

## **Non-Tribal Migration into Tribal Areas of Utnoor Taluk in Andhra Pradesh\***

POPULATION analysis for tribal areas are very rarely undertaken in India by either demographers or sociologists or anthropologists. The reasons may be that the general and widely shared impression that the tribal areas are sparsely populated and the belief that population factors are not the traditional province of the anthropologists who mostly concern themselves with culture, religion, and social structure, etc., of the tribal peoples. The functional tie between population on the one hand and social and cultural factors on the other was more often acknowledged than investigated.

Since Independence, tribal areas of the country are experiencing population growth owing mainly to the immigration, leading to a number of socio-economic and political consequences. The patterns, causes and implications of population movements into the tribal areas need detailed investigation. This paper reports some results of such a study of a tribal area in Andhra Pradesh.

### The Study Area

The locale and unit of this study was Utnoor Taluk of the Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh. The principal investigator of this study has enjoyed an inti-

\*This research paper is based on the Ph. D. Dissertation of Dr. V. N. V. K. Sastry titled: "Culture Contact: A Case Study of The Social Dynamics of Population Influx into Tribal Areas of Utnoor Taluk of Adilabad District, Andhra Pradesh, India", submitted to Andhra University in 1979 under the supervision of Dr. C. R. Prasad Rao, Reader in Sociology, Andhra University, Waltair.

mate familiarity with the area for over a period of six years and this has helped him to acquire some insights into the formative forces operating in the area. The revenue and geographical boundaries of the taluk have remained unchanged over a period of sixty years preceding the 1971 Census. As such authentic and comparable population statistics are available for the area from the various Census records. This taluk was a predominantly tribal area until 1941 (Sethumadhav Rao, 1949). As shown in Table 1, the taluk has, however, experienced a rapid rate of population growth of 60.13% in 1951-61 and 70.28% in 1961-71, the highest growth rate for any taluk in the State and perhaps also in the entire country. This steep and sudden increase in the population of the area compelled a detailed examination into its causes and patterns.

The dominant tribe inhabiting the area is Raj Gond\*, once a ruling race, whose ways of life, including the social structure were emulated by other tribes of the area.

### Population Changes

The data on interdecade variations in population for the period 1901-71 are presented in Table 1.

**TABLE 1 : UTNOOR TALUK—ABSOLUTE POPULATION CHANGES  
1901—1971**

<i>St. No.</i>	<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Total Number of Persons</i>	<i>Decade Variation in Percentage</i>
1.	1901	18,461	—
2.	1911	23,651	+ 28.11
3.	1921	24,989	+ 5.66
4.	1931	29,048	+ 16.24
5.	1941	31,396	+ 8.08
6.	1951	34,404	+ 9.58
7.	1961	55,099	+60.13
8.	1971	93,823	+ 70.28

There has been a continual though uneven increase in the population from 1901 to 1971. From 1951 onwards the rate of growth has been steep and accelerating. So rapid an increase in population could not obviously be a result of

\*For a detailed description of the Gond social life, see the dissertation.

natural growth alone; and a large part of it is attributable to immigration. This is evident when we divide the total population of the taluk into its tribal and non-tribal components. This fact rests on the evidence that the non-tribal constituted a very small fraction in the taluk population till 1941. Significantly, for the entire district the average growth rate was only 25 per cent during 1961-71. Table 2 gives a picture of the relative variations of the tribal and non-tribal population of the taluk.

**TABLE 2— UTNOOR TALUK: POPULATION GROWTH—TRIBAL AND NON-TRIBAL (1961—1971)**

SI. No.	Category	Census		%increase
		1961	1971	
1.	Tribal	32,953	47,084	42.88
2.	Non-tribal	22,146	46,739	111.05
	Total:	55,099	93,823	70.28

(SOURCE : Census of India, 1961 and 1971)

The tribal and non-tribal components of the taluk's population have registered increases of 43% and 111%, respectively. The increase recorded for the non-tribals was more than twice the increase for the tribals. It would appear that a part of the 43 per cent increase for the tribal population may be due to immigration of tribals from other areas, as the increase in their numbers was much higher than can be expected by natural growth alone.

