



CHANGING PATTERNS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION IN PUNJAB: EMERGING ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

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Abstract

It has been observed that internal migration of various types occur at varying rates in every country. This paper tries to understand the process of internal migration and to find out various reasons behind such migration flows. Further, the study investigated main causes and consequences of internal migration with a special reference to an advanced economy of Indian Punjab. An analysis of available census data from 1981 to 2001 revealed that internal migration had picked up rapidly in Punjab during the 1990s. Compared to the intra-state (short distance) movement, inter-state (long distance) migration grew faster here. To understand trends and determinants of internal migrants, various migration parameters such as the types and streams of migration flows were discussed. In addition, it has tried to suggest an alternate public policy to overcome socio-economic problem arises due to such migration.

Keywords: Economic Development, Migration Inflow, Migration Types, Reasons, Causes and Consequences.

Introduction

In developing economies, structural changes often have many profound spatial implications. The research works primarily focused upon internal migrants, who migrate from the rural to urban areas. Such migration patterns played a central role in the urbanization (Lall et.al, 2006). Many economists (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro, 1976; Oberai and Singh, 1983; Oberai, 1987; Bhagat, 2009) opined that such migration and economic development are intimately related to each other, more so in the less developed countries (LDCs). Surging economic growth of any economy/region certainly generates more employment opportunities for the labour and also enhances labour's mobility within the country/region. Such movements of labour within the country/region are known as internal migration. In the LDCs, internal migration, particularly rural-urban migration stream, led to growth of urbanization and related problems of sharing scarce civic amenities. Migration from rural areas accounted for at least half of all urban growth in Africa during the 1960s and 1970s and about 25 percent of urban growth in the 1980s and 1990s (Brockhoff, 1995). In Brazil, at the peak of its urbanization process, it is estimated that over 20 million people moved from rural to urban areas between the 1950s and the 1970s. In comparison, 20.5 million people in India (30percent of national urban growth) moved from rural to urban areas in the1990s. Kuznets's theory of structural changes which predicted a significant shift of rural labour to industrial sites located in or near by urban settings came true (Kuznets, 1973), more favourably in India. For instance, 205 lakh people in India, which accounted for 30 percent of India's urban growth, moved from the rural to the urban areas in the 1990s (RGI, 2005).

Internal migration in India during the past three decades showed a rising trend. In 1981, out of 6653 lakh of India's total population, 1919 lakh people (28.83 percent) were the migrants by place of last residence. Further, absolute number of internal migrants increased from 2318 lakh (27.64 percent) in 1991 to 3145 lakh (30.57 percent) out of total population of 8386 lakh in 1991 and 10286 lakh in 2001 respectively. Interestingly, out of 3145 lakh internal migrants in 2001, 517 lakh migrants (16.43 percent) were migrated from rural to urban areas. These figures gives a clear indication of

two important things: firstly, internal migration in India still continues to be considerably high; and secondly, inter-state rural-urban migration stream acquired a dominating position amongst three other types of migration streams (rural-rural, urban-urban and urban-rural). And, this rural-urban migration stream has become an important tool to fuel rising urbanization in India (Oberai and Singh, 1987).

Many research studies (Singh,1991; Todaro and Smith, 2004; Breman and Kannan, 2013) revealed that rural-urban migration in India has greatly exceeded the capacity of modern industrial and other urban sectors to absorb the influx of migratory labour. In fact, such migration on a large scale led to mushrooming growth of job-seekers in the formal and informal sectors of urban economy. As a negative consequence, one can find not only to rising rates of unemployment and underemployment, but also to overcrowded housing, growth of slums and relative shortage of public amenities in the urban centres. Further, bulk of new entrants to the urban labour force found to be self-employed or got work in the small-scale enterprises. These self-employed persons engaged themselves in a wide array of activities – ranging from the hawking/street vending, letter writing, knife-sharpening, and junk collecting to the selling fireworks, snake charming, drug peddling, prostituting, etc. Many others got jobs such as the mechanics, carpenters, barbers, small artisans and personal maid/male servants.

This situation clearly promoted informal sector employment in India which is not only unregulated and unorganized, but also bereft of any job protection, decent working conditions, old age pensions and other forms of social security. Already, nearly nine out of ten workers were employed in India's informal sector in 2005 (NCEUS, 2006, 2007 and 2009). Most of them migrated from the rural areas to urban areas and employed in the low paid jobs. Employed in the low paid jobs, other family members (women and children) of the household began to work and worked for the longer hours. It means that more women and children added to the number of job seekers in the urban settings. Most of them shackled again into the poverty and forced to live in the slums and squatter settlements, which generally lacked a minimum amount of public services such as drinking water, proper sanitation, electricity, health services, etc. Thus, the poverty ratio in the urban areas again remains high, although low compared to the rural areas (Haan, 2007).

