CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration, besides fertility and mortality, is a major factor affecting the population growth pattern of any area. While fertility and mortality are the natural factors, migration i.e. shifting of residence from one place to another, is a man-made factor. Migration is an important component of rising population trends, particularly as it contributes to urbanization. It is also an integral part of the broad processes of change, generally referred to as “Demographic transition”\(^1\). This mobility transition has been linked with demographic and socio-economic changes. Apart from these changes, the quality of life of the migrant is an important aspect in the process of urbanization. This mobility affects in many cases the people in the destination as well. Migration is an area of study which allows multi-disciplinary, sociology, social and cultural anthropology, economics, history, geography and psychology. The sociological study of migration gives a

very clear picture of migrant’s standard of living. It is needed to integrate all dimensions of the problem in the sociological frame-work. Though privately profitable, the social benefits of migration to a metropolitan city are of doubtful value.

In developing countries, migration towards urban centres is perceived as an income generating activity and continues to be an economically rational choice for rural individuals as it helps (households) to diversity income risk and obtain liquidity in the face of factor, credit and insurance market failures. Following the neoclassical approach, decision to migrate can be comprehended by examining the (discounted) net expected gains from migration. This approach compares the benefits of residing at the place of origin with the expected benefits of migrating to a particular destination. It is plausible that despite low expected benefits at the destination an individual could still be better off by migrating since his expected benefits at origin are even lower.

However, in the absence of adequate employment opportunities, excess labour supply (in the form of migration) to urban areas would contribute to expansion of informal sector and can intensify socio-economic vulnerabilities. It is
against this backdrop that we attempt to make a careful assessment of poverty outcomes among migrants to urban India with respect to their socio-economic background. Particularly our intent is to identify the conditions under which migration proves advantageous and improves the economic status of migrants.

1.2 FACTORS DETERMINING MIGRATION

The important factors which cause migration may be classified into five broad groups, viz., (i) economic factors; (ii) demographic factors; (iii) socio-cultural and psychological factors; (iv) political and institutional factors; and (v) miscellaneous factors.

Economic Factors

The major reason for voluntary migration is economic. Almost all studies confirm that most of the migrants (excluding forced and sequential migrations) have moved in search of better economic opportunities. This is true of both international and internal migrations. So “migration is normally viewed as an economic phenomenon. Though non-economic factors obviously have some
bearing, most studies concur that migrants leave their area of origin primarily because of lack of economic opportunities in hopes of finding better opportunities elsewhere”\textsuperscript{2}.

Migration flows are generally pronounced from economically backward or stagnating areas to prosperous or dynamic area. In the absence of administrative or other barriers that prevent or restrict migration, migration tends to be large from comparatively less developed counties like the United States to the oil rich Middle East countries bear testimony to this.

Economic factors are behind large streams of internal migration too. Rural – urban migration of the labour force is caused by the expanding and better economic opportunities in the urban areas. Similarly, economic disparities and cycles are behind some of the rural to rural migration.

The most important economic factors that motivate migration may be termed as (i) the push factors, (ii) the pull factors, and (iii) the general economic conditions.

Push Factors

The push factors or the impelling factors refer to the poor economic conditions and the resultant economic misery or lack of opportunities for advancement which push people out of the region in search of a livelihood or better opportunities. The push factors are, thus, the factors which more or less compel people to leave the place.

The ‘Push Theory’ is often used to explain the cause of rural-urban migration. The rural poverty characterized by low productivity, unemployment and under employment, low income levels and low levels of consumption, may push people out to the cities and towns where there are better economic opportunities. “Adverse economic conditions” is the greatest single cause of migration to cities cited in the Sample Survey Report of nine Indian cities – Baroda, Hubli, Hyderabad – Secunderabad, Jamshedpur, Kanpur, Poona,
Gorakhpur, Lucknow and Surat – conducted at the instance of the Research Programme Committee of the Planning Commission³.