The question that arises here is what forces have caused these tribal and non-tribal migrations into the study area? Immigration literature suggests that migration occurs when there is partition of a country (Malhotra, 1964 : 176), when the state sponsors it for rehabilitation or relocation purposes, when personal security is wanting because of group factions and conflicts (Ravenstein, 1889 : 286) or due to natural calamities (Bogue, 1969). Whereas such cases generally represent instances of forced or involuntary migration, voluntary migration takes place for a variety of rational considerations (Carr Saunders, 1922). While the first migrants move in search of livelihood or better wages and amenities with, of course, a certain amount of uncertainty and risk, the later migrants come owing to their personal ties with earlier migrants (Hussain, 1956; and Misra, 1959). The first migrants establish live channels of contact and communication with natives they left behind and transmit knowledge of the attractive features and potential of the place of migration (Malhotra, 1964:180). In this process

of migration, men generally are the first to move, followed sooner or later by their families (Mukherjee and Singh, 1961 : 50). The later migrants may also come due to marriage (Zachariah, 1964 : 9). Thus, there are both 'pull' and 'push' factors, both voluntary and involuntary causes of migration. Keeping these theoretical and empirical possibilities in mind, the factors contributing to the migration of tribals and non-tribals into Uttoor taluk were comprehended under three broad categories: (i) administrative-cum-legislative factors; (ii) developmental and infrastructural changes; and (iii) social and cultural factors. The observed population growth particularly from 1951 onwards in Uttoor taluk was considered a collective product of these three sets of forces operating simultaneously and cumulatively.

(i) *Administrative-cum-Legislative factors.* By way of background, it may be stated that the crucial among the first set of causes for the population increase in Uttoor area is the historical fact of the dissolution of Gond Kingdoms consequent upon their overthrow by Moghuls and later by Yadava and Nizam Rulers. The significance of the continuous succession of external rule of the Gondwana lies in the inevitable result that the Gonds had no breathing time or opportunity to reassert themselves against the rulers to recapture fully their political autonomy. It is interesting to speculate why the Gonds preferred or were forced to remain under subjection for centuries without manifesting an urge to regain their lost glory and independence. But all this is a matter of conjectural history. One of the reasons for the absence of any revolt by the Gonds is that the rulers had imposed an indirect rule for some time by appointing Gond tribal chiefs as their ruling agents subject to their overlordship. This practice is reflected in the conferment of Zamindaris, Jagirs and Inams. The Gond chiefs were the 'de facto' rulers of the area. Themselves, relatively more sanskritized and enjoying Me facto' power and autonomy, the tribal chiefs did not probably experience any strong urge or need for a revolt. On the contrary, in return for their ruling privileges, the tribal chiefs had to meet the obligation of populating the areas (Sethumadhav Rao, 1949) with more civilized people under their control. This deliberate policy of populating the area formed the first administrative factor contributing to guided, selective and controlled immigration of non-tribals into the Gondwana.

The second factor of administrative change resulting in population influx is the induction of revenue officials, namely Deshmukhs and Deshpandes as parallel figures of authority charged with the secular functions of collecting village revenues and maintaining village accounts. This measure had the effect of splitting and depolarising the local authority which hitherto was concentra-

ted with the tribal chiefs. Before the advent of Deshmukhs and Deshpandes, both secular and socio-religious authority vested in the same tribal chief which was now split within the tribal chiefs remaining for all practical purposes a religious authority and losing their secular authority in a gradual process of their involuntary surrender. As anywhere, when there is a conflict or competition among different types of authority, generally, the secular authority supported by the sanctions of political office or money-power wins against the religious or moral authority. Thus, the dynamics unleashed by the above mentioned change in the administrative set up has resulted in the undermining of the authority crystallization centered in Gond chiefs, paving the way for increasing control by the Deshpandes and Deshmukhs who were naturally motivated to bring in their own supporters. Further, the latter had to appoint for their assistance, the village Patwaris and Patels in the villages within their jurisdiction. This facilitated and sanctioned administratively and legally a legitimate influx of non-tribal population.

