

An overview of migration in India, its impacts and key issues

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SUMMARY

This paper deals with internal and international migration, both of which are large-scale with impacts on economic growth and poverty reduction in many regions of the country.

In some parts of India, three out of four households include a migrant. However despite the large scale of migration in absolute numbers of people involved and India's long history of population and labour mobility, labour migration has rarely been reliably studied.

Labour migration is complex. Streams differ in duration, origin, destination and migrant characteristics.

Economic and social impacts on migrants and their families are variable. Migration often involves longer working hours, poor living and working conditions, social isolation and poor access to basic amenities.

At destination, migrant labour affects markets, lowering the cost of labour. Migration also affects the labour market at the place of origin. Migrant earnings affect income, expenditure patterns and investment and changes relations at household and community levels. While there seems to be some positive impact on incomes and investment, the major function of migration is to act as a 'safety valve' in poor areas. The impact on asset and income inequality is more mixed.

Internal mobility is critical to the livelihoods of many people, especially tribal people, socially deprived groups and people from resource-poor areas. However, because of lack of data, migration is largely invisible and ignored by policy makers. There is a large gap between the insights from macro data and those from field studies.

What data are available attest to the substantial and growing scale of internal seasonal migration. In one district of the rice-producing belt of West Bengal, the flow of seasonal migrants, drawn from tribals, Muslims and low castes, exceeds 500,000 people.

Migrants are disadvantaged as labourers and labour laws dealing with them are weakly implemented. Poor migrants have very little bargaining power. Most migrant labourers are also employed in the unorganised sector, where the lack of regulation compounds their vulnerability. They are largely ignored by government and NGO programmes (AIDS related work is a recent exception).

Laws and regulations concerning working conditions of migrants are largely ineffective: legislation fails because regulatory authorities are over-stretched, the state sees migrants as a low priority and because migrant workers are vulnerable with little support

from civil society. But there are instances in which both governmental and non-governmental organisations have intervened to reduce the costs of migration and to increase its benefits to migrants.

International migration, though involving a small proportion of the workforce, has important local impacts. Since independence, two distinct streams of migration have left India: people with professional expertise or technical qualifications emigrating to industrialised countries, and semi-skilled and skilled workers emigrating to the Middle East. Data on these labour flows are limited, but estimates and trends can be discerned.

Migration to industrialised countries grew steadily between 1950 and 2000. Nearly 1.25 million Indians emigrated to the US, Canada, UK and Australia during this period. Average annual flows to these destinations increased nearly five-fold between the 1950s and the 1990s.

Migration to the Middle East increased rapidly between the late 1970s and early 1980s. In the mid-to late 1980s, however, the number of Indian workers migrating to the Middle East fell sharply. Labour migration increased substantially again during the 1990s. Today, some 3 million Indian migrants live in Gulf countries.

Most migrants come from Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Punjab. The current number of Indian migrants overseas accounts for less than 1% of the total workforce in India, so has little direct impact on the national labour market. However, the effects of migration are significant in major sending regions. In Kerala, for example, emigration has recently led to a considerable reduction in unemployment.

Remittances are the main benefit of external migration, providing scarce foreign exchange and scope for higher levels of savings and investments. Remittances over the past 30 years have financed much of India's balance of trade deficit and have thus reduced the current account deficit.

Remittances have had a considerable impact on regional economies. The most striking case is that of Kerala, where remittances made up 21% of state income in the 1990s. This flow appears to have increased wealth: although the average per capita consumption in Kerala was below the national average until 1978–79, by 1999–2000 consumer expenditure in Kerala exceeded the national average by around 41%.

International migration has also had considerable impacts on demographic structures, expenditure patterns, social structures and poverty levels. Impacts include reducing population growth; enhancing the dependency burden within households; increasing

consumption expenditures and reducing poverty levels.

External migration flows are regulated by the government. The main instrument of regulation is the Emigration Act 1983 which deals with the departure of Indian workers for overseas contractual employment and seeks to safeguard their interests. However efforts to direct manpower export have been minimal.

The paper recommends several changes in government policy. A key focus of policy intervention should be to improve synergy between migration and development. Internal migration is a consequence of unequal regional development. In the case of international

migration, the impact on pro-poor growth should be maximised through appropriate institutional and policy measures.

Four major categories of interventions can be envisaged, which will differ for internal and external migration. These categories relate to:

- addressing underdevelopment and improving the synergy between migration and development;
- improving labour market outcomes;
- ensuring basic entitlements to migrant workers; and
- improving the social and political environment for migration.

An overview of migration in India, its impacts and key issues

1 INTRODUCTION

In some regions of India, three out of four households include a migrant. The effects of migration on individuals, households and regions add up to a significant impact on the national economy and society. Despite the numbers, not much is written on migration within or from India and its considerable costs and returns remain outside of the public policy realm. This paper reviews key issues relating to internal and external labour migration in India. It analyses the patterns, trends and nature of labour migration, reviews existing government and non-governmental policies and programmes, and briefly examines key policy issues and options.

This paper relies mainly on existing data, but also draws on some new analysis of secondary data. The study benefited from insights gained at a stakeholder workshop involving staff from grassroots programmes of both governmental and non-governmental agencies. Key policy makers were also interviewed in order both to gain an understanding of current government concerns and to validate our findings.

There is considerable conceptual difficulty in defining a migrant, often unacknowledged in the literature. Worker mobility takes different forms, which may coexist. The worker's place of residence and place of work may be different, and the distance covered by daily commuting. At the other end of the spectrum, workers may move permanently from their places of birth or usual place of residence, maintaining little or no contact with their places of origin. Between these two extremes, people move away for differing periods of time. Most household surveys use a cut-off point to determine the usual place of residence – in India, this is six months – but such a cut-off point has no firm basis in migration patterns.