An ILO study has come to the conclusion that “the main push factor causing the worker to leave agriculture is the lower level of incomes. In almost all countries, incomes in agriculture are lower than in other sectors of the economy”⁴.

Quite a significant proportion of the rural population of most of the low income countries lives below the subsistence level. In India, according to the estimates of the Planning Commission, over one-third of the rural population is below the poverty line.

There are, thus, a number of factors which tend to push people out of the rural areas. All the migration caused by push factors are, however, not confined to the rural–urban stream. There are large migration flows between rural areas, representing movement of people out of comparatively poor areas characterized

³Acharya, G.N. “Some Thoughts on Urbanization”, Yojana, 13 September, 1964, p.11.

by lack of economic opportunities to areas with better opportunities. Push factors are behind many international migration streams, though in many cases migration is a combined effect of push and pull factors.

**Pull Factors**

Pull factors refer to the factors which encourage migration to an area such as employment and other economic opportunities, facilities, amenities, etc., opportunities for better employment, higher wages, facilities and amenities of modern life etc., attract people to certain areas. The facilities, amenities and glamour of city life which lure migrants are termed as ‘city lights’.

Some of the urban ward migration streams may be regarded as the response to the ‘pull’ exercised by the better economic opportunities present in the urban area of an advancing economy. There is usually an exodus of population to the cities where rapid expansion of industry and commerce takes place. “Migration from the country side to the cities bears a close functional relation to the process of industrialization, technological advancement and other cultural changes which characterize the evolution of modern society in almost all
part of the world". The main factor determining the rate of outward movement is the expansion of employment in other occupations. It is this factor which explains the high rate of movement in recent years in the advanced countries (among which Sweden, the USA and Canada are outstanding) and in rapidly developing countries in Latin America, Middle East and Africa.

As the employment opportunities expand and incomes increase at a higher rate in the urban areas as a result of the massive investments, it is but natural that the job-hunters and those who seek better economic opportunities will flock into such areas.

Thus, the city ward migration is encouraged by the presence of a variety of occupations to choose from, the higher wage levels and the possibility of attaining higher standards of living in the cities.

Apart from the better economic opportunities, there are a host of other attractions that the city holds out, like a variety of amenities and facilities.

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In short, rural population may be lured by the “bright lights of the city”. The ‘pull’ factors operate not only in respect of rural – urban migration but also in respect of other types of internal migration as well as international migration.

The migration of persons with professional and highly skilled qualifications from developing countries to developed countries is largely caused by the pull factors. Pull factors have also played a major role in the large-scale migration of unskilled labour from the developing countries to the oil rich Middle West Countries.

1.3 PATTERN OF INTRA – STATE MIGRATION

Migration, within the country, particularly of males is mainly motivated by the desire to improve economic conditions and can be considered a sensitive index of economic opportunities. Analysis of both, inter-state and intra-state flows is significant from this point of view. It is more so in a vast country like India, where disparities in respect of economic development exist not only between states but even within the states and there is lack of decentralization of economic opportunities. In fact nearly 80 per cent of the total movement in India is within
the states. However, most of the studies, so far done in this field, are almost exclusively devoted to the discussion of inter-state migration. It needs to be emphasized that inter-state migration is not necessarily a long distance migration in all cases. In India, more than 65 per cent of inter-state migration is between contiguous states. It can further be reasonably supposed that substantial part of even this migration (between contiguous states) is likely to be migration between border districts of the states and is almost like inter-district migration. Therefore, analysis of all the three types of flows— intra-district, inter-district and inter-state – is required for getting better perspective of the magnitude and direction of the total movement in the country.

