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Internal Migration in India: 1961 -1991

Introduction

MIGRATION, one of the three basic components of population growth of any area, plays important role in improving economic and social conditions of people. Indian Constitution provides basic freedom to move to any part of the country, right to reside and earn livelihood of their choice. A number of economic, social, cultural, and political factors play an important role in decision to move. The effect of these factors varied over time and place. Analysis of migration pattern is important to understand the changes taking place in the people's movement within the country. It is most volatile component of population growth and most sensitive to economic, political and cultural factors. The main purpose of this paper is to update our knowledge with regard to the emerging migration pattern from the data available with recent census of 1991.

Census of India have been the main source of information on migration. Till 1961, Census adopted place of birth criterion for defining migration. An additional question on place of last residence was introduced during 1971 Census, to collect migration data. Both place of birth and place of last residence question were canvassed in last three censuses, 1971 to 1991, to obtain level and pattern of migration in India. The deficiencies in the concepts are discussed in detail by a number of authors (Davis, 1951; Premi, 1984; Kadi and Sivamurty, 1988; Malhotra 1974; Narain, 1987; Skeldon, 1986; Roy, 1991; Visaria and Kothari, 1987; Singh, 1990; Zachariah, 1977). Data from the 1991 Census which are recently made available in the floppy's for each state, are used in the paper. These data need some care with regards to the pooling at all India level as data for some of the states are wrongly copied.

Volume of Migration

In the 1991 census, 230 million persons out of total population of 838.6 million (excluding state of Jammu and Kashmir) were enumerated at a place different from the place of birth and thus termed as migrants. This constitutes 27.4 per cent of the total population of

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the country. In terms of total volume of migration, it has increased from 144.8 million in 1961, 166.8 million in 1971 and 203.5 million in 1981. It may, however, be noted that the percentage of migrants to total population has constantly declined from 33 per cent in 1961 to 30.4 per cent in 1971, 30.6 per cent in 1981 and 27.4 per cent in 1991. Place of birth data provide lifetime volume of migration. The time criterion is not taken into consideration in place of birth data. A person whose place of birth was different than place of enumeration at any point of time is considered as lifetime migrants which may be a week, months or years.

The sex wise differences are more prominent in Indian migration data. In 1991, 14.6 per cent male and 41.2 per cent female population was enumerated at place different than their place of birth. The prevailing marriage custom in India of brides moving to place of groom after marriage terms most of female as migrants. As seen above that migration percentage has declined from 1961 to 1991 which is true for both sexes. The contribution of male migrants has declined from 20.8 per cent in 1961 to 14.6 per cent in 1991. In case of female migrants, it declined from 46 per cent in 1961 to 41.2 per cent in 1991.

Distance of Migration

Census data do not provide the distance moved in exact terms but roughly indicates in term of short, medium and long distance migrants. The migration data are classified into four different types of migration with the help of administrative boundaries of a district and state:

1. Intradistrict Migrants: If the person enumerated at different place but born within the district.
2. Interdistrict Migrants: Those person who are enumerated in a district but born in other district of the state.
3. Interstate Migrants: Persons enumerated in a state but born in the other states.
4. International Migrants: Persons enumerated in India born in other countries.

Based on these four migration streams, data presented in Table 1 show that 16.2 per cent of population were intradistrict, 7.1 per cent as interdistrict, 3.3 per cent as interstate and 0.8 per cent as international migrants in 1991. In comparison to previous censuses, all four migration streams indicate decline in migrants percentage share to total population barring some increase. For administrative purpose, during 1961 to 1991, number of districts were created which might explain some of the increase in intradistrict and interdistrict migrants percentage. The number of districts has increased from 336 in 1961 to 360 in 1971 to 412 in 1981, and 466 in 1991 (including 14 districts in Jammu and Kashmir). The most noticeable decline is among international migrants which constituted 2.1 per cent in 1961 to 1.7 per cent in 1971 to 1.2 per cent in 1981 and to 0.8 per cent in 1991. The number of persons born outside the country has declined from 9 million to 6.9 million during last four censuses 1961-91. The partition of India in 1947 into India and Pakistan was the main contributing factor behind million of persons moved to India, over the period their

number has declined due to mortality. The data presented on international migrants later in the paper substantiate this point further.

Examining the sex differences in different streams, data indicate female dominance in short distance movement. In 1991, among intradistrict migrants, 3643 female were found per 1000 males. In case of interdistrict, interstate and international migration, the sex ratio was 2194, 1245 and 939, respectively. Over decade, the sex ratio shows improvement indicating more female in medium and long distance migration. Whether males are becoming less mobile needs to be further examined with statewise data as their percentage distribution shows consistent decline in all the three internal migration streams.