There can be contrasting reasons for these Migration patterns. On the one hand increasing unemployment, poverty, population pressure, environmental degradation and 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 main objective of this study is to analyze the present situation of migration inflows – what are main causes and consequences of internal migration in Punjab – one of the highly developed states of India – from different perspectives such as gender, types, streams and reasons behind such migration. The paper has been divided into seven sections. Section I, being an introductory in nature, lays down the significance of study. Section II discusses the data sources and methodology of study. Major trends and patterns of internal migration were explained with the help of tables and graphs in Section III. Section IV concentrates upon the spatial parameters of internal migration such as intra-district, inter-district and inter-state migration. Section V works out sex-ratio of migrants by migration types, location and streams to understand gender gap in internal migration properly and precisely. Section VI explains various determinants/reasons behind internal migration in Punjab. Summary, main conclusions and public policy issues are presented in Section VII.

Data Sources and Methodology

Internal migration in India counted by two ways: (i) by place of birth; and (ii) by place of last residence. A person considers as a migrant by place of birth if the place at which he/she is enumerated is different from his/her birth place. However, such measure could not give a correct picture of migration taking place currently because he/she could have migrated a number of time during his/her life time. On the other hand, a person considers as migrant by place of last residence, if the place in which he/she is enumerated during the census is different from his/her place of immediate last residence. Such migration would give a better picture of latest/current migration cases and of past migration if he/she has migrated more than once. Migration by place of last residence would certainly reveal a better picture of patterns and trends of migration going-on in a country/region. Moreover, migration by place of last residence also captures the return migrants correctly, if any (RGI, 2001). Further, internal migration can be of three types: a person could have moved (a) from another village or town in the same district (intra-district); (b) from another district of the state (inter-district); and from another state/s of India (inter-state). Moreover, internal migration follows four different streams: rural-to-rural, rural-to-urban, urban-to-urban and urban-to-rural. For such migration types and streams, India's Population Censuses produce most reliable and scientific data base. In this study, internal migration in Punjab by place of last residence has been studied and the relevant data were taken from the Migration Tables of Population Censuses of 1981, 1991 and 2001.

Pattern of Internal Migration in Punjab

Punjab economy, undoubtedly, has witnessed many dramatic improvements in the agricultural production and productivity with the advent of Green Revolution since the mid-1960s. Success of Green Revolution strategy resulted in not only a substantial rise in state's per capita income, but also generated a great momentum in establishing small and medium industries in the state. In the agriculture sector, application of HYV seeds, agro-chemicals, better credit facilities, assured irrigation through canals and electric tube wells in the state gave a big push to grow multiple crops. In fact, this successful and sustained agricultural transformation not only increased per capita income of people living in the state compared to the people living in other states of India (Gill, 2001), but also attracted the poor people of the poorer states to come here as the migrants (Sidhu et al., 1997).

In the subsequent years, rising agricultural productivity and small scale industrialization gave a tremendous push to the growth of services sector in the state. At the initial stages, both the growth of services and intensive agriculture raised demand for more manual labour in the state. And, shortage of manual labour in Punjab's agricultural sector was fulfilled by the migratory labour coming from the poor states of India such as the UP, Bihar, Rajasthan, etc. A large number of migratory labour employed in the agriculture, however, was seasonal in nature and, when the sowing/harvesting finished, they returned back to their places of origin (Ghuman et al., 2007). In the first decade of new millennium (21st century), mechanization of agriculture in Punjab started on an extensive scale. Most of work related activities in the agriculture sector, except the paddy transplantation and cotton picking, began to done by the machine. This process reduced the demand for manual labour to be employed in the agriculture sector to a nadir.

Further, small scale industries also attracted migratory labour on a large scale to do manual and semi-skilled work at the cheap rates. Even, medium scale industries preferred to employ migratory labour due to a number of reasons (Oberai and Singh, 1983). Although such migratory labour came to the Punjab temporarily at the initial years, yet many of them began to stay here permanently at the work places/factories, in rented houses and many also built their own houses mostly in the urban areas. This process invariably affected the migration steams of an earlier phase

of 1970s and 1980s when the rural-rural migration was dominant pattern compared to the later phase of 1990s and 2000s when rural-to-urban migration began to dominate in the state (Ghuman et al., 2007)

A perusal of data on internal migration data in Punjab (Table 1) revealed some interesting results. First, total number of migrants by place of last residence, in absolute figures, increased from 59.08 lakh in 1981 to 69.60 lakh in 1991 and 91.89 lakh in 2001. In relative terms, however, proportion of total migrants to total population decreased marginally from 35.19 percent in 1981 to 34.31 percent in 1991, but again gained momentum in the next decade to reach at 37.72 percent in 2001. Second, proportion of internal migrants within total migrants increased from 88.49 percent in 1981 to 92.99 percent in 1991 and 96.54 percent in 2001 and proportion of immigrants (external migration) declined from 11.51 percent in 1981 to 6.81 percent in 1991 and 3.46 percent in 2001. It means that internal migration in the state has gained too much dominant position.