Migrants work with their feet in favour of the destination vis-à-vis the native place. They are motivated to move as propelled by the pull of employment opportunities, higher wages, better quality of living or family considerations, and impelled by the push of a hard situation at home, actual or perceived. In ultimate analysis, disparity in opportunity and quality index of places is the underlying dynamics for people to change their abode.
The census of India defines a migrant as a person who is enumerated at a place other than that of birth. According to the 2001 census, 307.2 million out of 1028.6 million persons or almost 30 per cent of the total population of India were migrants. Among them, 42.1 million were interstate migrants.

An interstate migrant is the one who shifts the place of residence to a state other than that of birth. Such a migrant generally transplants oneself in a different linguistic, sub-cultural or administrative milieu in the political context of the Indian state system. Though the Indian constitution provides for free migration across states yet under extreme circumstances an interstate migrant may face the ire of the ‘son of the soil’ syndrome.

The map represents the spatial pattern of interstate migration. Most of the states in the less developed geographic heartland of India, such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan are noted for the net out migration. Madhya Pradesh, with net immigration is the notable exception. Major hill states, namely Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhal, are also net losers in the process of migration. The Eastern Coastal States of Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa,
constitute another group characterized by net out migration. Besides, out migration from Kerala is far in excess of immigration.

Among the net immigration cases, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Goa form a contiguous zone along the western coast. Another prominent zone of net immigration comprises Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh and Delhi in the North West, marked by a high degree of agro-industrial development. With a strong industrial and mining base, West Bengal and Jharkhand are also net immigration cases.

The interstate migration in North Eastern Region combines two contrasting situations. The politically troubled states, such as Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura and Assam recorded more of outmigrants than immigrants. On the other hand, net immigration to Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Mizoram is indicative of their relatively more stable political conditions.

No less than two-thirds of the interstate migrants moved to urban places. Megacities were the major magnets. Delhi received migrants not only from the states located in the adjoining Northwestern region and Uttar Pradesh but also
from the North East. Mumbai has got most of its migrants from Madhya Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Gujarat. The migration field of Kolkata covered Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa and Assam. Migrants to Chennai hailed mainly from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Pondicherry.

It follows that most of the interstate migrants moved to the neighboring, relatively more developed states or to distant metropolitan cities. While the short–run interstate migration was predominated by females mainly for reason of marriage, the long-run migration was more male selective and economic in nature. In sum, the consideration of economic opportunity and geographic proximity prevailed over the issues of ethnicity and political situation in laying down the contours of inter-state migration.

1.4 RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION IN INDIA

Population in the urban areas expands due to the following three factors: (i) natural growth of population, (ii) rural-to-urban migration and (iii) reclassification of rural areas as urban in course of time. Around two-fifth of the total urban growth in the Third World is accounted by the rural-to-urban
migration. The process can be identified as ‘over-urbanization’ as long as (a) rural-urban migration leads to a misallocation of labour between rural-and-urban sectors in the sense that it raises urban migration increase the social cost for providing for a country’s growing population.

With a significant fall in the mortality rate, the natural growth of urban population has grown at a high level thus raising the long-run supply of labour substantially. In fact, in developing countries the natural growth of urban population is not significantly lower than its rural counterpart although fertility rate declined considerably in most of the developed countries because of significant changes in the socio economic life–styles of the urban population. In the Indian case although the urban birth and death rates are found to be much lower than their rural counterparts for the periods 1971-1980 and 1981-1989, the urban rates of natural increase were only marginally lower than the rural rates. The urban growth continues to be due to natural growth of population. Even during 1991–2001, natural growth played a major role in stepping up the urban growth.

However, around one-fifth of the urban growth is accounted by rural-to-urban net migration. There was a continuous rise in the contribution of net
migration to total urban growth since the 1960’s though between 1991 and 2001, there has been a slight decline in the rate compared to the previous decade.

