

Rural to Rural Male Migration in India: 1991

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Abstract

Rural to rural male migration in India is analysed for 1991, statewise, with a view to determining the reasons responsible for this phenomenon. Regional patterns of migration have been identified and the relationship of migration to the distance factor has been examined. Further, intra and inter district and inter-state rural to rural male migration has been studied and areas of high, moderate and low proportion of rural to rural male migrants identified and analysed.

Migration is an equilibrium process which reduces regional disparities at different stages of development and also responsible for the redistribution of population and workers. In other words migration is a phenomenon that takes place over space in search of better standard of living.

There are four flows of migration, i.e. rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural. Rural-rural migration is the first flow of migration. It always takes place among agriculturists, construction workers, or uprooted people (whose whole lands are acquired by the Govt. for the construction of dams, industrial units etc.).

All migration flows are related with stages of economic development of an area (Zelinsky, 1971). Rural to rural flow is associated with the

first stage of socio-economic development, as the socio-economic progress proceeds further rural-urban, urban-urban, urban-rural flows respectively appear in that area. In developing countries large number of people still migrate from one rural to another rural areas, but in the developed countries and developed areas urban-urban and urban to rural streams have occupied prominent position.

Rural to rural migration does not change the socio-economic conditions of any area because the places of origin and destination always have same backgrounds. But it decreases population pressure at the place of origin. It always takes place from the areas with high population pressure to the areas with low pressure of population.

Table No. 1: Number of Male Migrants in Different Streams - 1971 & 1991

Stream	No of Male Migrants		Percentage of Male Migrants	
	1971	1991	1971	1991
Rural-Rural	25,204,402	26,451,780	51.37	43.27
Rural-Urban	11,884,920	18,237,250	24.22	29.83
Urban-Urban	8,242,290	11,529,573	16.81	18.81
Urban-Rural	3,729,123	4,547,492	7.60	7.44

Source: Census of India, 1971-1991

The patterns of male migration in 1991 are more or less similar to that of 1971 census. In 1991 their absolute number increased in all flows of migration but their proportion among the total male migrants decreased in rural to rural and urban to rural migration flow, and on the other hand, their increased proportion was observed

in rural to urban and urban to urban flows as compared to 1971 data (Table 1).

All states and union territories in India experienced rural to rural migration in 1991. However, the proportion of rural to rural male migrants declined in 19 states and 5 union

Table No. 2: Percentage of Rural to Rural Male Migrants 1971-91

Country/States	1971	1991	Change
INDIA	11.19	8.23	-2.96
1 Andhra Pradesh	14.17	12.34	-1.83
2 Arunachal Pradesh	24.41	23.14	-1.23
3 Assam	20.60	13.44	-7.16
4 Bihar	6.04	2.45	-3.59
5 Gujarat	10.93	10.16	-0.77
6 Haryana	9.56	5.42	-4.14
7 Himachal Pradesh	13.48	11.97	-1.51
8 Jammu & Kashmir	8.99	DNA	
9 Karnatka	16.16	12.90	-3.26
10 Kerala	14.39	14.83	+0.44
11 Madhya Pradesh	16.03	11.04	-4.99
12 Maharashtra	13.37	14.62	+1.25
13 Manipur	13.95	3.45	-10.50
14 Meghalaya	28.53	11.79	-16.74
15 Mizoram		8.38	+8.38
16 Nagaland	10.97	5.33	-5.64
17 Orissa	12.86	7.42	-5.44
18 Punjab	7.87	9.45	+1.58
19 Rajasthan	8.48	6.71	-1.77
20 Sikkim	6.29	17.06	+10.77
21 Tamil Nadu	11.45	8.56	-2.89
22 Tripura	15.81	8.84	-7.97
23 Uttar Pradesh	6.11	3.30	-2.81
24 West Bengal	11.39	7.20	-4.19
Union Territories			
1 Andaman & Nicobar	47.45	39.08	-8.37
2 Chandigarh	24.41	47.83	+23.42
3 Dadra Nagar Haveli	21.40	4.88	-16.52
4 Daman & Diu	15.62	11.21	-4.41
5 Lakshdeep	11.61	10.98	-0.63
6 Pondichewry	13.69	22.94	+9.25