Later the Nizam Government pursued a deliberate policy of encouraging migration in order to increase the revenue from the hill and forest areas, which was quite meagre (Haimendorf, 1945 : 67). Implied in this policy was the assumption that the presence of other than tribal population was necessary to develop the area and increase its revenue. This policy was a product of ethnocentricism in the sense that it assumed that tribal people required the contact and stimulation of the developed and dynamic populations from the plains. Further, the tribal population of the area in those times was too small in size for the vastness of the area and hence development required more manpower, that too of higher skills and a different kind qualitatively, to make the area more habitable and revenue-yielding. This was the reason for extending the law and order of the 'civilized' areas to the erstwhile tribal dominions and as Haimendorf holds "the extension of law and order to areas which in earlier days had been virtually unadministered, enabled traders and money lenders to establish themselves in aboriginal villages and exploit the tribeman's ignorance of the working of a money economy to their own benefit" (1977: 2). Along with the extension of law and order and the consequent policy of promoting population growth, there had occurred, to some extent, an incorporation of the tribal areas into the wider economy of the region, or even the nation. The very presence of plains\* population in tribal areas had automatically brought the tribal areas under the influence of the national or the regional economy.

(it) *Developmental and Infrastructure Facilities.* The population growth, which varied within a narrow range till 1951 had greatly accelerated thereafter. An

examination of the data on development history of the taluk shows that road building and improvement in social facilities preceded the steep increase in population. To test this, the villages in the taluk have been categorized as roadside and interior villages and the impact of road development and social facilities development on population growth was studied.

#### ROAD DEVELOPMENT

Till 1931, there was no important road in Uttoor taluk (Hyderabad District Gazetteers, 1940). A major road serving as an all-weather highway was laid and opened by the time of the Census year of 1941, (Census of India, 1941) connecting Uttoor village, the taluk headquarters, with Gudihatnoor village on Hyderabad-Nagpur highway. This road connected Uttoor to Adilabad, the district headquarters on the one hand and Hyderabad, the state headquarters on the other. Between 1961 and 1971, two more important all-weather roads were laid, one connecting Uttoor with Asifabad, headquarters of the adjoining taluk on Karimnagar-Rajura highway and the other, connecting it to Indanpally village on Laxetipet-Nirmal road. These three roads, one stretching westwards to Hyderabad-Nagpur highway, the second, eastwards to Karimnagar-Rajura highway, and the third southward to join the major district road, virtually opened the whole taluk to outside communications. Some kutchra roads were also laid in this period connecting the taluk villages with these three all-weather roads. The percentage of villages with some type of road had accordingly increased from 9.47 in 1941 to 75.15 in 1971. At the taluk level, there seems to be a correlation between road development and population increase as we compare this road development data with that of population growth in Table-1. In order to understand the exact relationship, a detailed analysis is done as reported in Table-3.

**TABLE 3 POPULATION INCREASE IN ROADSIDE AND INTERIOR VILLAGES**

Sl. No.	Census	Population		Total
		Roadside villages	Interior villages	
1.	1941	11,869	19,527	31,396
2.	1951	15,111	19,293	34,404
	(% increase over 1941)	(27.31)	(-1.20)	(9.58)
3.	1961	23,869	31,230	55,099
	(% increase over 1951)	(101.30)	(59.23)	(75.50)
4.	1971	36,573	57,250	93,823
	(% increase over 1961)	(208.14)	(193.18)	(205.39)

SOURCE : District Census Handbooks for Adilabad District, 1941, 1951, 1961 & 1971. Director of Census Operations, Hyderabad.

The above Table 3 shows that upto 1961, the population growth was **more** in the category of roadside villages (i.e., 27% and 101%) than in that of the interior villages, (i.e., — 1.2 % and 59%). By 1971, the interior villages also registered a remarkable growth *in* population (193%), overshadowing the effect attributed to road development. It was, therefore, hypothesized that social facilities development rather than road development was the most *immediate* and *direct* cause of population growth, and that development of protected drinking water, public health and school facilities, etc., in the interior villages *which* removed the potent migration barriers (*e.g.* malaria and water-borne diseases) was responsible for the growth of population in the interior villages, too. In other words, a simple causal sequence of the growth of population that was in operation in the area was: road development caused social facilities development, which in turn caused population integration. This simple causal model was tested by us and will be reported later.

Following the Babijhari uprising by the tribals in 1940's, the Nizam Government implemented a series of ameliorative measures which were followed by establishment of Multipurpose and Tribal Development Blocks by the Government of India. These development measures themselves brought into the tribal areas a number of non-tribals. Development of major and feeder roads and social facilities were the important programmes taken up besides programmes like land distribution by excising the reserve forests, The social facilities included health institutions, drinking water wells, schools etc. The clearance of forests, which removed the hazard of wild animals to potential migrants, was done by the tribals while the transportation of forest wood was entrusted to licensed non-tribal contractors who later on settled in other trades.