Out of total migrants in 1991, short distance migration (intradistrict) account for about 59 per cent, medium distance or inter district migration 25.7 per cent, long distance or interstate migration 11.9 per cent and about 3 per cent international migration. As seen in case of sex ratio of migrants, female dominate in short distance migration. About 64 per cent of total female migrants moved within the district compared 46 per cent of total male migrants. Looking at the migration trend from 1961, overall contribution of each type of migration has remained more or less similar with about 4-5 percentage change from short distance migration to medium distance migration. The contribution of interstate migrants remained around 11.8 per cent in last three censuses. As observed in case of the number of international migrants it is declining over the census years and their contribution to total migrants has declined from about 6 per cent in 1961 to 3 per cent in 1991. In 1991, the unclassifiable place of birth population into in- migrants or non-migrants has increased substantially as 281 thousand persons did not report their place of birth. This unclassifiable group of population is most likely to be the group of international migrants.

Place of Last Residence Data

As mentioned above that since 1971 census, migration data are collected based on place of last residence. If the place of last residence of a person is different from the place of enumeration he/she would be termed as migrant. It was expected that the data on the place of last residence would be able to capture some of the problems of the place of birth concept. Based on place of last residence, 232 million persons were enumerated at place different from place of last residence. It indicates that about an additional 2 million person constituted migrant population (constituting 27.7 per cent of total population of the India). Like place of birth data, migration data based on place of last residence also show the decline of 3.6 per cent in percentage of migrants from 1981 to 1991. Due to second movement of a person, these concept may indicate a person into different type of migrant. This is clearly visible in case of international migrants. Place of last residence shows about 1 million less international migrants than place of birth data.

Out total migrants based on place of last residence concept, about 60.5 per cent were intradistrict, 25.4 per cent interdistrict, 11.5 per cent interstate and 2.6 per cent international migrants. Compared to place of birth data, short distance migrant contribution was little more in place of last residence data. Again unclassifiable category of population was much higher in 1991 than 1981 census.

TABLE 1: POPULATION OF INDIA BASED ON PLACE OF BIRTH DATA: 1961 - 1991

	1961 Census			1971 Census			1981 Census			1991 Census		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population	226146101	212790817	438936918	284049276	264110376	548159652	343930385	321357391	665287776	435208158	403359778	838567936
Born at Place of Enumeration	179192370 79.24	114944092 54.02	294136462 67.01	230289056 81.07	151107204 57.21	381396260 69.58	282639728 82.18	179053677 55.72	461693405 69.4	371530943 85.37	237195653 58.8	608726596 72.59
Intradistrict	22877442 10.12	68999284 32.43	91876726 20.93	25979872 9.15	77616373 29.39	103596245 18.9	27961016 8.13	92870619 28.9	120831635 18.16	29336682 6.74	106877372 26.5	136214054 16.24
Interdistrict	11115463 4.92	17701544 8.32	28817007 6.57	13247930 4.66	21932480 8.3	35180410 6.42	17707842 5.15	33219886 10.34	50927728 7.65	18504291 4.25	40600958 10.07	59105249 7.05
Interstate	7862292 3.48	6778644 3.19	14640936 3.34	9588495 3.38	9039814 3.42	18628309 3.4	11496592 3.34	12523811 3.9	24020403 3.61	12158359 2.79	15141586 3.75	27299945 3.26
International	4912566 2.17	4151684 1.95	9064250 2.07	4874962 1.72	4223433 1.6	9098395 1.66	4123507 1.2	3687836 1.15	7811343 1.17	3578932 0.82	3362124 0.83	6941056 0.83
Unclassifiable	185968	215569	401537	68961	191072	260033	1700	1562	3262	98951	182085	281036
Total Migrants	46953731	97846725	144800456	53760220	113003172	166763392	61290657	142303714	203594371	63677215	166164125	229841340
% of Migrants to total population	20.76	45.98	32.99	18.93	42.79	30.42	17.82	44.28	30.6	14.63	41.2	27.41

Source: Census of India 1961-1991, D1 Table of Migration Tables of respective years. The figure of 1981 excludes population of Assam, 1991 census excludes

TABLE 2: POPULATION & TYPE OF MIGRANTS BASED ON PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE DATA: INDIA 1971-91

<i>Place of Last Residence</i>	<i>1971 Census</i>			<i>1981 Census</i>			<i>1991 Census</i>		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Total									
Population	284049276	264110376	548159652	343930385	321357391	665287776	435208158	403359778	838567936
Place of Last Residence same as Enumeration	230167289	150219953	380387242	281458388	175968809	457427197	370900120	235554843	606454963
	81.03	56.88	69.39	81.84	54.76	68.76	85.22	58.4	72.32
Intradistrict	26421820	78572660	104994480	30296162	96939721	127235883	30819650	109537403	140357053
	9.3	29.75	19.15	8.81	30.17	19.12	7.08	27.16	16.74
Interdistrict	13477115	22298592	35775707	17692289	33319516	51011805	18430767	40410431	58841198
	4.74	8.44	6.53	5.14	10.37	7.67	4.23	10.02	7.02
Interstate	9697642	9154586	18852228	11246855	12292518	23539373	11883886	14805709	26689595
	3.41	3.47	3.44	3.27	3.83	3.54	2.73	3.67	3.18
International	4019695	3497031	7516726	3234902	2835432	6070334	3068146	2859736	5927882
	1.42	1.32	1.37	0.94	0.88	0.91	0.7	0.71	0.71
Unclassifiable	265715	367554	633269	1789	1395	3184	105589	191656	297245
Total Migrants	53881987	113890423	167772410	62471997	145388582	207860579	64308038	167804935	232112973
% of Migrants to total population	18.97	43.12	30.61	18.16	45.24	31.24	14.78	41.6	27.68