Table 1: Distribution of Number of Migrants by Place of Last Residence in Punjab, 1981-2001

Census	Total Population (lakh)	Number of Migrants (Lakh)				Within Migrants (percent)		
		Grand Total	Internal	External	Unclas*	Internal	External	Unclas*
1981	1,67,88,915	59,08,654	52,28,312	6,80,104	238	88.49	11.51	0.00
%	100.00	35.19	31.14	4.05	0.00			
1991	2,02,81,969	69,60,431	64,72,343	4,74,298	13,790	92.99	6.81	0.20
%	100.00	34.31	31.91	2.34	0.07			
2001	2,43,58,999	91,89,438	88,71,043	3,18,391	4	96.54	3.46	0.00
%	100.00	37.72	36.42	1.31	0.00			

*Unclassified.

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Migration Tables).

Further, distribution of internal migrants by gender and duration of residence at enumeration place showed that 30.14 percent of males and 27.67 percent of females have reported 0-9 years' duration of residence in 2001 compared to nearly one-half of male migrants (49.20 percent) and more than one-third of female migrants (36.38 percent) in 1981. A decline in proportionate shares of migrants having 0-9 year's duration in 2001 may be attributed to non-reporting of duration of migration by a large proportion of male migrants (37.76 percent) and female migrants (13.29 percent) in 2001. The males who reported 10-19 years as the migration duration at their last residence showed a declining trend from 22.76 percent in 1981 to 21.09 percent in 1991 and 15.91 percent in 2001, whereas the share of females remained around 24/25 percent during the three censuses of 1981, 1991 and 2001. Interestingly, proportion of internal migrants who came and settled here 20+ years ago also showed a declining trend both for the males and females over time period of study (Table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of Internal Migrants by Sex and Duration of Residence at the Place of Enumeration, 1981 to 2001

Duration	1981		1991		2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Less Year	1,25,999 (8.07)	1,31,801 (3.59)	97,622 (5.66)	1,22,000 (2.57)	97,806 (3.51)	1,21,546 (1.99)
1-4	3,89,936 (24.98)	6,27,735 (17.12)	3,65,415 (21.20)	7,66,159 (16.13)	4,21,505 (15.12)	7,91,944 (13.02)
5-9	2,52,169 (16.15)	5,74,679 (15.67)	2,83,327 (16.44)	7,65,773 (16.13)	3,21,031 (11.51)	7,69,855 (12.66)
10-19	3,55,264 (22.76)	9,03,853 (24.65)	3,63,505 (21.09)	11,92,287 (25.11)	4,43,666 (15.91)	14,33,491 (23.57)
20+	3,63,763 (23.30)	13,63,707 (37.19)	3,83,803 (22.27)	17,28,928 (36.41)	4,51,278 (16.19)	21,57,745 (35.47)
Duration Not Stated	73,933 (4.74)	65,473 (1.79)	2,30,039 (13.35)	1,73,485 (3.65)	10,52,668 (37.76)	8,08,508 (13.29)
Total Migrants	15,61,064 (100.00)	36,67,248 (100.00)	17,23,711 (100.00)	47,48,632 (100.00)	27,87,954 (100.00)	60,83,089 (100.00)

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Migration Tables).

Size and Growth of Migrants' Inflow in Punjab (1981-2001)

For a number of years, Punjab enjoyed a better economic and dynamic position in terms of per capita income amongst the major Indian states. This was largely due to the unprecedented growth of agriculture sector in the state that attracted more migratory labour to shift and get employment here. However, after the mid-1990s on-wards, overall growth of Punjab economy began to slow down, particularly due to the stagnated agricultural production of state. Further, widespread mechanization and automation processes in the agriculture also reduced demand for manual labour in the state. Both these phases impacted upon the growth of internal migration differently, whereas in the former period, more migration flows were moved to the rural areas; and in the latter period, more migration flows were attracted to the urban areas in the state.

The data in Table 3 revealed that in Punjab, intra-district migration alone cornered a major proportion (53.24 percent) of total internal migrants in 1981, 52.65 percent in 1991 and 52.62 percent in 2001; showing the CGRs of 2.04 percent in the decade of 1981-91 and 3.20 percent in the decade of 1991-2001. Actually, most of the intra-district migrants were females who customarily change their parental households and joined their husband's households after the marriage. Further, the share of inter-district migration was marginally reduced to 27.67 per cent in 2001, whereas this share was 30.04 percent in 1991 and 29.78 percent in 1981; revealing per year CGRs as 2.25 percent in the decade of 1981-91 and 2.36 percent in the decade of 1991-2001.

Table 3: Distribution of Internal Migrants in Punjab by Migration Type (1981-2001)

Migration Type	Number of Internal Migrants			Compound Growth Rate percent	
	1981	1991	2001	1991-81	2001-1991
Intra-district (Within District)	27,83,643 (53.24)	34,07,522 (52.65)	46,67,609 (52.62)	2.04	3.20
Inter-district (Between Districts)	15,57,177 (29.78)	19,44,539 (30.04)	24,54,312 (27.67)	2.25	2.36
Inter-state (between States)	8,87,492 (16.97)	11,20,282 (17.31)	17,49,122 (19.72)	2.36	4.56
Total Migrants	52,28,312 (100.00)	64,72,343 (100.00)	88,71,043 (100.00)	2.16	3.20
Total Population	1,67,88,915	2,02,81,969	2,43,58,999	1.91	1.85

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Migration Tables).

On the other side, inter-state migration in Punjab showed a rising trend; up from 16.97 percent in 1981 to 17.31 percent in 1991 and 19.72 percent in 2001; showing very high CGR of 4.56 percent in the decade of 1991-2001 compared to 2.36 percent in the decade of 1981-91 (2.36 percent). The noteworthy point is that the CGRs across different types of internal migrants were high during the decade of 1991-2001 compared to the decade of 1981-91. It means that internal migration in the state, particularly of inter-state variety, increased considerably during the decade of 1991-2001 - the period coinciding with India's economic liberalization policy initiated in 1991 and Punjab's rising growth of urban economy. In Punjab, rising trend of internal migration inflows, especially at the inter-state level, was largely due to the pull factors during the decade of 1991-2001, where the rural-urban migration stream began to dominate. Such rising trends were also found in other developed Indian states such as Haryana, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Delhi (Zachariah, Kannan and Rajan 2002).

In Punjab, inter-state migrants increased from 8.87 lakh in 1981 to 11.20 lakh in 1991 and 17.49 lakh in 2001. Annual CGR was just 2.36 percent in the decade of 1981-91 compared to the annual CGR of 4.56 percent in the decade of 1991-2001 (Table 4). For two full decades, annual CGR was 3.55 per cent during 1981-2001. This implies that the inter-state migrant inflows to Punjab were higher in the decade of 1991-2001 than that of the decade of 1981-1991. Moreover, the data also revealed that there was a sharp rise in the migrant inflows from Bihar state to Punjab state. For example, annual CGR in the case of migration inflows from Bihar state was the highest during both the decades compared to the other states. Bihar state was followed by West Bengal and UP so far as the annual CGRs were concerned during both the time periods.

For examining structure of inter-state migration inflows, the data revealed (Table 4 and Figure 1) that in 1981, Haryana topped with 28.43 percent share of inter-state migrants who came to Punjab, followed by UP with 25.24 percent share, Rajasthan with 14.37 percent share, Himachal Pradesh with 12.87 percent share and Bihar with 5.76 percent. In 1991, Haryana topped again with 26.47 percent share of inter-state migrants who came to Punjab, followed by UP with 9.84 percent share, and Bihar with 8.06 percent share. In 2001, however, sequence was changed when UP gained first place with 32.04 percent share, followed by Haryana with 20.64 percent share, Bihar with 15.26 percent share, Himachal Pradesh with 9.45 percent share and Rajasthan with 7.77 percent share. The analysis clearly showed that Uttar Pradesh has emerged as the most important state that sends large number of migrants to Punjab. This is contrary to the widely held belief that the majority of migrants coming to Punjab are from Bihar (Ghuman et al., 2007). On the whole, Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh (in order of growth rate) had recorded higher CGR than that of other states during the decade of 1991-2001. The relative shares of migrant inflows in Punjab from these four States improved, but the share of migrants declined for the rest of the states included in the analysis.

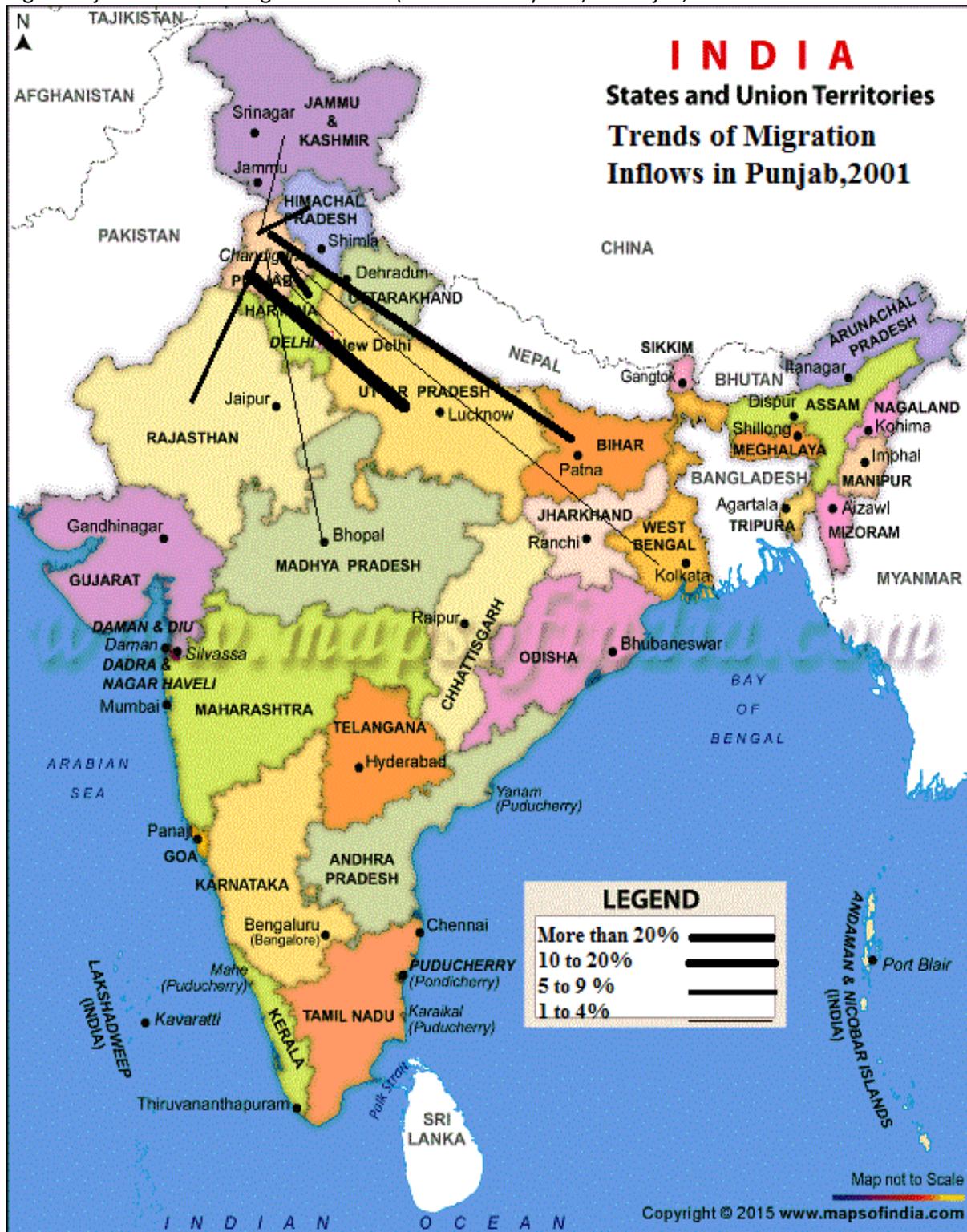
Table 4: Trends of Inter-State Migration Inflows in Punjab by Major States, 1981-2001

States/Years	Census in Fig. (Percent)			Annual CGR (Percent)		
	1981	1991	2001	1981-91	1991-2001	1981-2001
Uttar Pradesh	2,20,216 (25.24)	2,80,350 (24.89)	5,61,629 (32.04)	2.44	7.20	4.79
Haryana	2,48,043 (28.43)	2,98,101 (26.47)	3,61,766 (20.64)	1.86	1.95	1.90
Bihar	50,235 (5.76)	90,723 (8.06)	2,67,409 (15.26)	6.09	11.42	8.72
Himachal Pradesh	1,12,289 (12.87)	1,36,134 (12.09)	1,65,158 (9.42)	1.94	1.95	1.95
Rajasthan	91,879 (14.37)	1,10,853 (9.84)	1,36,168 (7.77)	1.90	2.08	1.99
Chandigarh	23,771 (2.72)	39,000 (3.46)	60,581 (3.46)	5.08	4.50	4.79
Delhi	37,021 (4.24)	46,258 (4.11)	51,623 (2.95)	2.25	1.10	1.68
Jammu & Kashmir	30,223 (3.46)	36,108 (3.21)	47,349 (2.70)	1.80	2.75	2.27
West Bengal	12,970 (1.49)	18,635 (1.65)	45,902 (2.62)	3.69	9.43	6.52
Madhya Pradesh	15,556 (1.78)	15,717 (1.40)	42,151 (2.40)	0.10	10.37	5.11
Total of 10 states	8,42,203 (96.54)	10,71,879 (95.18)	1,739,736 (99.26)	2.44	4.96	3.69
Total for Other States	45,289 (3.46)	48,403 (4.82)	9,386 (0.74)	0.67	-15.13	-9.73
Total of All States	8,87,492 (100.00)	11,20,282 (100.00)	17,49,122 (100.00)	2.36	4.56	3.45

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages.

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Migration Tables).

Fig 1: Major Inter-State Migration Flows (Duration 0-9 years) in Punjab, 2001



Sex-Ratio of Internal Migrants in Punjab by Migration Types

Many studies (Shanti, 1991; Sundari, 2005; Araya et al., 2006) argued that there were vast differences in the migration trends by gender. There may be several cogent reasons behind these gender differences. Generally, majority of males migrate due to the work/employment or business; and most of females when got married go for the migration as they have by custom and societal norms to change parental households and join husband's households (Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003). That's why in recent times it has become vital to examine gender gap in the internal migration. With this objective, sex-ratio of internal migrants (males per 1000 females) by migration type/streams has been used to examine gender migration gap.

The data revealed (Table 5) that both for the short distance (intra and inter-district) and long distance (inter-state) migration types, there was a majority of women who dominated the overall migration pattern. Further, a declining sex-ratio (male/female) during the decade of 1981-1991 across all types of internal migration indicated a declining participation of males in the internal migration process in Punjab. However, a rising sex-ratio (male/female) during the decade of 1991-2001 only for the intra-district and inter-state migration types indicated a rising participation of females. In simple language, one can say if 1000 females were migrating in 2001, then only 458 males were migrated. In the case of intra-district, the sex-ratio rose from 295 in 1991 to 418. In case of inter-state migration type, this sex-ratio also rose from 699 in 1991 to 899 in 2001. The analysis makes it clear that women preferred to move short distance and felt difficult to move for long distance migration types. Overall sex ratio of migrants also showed that the females were more frequently migrating more than that of the males.

Table 5: Sex-Ratio of Internal Migrants in Punjab by Migration Types, 1981-2001 (Males per 1000 females)

Migration Type	Population Census		
	1981	1991	2001
Intra-District	336	295	418
Inter-District	410	334	312
Inter-State	851	699	899
Total Migrants	426	363	458
Total Population	1138	1134	1142

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Migration Tables).

Sex-Ratio of Internal Migrants in Punjab by Migration Streams

It has been observed that in Punjab, women primarily migrate due to the marriage or move with the family unlike the Southeast and East Asia countries where the females migrated due to the 'pull factors' of getting employment generated by labour intensive industrialization and expansion of urban based services (Skeldon, 1986). In Punjab, however, sex-ratio of migrants by migration stream in 2001 also revealed a trend of increasing participation of females in the socio-economic activities (Table 6). For instance, in 2001, the data on sex-ratio of internal migrants revealed that across almost all migration streams; women were dominating the migration pattern, which indicated increasing participation of women in the different migration processes. Moreover, within the state, sex-ratio (male/female) showed a decreasing trend in 2001 when compared to the year of 1981 across all types of internal migration streams (rural-urban, urban-urban, urban-rural, and rural-rural). Further, for both types of migration streams (intra-state and inter-state), sex-ratio in the case of rural-rural stream was very low 147 males and 517 males in 2001 respectively; whereas the sex-ratios was high in the case of urban-to-urban - 652 males for within state and 769 males for inter-state migration stream.

**Table 6: Sex-Ratio of Internal Migrants in Punjab by Migration Streams in Punjab, 1981-2001
 (Males per 1000 Females)**

Migration Streams	1981	1991	2001
Intra-State (Within State)			
Rural-Rural	256	211	147
Rural-Urban	725	659	585
Urban-Rural	397	296	295
Urban-Urban	665	544	652
Inter-State (Between States)			
Rural-Rural	531	395	517
Rural-Urban	1,564	1,273	1,627
Urban-Rural	733	572	564
Urban-Urban	745	814	769

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Migration Tables).

VI

Major Determinants/Reasons of Internal Migration in Punjab

Regarding major determinants/reasons behind the internal migration, the census data need a few clarifications. First, a same list of reason/s were continuously cited both in the 1991 and 2001 population censuses, except for a reason 'business', which was added in 1991 onward. Second, 'natural calamities' as a reason was dropped from the list in 2001. Third, an additional reason 'moved after birth' was added to the listed reasons in 2001 because a large number of mothers moved either to their natal residence or to a place having better medical facility for child delivery. Further, whereas such women are not treated as migrants at these temporary place or residence, but child/children born to they are treated as the migrants when they accompany their parents to their place of normal residence. Though technically, this is migration, the place of birth being different from the place of enumeration for the children born, it was useful to separate this from other categories.

An analysis of data regarding determinants/reasons behind their migration decisions revealed (Table 7) that the determinants/reasons cited by the male and female migrants varied significantly. The 'work or employment' was the most cited reason behind migration by the males (34.67 percent males in 1981, 31.83 percent males in 1991 and 26.39 percent males in 2001). Another important reason behind male migration was 'moved with household/moved after birth'. This reason was reported by 31.45 percent male migrants in 1981, 31.25 percent in 1991 and 26.76 percent in 2001. On the other side, the 'work or employment' was the least important reason/s behind internal migration by the females because just 1.86 percent females in 1981, 1.90 percent females in 1991 and 1.72 percent females in 2001 cited this reason. 'Marriage' was the most important determinant/reason behind female migration in the state as 74.65 percent females in 1981, 79.72 percent females in 1991 and 69.77 percent females in 2001 reported this reason. And, 'moved with household/moved after birth' as a reason of migration amongst the females was cited by just 13.76 percent females in 1981, 10.52 percent females in 1991 and 12.02 percent females in 2001. Compared to this, a higher proportion of males cited this reason (31.45 percent in 1981, 31.25 percent in 1991 and 26.76 percent in 2001).

Table 7: Distribution of Internal Migrants in Punjab by Reasons, 1981-2001

Reason/s	Number of Internal Migrants					
	1981		1991		2001	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Work/ Employment	5,41,189 (34.67)	68,346 (1.86)	5,48,706 (31.83)	90,294 (1.90)	7,35,732 (26.39)	1,04,597 (1.72)
Business	Na	Na	40,778 (2.37)	12,490 (0.26)	20,496 (0.74)	15,953 (0.26)
Education	41,057 (2.63)	34,233 (0.93)	32,430 (1.88)	28,540 (0.60)	21,073 (0.76)	15,377 (0.25)
Marriage	32,505 (2.08)	27,37,611 (74.65)	73,968 (4.29)	37,85,601 (79.72)	42,764 (1.53)	42,44,179 (69.77)
Moved with Household /Moved after Birth	4,91,020 (31.45)	5,04,522 (13.76)	5,38,612 (31.25)	4,99,516 (10.52)	2,46,946 (26.76)	1,58,373 (12.02)
Others	4,55,293 (29.17)	3,22,536 (8.80)	4,89,217 (28.38)	3,32,191 (7.00)	12,21,946 (43.87)	9,72,057 (15.98)
Total migrants	15,61,064 (100.00)	36,67,248 (100.00)	17,23,711 (100.00)	47,48,632 (100.00)	27,87,954 (100.00)	60,83,089 (100.00)

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Migration Tables).

It is clearly highlighted from analysis of determinants/reasons behind internal migration that the 'marriage' is the most important determinant/reason behind females' migration during both the decades (1981-91 and 1991-2001). Amongst the males, 'work/employment' and 'moved with household/moved after birth' continued to be two important reasons behind their migration decisions. In fact, the reason 'moved with household/moved after birth' is largely dependent upon and associated with a person's decision to migrate due to the reason disguised in the 'work/employment'; as in the due course of time, the entire folk of dependents in the household/family have to move to the new place. It means that both the pull and push factors in the form of economic, socio-cultural, political and miscellaneous factors are behind the migration related decisions of males and females in the state.

Main Conclusions and Policy Issues/Recommendations

The study makes it clear that Punjab economy witnessed dramatic improvements by raising agricultural production and productivity since the mid-1960s. It was largely due the success of Green Revolution strategy in the state, which has brought out a substantial rise in the per capita income and living standards of people. Intensive agriculture along with small industries in the state raised a very high demand for the manual labour. The poor people living in the poor/backward states of India started migrating to Punjab initially in the form of seasonal migrants employed in the agriculture sector; and subsequently attracted to the industrial and services sectors and many of them settled permanently in the state. It means that manual and semi-skilled labour belonged to the rural areas willingly or unwillingly preferred to employ in the industrial and services sectors set-up in the urban centres. Many observed a growing tendency of internal migration as well as dominant pattern of rural-urban migration in the state; when compared to three other streams (rural-rural, urban-urban and urban-rural) over the time.

The study also revealed that short-distance migration (intra-district and inter-districts) in Punjab got an overwhelming proportion of internal migrants in Punjab. In fact, most of such migrants were the females who customarily changed their parental households and joined their husband's households after the marriage. Interestingly, long-distance migration (inter-state) in the

state witnessed a rising trend; showing annual CGR of 4.56 percent during 1991-2001 compared to annual CGR of 2.36 percent during 1981-91. The noteworthy point is that annual CGRs across the different types of internal migrants were much higher during 1991-2001 decade as compared to the decade of 1981-91. Interestingly, four states - UP, Bihar, Haryana and Rajasthan – were the major contributors of inter-state migration in Punjab. However, there was a sharp rise in the migration inflows from the Bihar to the Punjab state as annual CGR of migration inflows from Bihar was the highest during both the decades. Bihar was followed by West Bengal and UP in terms of increase as recorded by annual CGRs.