The data testing the relationship between road development and social facilities development are shown in Table 4. For each village, both roadside and interior, a facilities score was computed by intuitively rating each village facility according to its functional importance for village development. This method of arbitrary and intuitive scoring of village facilities was compared with the 'median population threshold method' (Sen & others, 1971) by correlating the village scores assigned by the two alternative methods. It was found that there was no statistically significant divergence between the two scoring methods and hence the arbitrary intuitive method was adopted in the study as it is simpler and easier to use\*.

A comparison of development scores shows that in both 1961 and 1971, the roadside villages had a higher average development score than the interior via\*\*

\*See the dissertation for details of these scores and the comparison,

TABLE 4—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ROAD AND SOCIAL FACILITIES DEVELOPMENT IN ROADSIDE AND INTERIOR VILLAGES—1961 and 1971

<i>Item</i>	<i>Roadside villages (N = 42)</i>	<i>Interior villages (N = 121)</i>	<i>T-value or variance ratio</i>
1961			
1. Total score	62	122	
2. Mean score	1.47	1.01	2.21*
3. Variance	1.65	0.50	3.30*
1977			
1. Total score	103	155	
2. Mean score	2.45	1.28	8.36*
3. Variance	5.71	0.96	5.95*

Asterisks denote significant values.

ages, the difference being statistically significant. The findings show that the increase in facilities resulted from road development. Next, to measure the extent of relationship between facilities development and population growth, Pearson's correlation analysis (Ruyon & Haber, 1968 : 84) was done. The relationship as measured by the correlation was positive yielding a correlation coefficient of 0.66 in 1961 and 0.85 in 1971 both being significant at 1% level. This shows that irrespective of the location of a village—interior or roadside—the growth of population is related with the growth of facilities. Judging from both the analyses above, we can say that road development resulted in social facilities development which acted as the ultimate and most immediate determinant of population growth.

(iii) *Socio-Cultural Factors.* While the physical facilities attract populations from outside, a certain amount of social acceptance of the aliens by the natives is also needed for their frictionless and permanent settlement. This constitutes an analysis of the socio-cultural factors.

According to some classifications of Indian tribes, for example, of Elwin and Ghurye, Raj Gonds belonged to a class of tribes who have won the battle of culture contact. This class of tribals have secured the benefits of civilization without injury to themselves in the past (Desai, 1977). Culture contact in this context is both a cause and consequence of not merely a neutral attitude of

tolerance on the part of the Gonds but a positive attitude of openness and receptivity to Hindu influences which seem to have characterized the relation between the Gonds and the Hindus. Thus, it is not too much to hold that the non-tribal immigration into the tribal areas of Uttnoor has a long established cultural sanction accorded by the dominant Raj Gonds of the area.

An analysis of Gond mythology as sung by their traditional bards, Pradhans, reveals that Gonds established contacts with Hindu populations since the beginning of the Gond rule in the country. The influence of Hindu culture on Gonds seems to be marked particularly in the realm of religion. Shaivism dominated Gond mythology and the Lord Shiva of the Hindus appears in Gond mythology as Mahadev or Sharnbupen.\* The consort of Lord Shiva figures in their mythology as Girijal Parvathi (Haimendorf, 1948). Their goddess, Kalikankali, as the mythology goes, gave birth to Maratha and Telugu gods besides Gond gods. This reminds us of the parallel theory of the Adi Parashakti of the classical Hindu mythology, who created the trinity of great Gods and other lesser deities. The Maratha and Telugu populations are treated by Gonds as clan brothers. As for the other elements of similarity, there are references to Brahmins as priests and Komti as trader (Sethumadhav Rao, 1949) which illustrate that even the Hindu Varna system was known to the Gonds. All this goes to show that there was a positive assimilative ethos prevailing among the Gonds towards non-tribal Hindus whose cultural elements were not perceived as disturbance or destructuring factors.