The differences in volume of migrants by two concept are shown in Table 3. The place of birth data indicate about 2.3 million person as non-migrant compared to place of last residence. Place of last residence data shows about 4.1 million more person as .intradistrict migrants compared to place of birth data. The difference shown by two concept in providing migrants data do not seem quite significant. Both the concept are not able to reduce the limitation of either concept. Since both concept provide the life time migration, the second and subsequent movement of a person classified separately as intradistrict, interdistrict, interstate or international migrants (Singh, 1990). The place of birth concepts classified more persons as interdistrict, interstate and international migrants compared to place of last residence concept. Place of last residence termed more persons as intradistrict migrants may be inclusion of children who might have been born at the place where then" mother moved during her pregnancy. As the instruction to the census enumerators in case of place of last residence reads as "In case of child born in hospital into which the mother has moved temporarily for delivery which is different from the usual place of residence of the mother, the place where the hospital is will be treated as the place of last residence for child, though the place where the hospital is will not be place of the last residence of the mother". As in India customarily women move to their parent place at the time of delivery, it seems many children might have been classified as migrants by place of last residence concept in both 1981 and 1991 census. The differences in total volume of migrants have reduced by about 50 per cent in 1991 census compared to 1981 census. An examination of data by age of 1981 census indicate that about 5.5 per cent of male and 3 per cent of female of total reported migrants belong to age group 0-2. The percentage of migrants in age group 3-7 was much higher as 16.8 per cent male and 7.5 per cent female of total migrants.

Duration of Residence and Migration Stream

The information on duration of residence at the place of enumeration provides the data on timing of movement. Table 4 presents the four types of migration streams namely -rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to rural and urban to urban with duration of residence of migrants based on place of last residence criterion in 1981 and 1991 census. The duration data are published as duration of less than 1 year, 1-4 years, 5-9 years, 10-19 years and 20 and above years. The persons who were not able to provide duration of residence information, are grouped into unknown duration.

Among the four migration streams, rural to rural migration streams forms most dominant streams. Out of total migrants in 1991, rural to rural migration stream accounts for about 64 per cent of total migrants whose last residence was within India (43.3 per cent for male and 72 per cent of female migrants). Within the district, the Rural to rural streams accounted much larger percentage than intradistrict and interstate migration streams, 78 per cent compare to 49 and 28 percent, respectively. The similar contribution was observed by sex and distance of migration. The Urbanward movement - rural to urban and urban to urban, show sharp increase in their percentage contribution as the distance of movement increases from intradistrict to interdistrict to interstate. The similar pattern was observed

TABLE 3: DIFFERENCE IN VOLUME OF MIGRANTS BASED ON PLACE OF BIRTH AND PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE: 1971-1991

<i>Migration Status</i>	<i>1971 Census</i>			<i>1981 Census</i>			<i>1991 Census</i>		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non Migrants	121767	887251	1009018	1181340	3084868	4266208	630823	1640810	2271633
Type of Migrants									
(i) Intradistrict	-441948	-956287	-1398235	-2335146	-4069102	-6404248	-1482968	-2660031	-4142999
(ii) Interdistrict	-229185	-366112	-595297	15553	-99630	-84077	73524	190527	264051
(iii) Interstate	-109147	-114772	-223919	249737	231293	481030	274473	335877	610350
(iv) International	855267	726402	1581669	888605	852404	1741009	510786	502388	1013174
(v) Unclassifiable	-196754	-176482	-373236	-89	167	78	-6638	-9571	-16209
Total Migrants	-121767	-887251	-1009018	-1181340	-3084868	-4266208	-630823	-1640810	-2271633

The differences in volume of migrants are computed by subtracting PLR data from FOB.