It is useful to distinguish between 'permanent', 'semi-permanent' and 'temporary' migrants, based on how long they are away from their place of origin, the links they maintain, and the likelihood that they will return home. Temporary migrants are unlikely to stay away from their places of origin for more than a few months in a year.¹ Since the central concern of this paper is the links between migration and poverty, we have focused on migration streams which involve poorer people in the section on internal migration.

¹ The period of absence may be longer in the case of international migrants. We may also need to specify a minimum period of absence for temporary migrants, thereby excluding, say, daily or weekly commuters. We have used the terms 'temporary' migrants, 'short duration' migrants, 'seasonal' migrants, and 'circulatory' migrants somewhat interchangeably in this paper because of the difficulty of drawing strict boundaries between these concepts in empirical work.

2 BACKGROUND

Migration from one area to another in search of improved livelihoods is a key feature of human history. While some regions and sectors fall behind in their capacity to support populations, others move ahead and people migrate to access these emerging opportunities. Industrialisation widens the gap between rural and urban areas, inducing a shift of the workforce towards industrialising areas. There is extensive debate on the factors that cause populations to shift, from those that emphasise individual rationality and household behaviour to those that cite the structural logic of capitalist development (cf. de Haan and Rogaly, 2002). Moreover, numerous studies show that the process of migration is influenced by social, cultural and economic factors and outcomes can be vastly different for men and women, for different groups and different locations (*ibid.*).

In the past few decades new patterns have emerged, challenging old paradigms. First, there have been shifts of the workforce towards the tertiary sector in both developed and developing countries. Secondly, in developed countries, urban congestion and the growth of communication infrastructure has slowed down urbanisation. Thirdly, in developing countries, the workforce shift towards the secondary/tertiary sector has been slow and has been dominated by an expansion of the 'informal' sector, which has grown over time. In countries like India, permanent shifts of population and workforce co-exist with the 'circulatory' movement of populations between lagging and developed regions and between rural and urban areas, mostly being absorbed in the unorganised sector of the economy. Such movements show little sign of abating with development.

The sources of early migration flows were primarily agro-ecological, related to population expansion to new settlements or to conquests (e.g. Eaton, 1984). There is considerable information on patterns of migration during the British period. Indian emigration abroad was one consequence of the abolition of slavery and the demand for replacement labour. This was normally through indenture, a form of contract labour whereby a person would bind himself for a specified period of service, usually four to seven years in return for payment of their passage. They left for British, Dutch and French colonies to work in sugar plantations and subsequently for the tea and rubber plantations of Southeast Asia (Tinker, 1974). Similar demands for labour rose internally with the growth

of tea, coffee and rubber plantations, coal mines and, later, modern industry. Much of this labour was procured through some form of organised mediation and some portion of it remained circulatory and retained strong links with the areas of origin. But as it settled down, it provided a bridgehead to other migrants, whose numbers grew to satisfy colonial demand. Urban pockets like Kolkatta and Mumbai attracted rural labourers mainly from labour catchment areas like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa in the east and Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and parts of Kerala and Karnataka in the south (NCRL, 1991; Joshi and Joshi, 1976; Dasgupta, 1987). The historical pattern of the flow of labourers persisted even after independence.

In 2001, India's population exceeded 1 billion. At that time, 67.2% lived in rural areas and 32.8% in towns and cities. Between 1951 and 2001, the proportion of the population living in urban areas rose from 17.3% to 32.8%. Of the total workforce, 73.3% remained in rural areas, declining marginally from 77.7% in 1991 and 79.3% in 1981; 58% remained dependent upon agriculture.

In a country of India's size, the existence of significant regional disparities should not come as a surprise. The scale and growth of these disparities is, however, of concern. The ratio between the highest to lowest state per capita incomes, represented by Punjab and Bihar in the first period, and Maharashtra and Bihar in the second period, has increased from 2.6 in 1980–83 to 3.5 in 1997–00 (Srivastava, 2003).

The Planning Commission estimates that 26.1% of India's population lives below the poverty line (based on the controversial National Sample Survey of 1999–2000). The rural poor has gradually concentrated in eastern India and rainfed parts of central and western India, which continue to have low-productivity agriculture. In 1999–2000, the states with the highest poverty levels were: Orissa (47.2%), Bihar (41.2%), Madhya Pradesh (37.4%), Assam (36.1%) and Uttar Pradesh (31.2%)

Generally, India's poor have meagre physical assets and human capital and belong largely to socially deprived groups such as scheduled castes (SC) and tribes (ST). Women share an extraordinary burden of deprivation within households. The poor rely on different types of work to construct a livelihood; wage labour and cultivation are the most important.

Earlier studies have shown that poor households participate extensively in migration (Connell *et al*, 1976). More recent studies have reconfirmed that migration is a significant livelihood strategy for poor households in several regions of India (PRAXIS, 2002; Mosse *et al*, 2002; Hirway *et al*, 2002; Haberfeld *et al*, 1999; Rogaly *et al*, 2001; Srivastava, 1998 and forthcoming).

Existing structures for policy implementation

Internal

The Ministry of Labour and the Departments of Labour, at state levels, are responsible for formulating and implementing measures to protect migrant workers. Certain existing labour laws aim to improve the

conditions of migrant workers and prevent their exploitation. The important ones are: the Inter State Migrant Workmen (Regulation and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979; the Minimum Wages Act, 1948; the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970; the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976; and the Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1996. The enforcement of these laws is the responsibility of both the central and state governments. At the central level, the key agency is the office of the Chief Labour Commissioner and its field offices. However, the Directorate General of Labour Welfare and the Welfare Commissioners also deal with certain welfare provisions emanating from some of these enactments. In the states, the offices of the Labour Commissioners and their field offices are responsible for enforcing these laws. The organisational structure in the centre and states is shown in Chart 1 (Annex 3). Concerns of migrant labourers are also the responsibility of the relevant Social Sector Ministries (Health and Family Welfare, Human Resource Development, Food and Consumer Affairs, Urban Affairs, Social Justice). However, there are no separate departments in these ministries dealing exclusively with migrant labour. The Ministry of Home Affairs has the responsibility for immigration.