Source: Census of India 1971-1991

Table No. 3: Reasons of Male Migrations 1991

	Name of the States	Employment	Business	Education	Family moved	Marriage	Natural Calamities	Other Reasons
1	Andhra Pradesh	22.74	6.92	3.33	30.01	4.51	4.59	27.38
2	Arunachal Pradesh	19.85	3.92	15.62	24.65	3.88	1.82	30.83
3	Assam	21.43	6.55	1.63	36.73	3.72	4.41	25.51
4	Bihar	42.71	11.78	1.93	21.46	3.18	2.45	16.42
5	Gujarat	17.14	8.00	1.36	22.13	5.54	2.25	43.58
6	Goa	20.60	14.35	2.71	28.33	4.57	1.78	27.59
9	Haryana	25.87	8.61	3.51	34.63	3.60	0.75	23.02
8	Himachal Pradesh	32.45	5.31	2.73	30.83	2.44	1.58	24.65
8	Jammu & Kashmir	33.05	9.81	5.16	24.20	2.50	0.84	24.45
0	Karnatka	17.18	14.71	2.53	24.02	3.58	1.69	36.26
11	Kerala	37.92	7.32	3.48	24.49	2.93	0.32	23.53
12	Madhya Pradesh	21.01	9.31	1.63	30.63	4.79	2.54	30.51
13	Maharashtra	28.05	8.61	1.50	25.75	4.65	0.83	30.61
14	Manipur	15.26	8.57	5.57	40.78	4.77	1.37	23.68
15	Meghalaya	12.28	2.92	2.54	35.31	16.70	2.88	27.35
16	Mizoram	12.83	4.16	4.37	25.53	3.39	1.46	48.26
17	Nagaland	13.20	6.44	2.46	41.83	3.15	2.36	30.56
18	Orissa	40.65	5.78	2.85	26.56	4.26	2.26	17.62
19	Punjab	22.69	15.14	0.90	40.54	1.43	0.89	18.39
20	Rajasthan	32.66	16.76	1.88	24.77	2.67	1.07	20.21
21	Sikkim	11.18	4.32	12.12	31.05	9.85	3.93	26.95
22	Tamil Nadu	46.28	3.74	1.27	26.46	5.52	2.15	14.58
23	Tripura	12.23	6.18	1.70	43.91	4.06	3.16	28.73
24	Uttar Pradesh	45.94	11.19	2.69	24.36	2.13	0.87	12.91
25	West Bengal	24.30	6.93	2.38	33.13	4.70	6.38	22.17
Union Territories								
1	Andaman & Nicobar	19.91	6.22	4.06	24.89	2.27	1.08	41.56
2	Chandigarh	14.65	3.49	1.69	40.51	6.17	1.00	32.47
3	Dadra Nagar Haveli	14.52	8.76	5.21	21.33	12.50	4.16	33.49
4	Daman & Diu	9.83	17.86	4.49	33.23	4.01		30.56
5	Dehli	19.45	5.82	5.79	30.63	5.43	0.39	32.47
6	Lakshdeep	8.82	0.35	9.87	14.49	7.28	0.08	53.44
7	Pondichewrry	13.52	3.20	2.11	23.53	9.57	1.14	46.86

Source: Census of India 1991

territories and the proportion of these migrants improved in five states and two union territories, as compared to 1971 (Table 2). The states and union territories, which witnessed improvement in male proportion, are Kerala,

Maharashtra, Punjab, Sikkim and Mizoram, Chandigarh and Delhi.