TABLE 4: DURATION OF RESIDENCE OF MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF MIGRATION IN 1981 AND 1991

<i>Type of Migration Streams</i>	<i><1 year</i>	<i>1-4</i>	<i>Duration of Residence</i>		<i>20+</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Total</i>
			<i>5-9</i>	<i>10-19</i>			
1991 Census			Male				
All Migrants	5.09	21.77	15.52	20.44	23.19	13.99	64308
1. Intradistrict	4.88	21.87	15.35	19.30	20.25	18.35	30820
Rural-Rural	5.05	19.94	14.04	18.34	21.82	20.81	18890
Rural-Urban	4.03	25.20	17.77	22.08	19.37	11.54	6935
Urban-Rural	7.02	27.24	17.81	18.38	12.90	16.65	2205
Urban-Urban	4.18	23.12	16.72	20.12	17.96	17.91	2639
2. Interdistrict	5.51	23.80	16.64	21.57	21.12	11.36	18431
Rural-Rural	8.27	22.40	14.83	19.38	21.87	13.25	5439
Rural-Urban	3.66	22.78	17.47	24.27	22.90	8.92	6423
Urban-Rural	7.92	28.38	16.95	18.07	15.05	13.63	1558
Urban-Urban	4.18	25.51	17.64	21.79	20.10	10.78	4897
3. Interstate	5.66	21.92	16.51	23.25	24.86	7.81	11884
Rural-Rural	11.70	23.03	14.72	18.52	21.76	10.26	2122
Rural-Urban	3.50	19.75	17.57	26.46	26.59	6.13	4880
Urban-Rural	11.85	28.81	16.17	17.62	14.87	10.68	785
Urban-Urban	3.90	22.73	16.32	23.02	26.37	7.66	3994
4. International	2.54	8.22	7.05	14.64	58.88	8.66	3068
1991 Census			Female				
All Migrants	2.26	15.39	15.03	24.70	36.31	6.29	167805
1. Intradistrict	1.92	14.45	14.65	24.69	37.89	6.40	109537
Rural-Rural	1.73	13.37	14.14	24.80	40.09	5.87	90094
Rural-Urban	2.53	19.24	17.13	24.81	28.58	7.71	10446
Urban-Rural	3.47	19.69	16.77	23.06	28.69	8.32	4753
Urban-Urban	2.97	20.39	17.57	23.96	23.64	11.48	3855
2. Interdistrict	2.70	17.12	15.91	25.05	33.12	6.10	40410
Rural-Rural	2.47	14.21	14.33	24.96	39.18	4.84	23101
Rural-Urban	2.78	20.08	18.05	26.05	25.80	7.23	7410
Urban-Rural	3.60	20.92	16.87	23.33	28.09	7.20	3065
Urban-Urban	3.04	22.24	18.66	25.16	22.80	8.10	6660
3. Interstate	3.70	19.00	16.82	25.38	29.41	5.70	14806
Rural-Rural	3.99	15.35	14.83	24.55	36.70	4.58	5399
Rural-Urban	3.36	20.08	18.41	26.99	25.24	5.92	3816
Urban-Rural	5.22	22.20	16.92	23.27	26.20	6.19	1114
Urban-Urban	3.24	21.78	17.93	25.58	24.94	6.52	4375
4. International	1.78	8.58	8.29	17.26	57.00	7.09	2860

Note : Total includes unclassifiable place of last residence as rural or urban

Type of Migration Streams	Duration of Residence			10-19	20+	Unknown	Total
	<1 year	1-4	5-9				
1981 Census				Male			
All Migrants	8.25	25.22	16.17	2098	22.77	6.60	62472
1. Intradistrict	8.16	26.29	16.42	19.74	20.95	8.44	30296
Rural-Rural	8.20	24.23	15.68	19.54	22.91	9.44	19077
Rural-Urban	6.89	29.28	17.00	20.91	20.04	5.89	6317
Urban-Rural	12.30	31.21	17.89	17.83	12.56	8.21	2155
Urban-Urban	7.50	29.96	19.08	19.93	16.01	7.51	2721
2. Interdistrict	9.19	27.34	17.19	21.48	19.64	5.16	1769
Rural-Rural	13.29	25.39	15.65	19.47	20.41	5.79	5495
Rural-Urban	5.70	25.89	18.09	23.99	21.97	4.37	5617
Urban-Rural	14.81	33.02	16.98	16.86	12.41	5.92	1543
Urban-Urban	6.87	29.44	17.98	22.31	18.39	4.99	5000
3. Interstate	8.71	23.98	16.41	23.42	22.80	4.67	11247
Rural-Rural	16.77	24.77	14.53	19.15	20.14	4.64	2225
Rural-Urban	5.29	22.62	17.26	25.83	24.58	4.43	4446
Urban-Rural	19.69	29.95	15.74	17.24	13.04	4.35	817
Urban-Urban	5.62	23.97	16.76	24.49	24.39	4.77	3669
4. International	2.42	7.95	7.49	21.33	56.86	3.94	3234
1981 Census				Female			
All Migrants	3.67	16.84	14.64	23.61	37.57	3.66	145209
1 Intradistrict	3.11	15.74	14.20	23.58	39.71	3.65	96940
Rural-Rural	2.76	14.34	13.65	23.76	42.10	3.39	80600
Rural-Urban	4.21	21.84	16.57	23.26	29.34	4.77	8491
Urban-Rural	5.79	21.84	16.24	21.91	29.83	4.39	4227
Urban-Urban	5.38	25.87	18.85	22.24	21.79	5.87	3521
2 Interdistrict	4.65	19.26	15.68	23.50	33.37	3.53	33140
Rural-Rural	4.15	15.18	13.88	23.37	40.65	2.77	19031
Rural-Urban	4.58	23.51	18.19	24.44	24.83	4.46	5562
Urban-Rural	7.04	23.84	16.53	21.79	26.95	3.85	2592
Urban-Urban	5.29	26.49	18.79	23.83	20.77	4.84	5897
3 Interstate	5.94	20.92	16.62	24.17	28.43	3.92	12293
Rural-Rural	6.46	16.72	14.30	23.05	36.92	2.55	4667
Rural-Urban	5.17	22.69	17.98	25.66	23.56	4.94	3007
Urban-Rural	9.41	24.89	17.04	21.45	24.05	3.16	987
Urban-Urban	4.97	23.84	18.41	25.15	22.73	4.91	3577
4 International	1.45	8.46	9.01	23.39	53.43	4.26	2835

Note : Total includes unclassifiable place of last residence as rural or urban

TABLE 5(1): PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL INDIA MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF MIGRATION STREAM AND REASONS FOR MIGRATION, 1981

<i>Type of Migration</i>	<i>Reasons for Migration</i>						<i>Reasons for Migration</i>					
	<i>Employ.</i>	<i>Educat.</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Employ.</i>	<i>Educat.</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Male						Female					
Intradist.	21.75	6.03	32.37	4.65	35.21	100	1.27	0.69	10.45	78.25	9.33	100
Rural-Rural	15.89	4.72	33.48	6.27	39.64	100	0.85	0.41	7.58	82.79	8.37	100
Rural-urban	35.42	11.53	27.63	1.80	23.63	100	3.49	2.77	24.62	57.05	12.06	100
Urban-Rural	21.82	3.25	32.10	2.71	40.11	100	2.56	0.88	18.25	61.76	16.54	100
Urban-Urban	31.05	4.67	35.82	1.41	27.05	100	3.81	1.95	32.75	45.49	16.00	100
Interdist.	37.94	5.92	29.86	2.06	24.21	100	2.86	1.23	19.36	66.45	10.09	100
Rural-Rural	25.72	3.96	35.13	4.21	30.98	100	1.73	0.46	10.53	79.56	7.72	100
Rural-Urban	50.41	8.22	22.49	0.97	17.90	100	4.67	2.62	31.30	49.22	12.18	100
Urban-Rural	28.92	4.18	31.63	2.09	33.19	100	3.56	1.28	22.58	58.21	14.36	100
Urban-Urban	40.21	6.03	31.87	0.92	20.97	100	4.49	2.40	35.16	44.08	13.86	100
Interstate	50.51	3.82	24.29	1.13	20.26	100	4.65	1.52	28.42	53.62	11.79	100
Rural-Rural	37.77	2.13	31.30	2.83	25.96	100	3.67	0.46	15.46	71.56	8.85	100
Rural-Urban	61.41	4.00	18.03	0.55	16.01	100	5.62	2.02	37.31	42.01	13.04	100
Urban-Rural	33.25	2.93	28.70	1.39	33.73	100	4.82	1.63	27.92	50.37	15.25	100
Urban-Urban	48.91	4.83	26.82	0.74	18.70	100	5.03	2.44	37.93	41.15	13.44	100
Internation	11.45	1.44	32.78	0.47	53.86	100	1.73	0.79	35.37	21.06	41.05	100

TABLE 5(11): PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL INDIA MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF MIGRATION STREAM AND REASONS FOR MIGRATION, 1991

Type of	Reasons for Migration Migration							Reasons for Migration									
	Employ	Busin	Educat	Family	Marriage	Nat Col	Other	Total	Employ	Busin	Educat	Family	Marriage	Nat Col	Other	Total	
			Male										Female				
Intradist.	18.08	5.20	5.44	21.11	5.69	1.36	37.07	100	1.21	0.39	0.70	7.40	81.04	0.23	9.03	100	
Rural-Rural	12.35	4.02	4.68	27.02	7.34	1.90	42.69	100	0.78	0.31	0.46	4.90	85.39	0.24	7.93	100	
Rural-Urban	31.82	8.46	8.99	26.21	2.99	0.61	20.93	100	3.55	0.82	2.40	20.14	61.88	0.25	10.97	100	
Urban-Rural	15.74	4.02	2.86	29.78	3.34	0.38	43.89	100	2.15	0.58	0.79	14.41	64.43	0.15	17.49	100	
Urban-Urban	25.44	6.15	3.89	29.35	3.03	0.28	31.87	100	3.75	0.86	1.62	22.93	52.93	0.17	17.74	100	
Interdist.	33.96	7.32	5.31	27.06	3.11	1.15	22.10	100	2.65	0.74	1.04	14.51	72.10	0.29	8.68	100	
Rural-Rural	22.04	6.23	3.95	30.65	5.49	2.85	28.78	100	1.40	0.57	0.45	7.16	83.78	0.34	6.30	100	
Rural-Urban	44.12	8.74	6.74	22.00	2.03	0.52	15.85	100	4.55	1.02	2.05	25.31	55.94	0.28	10.85	100	
Urban-Rural	25.60	5.38	4.32	30.33	3.09	0.65	30.63	100	3.39	0.82	1.11	17.38	64.70	0.23	12.36	100	
Urban-Urban	36.90	7.34	5.32	28.97	1.89	0.23	19.34	100	4.54	0.97	1.92	26.79	53.41	0.16	12.21	100	
Interstate	43.42	11.49	3.48	23.68	1.67	0.61	15.65	100	3.76	1.17	1.11	24.46	60.14	0.29	9.06	100	
Rural-Rural	32.81	10.24	2.27	27.62	3.53	1.96	21.57	100	2.69	1.00	0.47	11.54	77.48	0.42	6.42	100	
Rural-Urban	51.81	12.55	3.37	19.29	1.12	0.27	11.59	100	4.45	1.24	1.38	34.17	48.57	0.23	9.96	100	
Urban-Ruial	30.70	8.55	3.53	27.32	2.04	0.73	27.14	100	4.15	1.30	1.20	22.52	59.29	0.30	11.24	100	
Urban-Urban	41.47	11.48	4.24	26.32	1.28	0.27	14.94	100	4.32	1.28	1.64	32.47	49.31	0.19	10.79	100	
Internation	10.62	2.93	1.23	30.25	1.18	0	53.80	100	2.39	0.99	0.74	30.33	28.08	0	37.46	100	

in 1981 census. The dominance of female migration in short distance movement is clearly seen in rural to rural migration stream as for every thousand male migrant there were 4483 female migrants. The other streams show lower sex ratio, however there were sex ratio was in favour of females within the state migrants compared to interstate migrants.

In 1991 census about 5 per cent male and 2.3 per cent female moved within a year, 21.8 per cent male and 15.4 per cent female in 1-4 years, 15.5 per cent male and 15 per cent female in 5-9 years. Within the decade 1981-91, about 42 per cent male and 32 per cent female moved out of total migrants. Compared to 1981, the intercensal percentage of migrants has declined. However it may be noted that higher percentage of migrants did not report the duration of residence, therefore the decline in percentage of intercensal migrants may not be completely attributed to decline in recent movement of migrants. About 20 per cent of male and 24.7 per cent of female reported to have moved more between 10 to 20 years before the census which indicates that based on place of last residence criterion the further movement of a person might classify him/her in less duration. The more or less similar percentage of males and females reported duration of 10-19 and 20 and above years in 1981 and 1991 censuses.

The data according to type of migration streams in 1981 and 1991 census are presented in the Table 4. Higher percentage of migrants of rural to rural and urban to rural reported less than one year and 1-4 years duration of residence compared to rural to urban and urban to urban migrants. Possibly children movement and retired persons might be the factor behind such a higher percentage in these two streams. The data on reason for migration with duration of residence may throw some light on this. Comparing different migration streams and distance do not show much difference in duration of residence data. The pattern has been more or less similar hi 1981 and 1991 censuses as well as in different duration categories.

Reasons For Migration

Indian censuses started collecting information on reason for migration since 1981 census. The data on reason for migration by migration stream and type of migration are presented in Table 5(1) and 5(11) hi 1981 and 1991 census respectively. In 1981, the reason for migration was classified into five broad groups - Employment, Education, Family movement, Marriage and others. The scope of data was further increased hi 1991 census as data were separated in two more classification of business and natural calamities such as flood, drought, etc. The movement due to displacement, retirement, etc. which were not covered by employment, business, education, family movement, marriage, natural calamities are included in others category. The data on reason for migration are useful to understand the motivational factors behind movement of persons. The data are based on place of last residence concept and are for all migrants irrespective of duration of residence at place of enumeration.

It may be observed that employment among males and marriage among females were the main reasons for migration. Associational reasons - movement on account of accompanying parents or any member of family was elicited second most important reason

among both male and female migrants. As seen from the data in Table 5(1) and 5(11), the other reasons of migration accounted about one-third of male intradistrict migrants and more than half of international migrants are likely to the movement of children and migrants of partition of India. Examining the type of migration data the importance of employment factor among males are clearly seen. Compared to intradistrict and interdistrict type of migrants, about half male interstate migrants reported employment related reasons in 1981 while about 40 per cent in 1991. The decline percentage of male migrants in 1991 may be due the separation of business category in 1991. It may be remembered that according to 1981 census instructions the business related reasons were supposed to be grouped into other category in 1981, however examining the 1991 census data and employment category versus other category it seems business related reasons might have been included in employment category in 1981. This explanation is based on the trend in employment and other related reasons of migration, the further examination of data at state level may clarify this point.

Rural to urban migration data indicate that about 50 percent of male and about 4 per cent of female in 1991 moved due to employment related reasons compared to 61 per cent male and 6 per cent female in 1981. Business related reasons were elicited by about 12 per cent rural to urban and 11 per cent urban to urban migrants in 1991. Movement for education purpose is gaining importance among interdistrict and interstate migrants and type of migration by migration streams.

International Migrants

Table 6 presents the total number of person born in other countries and enumerated in India in 1981 and 1991. In 1991 census about 0.83 per cent (6.9 million persons) of total population of country was termed as international migrants. About 98 per cent of migrants are from neighbouring Asian countries mainly Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Burma and Bhutan which are border countries to India. The Bangladesh and Pakistan accounts for 84 percent of total migrants. Migrants from Bangladesh were mainly enumerated in rural areas than other countries migrants. The partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947 forced lakhs of persons to move to India which also accounts for higher level of migrants from these two countries. It may be noted that there is an increase in volume of migrants from Arab countries - Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait are increasing over previous decade. In recent years it has been observed that thousands of migrants from Bangladesh has been infiltrating in India especially in north eastern states due to political and economic reasons. The total migrants from Bangladesh has increased by about 66,000 from 3.3 million in 1981 to 4 million in 1991 whereas persons born in Pakistan has reduced by about 95,000. The persons who migrated at the time of partition of Indian subcontinent into India, West and East Pakistan (presently Bangladesh) is mainly decreasing on account of mortality. About 5 lakhs Nepalese enumerated in 1981 has reduced to 4.5 Lakhs in 1991.

Migrants from other countries outside Asia has also increased by about two times in 1991 compared to 1981. These persons mainly come from African countries for educational purpose because education cost in India is much less than any of the western countries.

TABLE 6: PERSONS BORN IN OTHER COUNTRIES AND ENUMERATED IN INDIA 1981 & 1991

Countries	1981			1991		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Bangladesh	2301624	1780970	4082594	2372074	1669437	4041511
	61.16	44.73	52.72	67.54	50.67	59.37
Pakistan	901599	1826047	2727646	557447	1217317	1774764
	23.96	45.87	35.22	15.87	36.94	26.07
Nepal	347972	152349	500321	311190	167504	478694
	9.25	3.83	6.46	8.86	5.08	7.03
Burma	29891	90055	119946	18060	61110	79170
	0.79	2.26	1.55	0.51	1.85	1.16
Sri Lanka	130430	72018	202448	162012	98224	260236
	3.47	1.81	2.61	4.61	2.98	3.82
Bhutan	6499	1694	8193	6813	3429	10242
	0.17	0.04	0.11	0.19	0.10	0.15
Arab Countries	3180	13361	16541	12643	21625	34268
	0.08	0.34	0.21	0.36	0.66	0.50
Afghanistan	344	3787	4131	5164	7915	13079
	0.01	0.1	0.05	0.15	0.24	0.19
Elsewhere in Asia (including USSR)	41725	41046	82771	66490	48412	114902
	1.11	1.03	1.07	1.89	1.47	1.69
Total Asia	3763264	3981327	7744591	3511893	3294973	6806866
	99.62	98.7	99.15	98.29	97.83	98.07
Other Countries	14175	52577	66752	60977	73213	134190
	0.38	1.3	0.85	1.71	2.17	1.93
Total Migrants	3777439	4033904	7811343	3572870	3368186	6941056
percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100

Figures in second row of each country are percentage to total migrants.

Examining the settlement pattern of international migrants, about 51 per cent of migrants are enumerated in rural area in 1991 which has increased from 48 per cent in 1981. Most of the migrants from Bangladesh and Nepal are enumerated in rural areas whereas persons of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Burma and other countries were enumerated in urban areas. Migrants of Sri Lanka are enumerated in both urban and rural areas, mainly in Tamil Nadu state. In 1991, about 92 per cent of total Sri Lankan migrants were residing in Tamil Nadu.

Table 7 presents the time of movement of international migrants in India based on place of last residence concept. About 18 per cent of total migrants from Asian countries moved to India during last 10 years. It may be observed that migrants from Bangladesh and Pakistan mostly moved more than 20 year ago, indicating most of them are survivors of migrants of 1947 partition. In case of Pakistan 83 per cent reported as moved before 20 years compared to 60 per cent of Bangladesh migrants. As Bangladesh got independence in 1972 from erstwhile West Pakistan which may be likely factor from their differences in percentage of migrants according to duration of residence. During 1971-81, large number of migrants from Sri Lanka moved to India due to political disturbances in that country. In 1981-91,

about 38 per cent of Sri Lankan migrants reported their duration of less than 10 years indicating sizeable number of migrants to India from Sri Lanka.

The place of last residence data compared to place of birth data indicate that twice the number of migrants from Arabian countries moved to India during last five years. It may be due to large number of migrants from south India go to Arab countries on contract basis and return to India after the termination of their contract. Large number of migrants from Arab countries reported to return during 1 year before 1991 may be attributed to gulf war between Kuwait and Iran in December-January, 1990. About 40 per cent of these migrants from mostly Kerala state reported their duration of last residence as less than one year.

Number of International migrants presented in Table 6 based on place of birth response shows much higher number of migrants than place of last residence data in Table 7. The difference in volume of migrants may be due to the fact that subsequent movement of a person classifies him/her into internal migrant. A cross tabulation of place of birth data and place of last residence data would have thrown light on movement of international migrants within India.

A statewise analysis of international migration may throw more light on changing patterns on international migrants. However it has to be kept in mind in analysing international migration data that due to growing opposition in many states in regard to freedom of movement of migrants from other countries, the large number of persons might have not been providing their correct place of birth or place of last residence. During 1980s and 1990s, there has been number of political changes, opposition and disturbances in North-East India and Southern India. The figure relating to Bangladeshis and Sri Lankan may not be correct or under reported. There is also apprehension from users of census data that in case of international migration due to conceptual problem as well under reporting of place of birth or place of last residence the emerging level and pattern of international migration are at lower level.

Conclusion

About 30 per cent of Indian population are migrants based on place of birth and place of last residence concepts adopted in Indian census. The differences in level of migrants are very little. The level of migration from 1961 to 1991 shows decline by about 5 per cent. The differences between two migration concepts are mainly observed in intradistrict migrants which probably seems due to instructions given to enumerators regarding inclusion of children born at hospitals to be treated as migrants. Some of the differences may be due to return movement, however the published data do not provide opportunity to separate them. The stream wise migration data indicate decline in percentage of migrants in 1981-1991. The movement in recent years has reduced in 1991 compared to 1981. A detailed analysis of changing pattern needs to be undertaken to explain emerging patterns by migration streams. Economic factor among males and associational and marriage among females remain as main factor behind their movement. About 1 percent of male and less than half per cent of female moved due natural calamities factors such as floods, drought, etc.

TABLE 7: PERSONS RESIDED OUTSIDE INDIA IN ASIAN COUNTRIES BY DURATION OF RESIDENCE
 BASED ON PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE DATA IN INDIA 1981 AND 1991

<i>Countries of Last Residence</i>	<i><1</i>	<i>1-4</i>	<i>Duration of Residence</i>			<i>Unclass</i>	<i>Total</i>
			<i>5-9</i>	<i>10-19</i>	<i>20+</i>		
1991 Census							
Bangladesh	34082	280441	277049	605727	2006095	172435	3375829
	1.01	8.31	8.21	17.94	59.43	5.11	100
Pakistan	8191	33223	28276	70581	1159810	90662	1390743
	0.59	2.39	2.03	5.08	83.39	6.52	100
Nepal	24074	87484	63637	101709	129929	29685	436518
	5.52	20.04	14.58	23.3	29.76	6.8	100
Myanmar (Burma)	936	4624	4704	12612	38248	5324	66448
	1.41	6.96	7.08	18.98	57.56	8.01	100
Sri Lanka	23014	23881	42316	78688	17647	51210	236756
	9.72	10.09	17.87	33.24	7.45	21.63	100
Bhutan	449	2396	1757	2332	2324	1921	11179
	4.02	21.43	15.72	20.86	20.79	17.18	100
Arab Countries	23132	17751	8795	5708	5782	8864	70032
	33.03	25.35	12.56	8.15	8.26	12.66	100
Afghanistan	592	3181	1116	2899	2930	6358	17076
	3.47	18.63	6.54	16.98	17.16	37.23	100
Elsewhere in Asia (inc. USSR)	7366	21928	11501	28224	36578	33543	139140
	5.29	15.76	8.27	20.28	26.29	24.11	100
Total Asia	121387	472513	437394	906148	3397019	398081	5732542
Migrants	2.12	8.24	7.63	15.81	59.26	6.94	100
1981 Census							
Bangladesh	32313	244755	281938	975018	1496375	145671	3176070
	1.02	7.71	8.88	30.7	47.11	4.59	100
Pakistan	13441	45142	51199	151291	1644124	76354	1981551
	0.68	2.28	2.58	7.63	82.97	3.85	100
Nepal	42948	92729	61087	99124	132195	15040	443123
	9.69	20.93	13.79	22.37	29.83	3.39	100
Myanmar (Burma)	2031	6554	11880	55389	232 il	2560	101625
	2.00	6.45	11.69	54.5	22.84	2.52	100
Sri Lanka	7004	67718	65379	24025	15070	781	179977
	3.89	37.63	36.33	13.35	8.37	0.43	100
Bhutan	721	1811	1013	1347	3181	253	8326
	8.66	21.75	12.17	16.18	38.21	3.04	100
Arab countries	6265	8357	1935	2954	3765	1254	24530
	25.54	34.07	7.89	12.04	15.35	5.11	100
Afghanistan	307	1238	512	658	1098	305	4118
	7.46	30.06	12.43	15.98	26.66	7.41	100
Elsewhere in Asia (inc. USSR)	5744	10493	10804	23042	23781	1953	75817
	7.58	13.84	14.25	30.39	31.37	2.58	100
Migrants	110774	478797	485747	1332848	3342800	244171	5995137
	1.85	7.99	8.1	22.23	55.76	4.07	100

Figures in second row of each country are percentage to total migrants of that country.

An attempt is also made in the paper to examine international migration to India from other countries. Most international migrants to India were from Border countries of Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Burma (now known as Myanmar). In recent years migrants from Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are on increase due to political and economic factors. The Migrants from Pakistan are consistently declining over the decades due to mortality among migrants of 1947 partition of India subcontinent. Duration of residence data confirms it.

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