The definition of migration based on the last residence concept of migration refers in our analysis of those who migrated in 10 years (1991-2001) proceeding the year of census, 2001. The gross decadal inflow of rural-to-urban migrants as a percentage of total urban population in 2001 turns out to be a little above 7 per cent at the all-India level. However, it varies considerably across states. Both industrialized states like Gujarat and Maharashtra and the backward states like Orissa and Madhya Pradesh show high rates of migration. Similarly, examples can be found from both the types of states such as Tamilnadu and West Bengal and backward states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan. Hence, it is not possible at this stage to draw any clear cut conclusion regarding the magnitude of the migration rate in relation to the nature of the states.

Migration is both an old and a new human practice. There is no place or time in which migration does not occur. However, the scale, type and implications of migration vary greatly between individuals and societies. Owing to the vast size
of the country and large differences in physical and human dispositions, migration trend in India shows some specific features.

First, among the four types of migration direction-wise, i.e., rural-to-rural, rural-to-urban, urban-to-rural and urban-to-urban migration, rural-to-rural migration has been dominant. In 2001, rural-to-rural migration (during the last decade, i.e., based on migrants with duration or residence of 0-9 years at the place of enumeration) has accounted for 54.7 per cent of total migration within the country. The share of rural-to-rural migration, however, has been on decline, dropping from the level of 62.0 per cent in 1971. Instead, rural-to-urban migration has shown a gradual increase, with its share in total migration rising from 16.5 to 21.1 per cent between 1971 and 2001 along with a slight increase in urban-to-urban migration to 14.7 per cent from 13.6 per cent over the same period.

Second, with respect to the distance of migration, intra-state migration is predominant accounting for 82.1 per cent of migration (duration of 0–9 years). More than a half of migration took place within the district and the incidence of migration decreases as the distance becomes longer.
Third, among intra-state migrants, 60.5 per cent moved from rural-to-rural places (duration 0 – 9 years) followed by 17.6 per cent of rural-to-urban migration while in case of interstate migrants, the largest portion (37.9 per cent) migrated from rural-to-urban destinations. Interstate migration, the incidence of rural-to-rural and urban–to-urban movements is almost at the same level, i.e., 26.6 per cent and 26.7 per cent respectively.

Fourth, migration streams in India have been dominated by females. Women constituted 66.5 per cent of total migration flows (duration 0 -9 years). Women outnumbered men in intra-district as well as intra-state migration flows, accounting for 73.9 per cent and 70.3 per cent respectively. With respect to interstate migration and migration from other country, the share of male migrants surpassed that of female, contributing 50.6 and 75.3 per cent respectively of total migration. Thus, the longer the distance of migration, the higher is the share of male migration. Of the total female migration, more than 60 per cent moved within the district. Therefore, short distance migration is the dominant form for women. in case of male migrants, while migration within the
district is also predominant (43 per cent), the share of longer distance migration is larger than that among female migrants.

Fifth, it is noted that if we take a look at the rural-to-urban migration during the last 10 years, the number of male and female was almost equal in total rural-to-urban flows. While women out number men in intra-state rural-urban flows, the number of male was significantly greater in case of interstate rural-urban migration.

1.5 FACTORS AFFECTING RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION

While a large number of empirical studies on migration have been conducted on the basis of field surveys in urban destinations, the focus of researches is primarily on migrants and in some studies non-migrants are added for the sake of comparison. Therefore, urban specifications which migrants have been pulled by or pushed to are not analysed per se although some of the important factors related to livelihoods of migrants, such as urban labour market and living conditions, are investigated within the scope of individual researchers.
Also, the majority of the migration researches set its unit of analyses either at the national level or local areas selected and demarcated by the researchers. Thus, the intermediate level, particularly district–level analysis, is almost absent. This is considered critical since the district is an important unit for capturing migration flows as defined in census data on migration.

