through government departments for the convenience of the farmers.