The culture contact and the migration would have been difficult or at best sporadic, if not altogether impossible, but for this cultural sanction, positive attitude and assimilative ethos of the Gonds. Even if one hazards the guess of a forced cultural contact situation between the Gonds and the Hindus, one cannot reasonably explain why there was practically no conflict, no resistance or rejection of the Hindu elements by the Gonds in such a situation of cultural contact. The opinions and classifications offered by Elwin and Ghurye indicate that the Gonds have always identified themselves culturally and cognitively with Hindus, making endeavours to partake of the mainstream Hindu culture. In other words, the Hindus served as positive Reference Groups of the Gonds. For our purpose, we repeat that this open attitude and receptive tradition vis-a-vis the Hindus was the main underlying cultural factor responsible for the frictionless and unresisted migration inflows of Hindus into the Gondwana.

The causal potency of facilitative significance of this cultural factor in non-tribal migration is best illustrated by contrasting it with the examples of the

\*Pen in Gondi means God.

tribes who resisted such infiltrations. Roy Burman speaking of the Totas of Totopara village in Chotanagpur, mentions two important factors checking migration: (i) the members of the tribe regarded the territory occupied by them as the sacred land of their High God and any alien migrant is regarded not only as a trespasser but also as a defiler of their territory, and (ii) the smallness of the population size of the tribe which prevented their own members from staying out of their sacred territory for more than a week for fear of losing their members as outmigrants. The idea of sacredness of the territory has been responsible not only for resisting the immigration of aliens but for also checking the outmigration of their own members for fear of defilement if they stayed outside too long. Any member of the tribe who per force stayed for a longer period out of their territory was accepted on his return into the community after subjecting him to some expiation and purificatory ritual (Roy Burman, 1969 : 497-520). In other cases, outside migrants could enter into the community only through the legal fiction of kinship with any of the members of the tribe. The hostility to outside non-members of the head-hunting Nagas of the North-East Frontier Area is too well known to need mention. Outsiders on their part dared not to enter those areas for fear of death. The hostility to migration of non-members arises again out of cultural concerns for preserving their own freedom, autonomy and social life from the depredations of immigrant non-tribals.

While these have been the 'pull' factors of the taluk, the population influx into the area is also a result of 'push' factors in adjoining rural areas. The rural areas of the district, like other rural areas of the country, have been suffering from overpopulation, land hunger and unemployment. This is once again due to a lop-sided policy of development that favoured urban and tribal areas of the district to the neglect of the rural areas. The industrial and administrative towns of Sirpur-Kagaznagar (Paper and Silk Industry), Mancherial (Cement Industry), Ballampally (Coal mines) and Adilabad (Cotton market and administrative Centre) attracted investments all along from private and government agencies. On the other hand, the tribal areas have received funds for development since mid-1940's i.e., since the days of Prof. Haimendorf, who was Adviser to Nizam's Government on welfare of Tribes and Backward Classes. In between, the rural areas got neglected resulting in de-population. While the rural de-population in India, in general, resulted in urban agglomeration (Barnabas, 1974:63), in Adilabad district, the rural migrants went out in two streams, one towards the developing industrial and administrative centres and the other to the tribal areas, particularly Utnoor taluk. This can be verified from Table 5.

It is clear from the table that the rate of population growth for rural population in 1961-71 was only about half of that of the district as a whole, the urban

TABLE—5 ADILABAD DISTRICT—AREA-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBAL  
RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION—1961 and 1971

Sl. No.	Area	Population (in lakhs)		% increase
		1961	1971	
1.	Tribal	2.12	3.53	66.51
2.	Rural	6.41	7.30	14.06
3.	Urban	1.56	2.05	31.40
Total:		10.09	12.88	27.78

**NOTE :** Census of India, 1961 and 1971 have only Rural and Urban classifications of populations and these have been adopted. The population of Rural areas is further divided into Rural and Tribal with the help of tribal areas' population available from TCR & II, Hyderabad.

population increased at a faster and the tribal part of the rural population at a much faster rate than that of the district as a whole.

The reasons for the areal shift of population of the taluk from the roadside to the interior villages after 1961 are also probed. Three important factors are responsible for this shift. The roadside villages which attracted populations up to 1961 were overburdened and could accommodate no more increments. Secondly, the earlier migrant non-tribals of these villages requested their kinsmen (who are later migrants) to move into the interior villages for the twin purposes of avoiding competition in their own villages and having them as agents of trade in the interior villages. Thirdly, the interior villages were also benefitted by facilities developments and the increase in development score is significant between 1961 and 1971 (see Table-4). In the case of the tribals, they settled in the interior villages where land is available in plenty for cultivation and by law, they only are eligible for acquiring landed property in these scheduled areas.