International

India regulates external labour migration flows, for which the 1983 Emigration Act provides the necessary legal framework. The office of the Protector of Emigrants, Ministry of Labour, is empowered by law to regulate the deployment of Indian nationals seeking foreign employment. The main objective of state intervention is to ensure that nationals obtain legally valid employment abroad under acceptable conditions. This is achieved mainly by setting minimum employment standards and verifying employment contracts; regulating recruitment through licensing the agents; issuing emigration clearances for certain categories of emigrants, especially those considered less able to protect their own interests; and handling public grievances related to violation of employment contracts and recruitment abuses.

Two other ministries concerned with the emigration of Indian workers are the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) and Ministry of Home Affairs. Indian diplomatic missions abroad come under the MEA. They often have a labour attaché posted to the mission, responsible for monitoring and reporting on the conditions of Indian nationals and liaising with host government authorities on matters such as employment conditions, welfare and repatriation of migrant labour. The MEA also addresses issues related to international migration during bilateral diplomatic negotiations, especially with major destination countries. The Immigration Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for the control of exit of Indian nationals. The Police Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for investigating complaints lodged on recruitment abuses in India. An organogram shows the links between the different Ministries (Annex 3, Chart 2).

3 TRENDS AND PATTERNS IN INTERNAL MIGRATION

The two main secondary sources of data on population mobility in India are the Census and the National Sample Survey (NSS). These surveys may underestimate some migration flows, such as temporary, seasonal and circulatory migration, both due to empirical and conceptual difficulties. Since such migration and commuting is predominantly employment oriented, the data underestimate the extent of labour mobility. Furthermore, migration data relate to population mobility and not worker mobility, although economic theories of migration are primarily about worker migration. It is not easy to disentangle these, firstly because definitions of migrants used in both surveys (change from birthplace and change in last usual place of residence), are not employment related. Secondly, migration surveys give only the main reason for migration, and that only at the time of migration. Secondary economic reasons could be masked, as in the case of married women, who would cite other reasons for movement. Another problem is that migration data relate to stocks of migrants and not to flows, although different policy concerns relate to stocks (of different ages) and flows. Many of these concerns can be handled only by micro surveys, which have their own problems.

Population mobility

In one view, population mobility in India is low (Davis, 1951; Kundu and Gupta, 1996). Migration statistics to the early 1990s also suggest a decline in mobility. In the 1991 census, using the change in residence concept, 27.4% of the population is considered to have migrated (that is, 232 million of the total 838 million persons), which shows a considerable decline from 30.6% in 1971 and 31.2% in 1981. This is true for male and female migrants. In the case of males, it declined from 18.1% in 1971 to 14.7% in 1991. In the case of females, it declined from 43.1% in 1971 to 41.6% in 1991.

However, recent evidence based on NSS figures for 1992–1993 and 1999–2000, and indirectly supported by the census, suggests an increase in migration rates – from 24.7% to 26.6% over that period. This evidence suggests the proportion of migrants of both sexes, in both rural and urban areas, increased during the last decade of the 20th century.

Migration in India is predominantly short distance, with around 60% of migrants changing their residence within the district of enumeration and over 20% within the state of enumeration while the rest move across the state boundaries. A significant proportion of women migrates over short distances, mainly following marriage.

The proportion of male lifetime migrants is low in most poor states except Madhya Pradesh and high in most developed states. For inter-state migration, a similar trend is observed: developed states show high inter-state immigration while poor states, except Madhya Pradesh, show low rates of total and male immigration. Rates of interstate lifetime emigration are complementary to the above trends (Srivastava, 1998).

Based on place of last residence and on place of birth, migrants are generally classified into four migration streams. Rural areas are still the main destination for migrants, but urban destinations are more important for male migrants (49% of male migrants moved to urban destinations in 1991, compared to 29.5% female migrants).

Between 1992–1993 and 1999–2000, NSS data indicate an increase in urban migration, but this is mainly due to urban-urban flows (Srivastava and Bhattacharya, 2002).

Migration for work

The primary motive for migration, recorded by the census as well as the NSS, is an important indicator of how mobility is influenced by conditions of the labour market. Of the 27.4% who changed place of residence, as per 1991 census, 8.8% moved for employment reasons and 2.3% had business motives. The proportion moving due to economic motives was higher for males (27.8% moved for employment reasons, and 7.1% for business reasons), compared with females (only 1.8% moved for employment reasons and 0.5% for business reasons).

The proportion migrating for economic reasons is greater among long-distance migrants; most male migrants moving between states did so for economic reasons. Again, economic motives are more significant in urban migration streams, especially for males. While the share of inter-state to total migrants was only 11.8% in 1991, such migrants comprised 28% of all economic migrants. Similarly, while 49% of male migrants were in urban areas, 69.2% of such migrants migrated for employment (Srivastava, 1998).

A distinct regional variation emerges in the work pattern of migrants. In the northeastern states and some others, migrants are mainly employed in the tertiary and secondary sector of the economy. Elsewhere, the primary sector attracts the migrant most (Annex 4, Table A10). An analysis of the occupational division of migrant workers (other than cultivators and agricultural labourers) shows that among males, 43% are engaged in production related work. In the tertiary sector, significant proportions of male migrants are engaged as sales workers, followed by clerical and related work. All the western states have a significant proportion of male migrants in secondary activity and in the southern and north-eastern states they are mainly engaged in the tertiary sector (Annex 4, Table A11). In the case of female migrant workers, 40% are in production related works and a significant proportion are in technical and professional activity.