Amongst the internal migrants in Punjab, the data revealed that a large number of women compared to the men participated in the migration process. In the case of inter-state migration type, sex-ratio (male/female) showed a rising tendency from 699 males per 1000 females in 1991 to 899 males per 1000 females in 2001. Further, sex-ratio for rural-rural migration (short-distance) stream was very low 147 males per 1000 females and for long-distance stream was 517 males per 1000 females in 2001; whereas the sex-ratios were too high for urban-urban - 652 males per 1000 females for short-distance migration stream and 769 males per 1000 females for inter-state migration stream. The analysis makes it clear that women preferred to move short distance, but faced difficulties in moving long distance migration types.

Regarding the determinants/reasons behind migration decisions, responses stated by the male/female migrants varied significantly. Amongst the males, 'work/employment' and 'moved with household/moved after birth' were two important reasons behind their migration decisions, whereas 'marriage' was the most important determinant/reason behind females' decisions to migrate during both the decades (1981-91 and 1991-2001). In fact, reason 'moved with household/moved after birth' was associated with a person's decision to migrate largely disguised in the 'work/employment'; as in the due course of time, the entire folk of dependents in the household/family moved to the new place. It means that both the pull and push factors in the form of economic, socio-cultural, political and miscellaneous factors were behind the migration related decisions of males and females in the state.

In fact, a rising tendency of internal migration in Punjab poses several challenges for the policy makers. For instance, rising rural-urban migration caused a strain on available urban land, housing supply and other civic amenities. Regular inflow of migrants from other states already depressed not only the urban wage rates but also caused social and communal tensions in the minds of the natives' vs migrants'. Emergence of slums and separate housing of the migrants came from other states on the fringe of urban towns/cities is cause of concern. In the light of these observations, the state must come forward to provide productive employment opportunities to the rural youth otherwise the rural and poor people will continuously drift into the urban centres in search for better life, income and employment. Further, the state should strive to raise civic amenities and facilities in the urban areas. More vocational training centres be established in the rural areas for better skills and training of the youth for self employment. They must be given more micro-loans as a start-up capital to start their own business ventures.

Appendix-A

A1: Number of Internal Migrants in Punjab by Migration Types, 1981-2001

Migration Type	Population Census								
	1981			1991			2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Intra-district	27,83,643	7,00,633	20,83,010	34,07,522	7,76,494	26,31,028	46,67,609	13,75,748	32,91,861
Inter-district	15,57,177	4,52,428	11,04,749	19,44,539	4,86,481	14,58,058	24,54,312	5,83,946	18,70,366
Inter-state	8,87,492	4,08,002	4,79,490	11,20,282	4,60,736	6,59,546	17,49,122	8,28,260	9,20,862
Total Migrants	52,28,312	15,61,064	36,67,247	64,72,343	17,23,711	47,48,632	88,71,043	27,87,954	60,83,089
Total Population	1,67,88,915	89,37,210	78,51,705	2,02,81,969	1,07,78,034	95,03,935	2,43,58,999	1,29,85,045	1,13,73,954

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Migration Tables).

A2: Number of Internal Migrants in Punjab by Migration Streams, 1981-2001

Streams	1981			1991			2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
	Intra-State (Within the State)								
Rural to Rural	28,80,619	5,87,527	22,93,092	34,91,307	6,08,724	28,82,583	37,82,652	4,84,623	32,98,029
Rural to Urban	6,53,288	2,74,671	3,78,617	8,24,445	3,27,594	4,96,851	9,17,847	3,38,838	5,79,009
Urban to Rural	2,63,866	75,083	1,88,783	3,11,589	71,236	2,40,353	2,48,680	56,656	1,92,024
Urban to Urban	5,28,357	2,11,167	3,17,190	7,10,540	2,50,561	4,59,979	9,54,488	3,76,805	5,77,683
Inter-State (Between the States)									
Rural to Rural	3,11,129	1,07,878	2,03,251	1,06,916	2,70,774	16,020	5,38,392	1,83,509	3,54,883
Rural to Urban	2,00,900	1,22,591	78,399	1,46,632	1,15,194	8,468	6,13,135	3,79,730	2,33,405
Urban to Rural	96,285	40,712	55,573	1,11,840	40,680	71,160	87,350	31,497	55,853
Urban to Urban	2,66,536	1,29,488	1,37,048	3,58,924	1,61,026	1,97,898	4,06,169	1,76,630	2,29,539

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Migration Tables).

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