## Conclusions

The population growth in the study area was mainly due to immigration of non-tribals. The causes of migration were historical, social-cultural and developmental. While factors like rich black cotton soil, vast areas available for cultivation by proxy, rich forest produce and good scope for trade constituted the 'pull' factors, they were activated only when the migration barriers such as inaccessibility, malaria, and water borne diseases and the danger of wild animals were removed with improvements in the road system and social facilities. While the positive cultural ethos of the native tribals helped easy migration of non-

tribals, the administrative and legislative changes brought forth by Nizams created an impression among the tribals that migration of outsiders is State sponsored. Kinship also played an important role in migration and dispersal of non-tribals. The net result is the swelling of Utanoor's population with outsiders. The research amply illustrates that migration is a complex process taking place following the creation of an antecedent set of predisposing changes. Neither pull factors alone, nor push factors as such may cause considerable volumes of migration and the elimination of migration barriers, communication of information and attitudes of social acceptance are also important factors in the migration phenomenon.

## Bibliography

1. Barnabas, A. P., 1974, Population Growth and Social change. In : Anthony A. D'Souza and Alfred De Souza (Eds.), *Population Growth and Human Development*. Indian Social Institute, New Delhi.
2. Bogue, Donald, J., 1969, *Principles of Demography*. John Wiley and Sons Inc., New York.
3. Carr Saunders, 1922, **The Population Problem**.
4. Census of India, 1941, H. E. H. *The Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad State)*, Vol. **XXI**, Part II—Tables, 1947.
5. Census of India, 1961, *District Census Hand Book, Adilabad District*. Government of India, 1968.
6. Census of India, 1971, *Village and Town Primary Census Abstract*. Government of India, 1974.
7. Desai, A. R., 1977, Tribes in Transition. In: Romesh Thoper (Ed.), *Tribe, Caste and Religion*. The Macmillan Company of India Ltd.
8. Haimendorf, C. V. F., 1945, *Tribal Hyderabad: Four Reports*. Revenue Department, Government of H. E. H. Nizam, Hyderabad.
9. \_\_\_ 1948, *The Raj Gond's of Adilabad*. Macmillan & Co., London.
10. \_\_\_ 1977, Tribal Problems in India. In : Romesh Thoper (Ed.), *Tribe, Caste and Religion*. The Macmillan Company of India.
11. H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions, 1925, *Hyderabad District Gazetteers—Adilabad*, Part II—Tables.
12. Hussain, A. F., 1956, *Human and Social Impact of Technological Change in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press, Dacca.
13. Malhotra, P. C., 1964, *Socio-economic Survey of Bhopal City and Bairagarh*. Asia Publishing House.
14. Misra, B. R., 1959, *Report on Socio-Economic Survey of Jamshedpur City*. Patna University Press, Patna.
15. Mukherjee, R. and Singh, B., 1961, *Social Profiles of a Metropolis*. Asia Publishing House.
16. Ravenstein, E. G., 1889, The Laws of Migration. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, June 1889, 241-301.

17. Roy Burman, B. K., 1969, Hundred Years in a Tribal Village—Totopura. In : Chaudhuri, M. K. (Ed.), *Trends of Socio-Economic Change in India (1871-1961): Proceedings of a Seminar*, Vol. 7. Indian Institute of Advanced study, Simla.
18. **Ruyan and Haber, 1968**, *Fundamentals of Behavioural Statistics*. Addison-Wesley **Publishing Company**, California.
19. Sen, L. K. and others, **1971**, *Planning Rural Growth Centres for Integrated Area Development: A Study of Miryalaguda Taluk*. N. I. C. D., Hyderabad.
20. **Sethumadhav Rao, P.**, 1949 *Among the Go/ids of Adilabad*. Popular **Book Depot, Bombay**.
21. **Zachariah, K. C.**, **1964**, *A Historical Study of Internal Migration in Indian Sub-continent; 1901-1931*. Asia Publishing **House**.