Kaur\(^7\) has analyzed spatial pattern of male rural-to-urban migration based on district-wise data of 1971 census. She has classified the districts into three categories, i.e., areas with relatively high proportion of rural-urban male migrants among total urban male population (24 per cent and above), areas with moderate proportion (16 to 24 per cent). The distribution of 356 districts according to the above classification was 24.4, 36.0, and 35.7 per cent respectively. The regions having districts with high rural-to-urban male migration rates were described as those which witnessed rapid development of mining, industrial activities, service sectors, considerable colonization, and rapid expansion of administrative and security machinery due to new political and strategic importance accorded to the areas. On the other hand, the group of areas with low proportion of rural-to-urban male migrants was mainly confined to the northern–half of the country.

The urbanization in the post-independent era was low due to stagnant agricultural economy and tardy industrial development.

As for the differences in distance of migration, Kaur finds that the areas with relatively low proportion of intrastate rural-urban male migrants were mainly found in areas which experienced low to moderate rate of urbanization in recent decades. In contrast, the regions with high interstate rural-urban male migration experienced high rate of urbanization in recent decades. They included industrial-mining areas, Assam region, Punjab–Haryana tract and areas with considerable agricultural colonization.

Kaur’s study gives an overview of spatial distribution of rural-urban migration and its relationship with some urban characteristics. However, she has dealt with only male migrants and her attention was directed only on economic factors. Moreover, she did not apply any statistical analysis relating to the district’s socio-economic characteristics. Thus her conclusions are more or less descriptive in nature.
In the backdrop of lack of this line of research, we would draw on the findings of micro-level and some macro – studies, in order to get insights to understand the association between migration and urban conditions.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Migration is a common phenomenon, prevalent in developed or developing country; urban in migration is common to all countries especially in the developing country. Similarly rural and urban migration is common in the Indian cities too. It is not possible for an individual researcher to study about urban migration in India or Tamilnadu by collecting primary data due to the limitation of time and energy. So after carefully considering all aspects of the matter and knowing the difficulties and complications of a study of a bigger area, it was decided to limit the area of study, so that unemployment caused by drought, has led to large scale migration of agricultural labour from Madurai, Dindigul, Theni, Viruthunagar and Ramanathapuram districts to the industrial towns of Tirupur and Coimbature and even to metropolitan city viz, Chennai. Therefore they are forced to migrate to places where employment opprountnteis are available.
Most of the migrants are from drought prone districts like Madurai, Dindigul, Theni, Viruthunagar and Ramanathapuram to the neighbouring states of Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka; a few of them migrated to other countries like Malaysia and Singapore. So the paradoxical situation in this area attracted the researcher to conduct a study of the trend and dimensions of labour migration in Tamil Nadu. For the purpose of the study, labour migration is defined as the shiftability between jobs, occupations, or locations in response to incentive may be as between similar jobs and occupations or vertical such as the upward mobility of a worker from casual labourers to a labour contractor. It may also be from one location to another location and from one generation to the succeeding generation.

1.7 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Migration of people from one place to another has been an age-old process. It is an essential component of economic development and social and political organization. India’s present path of development has created regional inequalities in the levels of development while the developed areas have created
a demand for labour. Whereas, the backward areas have become the suppliers of labour. Economic transaction depends mainly on the shifting of the working force from the primary to the secondary and territory sectors, so that the working force employed in these sectors is relatively larger than that in the primary sectors. Recent studies in India have reported an increasing number of young men and women joining the migrant flow to cities, many of them going on their own to find work in service, manufacturing and informal sector.

The causes of migration are generally traced to economics, socio–cultural and environmental determinants. Economics explanations center on the search for better opportunities of income and employment and socio-cultural explanations center on the desire of migrants to break away from traditional constraints and inequalities. Environmental explanations for migration centre on the lure of the cities and migration included by disaster, displacement and demographic pressure or imbalances. A number of studies show that poverty, pauperization and stagnation in the rural economy are the most dominant factors in pushing the people from their villages. Migration is thus best understood as both a cause and consequences of chronic poverty for those who stay and for those who move. Migration is also in itself a part of the unequal development.
People may migrate out of poverty in order to improve the livelihood or migrate into more vulnerable situations and thus become further impoverished through their movement. The causes of migration are generally traced to economic socio–cultural and environmental determinants. Economic explanations centre on the desire of migrants to break away from traditional constraints and inequalities. Environmental explanation for migration centres on the lure of the cities and migration included by disaster, displacement and demographic pressures or imbalances.

