

The Intensity of Migration on the Light of Rural Development in Indian Scenario-A Study of Kerala.

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Abstract

Rural to Urban migration is a response to diverse economic opportunities across space. Historically it has played a significant role in the urbanization process of several countries and continues to be significant in scale, even though migration rates have slowed down in some countries. In India, though rural-urban migration has been found to be modest (accounting for around 30 per cent of the total urban growth), in the context of urban poverty, urban slums and informal sector employment a great deal has been talked in reference to rural-urban population mobility. In other words, much of the urban ills are attributed to the rural-spills.

Key words: Migration, urban poverty, population mobility.

INTRODUCTION

Migration is a both old and 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. Due to the vast size of the country and large differences in physical and human dispositions across the country, 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 of residence of 0-9 years at the place of enumeration) has accounted for 54.7 percent of total migration within country. The share of rural-to-rural migration, however, has been on decline, dropping from the level of 62.0 percent in 1971. Instead, rural-to-urban migration has shown a gradual increase, with its share in total migration rising from 16.5 percent to 21.1 percent between 1971 and 2001 along with a slight increase of urban-to-urban migration to 14.7 percent from 13.6 percent over the same period.

Second, with respect to the distance of migration, intra-state migration is predominant accounting for 82.1 percent 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 percent moved from rural to rural places (duration 0-9 years) followed by 17.6 percent of rural-to-urban migration while in case of inter-state migrants, the largest portion (37.9 percent) migrated from rural to urban destinations. In inter-state migration, the incidence of rural-to-rural and urban-to-urban movements is almost at the same level, i.e., 26.6 percent and 26.7 percent respectively.

Fourth, migration streams in India have been dominated by females. Women constituted 66.5 percent 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 percent and 70.3 percent respectively. With respect to inter-state migration and migration from other country, the share of male migrants surpassed that of female, contributing 50.6 percent and 75.3 percent of total migration. Thus, the longer the distance of migration is, the higher the share of male migration becomes. Of the total female migration, more than 60 percent 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 percent), 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 outnumber men in intra-state rural-urban flows, the number of male was significantly greater in case of inter-state rural-urban migration.

Problem of the study

Population in the urban areas expands due to the following three factors: natural growth of population, rural to urban migration and 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-urbanisation' as long as (1) rural-urban migration leads to a misallocation of labour between rural and urban sectors in the sense that it raises urban unemployment, underemployment and poverty, and (2) rural-urban migration increases 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 1971-80 and 1981-89, the urban rates of natural increase were only marginally lower than the rural rates. 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 sixties though between 1991 and 2011 there has been a slight decline in the rate compared to the previous decade. In case of Kerala the situation is creating the problem of urban Banks Colonies” after the migration form rural areas. The study on this nature is very essential.

Review of Literature

In explaining migration across space, income differentials are taken as motivating factor in moving people from low-income areas to relatively high-income areas (Harris and Todaro, 1970)². In the rural areas, sluggish agricultural growth and limited.

Stark (1984), however, argues that the relative deprivation, which is some function of income statistics other than a person’s own current income, influences migration. Hence, attempts must be made to generate data to assess the effect of relative deprivation rather than income differential on migration. development of the rural non-farm sector raises the incidence of rural poverty, unemployment and underemployment. Given the fact that most of the high productivity activities are located in the urban areas, the rural-urban income differentials, particularly for the poor and unemployed, are enormous. Thus, many of them migrate to the urban areas in search of jobs. Even when jobs in the high productivity activities are limited in number relative to the supply, and often they are not accessible, population still flows to the urban areas in search of opportunities in the ‘informal sector.’ Caste-kinship bonds and other kinds of village networks help rural job seekers to arrange such urban-based jobs. In the face of a high natural growth of population, rural-urban migration aggravates the situation of excess supplies of labour in the urban areas. Within the urban informal sector this tends to reduce the level of earnings and get manifested in a high incidence of urban poverty. Thus in the process rural poverty gets transformed into urban poverty – the phenomenon is also described as ‘urbanisation of poverty.

The paper by Lall, Selod and Shalizi (2006) synthesizes the current state of knowledge concerning internal migration in developing countries. They provide a policy-oriented survey of the research carried out on internal migration in developing countries over the past five decades. Some of the questions around which they summarize the findings relate to how internal migrants behave at different stages of the migration process, how do migrants prepare for migration, how do they migrate, what are the difficulties they face on arriving in urban areas and what links do they maintain with rural areas. Keeping in view this exhaustive review we do not wish to repeat the issues here.

Research questions

How can the phenomenon of migration affecting the income level of the people after migration

What are the major changes in the social structure after migration?

What are the economic and social benefits which a person can acquire after migration?