Migration for work in the 1990s

Analysis of the recent trends of labour mobility, on the basis of NSS estimates from the 49th (1992–93) and 55th rounds (1999–00) have been carried out by Srivastava and Bhattacharya (2002) and a few central conclusions from that analysis are discussed below.

This period shows a sharp increase in urban male mobility, with a significantly larger percentage of male

migrants reporting economic and employment linked reasons for mobility. For other streams, there has been a decline in the percentage of migrants giving economic reasons for mobility.

A comparison of the decadal migrant streams (migrants who had migrated in the decade preceding the period of survey) shows that (a) a greater percentage of the urban migrant workers were from the non-agricultural sector (self-employed or regular employed); (b) a greater percentage of the male migrant workers were self-employed or in regular employment in 1999–00; (c) in the case of females, however, a larger percentage of decadal female migrant workers worked in 1999–00 as casual labourers (in the rural areas in agriculture).

Comparing activity status before and after migration for all migrants, we find that migrants in general show much higher work participation rates for both urban and rural areas. In the urban areas, the NSS 55th round figures show a significant transition towards regular employment and self-employment among males, with a small decline in the percentage of casual labour. In the rural areas, there is an increase in all three categories including casual labour, but the most significant shift is towards self-employment. In the case of female migrants, however, along with an increase in the percentage of workers to population in all three categories after migration, there is also an increase in casualisation both in rural and urban areas, but quite significantly in the former.

These results, along with the decline in short duration migration, which we discuss below, suggest that the 1990s may have provided greater opportunity for labour mobility to those who were better positioned – males in urban areas and in the non-agricultural sector. However, these results are still tentative and need to be corroborated with further analysis from other sources.

Short duration labour migration

Our special interest is in temporary, short duration migration, because such migrants lack stable employment and sources of livelihood at home and belong to the poorer strata. These migrants find work in agriculture, seasonal industries, or are absorbed in the amorphous urban economy, either as casual labourers or as self-employed. They may move from one type of job to another or even from rural to urban areas. There is another category of poor and destitute migrants who have virtually no assets in the areas of origin and have lost all contact with their origin. Thus not all poor migrants would fall in the category of seasonal/short term migrants. But as discussed earlier, for one reason or another, all these categories are likely to be underestimated in data.

In terms of the duration of migration, Census of India estimates 56.2% of the migrants in 1991 were of more than 10 years standing, while 21.4% were of 1 to 9 years duration. Only 7.07 million or 3.04% of the migrants were recorded as short duration (less than one year's duration), of whom 1.37 million migrated for economic reasons.

The NSS survey of 1999–00 has estimated that there was 8.64 million short duration (less than one year) (in)-migrants in 1999–00, out of whom 3.24 million had migrated for economic reasons. However, in 1992–93 the total number of estimated short duration migrants was 16.75 million, suggesting a sharp decline in the intervening years.

The NSS 55th round has separately estimated (for the first time) the number of short duration outmigrants in 1999–00 (those who stayed away for a period between 2 and 6 months for work or seeking work).² Generally, this category would not overlap with the category of short duration in-migrants who are expected to have stayed in their current place of residence for six months or more. A total of nearly 10.87 million people stayed away from their UPR for work/seeking work for a period between 2 and 6 months. Of these 8.45 million were resident in rural areas and 2.42 million in urban areas. Among the 8.45 million short duration out-migrant in rural areas, 3.06 million were females and 5.39 million were males. Short-duration out-migrants constituted 2.1% of rural employed persons and 1.3% of urban employed persons. Casual labourers among them formed 3.1% and 1.5% of the casual labour force in rural and urban areas respectively.

Some informal estimates of seasonal/short term migration have been made from time to time. They broadly suggest that these flows might be underestimated in national surveys. The National Commission of Rural Labour (NCRL) made a quick estimate of such labourers based on their numbers in industries employing migrant workers. According to the NCRL, there were approximately 10 million seasonal/circular migrants in the rural areas alone. This included an estimated 4.5 million inter-state migrants. There were large numbers of migrants in agriculture and plantations, brick kilns, quarries, construction sites and fish processing.

A number of field studies over the 1990s also provide rough estimates of the magnitude of seasonal migration in different parts of India. These attest to the considerable scale of such migration. Empirical research on the scale and pattern of seasonal migration of workers to the rice-producing belt of West Bengal carried out in 1999–00 suggests that the number of seasonal migrants, drawn from tribals, Muslims and other low castes, moving to Bardhaman district during aman harvesting season exceeds 500,000 and this volume has been growing since the 1980s (Rogaly *et al*, 2001). A study based on annual seasonal migration of tribal households from Khandesh (Dhule district, Maharashtra) to the sugarcane fields of southern Gujarat in 1988–89 estimated that every year 100,000 to 150,000 labourers are recruited from this region to work in the nine sugar co-operatives of Southern Gujarat (Teerink, 1995). Other studies in the tribal areas in MP, Rajasthan and Gujarat also indicate a very high rate of outmigration, in some cases involving 60 to 80% of households (Mosse *et al*, 2002; Haberkfeld *et al*, 1999; Rani and Shylendra, 2001). Significant number of tribals, mainly from drought prone areas of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and

² The survey would record all those in their current place of residence for six months or more as in-migrants, while those who left their homes for a period between two to six months for work/seeking work would be recorded as out-migrants. That would still leave very short duration out-migrants (those leaving home for work for periods less than two months) unrecorded.

Maharashtra, migrate to work in construction, tile factory, brick kiln and crop cutting in Maharashtra (Pandey, 1998). Saora, Munda and Santhal tribes have a long history of migration, with male only migration among the Saora (plantation cultivation in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh), whereas Mundas and Santhals migrate as household units, mainly to NALCO site in Denkanal district of Orissa (Menon, 1995). The construction industry mainly depends on migrant labour (90% of the labourers are migrants in one estimate (Vaijanyanta, 1998). Around 40,000 girls migrate from Kerala annually to other state to work in the fishery industry (Sarodamoni, 1995).