There are two factors (push and pull factors) of labour migration in the study areas. The primary push factor was lack of employment opportunities in the place of origin. Unemployment is the main reason for migration among male and female workers.

There is a close nexus between drought and migration. Greater the intensity of drought, larger the migration of agricultural households to urban areas in search of employment in the non agricultural activities. The worst

Hence, the present study is an attempt to analyse migration to Madurai city.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research, it is hoped, will definitely be of much use to avoid labour migration from one place to another for earning a low wage under the control of middlemen. The study will help to create an awareness of self employment and rural industrialization in their own area. It is also proposed to an in-depth study by analyzing the various socio-economic problems of the migrants in the study area.

The various economic conditions to be taken into account include, identification of problem, occupation, low wages, seasonal unemployment, credit facilities available, income and employment generating activities, income from

other activities and expenditure on family maintenance, essentials and business etc.

The various social conditions include provision for education knowledge and information, eradication of poverty, contact with other agencies for social recognition, providing idea of consumer protection providing idea of environmental protection, preventing harmful diseases, membership in social service organizations, creation of saving habit, social ceremonies etc. An in-depth study on the above mentioned conditions will definitely pave the way for betterment among the labour migrant of the society and economic backwardness in this study.

The problems of unemployment, inadequacy skills, illiteracy, low income, savings and investment in unorganized sectors, selection of the type of income generating occupation, less knowledge about subsidiary occupation, unawareness of government plans, erratic pattern of family expenditure, labour exploitation, low knowledge about the health and sanitary conditions, indebtedness and the like are the burning issues affecting the socio- economic conditions of the poor labour migrants.
1.9 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The specific objectives are as follows.

1. To study the socio-economic characteristics of migrant households in the study area.
2. To analyse the job search, occupation and earnings of migrant households.
3. To analyse the relationship of migrants with their family and their remittances.
4. To offer suitable suggestions for policy implications based on the findings of the study.

1.10 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The present study is based on the sample migrant households in Madurai city. It is based to be limited in its scope and applicability because in some cases the respondents himself was not aware of certain facts. For example, some of the respondents were not able to answer when they were asked to explain the
reasons for migration from rural to urban area like Madurai city. Another limitation was that most of the migrants were coming from rural background and so some of them could not answer about their previous occupations and earnings. But sufficient care was taken to get information in all cases.

The field work for the study was undertaken during the period from October 2012 to March 2013 in Zone I and Zone II in Madurai city. Findings of this study is only applicable to the reference period 2011-2012.

1.11 LAYOUT OF THE STUDY

The report of the present study has been organized and presented in seven chapters.

The first chapter gives an introduction about the magnitude and trends in labour migration in India, internal migration and international migration causes for migration in Tamilnadu, consequences of internal migrants, scope of the study, statement of the problem, significance of the study, objectives of the study, limitations of the study, and layout of the study.
The second chapter reviews the past relevant studies.

The third chapter discusses the methodology which includes concepts, design of the study, sampling techniques, procedures for collection of data, method of analysis and tools of analysis. Further it discusses the profile of the study area.

The fourth chapter analyses the socio-economic characteristics of the sample migrant households which include occupation of the migrants, methods of job search and earnings, income of the households.

The fifth chapter presents the job search, occupation and earnings of the selected migrants in Madurai city.

The sixth chapter analyses the relationship of migrants, their family and remittances and remittance behaviours are also discussed in this chapter.

And the final seventh chapter presents the major findings of the analysis along with conclusion and offers suggestions based on the empirical results of the present study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE