

Mahendra K. Premi*

Who Migrates to Delhi?

Migration Pattern

AS A nation's capital and a union territory, Delhi has been receiving population through international and internal migration so much so that, in 1991, two-fifths of its population was of lifetime¹ migrants. Of the 378,000 persons born abroad, 363,000 came from Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan. Since most of these migrants came from Pakistan in 1947-48 at the time of partition of the country, there has been attrition in their numbers due to natural causes. Besides a decline in the number and proportion of immigrants, there has been a decline in the proportion of lifetime internal migrants to Delhi over time. In case of males the proportion declined from 52.3 percent in 1971 to 49.2 percent in 1981 and to 39.9 percent in 1991. Similar decline is observed in respect of female migrants.

While Delhi has been receiving migrants from all over India, five major states — Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Rajasthan and Punjab in that order — have contributed 85 percent of male and 83 percent of female migrants into Delhi. In fact, Uttar Pradesh has contributed almost 50 percent of the total interstate migrants into Delhi. The union territory often sends its own people to other states and union territories but its gain is very large as a balance of immigration and outmigration as is clear from Table 1.

* Professor of Demography, formerly at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Present address: 1036 Sector D-I, Vasant Kunj, New Delhi-110070.

1. Lifetime migrants are those who came to the place of enumeration at some point during their lives and have been living there ever since, whether this happened just a week before the census count or a few decades ago. When the movement is counted on the basis of last residence, it is the unbroken period of shift from the previous place to the present place.

TABLE 1: LIFETIME, INTERCENSAL AND CURRENT INMIGRANTS, OUTMIGRANTS AND NET MIGRANTS INTO DELHI BY SEX 1971, 1981 AND 1991
(PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE STATISTICS)

<i>Sex and year</i>	<i>Immigrants</i>	<i>Outmigrants</i>	<i>Net migrants</i>	<i>Net migrants as % of total population</i>
<i>Lifetime migrants</i>				
<i>Persons</i>				
1971	1908812	397658	1511454	37.1
1981	2665186	503458	2161728	34.8
1991	3574526	573889	3000637	31.9
<i>Males</i>				
1971	1064012	175046	888966	39.4
1981	1467004	188311	1278693	37.2
1991	1933944	193881	1740063	33.8
<i>Females</i>				
1971	844800	222612	622188	34.4
1981	1198182	315147	883035	31.8
1991	1640582	380008	1260574	29.6
<i>Intercensal migrants</i>				
<i>Persons</i>				
1971	875928	241621	634307	15.6
1981	1291057	277688	1013369	16.3
1991	1587492	281946	1305546	13.9
<i>Males</i>				
1971	498289	119349	378940	16.8
1981	731114	115482	615632	17.9
1991	867772	109318	758454	14.7
<i>Females</i>				
1971	377639	122272	255367	20.2
1981	559943	162204	397739	14.3
1991	719720	172628	547092	12.6
<i>Current migrants</i>				
<i>Persons</i>				
1971	140494	53574	86920	2.1
1981	180770	43585	137185	2.2
1991	130366	28328	102038	1.2
<i>Males</i>				
1971	83590	30225	53365	2.4
1981	106232	23355	82877	2.4
1991	75087	14870	60217	1.2
<i>Females</i>				
1971	56904	23349	33555	1.9
1981	74538	20228	54310	2.0
1991	55279	13458	41821	1.0

Note: Outmigrants in 1981 do not include those persons who went to Assam. Similarly, the 1991 figures do not include Outmigrants to Jammu and Kashmir.

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Intercensal migrants (with length of residence in Delhi of less than 10 years) comprised around 45 percent of the total lifetime migrants. The number of lifetime and intercensal migrants consistently increased over time but there was some decline among current migrants (whose residence in Delhi was less than one year) in 1991. While the current migrants comprised 13 to 16 per cent of the intercensal migrants at the 1971 and 1981 censuses, the proportion declined to 8.2 percent in 1991. From the viewpoint of future migration into Delhi, it is important to understand this decline in migration whether it was caused by industrial stagnation or by limited white-collar job opportunities.

As a proportion of total population net lifetime male migrants constituted two-fifths in 1971 but declined to 37.2 percent in 1981 and to 33.8 percent in 1991. These proportions among females were 34.4 percent, 31.8 percent and 29.6 percent respectively. Thus, while the absolute size of the migrants increased over time, proportionately there has been a decline during this period.

The proportion of current migrants in the population in a way reflects the contribution of migration in the city's population growth. While it was around 2.2 per cent in 1971 and 1981, it declined to 1.2 percent in 1991. This was partially due to an absolute decline in the number of current migrants and partially to overall population growth over time.

It would be useful to examine the pattern of intercensal immigration in Delhi in the four migration streams—rural-to-rural, rural-to-urban, urban-to-rural and urban-to-urban from 1971 to 1991. As most of the union territory of Delhi is urban, rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban migration stream accounted for most immigration. It is, however, noteworthy that the strength of the urban-to-urban stream diminished over time from 47.4 percent in 1971 to 38.4 percent in 1991. There was a jump in the proportion of rural-to-urban migrants in the 1971-81 decade but this stream also dampened during 1981-91 decade; instead the proportion of migrants in the rural-to-rural and urban-to-rural stream increased during this period (Table 2). It is, therefore, important to understand the emerging migration pattern into Delhi.

TABLE 2: SHARE OF INTERSTATE INTERCENSAL IMMIGRANTS IN DIFFERENT MIGRATION STREAMS, DELHI, 1971-91

	1971			1981			1991		
	<i>P</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
Total	813549	466693	346766	1229744	695487	534257	1542240	840309	701931
R-R	53962	25267	28695	64833	32405	32428	147329	79198	68131
R-U	353154	219233	133921	630440	386406	244034	767377	447994	319383
U-R	9230	5087	4143	9914	5109	4805	35174	18377	16797
U-U	385923	210276	175647	518509	267844	250665	592360	294740	297620
As percentage of total migrants									
R-R	6.6	5.4	8.3	5.3	4.7	6.1	9.6	9.4	9.7
R-U	43.4	47.0	38.6	51.3	55.6	45.7	49.8	53.3	45.5
U-R	1.1	1.1	1.2	0.8	0.7	0.9	2.3	2.2	2.4
U-U	47.4	45.1	51.5	42.2	38.5	46.9	38.4	35.1	42.4

The sex ratio (males per thousand females) among lifetime migrants in Delhi, although favourable to males, declined over time from 1377 in 1971 to 1211 in 1981, and to 1167 in 1991. This shows that over time female migration into Delhi had improved. The sex ratio among intercensal interstate migrants was almost similar to lifetime migrants at 1197.

Reasons for Migration

Data on "reasons for migration" were collected for the first time in the 1981 census in five categories—employment, education, family moved, marriage, and others. Two more categories of reason—business, and natural calamities like floods, draught, etc.—were included on the eve of the 1991 census.

As one would expect, there are quite different reasons for male and female migration since a major portion of male migration is basically for employment and that of females for "marriage" and "family moved," that is, associational. Concentrating on males it is found that, as of 1981, 47 percent of lifetime migrants moved for employment; another 35 percent moved along with the principal breadwinner. In 1991, almost three-fifths of the lifetime male migrants came to Delhi for employment or business. Education has not been a significant reason even for male migrants into Delhi. In the interstate migration stream, 64 percent male migrants moved for economic reasons and 28 percent because family moved. Thus, economic reason has remained the most important reason for interstate migration into Delhi.

It was indicated earlier that 85 percent of Delhi's lifetime migrants came from Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. An examination of the reason for migration separately in respect of the above five states indicated that employment and business accounted for nearly three-fourths of the male lifetime migration from Bihar, followed by Uttar Pradesh (66.4 percent) and Rajasthan (63.8 percent). This proportion was between 52-55 percent in respect of male migrants from Haryana and Punjab (Table 3).

"Family moved" or associational migration has been more important factor in female migration to Delhi than "marriage." Among the major sending states, it is only from Bihar that 5.5 percent of female migrants came for economic reasons otherwise the proportion of female interstate migrants for that reason was just 3.7 percent. It is noteworthy that marriage accounted for 61 percent of female migration from Haryana.

Some Characteristics of the Migrants

The characteristics of the migrants have been examined here in terms of their age structure, educational attainment and economic activity vis-a-vis the total population between 1971 and 1991. In 1981 migration data on these characteristics did not cover all migrants but only those who gave "employment" as reason of migration. Consequently, a comparable series covering 1971, 1981 and 1991 censuses cannot be built.

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TABLE 3: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE LIFETIME MIGRANTS INTO DELHI BY REASON FOR MIGRATION BY SEX AND PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE, 1991

<i>Nature of migration</i>	<i>Reason for migration</i>							
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Employment</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Educa-tion</i>	<i>Family moved</i>	<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Naural calamities</i>	<i>Other reason</i>
<i>Males</i>								
Total	100.0	51.60	7.65	1.84	29.41	0.55	0.12	8.83
Intradistrict	100.0	23.45	4.65	1.16	54.35	1.08	0.39	14.92
Interstate	100.0	55.99	8.30	1.99	28.19	0.53	0.12	4.87
Immigrants	100.0	16.69	2.00	0.44	32.14	0.48	0.00	48.25
<i>Migrants from</i>								
Bihar	100.0	68.67	5.88	2.98	18.27	0.33	0.11	3.74
Haryana	100.0	45.70	10.87	2.16	35.06	0.81	0.10	5.30
Punjab	100.0	40.78	11.57	1.10	37.50	0.60	0.28	8.17
Rajasthan	100.0	54.57	9.19	1.36	29.16	0.57	0.19	4.96
Uttar Pradesh	100.0	58.24	8.21	1.84	27.14	0.49	0.07	4.02
<i>Females</i>								
Total	100.0	2.92	0.62	0.79	48.55	40.56	0.10	6.45
Intradistrict	100.0	1.51	0.55	0.56	51.40	41.23	0.17	4.57
Interstate	100.0	3.11	0.63	0.85	47.94	43.46	0.11	3.90
Immigrants	100.0	1.69	0.48	0.31	53.60	8.85	0.00	35.08
<i>Migrants from</i>								
Bihar	100.0	4.88	0.65	1.18	59.17	29.48	0.11	4.54
Haryana	100.0	1.57	0.50	0.67	33.01	61.28	0.09	2.87
Punjab	100.0	1.78	0.68	0.50	47.17	44.68	0.20	4.99
Rajasthan	100.0	3.90	0.82	0.54	48.15	42.31	0.15	4.14
Uttar Pradesh	100.0	2.55	0.58	0.74	50.79	41.80	0.07	3.47

Age Structure

Lifetime migrants in Delhi in 1971 accounted for half (50.4 percent) of the city's population. This proportion declined to two-fifths (39.5 percent) in 1991. Since there is age selectivity in migration, it would be useful to compare the age composition of the migrant and the nonmigrant populations over time. In 1971 migrants were classified in broad age groups (Table 4); accordingly, similar age distribution has been used in the 1991 census to maintain comparability. The total population comprises the migrants and the nonmigrants. The difference in percent distribution of total population and migrant population as also between nonmigrant population and migrant population has been computed here to obtain the index of dissimilarity. There is a substantial change in it between 1971 and 1991. In fact, the index of dissimilarity (Delta) between nonmigrants and migrants slashed to less than half in respect of both males and females. The age composition of the nonmigrant was much younger in 1971 as three-fifths of the males

and almost 70 percent of the females were below the age of 15. This situation changed in 1991 as only 36 percent of the nonmigrant males and two-fifths females were in 0-14 age group. While the proportion of both male and female migrants was higher than that of the nonmigrants in the age group 50+ in 1971, the situation reversed by the 1991 census.

TABLE 4: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF DELHI'S TOTAL, MIGRANT AND NONMIGRANT POPULATION OF EACH SEX BY AGE, 1971 AND 1991

<i>Year and age group</i>	<i>Total population</i>		<i>Migrants</i>		<i>Nonmigrants</i>		<i>Difference</i>				
	<i>(P)</i>		<i>(M)</i>		<i>(NM)</i>		<i>P-M</i>		<i>NM-M</i>		
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	
1971											
0-14	36.8	41.0	13.0	13.6	60.6	69.2	23.8	27.4	47.6	55.6	
15-19	10.4	10.2	8.0	7.6	12.8	12.9	2.4	2.6	4.8	5.3	
20-24	10.3	10.1	12.2	13.2	8.3	6.9	-1.9	-3.1	-3.9	-6.3	
25-49	32.7	29.9	51.7	50.5	13.7	8.8	-19.0	-20.6	-38.0	-41.7	
50+	9.9	8.7	15.1	15.2	4.7	2.1	-5.3	-6.5	-10.4	-13.1	
Total	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.1	99.9					
Delta							26.2	30.0	52.2	61.0	
1991											
0-14	33.6	36.5	20.1	19.3	36.2	39.8	13.5	17.2	16.1	20.5	
15-19	10.1	9.3	11.3	8.9	9.9	9.4	-1.2	0.4	-1.4	0.5	
20-24	10.5	10.5	17.8	25.1	9.1	7.6	-7.3	-14.6	-8.7	-17.5	
25-49	35.7	33.7	45.2	41.2	33.8	32.3	-9.5	-7.5	-11.4	-8.9	
50+	10.1	10.0	5.6	5.5	10.9	10.9	4.6	4.5	5.3	5.4	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0					
Delta							18.1	22.1	21.4	26.4	

Since 50+ is a very broad age group, it is difficult to say whether the migrants constitute a higher proportion of senior citizens (aged 65+) or is it the nonmigrants?. The detailed age distribution of the total and migrant population (Table 5) indicates clearly that the proportion of senior citizens was greater among the nonmigrants than the migrants. This may have some policy implication for the future especially in the light of a decline in the overall proportion of migrants to Delhi between 1981 and 1991 and also in the proportion of persons aged 50+ in comparison to that in 1971.

An examination of the detailed age distribution of the total and migrant population indicates a bulge in the age composition of male migrants in the age group 15-39 and of female migrants in the age group 20-34, which is reflected in the last two columns of Table 5.

TABLE 5: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF DELHI'S TOTAL POPULATION AND OF INTERCENSAL INTERSTATE INMIGRANTS, 1991

Age group	Total population			Interstate migrants			Difference		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
Total	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000			
0-4	1203	1143	1276	404	389	422	799	754	854
5-9	1212	1164	1270	830	826	835	382	339	435
10-14	1075	1055	1100	742	798	674	334	256	426
15-19	976	110	934	1023	1131	893	-047	-1 21	041
20-24	1048	1049	1047	2109	1776	2507	-1061	-728	-1460
25-29	1020	1008	1035	2009	1808	2250	-989	-800	-12 15
30-34	830	848	809	1067	1195	914	-237	-347	-1 06
35-39	703	731	670	650	791	483	053	-060	188
40-44	818	556	472	371	451	275	147	105	197
45-49	407	423	389	244	280	200	164	143	189
50-54	314	330	294	177	195	155	137	135	140
55-59	224	222	225	114	116	112	110	107	114
60-64	189	187	191	108	104	113	081	083	078
65-69	115	112	118	061	057	065	054	055	052
70-74	082	084	080	044	041	048	038	043	032
75-79	035	035	035	019	017	021	016	018	014
80+	048	044	053	029	026	022	020	018	021
Index of dissimilarity (A)							2334	2056	2781

Educational Attainment

Table 6 presents a comparison of the lifetime migrants and the nonmigrants in respect of their educational attainment in each age group. The age groups have been telescoped here to make the comparison simpler. When the comparison is made for the 15-39 and 40-59 age groups, it is observed that the proportion of illiterate as well as 'literate but below matric' migrants (both males and females) in Delhi's population is much higher than that among the nonmigrants. Around three-tenths of male and female migrants had completed matric, high school or higher secondary level of education. Consequently, the proportion of graduate and higher educational attainment among the migrants was just 1.2 percent in respect of males and 1.6 percent in case of females while the same for the nonmigrants was 18.3 percent and 20.1 percent respectively. The situation among the migrants aged 40-59 improved as 11.2 percent males and 12.4 percent females had completed at least graduation.

The proportion of illiterate children in 0-14 age group was, however, higher among nonmigrants than the migrants. Accordingly, a higher proportion of both boys and girls in this age group are literate. Many of them must have completed primary and upper

TABLE 6 PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS AND NONMIGRANTS OF EACH SEX
AND AGE GROUP BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1991

Age	Total population		Illiterate				Literate but below matric		Matric but below graduate		Tech or certificate not equal to degree		Diploma Graduate and above	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	Migrants													
All ages	100 00	100 00	26 55	47 66	32 25	26 24	24 46	14 82	100	042	15 75	10 86		
0-14	100 00	100 00	43 63	49 68	55 99	49 88	038	044	000	000	000	000		
15-39	100 00	100 00	23 36	32 53	45 45	34 72	29 79	30 99	023	015	118	161		
40-59	100 00	100 00	23 79	43 77	32 35	23 26	31 67	20 06	101	046	11 18	12 45		
60+	100 00	100 00	25 43	46 73	29 51	21 34	27 67	15 94	115	042	16 24	15 57		
Nonmigrants														
All ages	100 00	100 00	34 39	43 32	37 64	34 88	17 72	12 98	048	0 19	976	8 63		
0-14	100 00	100 00	56 38	58 16	43 40	41 56	022	028	000	000	000	000		
15-39	100 00	100 00	11 50	21 09	33 19	27 52	36 06	30 86	093	039	18 32	20 13		
40-59	100 00	100 00	21 93	46 00	26 46	20 92	27 83	17 15	108	062	22 69	15 30		
60+	100 00	100 00	43 34	68 59	26 92	20 52	17 55	7 19	044	014	11 75	3 55		

primary stage of education. This might be because of the variation in the age composition of the migrants and nonmigrants within this age group.

Economic Activity

The available data on employment from the 1971 and 1991 censuses indicate that Delhi has been having a higher proportion of lifetime migrants in its total working force than the non-migrants; for example, they comprised 75 percent in 1971 and 56 percent in 1991. Table 7 presents a distribution of total workers, migrant workers, and non-migrant workers according to the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of industry. Work participation pattern of migrant and non-migrant workers has changed over time. Between 1971 and 1991, the proportion of workers in the primary sector declined in respect of both males and females. The decline was sharp in case of nonmigrant workers in agriculture. While the proportion of male migrant workers increased in the secondary sector, the proportion declined in the tertiary sector implying that new migrants were joining the secondary sector more often than the tertiary sector. Alternatively, the nonmigrant workers were getting greater opportunities of joining the tertiary sector, particularly the white-collar jobs. As regards female workers there is not much change in their distribution in the industrial categories over time though their proportion in the tertiary sector was higher among the nonmigrant workers than the migrant workers.

Among the non-primary categories the proportion of migrant workers was especially high in construction work, "storage, transport and communication" and in "other services."

TABLE 7: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL WORKERS, MIGRANT WORKERS AND NONMIGRANT WORKERS OF EACH SEX BY PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND TERTIARY SECTORS OF INDUSTRY, DELHI, 1971 AND 1991

Workers' category	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1971						
Total population	5.0	3.6	29.8	19.3	65.2	77.0
Migrant workers	1.8	3.5	29.6	20.2	68.6	76.2
Non-migrant workers	14.6	4.1	30.3	15.6	55.0	80.3
1991						
Total population	2.9	2.7	34.1	18.1	63.0	79.3
Migrant workers	1.9	3.8	33.4	20.4	64.8	75.8
Non-migrant workers	4.2	1.3	35.0	15.3	60.8	83.4

Occupational Classification: To understand migrant workers characteristic a little more, their occupational classification is examined against that of the non-migrant workers over time (Table 8). In 1971, a greater proportion of male migrant workers was found engaged in white-collar jobs than the nonmigrant workers. In contrast, there were more nonmigrant workers (exceeding by almost 10 percent) in blue-collar jobs than the migrant workers. By 1991 the situation, however, changed completely as a greater proportion of male migrant workers was found concentrated in blue-collar jobs (Divisions 7-9) in comparison to nonmigrant workers.

There is only a marginal difference between the migrants and non-migrants as far as their proportions in Divisions 0-3 is concerned. The major difference comes in the category of sales workers (Division 4) because a larger proportion of nonmigrants in Delhi is in trade and commerce. Among females the proportion of migrant and nonmigrant workers in white-collar jobs was almost similar in 1971 but the same became smaller in 1991 than that of the nonmigrant workers. There have been more migrant females than the nonmigrant ones in the category of blue-collar jobs.

Conclusion

Lifetime migrants constituted two-fifths of Delhi's population (40.2 percent) in 1991 and, being the national capital, it has been receiving migrants from all over the country. Migrants from Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, however, accounted for 85 percent of the total migrants.

It is noteworthy that the proportion of Muslims in Delhi has increased from 6.5 percent in 1971 to 9.4 percent in 1991. In contrast, the proportion of Sikhs has declined from 7.2 percent in 1971 to 6.3 percent in 1981 and to 4.8 percent in 1991. Further, the decadal growth rate of Muslims in Delhi during 1981-91 was 84.6 percent while

TABLE 8: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL, MIGRANT AND NONMIGRANT WORKERS OF EACH SEX OTHER THAN CULTIVATORS AND AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS BY OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION, DELHI, 1971 AND 1991

<i>Residence</i>	<i>Occupational Divisions</i>								
	<i>Total</i>	<i>0-1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7 8 9</i>	<i>X</i>
1971									
Total Population									
Males	99.99	7.03	5.47	17.80	16.56	10.94	1.02	38.56	2.61
Females	100.0	36.39	1.58	15.85	4.40	19.47	0.26	20.32	1.73
Migrants									
Males	99.99	7.61	6.21	18.91	15.59	11.47	1.00	36.61	2.59
Females	99.99	37.53	1.76	14.68	4.19	19.02	0.25	20.92	1.64
Non-Migrants									
Males	99.99	4.78	2.62	13.58	20.27	8.88	1.10	46.08	2.68
Females	100.00	31.80	0.83	20.58	5.24	21.27	0.27	17.89	2.12
1991									
Total Population									
Males	100.00	7.28	6.14	13.18	19.71	8.64	0.73	41.63	2.70
Females	100.00	30.14	3.64	21.33	6.56	17.36	0.35	18.42	2.21
Migrants									
Males	100.00	7.38	6.00	12.48	17.59	9.31	0.82	44.93	1.48
Females	100.00	28.65	3.59	14.77	6.81	19.45	0.43	23.99	2.32
Non-Migrants									
Males	100.00	7.13	6.33	14.15	22.63	7.70	0.60	37.08	4.38
Females	100.00	31.95	3.71	29.35	6.25	14.81	0.24	11.62	2.08

that of Sikhs was only 15.7 percent. These figures indicate a large net immigration (including immigration) of Muslims into Delhi, and outmigration and, possibly, emigration of Sikhs from Delhi.

Among the intercensal interstate migrants to Delhi, whereas rural-to-urban migration stream turned out to be the most important stream but urban-to-urban migration has also been found to be very important.

Although intercensal interstate migrants have come to Delhi in all age groups but the dominant age group have been 15-39 in respect of males and 20-34 in respect of females. A comparison of the age composition of the migrant and nonmigrant populations between 1971 and 1991 has indicated very substantial changes in the proportions (Table 4) and no trend can be discerned from that table. The detailed age data (Table 5) have shown that the proportion of senior citizens in Delhi's population, especially among the migrants, has been quite small. Hence, it is very difficult to predict the future pattern of migration, especially the age composition of the migrants. This has important

implications for future population projections. One may also like to consider a slight decline in the migrants' proportion over time.

A comparison of the educational level attained by the migrants and the nonmigrants indicates a higher proportion of illiterates in 0-14 age group among the nonmigrants; consequently, there is a larger proportion of literate but below matric qualifications among the migrants. This seems to be due to difference in age structure of the two groups. In contrast, nonmigrants have attained a higher level of education—high school and graduation level—in 15-39 and 40-59 age groups. Thus, migrants in Delhi in the working age group have lower educational attainment than the nonmigrants.

As indicated above, while migrants constituted two-fifths of Delhi's population, among workers they were 56 percent in 1991. The proportion of migrants in the total working force of Delhi has declined substantially from 1971 to 1991. Moreover, a very large proportion of male migrants has been coming to Delhi in search of employment. Hence, at least to a certain extent, the number of migrants would continue to determine Delhi's nature of economic activity.

Both male and female migrants are more in blue-collar jobs while the nonmigrants are more in white-collar jobs, basically because of lower educational attainment of the migrants to Delhi.

Many studies have indicated that Muslims are regarded as-constituting educationally backward community while Sikhs are considered to be educationally more advanced. The fact that the proportion of Muslims in Delhi has substantially increased over time and that of Sikhs has declined, has important implication from the viewpoint of the level of literacy and educational attainment.

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