Methodology

The study is concentrated in the migration from rural to the urban in India. My study will be particularly taking the aspects of migration from Kerala. Because Kerala is the only one state in India which has interdisciplinary nature in terms of migration and filled with the features of gulf migrants and income from gulf.

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 specificities which migrants have been pulled by or pushed to are not analysed per se although some of the important factors related to the livelihoods of migrants, such as urban labour market and living conditions are investigated within the scope of individual researches. 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 district is an important unit for capturing migration flows as defined in census data on migration. An exception, Kaur (1996) has analysed spatial pattern of male rural-to-urban. An exception, Kaur (1996) has analysed 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 percent and above), areas with moderate proportion

(16 to 24 percent) and areas with relatively low proportion (below 16 percent). The distribution of 356 districts according to the above classification was 24.4 percent, 36.0 percent and 35.7 percent respectively. The regions having districts with high rural-to-urban male migration rates were described as those witnessed rapid development of mining, industrial activities, service sectors, considerable colonisation, 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. There urbanisation in the 15 post-independent era was low due to stagnant agricultural economy and tardy industrial development. As for the differences in distance of migration, Kaur (1996) finds that the areas with relatively high proportion of intra-state rural-urban male migrants were mainly found in areas which experienced low to moderate rate of urbanisation in recent decades. In contrast, the regions with high inter-state 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 colonisation.

Moreover, she did not apply any statistical analysis relating to the districts' 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.

Work participation and sex ratio

The association of work participation and incidence of migration has been extensively reported firstly as the main reason of migration and secondly as the consequences of migration. At the national level, the questions on reasons for migration have been canvassed since 1981 census for the migrants by last residence. In 2001 among the rural-to-urban migrants, 'employment' was the most cited reason by male migrants (47.5percent) followed by the reasons 'family moved' (23.5percent) and 'education' (8.1percent) (Sinha 1986). The economic motivations of migrants are found to lead to the higher work participation rate among migrants compared with non-migrant population in urban centres (Oberai, Prasad and Sardana, 1989). To the contrary, as for the female, 1981 census reported that the half of migrants (51.5percent) mentioned 'marriage' as the main reasons for urban migration while second largest reason was 'family moved' (29.3percent) and 'employment' was cited only by 4.2 percent of female migrants. 'Education' was the primary reason for 3 percent of females (Sinha, 1986). The apparent gender differentials in the reasons of migration have earlier resulted in focusing only on male migrants as a sensitive indicator of economic implications of migration as well as development in general. It should be noted that earlier male pre-dominated in rural-urban migration but in the 1970s, there was a shift toward greater female participation in urban-ward flows.

In other countries such as Southeast and East Asia, the increasing female participation in urban-ward migration was associated with the light, labour intensive industrialisation and urban-based services, which utilised female labour. In contrast, the female increase in the particular stream of migration in India was mainly attributed to associational migration (accompanying or joining male family members in the urban areas (Skeldon, 1986). Since the 1980s, however, feminist and gender perspective has been intensively incorporated into migrations studies (e.g., Fawcett, Khoo and Smith, 1984; Chant ed.,1992). A strong objection is raised that the male bias and female self-perception of their gender role have led to undervaluation of women's role as workers (Singh 1984; Karlekar 1995). Singh (1984) refuted the assumption that female migration was solely a result of social and cultural practice. Even in rural-to-rural migration streams of female was not unrelated with female participation in rural-based work including agriculture and construction.

Table 1: Decomposition of Urban Growth

Components of Urban Growth	1961-1971	1971-1981	1981-91	1991-2001	2001-2011
1. Natural Increase	64.6	51.3	61.3	59.4	61.9
2. Population of new towns or less declassified towns	13.8	14.8	9.4	6.2	6.6
3. Increase due to expansion in urban areas and merging of towns	2.9	14.2	7.6	13.0	14.2
4. Net Migration	18.7	19.6	21.7	21.0	22.4

Furthermore, rural-to-urban migration of women is not an isolated phenomenon and needs to be explored with reference to counterbalancing trends and opportunities in rural areas. The significance of employment prospect as a determining factor of female migration even in associational migration has been discussed by many micro studies. Macro data also evidences that work participation rates of migrant women in

the largest cities was higher than non-migrant women as per 1971 census data. However, there are broad regional variations among the female migrants' work participation rates, reflecting differences in social cultural norms practices related to gender roles embedded in the sending societies of migrants. In Delhi, the relatively stronger link between low sex ratios (a larger share of female among total migrants) and high workforce participation by female migrants are observed in the migrant flows from the southern states. The differences in work participation rates are also observed along the line of religion and caste group of migrants. On the basis of a large sample survey in Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh, Oberai, Prasad and Sardana (1989) reports in all the urban areas of the three states, female migrants' work participation rates are generally higher among Christians and Scheduled Castes/Tribe whether married or unmarried.

Education

It has been widely observed that the propensity to migrate increases with education on the inter-state migrants in Delhi finds the share of matriculated and graduates among migrants in the sample was many times higher than that among the population from which they originated (in this case, Punjab, Rajasthan and UP). If we compare the educational level of migrants and non-migrants at the place of destination, broad-based information is rather limited. A study which canvassed information regarding socio-economic characteristics of in-migrants and non-migrants in three states of Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh shows that in case of Bihar and Kerala, the educational level of in-migrants is higher than that of non-migrants whereas in UP the pattern was reversed (Oberai, Prasad and Sardana, 1989). In case of female migrants, the level of education is polarised; there are migrants, literate and employed in modern occupations and also illiterate migrants who are mostly found in occupations with generally low status (Singh, 1984). The level of education is again significantly related to regional and ethnic characteristics of migrants. Among the migrant domestic workers studied, the majority of live-out domestics who are mostly married are found to be illiterate whereas live-in workers, largely single are comparatively better educated (Neeta, 2004).

Child/ women ratio

Child/women ratio is usually an indicator of female fertility. In the light of rural-to-urban migration, relevant information is largely limited to the marital status of female migrants. If we look at the marital status of migrants compared with non-migrants in urban areas, the share of being married is higher than non-migrants.

It is the study done by Oberai and Singh (1983) in Ludhiana district of Punjab, which included the question regarding the effect of rural-to-urban migration on fertility. They found generally higher fertility among migrants, especially, longstanding in-migrants, than non-migrants. However, recent in-migrants have lower fertility than urban non-migrants due to the initial period of separation between spouses and uncertainties as well as costs involved immediately before and after the migration. The fertility among the migrants was also lower than the rural residents. Thus, they conclude that migration has the effect of reducing completed family size as also of lowering fertility during the period immediately following migration. It is reported that infant mortality rate among the migrant children is usually high because of lack of proper child care facilities and support. Citing a study of migrant women in Delhi's slums, Karlekar (1990) notes the mortality rate for female children was significantly higher than for males due to less medical care given to girls than boys.

SC/ST Social network

The importance of social network in migration is widely acknowledged. Thus, the fact that there are a large concentration of migrants belonging to scheduled caste (SC) and scheduled tribe (ST) status, especially in the informal sector (Basu, Basu and Ray, 1987; Kasturi, 1990, Neeta, 2004) suggests the positive effects of SC/STs presence in urban destinations on inducing further rural-to-urban migration. Bhattacharya (2002) in his regression analysis of intra-state rural-urban migration models on the basis of 1981 census data has examined the impact of the SC and ST status as a proxy of social network, on rural-urban migration. His unit of data is state level data and he has analysed only those who mentioned 'employment' as the reason of migration. In his findings, the presence of SC population in urban areas is found to give positive effect on the migration of SCs from rural areas while SC incidence in rural regions is seen to reduce out-migration rates. The ST status, however, was seen not have any effects on rural-to-urban migration. Keeping in view some of these distinct patterns and stylized facts we have tried to regress the rural to urban intra-state and inter-state male and female migration rate on work participation rate at the place of destination, literacy rate, employment composition, child-woman ratio, caste composition in terms of the incidence of lower caste. Also, the association between female and male migration rates is examined. As regards the intra-state male migrants literacy rate in the place of destination attracts inflow of migration while the percentage of workers engaged in household manufacturing shows a negative effect (Table 9). The percentage of scheduled tribe.

Social structure in Migration

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Rural to Urban Migration at the District Level

Turning to rural-urban migration rates at the district level the intrastate migration flows are seen to dominate the interstate flows. Here the migration rates are defined as the gross decadal inflow (1991-2001) of population from the rural areas to the urban areas of the districts as a percentage of total urban population in the district in 2001.

The male and female migration rates – whether intra state or inter state – are strongly correlated (0.889 among the intra state migrants, 0.896 among the inter-state migrants and 0.92 among the combined category). The associations between the inter-state and intra-state rates are however highly negligible suggesting that there is no systematic pattern in terms of magnitude between the intra-state flows and the inter-state flows. In other words, districts which receive migrations largely from the rural areas within the states are not necessarily the ones which also receive large or small quantum of migrants from outside the state. This would mean that the intra-district rates and the inter-district rates are influenced by different sets of factors. In section 4 by allowing the same set of factors at the place of destination to influence both the intra and interstate migration rates we bring in the differences more distinctly. The inter-district variations in the rates are highest in the case of inter-state migration flows. Since the intra state migration rates are much higher in magnitude than the inter-state rates and secondly since the intra-state rates do not show high variations (compared to the inter-state rates), the combined category of migration is closer to that of the intra-state flows in terms of the inter-district variations. The high variability of inter-state migration rates at the district level suggests that the long distance migration pattern is more diverse being subjected to variations in ability to cope with economic, social and cultural factors.

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