Profile of migrant workers

Migration encompasses enormous economic and social diversity. Migrants are concentrated in different types of work in rural and urban areas. In the rural areas, self-employment is the predominant activity for both male and female migrant workers followed by casual work which, according to the NSS 55th round findings, engaged 33.4% of male migrant workers and 44.2% of female migrant workers in 1999–00. In urban areas, regular employment engaged 55.6% of the male workers while self-employment and casual work engaged 31.1 and 13.3% of male migrant workers respectively. In the case of females, the highest percentage were self-employed (39.7) followed by regular employment (35.1%) and casual work (25.2%) This naturally implies that there is considerable economic differentiation among migrant households.

Further a little under 50% of the urban and rural migrants and more than 50% of male migrants in both sectors are in the top two consumption quintiles. Among other factors, this may reflect the higher work participation rates among migrants and the propensity of the well-off to migrate.

Micro studies show a bi-modal relationship with respect to wealth/income and land: migrants cluster both at low and high levels (Connell *et al*, 1976). The NCRL report suggests that labourers and land-poor farmers have a high propensity to migrate as seasonal labourers.

Data on individual migrants gleaned from micro surveys shows a significant clustering of migrants in the 16–40 year age group (Connell *et al*, 1976). This is even more the case with poorer semi-permanent or temporary labour migrants (Srivastava 1999, and forthcoming). With respect to education, migration rates are high both among the highly educated and the least educated, and among seasonal migrants there is a high preponderance of illiterate people (Connell *et al*, 1976; Rogaly *et al*, 2001; Habersfeld *et al*, 1999).

In the overall migrant population, differences across caste groups are not significant, but ST and SC migrants are more involved in short duration migrants, with migration rates among them being 2% and 1% respectively, compared with an overall rate of 0.7% for all short duration migrants (NSS, 2001). This is also corroborated by field survey data showing that low castes are predominant in short duration migration flows.

The nature of migration primarily reflects household subsistence strategies in the face of social, cultural, demographic and other constraints. Males predominate in most labour migration streams. But in a number of other cases, both men and women migrate together for work, especially among lower caste and tribals where constraints on women's participation in non-household economic activities are fewer. The pattern of labour migration (whether males alone, males and females, or females alone) is related to the social structure, the pattern of demand, and the nature of the migration process. In some sectors such as construction, brick kiln and sugarcane cutting, family migration is prevalent as it is more economical for employers. The proportion of women outmigrants (predominantly to agriculture and the construction sector) ranges from 18% to 42% in the case of some tribal areas (Habersfeld *et al*, 1999; Mosse *et al*, 1997). Rogaly *et al* (2001), focusing on four source areas for labour migration to West Bengal's rice bowl, find male only migration in two of the source areas they studied, whereas migration from the other two areas was both by men and women. The fish processing industry has seen the migration of large numbers of single women (Sarodamoni, 1995). In the domestic maid sector, there is increasing trend of independent migration of females, A study by the Institute of Social Sciences (1991) indicates that 20% of total women migrants to Delhi are employed as domestic maids. There are also important regional differences in the pattern of female labour mobility between the northern and southern states (Singh, 1984). Among inter-state economic migrants, the share of the northern states (Bihar, UP) is very large in male migration, but the southern states have a comparatively larger share in female economic migrants (Srivastava, 1998). On the whole, however, females move smaller distances for work compared to males.

Causes of migration

Given the diversity in the nature of migration in India, the causes are also bound to vary. Migration is influenced both by the pattern of development (NCRL, 1991), and the social structure (Mosse *et al*, 2002). The National Commission on Rural Labour, focusing on seasonal migration, concluded that uneven development was the main cause of seasonal migration. Along with inter regional disparity, disparity between different socio-economic classes and the development policy adopted since independence has accelerated the process of seasonal migration. In tribal regions, intrusion of outsiders, the pattern of settlement, displacement and deforestation, also have played a significant role.

Most migration literature makes a distinction between 'pull' and 'push' factors, which, however, do not operate in isolation of one another. Mobility occurs when workers in source areas lack suitable options for employment/livelihood, and there is some expectation of improvement in circumstances through migration. The improvement sought may be better employment or higher wages/incomes, but also maximisation of family employment or smoothing of employment/income/consumption over the year.

At one end of the migration spectrum, workers could be locked into a debt-migration cycle, where earnings from migration are used to repay debts incurred at home or in the destination areas, thereby cementing the migration cycle. At the other end, migration is largely voluntary, although shaped by their limited choices. The NCRL has recognised the existence of this continuum for poor migrants by distinguishing between rural labour migration for survival and for subsistence. The landless poor, who mostly belong to lower caste, indigenous communities, from economically backward regions, migrate for survival and constitute a significant proportion of seasonal labour flow (Study Group on Migrant Labour, 1990).

The growth of intensive agriculture and commercialisation of agriculture since the late 1960s has led to peak periods of labour demand, often also coinciding with a decline in local labour deployment. In the case of labour flows to the rice-producing belt of West Bengal, wage differentials between the source and destination have been considered as the main reason for migration. Moreover, absence of non-farm employment, low agricultural production has resulted in a growth of seasonal migration (Rogaly *et al*, 2001). Migration decisions are influenced by both individual and household characteristics as well as the social matrix, which is best captured in social-anthropological studies.

Factors such as age, education level, wealth, land owned, productivity and job opportunities influence the participation of individuals and households in migration, but so do social attitudes and supporting social networks (Haberfeld *et al*, 1999; Rogaly *et al*, 2001; Mosse *et al*, 2002).

Where migration is essentially involuntary, it makes little sense to use voluntaristic models to explain the phenomenon. In Dhule region (Maharashtra) sugarcane cultivation leads to high demand for labour, but landowners recruit labourers from other districts for harvesting as they can have effective control over the labour. Local labourers are thus forced to migrate with their households to South Gujarat (Teerink 1995). In Kerala, trawler-fishing has depleted marine resources. With unemployment in other industries like cashew and rubber, this has led to large scale outmigration of girls (Sardamoni, 1995).

The migrant labour market

Migrants at the lower end of the market comprise mostly unskilled casual labourers or those who own or hire small means of livelihood such as carts or rickshaws and are self-employed. We focus in this section primarily on migrants who work as casual labourers, although several of the conditions discussed below are also common to other categories of migrants.

Migrant labourers are exposed to large uncertainties in the potential job market. To begin with, they have little knowledge of the market and risk high job search costs. The perceived risks and costs tend to be higher the further they are from home. There are several ways in which migrants minimise risks and costs. For a number of industries, recruitment is often done

through middlemen. In many cases, these middlemen are known to the job seekers and may belong to the source area. In other cases, migrants move to the destination areas on their own. This is generally the case where 'bridgeheads' have been established, lowering potential risks and costs. The movement of migrants in groups, often sharing kinship ties, also provides some protection in the context of the harsh environment in which migrants travel, seek jobs and work. Mosse *et al* (2002), based on a study of villages in the Western India Rain-fed Farming Project (WIRFFP), have shown that the incorporation of workers in the labour market in different ways may depend upon their initial status, with somewhat better-off migrants having superior social net-works and being better able to exploit bridgeheads in urban locations. As with other types of interlocked relationships, the poorer migrants trade their freedom of making individual contracts with employers to the possibility of securing advances and employment from contractors.

In the agricultural sector, labourers are sometimes directly recruited by the employer. In Punjab, labourers are often recruited by employers at the railway stations (Sidhu and Grewal, 1980). In West Bengal, labourers are sometimes recruited at bus stands or employers often go to the source area and recruit labourers (Rogaly *et al*, 2001). Contractors, who often belong to same caste and community, are the other medium for recruitment in the agricultural and rural sectors (agricultural workers in Punjab, coffee plantations in Karnataka, sugarcane plantations in Gujarat, quarry workers around Delhi). In parts of Punjab, agents or traders are also active in recruitment. Labourers are hired by contractors in their village, or by their relatives and friends who have already migrated.

In the urban informal sector, friends and relatives act as a network and the job market is highly segmented based around people of the same caste, religion and kinship. (Mitra and Gupta, 2002). Social networks provide initial income support, information, accommodation, and access to jobs. However, parts of the urban unorganised sector may also be characterised by a high degree of organised migration, as in the rural areas discussed above (Mazumdar, 1983; Dasgupta, 1987; Mehta, 1987; see also Piore, 1983). In the construction industry, workers are largely recruited through contractors who settle wages, retain part of their earnings apart from payments received from employer, and sometimes also play supervisory roles. In the fish processing industry in Kerala, recruitment takes place through contractors, who often use networks of older women to recruit. In the case of domestic maid servants in Delhi, a number of voluntary organisations are involved in the recruitment process. Most of the maids are from the tribal belts of Jharkhand and Chattisgarh. While a new genre of private recruitment agencies has sprung up (which continue to recruit through informal channels and make unspecified deductions from wage payments), the church also plays an active and more benign role in bringing potential employers and employees together (Neetha, 2002).

The labour process in the places of employment only partly overlaps with the process of recruitment. Workers

seeking jobs independently may still find the labour processes in the destination dominated by contracting and sub-contracting relationships. Workers have to depend upon advances and irregular payments. Migrants often get lower wages than local labourers. The migrant status of the labourers accounts for 38–56% of the wage differential in Chennai city when other characteristics are accounted (Duraiswamy and Narsimhan, 1997). They work long and odd hours. Moreover the payments are not made on time. Piece rates are mostly prevalent which provide greater flexibility to employers (NCRL, 1991). Of course, migrants may also prefer these wage systems as they can maximise returns on a per day basis, raising the possibility of their saving part of wages. But in many cases organised migration results in credit-labour interlocking, such that the net return to labour may have no relation to wages in destination areas (Singh and Iyer, 1985; Das, 1993; Krishnaiah, 1997; Mosse *et al.*, 2002).

Employers often prefer migrant labourers to local labourers, as they are cheaper and do not develop social relationships with the place of destination. Women migrants fare the worst; they are generally paid less than male migrants (Pandey, 1998). In the construction industry they are viewed as assistants to their husbands, and confined to unskilled jobs. The consequent segmentation is used as a justification for low payments. Women also face greater insecurity (Viajanyanta, 1998). In the fish processing industry, they are badly exploited in terms of working condition, wages, living condition and sometimes sexually harassed (Sarodamoni, 1995).

In the public sector, wage structures also vary from project to project. As most contracts are given to private firms, they flout labour laws and minimum wage legislation. Low wages of seasonal workers are the result of instability of demand, segmented labour markets, unregulated nature and dominance of labour contractors and vulnerability of workers (Study Group on Migrant Labour, 1990).

Breman (1996) has argued that the continued existence of a large mass of unorganised workers belies expectations that workers would eventually shift from the traditional to the modern sector. An examination of the major industries in the informal sector shows a steady replacement of local workers by migrants. He also finds that rural-urban migration shares a number of features in common with rural-to-rural migration. The urban and rural informal sector markets are increasingly linked through horizontal circulation as migrants may move from one to the other in search of jobs (Gill, 1984; Chopra, 1995; Breman, 1996). Despite growing linkages between the urban and rural labour markets, the markets are not integrated but instead segmented in various ways. Breman (*ibid.*) shows that for locals as well as migrants, stratifications are generally preserved as workers move so that the overall tendency of the labour market is to be broken into 'circuits' of labour. Women migrant workers in urban areas are concentrated mainly in the lower segments, in household work or jobs in manufacturing, construction or personal services (Meher, 1994). According to Das (1994) chain migration also has the impact of

fragmenting this market along ethnic and regional lines. In the construction sector, migrant workers are fragmented by the contracting arrangements through which they work. In focusing on the characteristics of migrant labourers, schooling and resources act as two important barriers in the poorer social groups obtaining on-job training and skills which could lead to the semi-permanent jobs (Breman, *ibid.*; Das, *ibid.*).

The impact of migration

On migrants and their families

Poorer migrant workers, crowded into the lower ends of the labour market, have few entitlements *vis a vis* their employers or the public authorities in the destination areas. They have meagre personal assets and suffer a range of deprivations in the destination areas. In the source areas, migration has both negative and positive consequences for migrants and their families.

Living conditions: migrant labourers, whether agricultural or non-agricultural, live in deplorable conditions. There is no provision of safe drinking water or hygienic sanitation. Most live in open spaces or makeshift shelters in spite of the Contract Labour Act which stipulates that the contractor or employer should provide suitable accommodation (NCRL, 1991; GVT, 2002; Rani and Shylendra, 2001). Apart from seasonal workers, workers who migrate to the cities for job live in parks and pavements. Slum dwellers, who are mostly migrants, stay in deplorable conditions, with inadequate water and bad drainage. Food costs more for migrant workers who are not able to obtain temporary ration cards.

Health and Education: labourers working in harsh circumstances and living in unhygienic conditions suffer from serious occupational health problems and are vulnerable to disease. Those working in quarries, construction sites and mines suffer from various health hazards, mostly lung diseases. As the employer does not follow safety measures, accidents are quite frequent. Migrants cannot access various health and family care programmes due to their temporary status. Free public health care facilities and programmes are not accessible to them. For women workers, there is no provision of maternity leave, forcing them to resume work almost immediately after childbirth. Workers, particularly those working in tile factories and brick kilns suffer from occupational health hazards such as body ache, sunstroke and skin irritation (NCRL, 1991).

As there are no crèche facilities, children often accompany their families to the workplace to be exposed to health hazards. They are also deprived of education: the schooling system at home does not take into account their migration pattern and their temporary status in the destination areas does not make them eligible for schooling there (Rogaly *et al.*, 2001; 2002).

In the case of male-only migration, the impact on family relations and on women, children and the elderly left behind can be quite significant. The absence of

men adds to material and psychological insecurity, leading to pressures and negotiations with wider family (Rogaly *et al.*, 2001; 2002). Male outmigration has been seen to influence the participation of women in the directly productive sphere of the economy as workers and decision-makers and increase the level of their interaction with the outside world (Srivastava, 1999 and forthcoming). But given the patriarchal set up, women may have to cope with a number of problems which are exacerbated due to the uncertainty of the timing and magnitude of remittances on which the precarious household economy depends. This, in turn, pushes women and children from poor labouring households to participate in the labour market under adverse conditions. Thus, the impact of migration on the women can be two-sided but the strong influence of patriarchy restricts the scope of women's autonomy (cf. Teerink, 1995; Menon, 1995; Rogaly *et al.*, 2001). The impact of male migration can be especially adverse for girls, who often have to bear additional domestic responsibilities and take care of younger siblings. The absence of male supervision further reduces their chances of acquiring education (Srivastava, 2001, and forthcoming).

There are several cases where women participate in the migration streams along with male members of their households. It is usual in such cases for younger siblings and older children to accompany their parents and to work along with them. Family migration usually implies migration of the younger members of the family, leaving the elderly to cope with additional responsibilities while at the same time fend for their subsistence and other basic requirements (Mosse *et al.*, 1997).

Changes in migrants' attitudes: Exposure to a different environment, including the stresses that it carries, has a deep impact on the attitudes, habits and awareness levels of migrant workers, depending upon the length of migration and the place to which it occurs. Changes are more dramatic in the case of urban migrants. Migrant workers develop greater awareness regarding conditions of work (Srivastava, 1999). Life style and changes in awareness may lead to a mixed impact on family members. The increased awareness which migrants, especially in urban areas, gain often helps them realise the importance of their children's education.

Impact on source areas

The major impacts of migration on source areas occur through changes in the labour market, income and assets, changes in the pattern of expenditure and investment.

Although seasonal outmigration potentially has the effect of smoothing out employment over the annual cycle, rural outmigration could cause a tightening of the labour market in some circumstances. However, empirical evidence from out-migrant areas does not often attest to this (Connell *et al.*, 1976; Srivastava, 1999). This may be because outmigration often takes place in labour surplus situations. There is also evidence of the replacement of outmigrant male labour by female and even child labour (Srivastava, forthcoming). Srivastava's (1999) study of seven villages in Uttar Pradesh showed some variation over regions. While the situation in the study villages in Eastern and

central Uttar Pradesh conformed to a situation of labour surplus, this was not the case in Western Uttar Pradesh where seasonal migration coincided with the agricultural peak season (*Rabi*) and employers complained of labour shortages. Significantly in all the regions studied, labourers on their part gave uncertainty of employment along with employment conditions and poor relations with their agricultural employers as the major reasons for outmigration.

Even if labour tightening is not an outcome, outmigration may still speed up qualitative changes in existing labour relationships in rural areas, and thereby affect the pace of change. This may occur in several ways. First, there is the well-documented impact of migration on attitudes and awareness as migrant labourers and return migrants are more reluctant to accept adverse employment conditions and low wages. Secondly, outmigration leads to a more diversified livelihood strategy. Combined with some increase in the income and employment portfolio of poor households, this may tend to push up acceptable level of wages (reservation wages) in rural areas and may make certain forms of labour relationships (as for example, those involving personalised dependency) less acceptable (Srivastava, *ibid*; cf. also Rogaly *et al.*, 2001).