In Kerala this high increase was recorded due to increase in employment activities: 37.92 percent and family moved 24.49 percent in

rural areas (Table No. 3) and in migration of construction workers from neighbouring states especially from Tamil Nadu (77.31 per cent). Secondly return migrants (from Gulf countries), those who had started their own business or some household industries in rural areas, which further promoted the share of rural-rural male migrants in Kerala (Prakash, 1998). Household industries and construction workers in Maharashtra was partly due to an early start of industries and now partly to the decentralization of industries from big industrial centres to nearby rural areas has increased the proportion of rural to rural male migrants. Besides these reasons Maharashtra and Kerala are also enjoying the benefits of their coastal location.

In this period from 1981 to 1991 Punjab had gone through a very difficult situation due to the terrorist's movements. Some Punjabis who had already migrated to agricultural frontiers areas, returned to their native villages after the assassination of Indira Gandhi and some farmers, those who had shifted to their farmhouses also returned to their native villages or parental houses for security reasons.

Mizoram got the status of statehood after 1971, so rural male migrants were showing high proportion of rural-rural male migrants. Highest change in the proportion of rural-rural male migrants was recorded in Sikkim and reasons behind this rural migration was employment, 11.78 per cent, family moved 31.05 per cent and 26.95 per cent other factors. Employment in construction activities and stationing of troops in rural areas were responsible for high proportion of rural migrants in Sikkim.

Delhi and Chandigarh (7.27 per cent, 23.42 per cent) both are union territories and increased proportion of rural-rural male migrants recorded here is due to step migration (Ravenstein 1885).

Patterns of Rural-Rural Male Migration 1991

Numbering 26451,780 in all, rural-rural male migrants constituted 8.23 per cent of India's rural male population. The highest proportion of male migrants was recorded in Arunachal Pradesh 23.18 per cent followed by Sikkim 17.06 per cent, Kerala 14.83 per cent, Maharashtra 14.62 per cent, Karnataka 12.90 per cent and Andhra Pradesh 12.34 per cent (Table 2). All Union Territories experienced high proportion of rural-rural male migrants due to their low share of rural male population.

Map 1, prepared by using statewide data depicts wide spatial variations of the proportion of rural to rural male migrants to rural male population. As per this map the country can be categorized into the following three types of areas:

- Areas with relatively high proportion of rural-rural male migrants (above 12 per cent)
- Areas with relatively moderate proportion of rural-rural male migrants (8-12 per cent)
- Areas with relatively low proportion of rural-rural male migrants (below 8 per cent)

Areas with Relatively High Proportion of Rural-Rural Male Migrants: were Observed in Following Three Type of Areas:

1. Coastal regions
2. Northeastern region
3. Areas having low share of rural population

Coastal Regions: These states are mainly Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, which constituted 54.71 per cent share of the total rural-rural male migrants. Relatively high proportions of rural to rural male migrants in these areas were attributed to several factors:

1. Coffee and tea plantation in Karnataka and Kerala

Table No. 4: Rural to Rural Male Migrants by Distance of Source Areas, 1991

Name of the State	Intra-District		Inter-District		Inter-State	
	1971	1991	1971	1991	1971	1991
INDIA	72.38	71.41	18.68	20.56	11.93	8.02
Assam	73.80	66.35	14.99	25.64	11.93	8.00
Arunachal Pradesh	67.59	55.00	4.63	10.54	27.77	34.46
Sikkim	41.46	68.21	12.86	15.80	45.68	15.63

Source: Census of India 1971, 1991

2. Activities relating to mining and quarrying in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh
3. Multipurpose projects also induced rural in-migration
4. Urban workers residing in rural areas nearby big urban centers
5. Large scale sale of agricultural land in Andhra Pradesh due to the introduction of Land Ceiling Act. This attracted persons from other parts of the regions (Rao, 1986)
6. The tribals leased most of their lands to non-tribals, which further stimulated rural to rural migration.

Northeastern Regions: Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim states came in this category. Assam was the preferred destination of all types of migrants for the past many decades. In 1991 the proportion of rural to rural interstate male migrants declined to 8.02 per cent in while in 1971 this percentage was 11.98 per cent (Table 4). Now the proportion of interstate migrants declined and the proportion of inter-district migration had increased in Assam. Another interesting thing to note is that migrants had changed their destination from Assam to other states such as Arunachal Pradesh, where the percentage of interstate male migrants had increased as compared to 1971 (Table 4).

In Arunachal Pradesh intra-district proportion of male migrants decreased from 67.59 per cent to 55.00 percent, but the inter-district and inter-state migration increased from 4.63 per cent to 1.54 percent and from 27.77 percent to 34.46 percent, respectively. Stationing of troops and construction activities in these regions led to notable inflow of rural migrants.

Areas Having Low Share of Rural Population: Relatively high share of rural to rural male migrants to total rural male population was found in Delhi and Chandigarh Union Territories due to their lower share of rural areas and rural population. These rural migrants were absorbed in employment sectors about 55.66 per cent in Chandigarh, 51.13 per cent in Delhi (Table No. 3) such as domestic servants, contract labourer, rickshaw puller etc.

Relatively Low Proportion of Rural-Rural Male Migrants

Relatively low proportion of rural-rural male migrants were observed in the states of Bihar (2.45 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (3.30 per cent), Manipur (3.45 per cent), Nagaland (5.33 per cent) Haryana (5.42 per cent), Rajasthan (6.71 per cent) West Bengal (7.20 per cent), Orissa (7.42 per cent) and only in one Union Territory, Dadra and Nagar Haveli 4.88 per cent (Table No. 2). These areas are further divided into following types:

- (a) Economically Poor areas
- (b) Industrially and agriculturally developed areas
- (c) Tribal areas

1. *Economically Poor Areas*: Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, and Rajasthan are economically poor states. Large number of people have out-migrated from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan in the form of labourer due to low level industrial development and absence of good conditions for agricultural activities in the states. Nearly 4,093,002 rural male migrants have migrated from these states to other rural areas within the state and to other states, according to 1991 census, in search of livelihood and employment. From Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (16.15 per cent, 26.68 per cent) labourers normally switch over to Punjab, which lags far behind in natural resources as compared to Bihar.

2. *Industrially and Agriculturally Developed Areas*: Although West Bengal and Haryana are developed states in terms of industry and agriculture, yet the total number of migrants are low. In West Bengal, large number of migrants moved within the state and the number of migrants from other states are lower because of lesser job opportunities for outsiders. Haryana although a developed state in terms agriculture, but due to the non-availability of new agricultural lands the number of migrants is lower. But it attracted large number of migrants from other states because it acts like a dormitory area where people can reside in rural areas but they work in the nearby urban centres.

3. *Tribal Areas*: Manipur and Nagaland are the tribal states, which discouraged inflow of migrants.

Moderate Proportion of Rural-to-Rural Male Migrants

Moderate proportion of rural-rural male migrants in 1991 was found in the states of Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Punjab,

Himachal Pradesh, Tripura and Mizoram. All these areas are scattered in the country and located in different regions such as in South Tamil Nadu where language barriers discourage migrants, in the centre, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat where mining, industrial activities attract a large number of local people, in the north, some districts of Punjab and Himachal, in this decade, Punjab discouraged long distance migration due to disturbance in the state and Himachal Pradesh employed local people in construction activities.

Migration and Distance

Distance plays a very important role in migration both in terms of characteristics of migrants as well as volume of migrants (Lee, 1966). Poor economic conditions and lack of information about the destination in the rural areas, reduces the volume of long-distance migration.

Among all the four flows of migration streams in the country, rural to rural male migration streams was characterized by short distance migration.

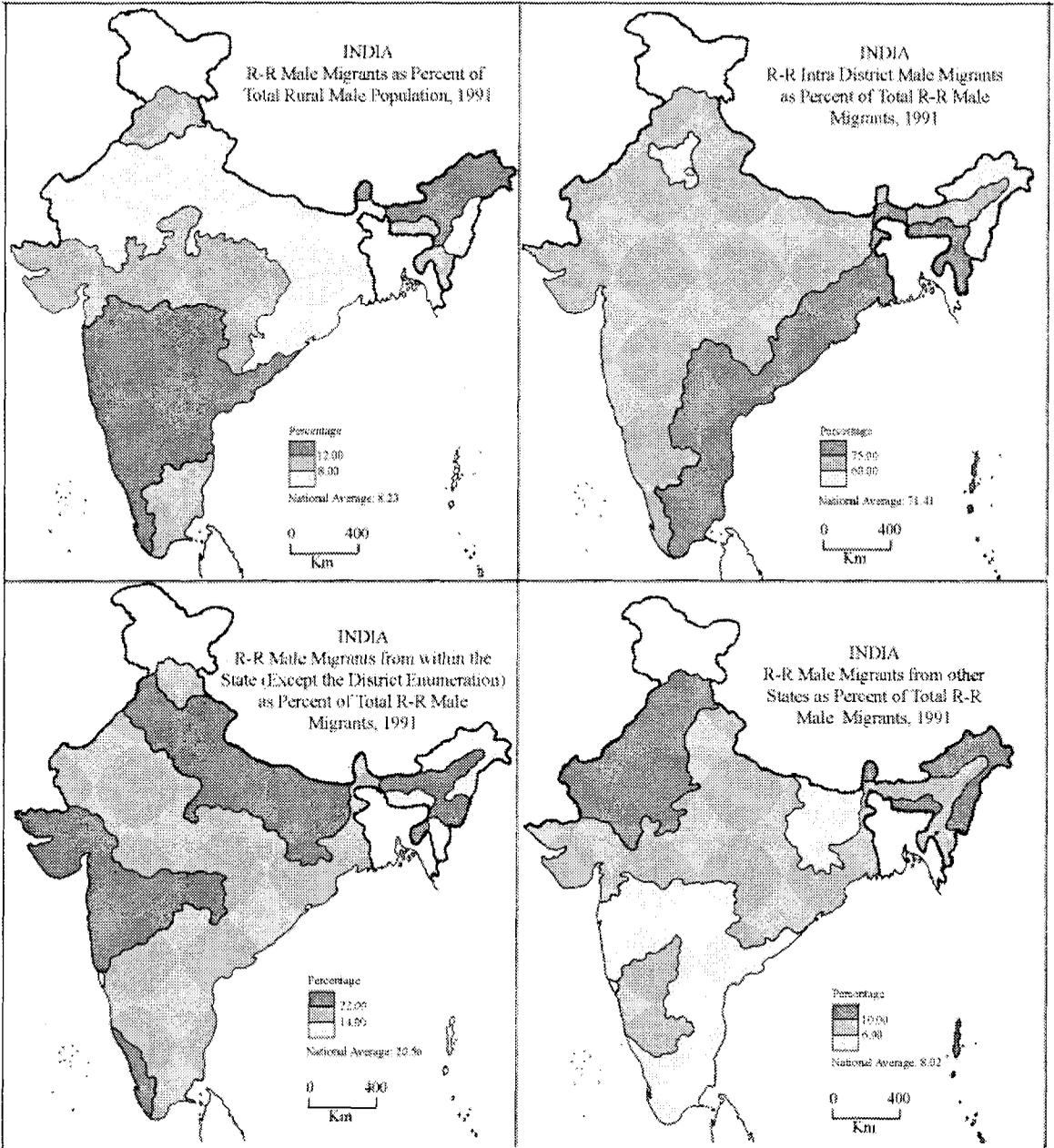
Regarding distance, census of India provides information on migration at three levels:

- i. Intra-district
- ii. Inter-district
- iii Inter state.

Intra-district, Rural-Rural Male Migration

According to 1991 census, rural-rural flow of males was mainly over short distances as about 91.97 per cent male migrants migrated in the state of enumeration (Map No. 3) and among them 71.41 moved within the district of enumeration (Map No. 2).

With the national average of the proportion of intra-district, rural-rural male migrants to total rural-rural male migrants showed strong inter-regional variations from 35.36 per cent in



Haryana to 82.57 per cent in Andhra Pradesh in case of states and it ranged between 2.29 per cent in Chandigarh to 70.52 percent in Lakshdweep. All these states are situated along the eastern coast of the country; starting from

Tamil Nadu in the South and to Mizoram in the Northeast. From Tamil Nadu to West Bengal all these states are potential areas of employment opportunities due to their location on the sea-coast (Map No. 2).

Table No. 5: Proportion of Rural-Rural Male Migrants by Distance: 1991

Name of the States	Intra-District	Inter-District	Inter-State
INDIA	71.41	20.56	8.02
1 Andhra Pradesh	82.57	14.85	2.57
2 Arunachal Pradesh	55.00	10.54	34.46
3 Assam	66.35	25.64	8.00
4 Bihar	63.93	29.59	6.48
5 Gujarat	68.34	23.52	8.43
6 Goa	DNA	DNA	DNA
9 Haryana	35.36	23.50	41.14
8 Himachal Pradesh	69.50	17.56	12.94
9 Jammu & Kashmir	DNA	DNA	DNA
10 Karnatka	74.38	17.99	7.63
11 Kerala	66.38	29.51	4.27
12 Madhya Pradesh	73.57	19.31	7.12
13 Maharashtra	71.70	22.74	5.57
14 Manipur	59.00	22.92	18.08
15 Meghalaya	75.91	7.97	16.12
16 Mizoram	83.65	9.10	7.24
17 Nagaland	50.53	19.17	30.30
18 Orissa	75.21	17.59	7.20
19 Punjab	60.84	24.22	14.94
20 Rajasthan	70.71	18.82	10.47
21 Sikkim	68.26	15.80	15.93
22 Tamil Nadu	80.36	17.33	2.32
23 Tripura	77.46	15.14	7.39
24 Uttar Pradesh	65.90	25.57	8.53
25 West Bengal	75.39	15.03	9.58
Union Territories			
1 Andaman & Nicobar	46.94	6.43	46.63
2 Chandigarh	2.29	Nil	97.70
3 Dadra Nagar Haveli	38.25	Nil	61.71
4 Daman & Diu	26.34	Nil	74.66
5 Dehli	2.29	Nil	97.70
6 Lakshdeep	70.52	Nil	29.47
7 Pondichewrry	32.85	1.03	66.11

Source: Census of India 1991, Migration Tables

Relatively high proportion of these migrants was found in seven states where the proportion of intra-district migration was over 50 percent.

Besides, in the southern states such as Tamil Nadu and Karnataka linguistic barriers has discouraged long distance migration on the one hand, but encouraged short distance and intra-district migration on the other hand.

Furthermore, the cultivation of commercial crops, drew large number of migrants from neighbouring states in Andhra Pradesh (Tobacco) and Tamil Nadu (Tea, Coffee).

Mines and plantations in Orissa are located at a distance from the available pools of labourers which raised the proportion of intra-district migrants. Agricultural activities in West Bengal were responsible for the high proportion of intra-district rural to rural male migration.

This proportion was high in some of the northeastern states due to their tribal culture, tribals migrated to those place which are near their settlements and their migration did not make any impact on their standard of living.

Moderate proportion of intra-district male migrants was recorded in the states of Karnataka 74.38 per cent, Madhya Pradesh 73.57 per cent, Maharashtra 71.70 per cent, Rajasthan 70.01 per cent, Sikkim 68.21 per cent, Punjab 60.84 per cent, Uttar Pradesh 65.90 per cent, Assam 66.35 per cent and only in one Union Territory of Lakshdweep (66.365 per cent).

Low proportion of intra-district migration was recorded in the states of Haryana, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and Manipur where inter-state migration was very high.

Inter-District Rural to Rural Migration

Inter-district rural-rural male migration ranged between 29.31 per cent in Kerala and 7.97 per cent in Meghalaya in the case of states but 0.60 per cent Delhi to 15.90 per cent Lakshdweep in Union Territories (Map No. 3).

Relatively high proportions of male migrants were found mainly in these states that are characterized by plantation, agricultural and household industrial activities. So Kerala, Manipur and Assam attracted large number of male migrants due to the plantation activities. In Haryana and Punjab migrants were absorbed in agricultural activities. In states of Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra these workers are engaged in household industries.

Low proportion of intra-state rural to rural migrant was recorded in those states where number of districts in the state was low and in union territories where there is only one unit or district.

Moderate proportion of intra-state migrants was found in most of the states because they have vast information about the native states, so they preferred to migrate in the neighbouring districts of the same state to earn their livelihood.

Inter-State Rural-Rural Male Migration

Inter-state rural male migrants constituted only 8.02 per cent of total rural-rural male migrants in 1991 as compared to 1971 when it was 11.93 per cent to total rural-rural male migrants. The proportion of rural-rural male migrants was declining due to the introduction of development activities in all states. Decline in the proportion of rural-rural male migrants is the indicator of socio-economic development of the country (Zelinsky, 1971) or state. Secondly The share of male migrants was very low in this stream because rural poverty discouraged long distance migration but encouraged short distance migration (Table No. 4) that is inter-district migration.

On the basis of inter-state male migration the country has been divided into following three categories (Map No. 4):

- Areas with relatively high proportion of rural-rural male migrants (Above 10 per cent)
- Areas of moderate proportion of rural-rural male migrants (6 to 10 per cent)
- Areas of relatively low proportion of rural-rural male migrants (Below 6 per cent)

Areas With Relatively High Proportion of Rural to Rural Male Migrants

Relatively high share of interstate rural-rural male migrants was found in eight states and in all Union Territories. In all these states

proportion of inter-state migrants are above the national average (8.02 per cent). Highest proportion of migrants was observed in Haryana 41.41 percent and lowest in Tamil Nadu, 2.32 percent, in case of the states. In case of Union Territories it ranged between 97.90 percent Chandigarh to 29.47 percent Lakshdweep. These are further divided into three types of areas. There are mainly:

- (a) Northwestern region
- (b) Northeastern region
- (c) Union territories

North Western Region: Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan are three major states, where high proportion of these migrants was registered. Haryana and Punjab has been demanding labour for various activities through the pull factors from neighbouring and far off states of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh and Bihar. In the wake of Green Revolution in Punjab and also in Haryana, for the intensive cultivation of crops, the farmers of the state largely depend on migrant labour for various agricultural operations. According to 1991 census that about 26 per cent of rural male migrants in Punjab belonged to Uttar Pradesh, 22.42 per cent to Haryana, 16.15 per cent to Bihar, 12.20 per cent, Rajasthan and 11.19 per cent to Himachal Pradesh.

In case of Haryana, 95.10 per cent of rural male migrants hailed from the states of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Bihar, and Himachal Pradesh. Haryana had received large of agriculturists from Punjab in late 1950s; at that time, Haryana had sponsored some policies for development of frontier areas or alkaline infested areas and allotted unfertile land to their employees. Now a large number of Punjabis cultivated that land on the basis of lease or some had purchased that land (Primary survey).

Northeastern Region: Arunachal Pradesh (34.46 per cent), Nagaland (30.30 per cent), Manipur

(18.08 per cent), and Meghalaya (16.12 per cent) were contributing 99.06 per cent of total rural-rural male migrants that is relatively a high share. In the previous decade the proportion of inter-state male migrants was very high in Assam but after the disturbances in Assam, migrants changed their destination towards the adjoining states of Assam such as Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur etc (Map No. 4).

Due to the strategic location of these states, military and paramilitary forces also raised the proportion of rural male migrants in these states. It is interesting to note that marriage is the second main reason of rural male migration in Meghalaya. It contributed 35.94 per cent of rural to rural male migrants due to different marriage systems, where the grooms moved to their wives' houses after marriage (Table No. 3)

(c) Union Territories: Union Territories were also registering high proportion of rural-rural inter state male migrants because of their smaller size of rural population and absence of districts, so they received all migrants from other states mainly the districts adjoining districts of neighbouring states.

Table No. 6: Rural-Rural Male Migrants from Other States: 1991

Original State	Destination State	
	Punjab	Haryana
Himachal Pradesh	11.19	1.09
Rajasthan	12.20	22.90
Bihar	16.15	6.36
Uttar Pradesh	26.68	33.50
Haryana	22.42	—
Punjab	—	31.50

Source: Census of India, 1991

Table No. 7: Proportion of Rural-Rural Migrants in 1971

	Original State		Destination State	
	Arunachal Pradesh	Manipur	Nagaland	Meghalaya
Assam	66.18	51.59	48.14	76.40
Bihar	15.35	7.34	16.00	10.28
Uttar Pradesh	6.24	8.46	5.81	1.68
West Bengal	2.87	4.65	Nil	3.59

Source: *Census of India, 1991*

Moderate Proportion of Migrants

Maharashtra and West Bengal are known industrial states and they have an advantage of early start of industrialization because of their location along the seacoast. Due to overcrowding of people and industries in these cities, state governments have decentralized some industrial units, in rural areas of these states so this change has reduced interstate migration. Secondly, some development activities have also started in rural areas of other states that are responsible for the reduced number of these migrants. But these states are receiving large number of migrants from other districts of the state. The cultivation of commercial crops on a large scale such as sugarcane in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka; tobacco in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka; and coffee in Karnataka also drew large number of migrants from other districts of the state and within the district of enumeration.

Agriculturally developed parts of west Bengal and Madhya Pradesh drew labourers from other districts of the state and some from other states.

Moderate proportion of male migrants was also found in the states of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh attracted large number of migrants from Punjab and Haryana (Table 8), mainly due to the availability of agri-

cultural land in Tarai area in Uttar Pradesh and in the western parts of Rajasthan. Some migrants in Rajasthan are absorbed in mining and construction activities and in Uttar Pradesh they are engaged in leather and sugar factories.

Low Proportion of rural-rural male migrants

Low share of interstate rural-rural male migrants was found in three southern states. Language is the main barrier in these states, which has discouraged long distance migration. Besides this, household and plantation activities has raised the proportion of intra-inter district rural male migration.

All migration flows are related to the pace of economic development in any area. The proportion of rural to rural male migrants to rural male population was higher in 1971 as compared to 1991. It indicates that rural-rural migration flow is negatively correlated with economic development and urban to urban migration flow is positively correlated. Rural-rural migration does not change the place of origin and destination.

Highest proportion of rural to rural migrants was observed in the plantation areas of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh, mining and quarrying area of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh and around the big cities, due to step-wise migration at con-

Table No. 8: Proportion of interstate rural male migrants in same states: 1991

Last place of residence	Present place of residence	
	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh
Bihar	3.35	35.23
M.P.	18.41	16.11
Punjab	31.22	23.25
Uttar Pradesh	1332	—
Haryana	23.69	6.02

Source: Census of India, 1991.

struction sites of dams and due to the establishment of industrial units in rural areas.

On the other hand relatively, low proportion of rural-rural male migrants was found in the economically poor states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan and Tribal areas due to the low level of development in rural areas and in the rural areas that are situated around the big industrial centres.

Short distance migration was the characteristic feature of rural-rural male migration and about ninety two per cent males migrated within the state of enumeration and only about eight per cent moved out of the state. Relatively high proportion of rural-rural male migrants was observed only in the agriculturally developed and plantation areas. Other areas where the base of rural population was very small, also show higher proportion of rural-rural male migrants. Low proportion of inter-state rural-rural male migrants was observed in the southern states due to the linguistic barrier and due to development of household industries.

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