Outmigration as a result of debt at home, or debt-interlocking (i.e. the repayment of debts through advance labour commitment) involving employers in the destination areas or their middlemen, is quite common. Such outmigration may or may not eliminate the causes of debt. The reduction of personalised dependencies or interlocked relationships may also accelerate labour mobility and migration as labourers seek out alternative sources of cash income (Srivastava, 1987; Breman, 1974, 1985; Mosse *et al.*, 1997).

Remittances and effect on sending areas

While the impact of outmigration via the labour market has been reviewed above, the other source of changes which need to be analysed would work through changes in income, income distribution and the pattern of expenditure and investment.

Although we do not have direct evidence of the value of remittances from migrants, some indirect evidence can be adduced from the NSS surveys on migration and consumption and employment/unemployment. These surveys give the percentage of out-migrants making remittances and households receiving remittances and depending upon remittances as their major source of livelihood. The former estimates depend upon the definition of out-migrants, which can vary. In 1992-93, 89% of permanent outmigrants sent remittances. The percentage of all rural households receiving remittance income is also fairly high – in some regions of the country, one-quarter to one-third of the households receive remittances. It should be noted that remittances are only one form in which resource-flows occur as a result of migration, the other being savings brought home by migrants in cash or kind.

Field studies show that a majority of seasonal migrants either remit or bring home savings. In many

cases, a substantial proportion of household cash income is attributed to migrant earnings (Haberfeld *et al*, 1999; Rogaly *et al*, 2001; Mosse *et al*, 2002). However, the cash incomes which accrue may not always add to the resource base of migrant households as some are used to adjust earlier debts (NCRL, 1991; Mosse *et al*, 2002).

However, it does appear that the income and consumption level of migrant households is generally higher than that of similarly placed non-migrants (cf. Sharma, 1997, Krishnaiah, 1997, Srivastava, forthcoming). But this conclusion needs to be carefully linked to migration impact as it is generally based on ex-post cross-sectional comparisons. As Mosse *et al* (2002) have noted, and as other studies testify, migrants are not only differentially placed at the entry point, their differential status also leads to different trajectories, so that changes in post-migration average incomes may provide only a limited picture of the varied set of changes. One of the few careful ethnographical studies (Rogaly *et al*, 2001) provides some evidence of improvement in incomes of seasonal migrants as a result of migration, but these conclusions need to be supported by other studies.

The impact of migration on income and asset inequality is limited. The ethnographical study quoted above (Rogaly *et al*, 2001), finds evidence of reduced inequality, as incomes of labour households rise against non-labour households. In another context, Mosse *et al* (1997) suggest that these inequalities increase because the differentiated nature of the migration process led to the amplification of income and asset inequalities.

Remittances are mainly used for purposes like consumption, repayment of loans and meeting other social obligations. These constitute, in effect the 'first charge' on migrant incomes. The evidence on investment is, however, mixed. Investment by migrant households on housing, land and consumer durables is common and migrant income is also used to finance working capital requirements in agriculture. Evidence of other productive farm or non-farm investment is scarce but a number of studies do report such investment by a small percentage of migrant and return migrant households (Oberai and Singh, 1983; Krishnaiah, 1997; Sharma, 1997; Rogaly *et al*, 2001). Thus, while studies do not fully discount for the impact of some factors such as the life cycle effect, rural outmigration appears to provide some, albeit slender, evidence of an improvement in the productive potential of source areas, and the ability of some poor migrant households to acquire small surpluses and strengthen their productive base and bargaining strength in the rural economy (cf. Rogaly *et al*, 2001; Srivastava, forthcoming).

The question of social and economic mobility can be examined both from the changes in worker occupations in the destination areas, as well as in the source areas. As shown earlier, a very large proportion of short duration migrants are unskilled. The question of their mobility is linked to their circumstances of migration, its duration, and is highly gendered. On the whole, a very small proportion of male migrants achieve economic mobility in the destination areas (Haberfeld *et al*, 1999; Mosse *et al*, 1997; Srivastava,

forthcoming). The limited mobility occurs as migrants acquire a foothold in the destination areas, or acquire some skills, and are thus better positioned to exploit the labour market situation. In the source areas, there is a slightly greater impact on social and economic mobility, which, however, generally eludes the poorest, and in most cases, is not substantial for poor migrants (Srivastava forthcoming; also Rogaly *et al*, 2001; Rogaly and Coppard, 2003).

A major linked issue, is the role of rural outmigration in the material and social reproduction of rural households and the extant relationships in which they are placed. Standing (1985) has argued that circulatory migration in particular contributes to the stability of rural production relations. He argues that circulatory labour migrations has 'safety valve' features and 'has often been a mechanism preserving a social mode of production or at least reducing the pressures on it' (*ibid* p. 8). Temporary migration may allow households to relieve underemployment and meet debt and other obligations without having to sell assets. 'Relay migration' can also be seen as a part of the household survival strategy. Indeed the long history of rural outmigration in some of the source areas in India combined with agricultural and rural stagnation seems to corroborate the stabilising role of outmigration. But labour circulation as well as other forms of rural outmigration can also disrupt pre-existing production relations (Standing, *ibid*). The major impact on source areas appears to be through the labour market, with recent evidence indicating greater mobility of rural labour households leading to a less isolated and more generalised agriculture labour market and an upward pressure on wages. Further, as we have shown, there is also evidence of some impact through improvement in the resource base of the migrant households (Srivastava 1998).

Impact on destination areas

There are clearly multiple rationales for the use of migrant labour in destination areas. While shortages of local labour provides one important rationale (Singh and Iyer, 1985; Oberai and Singh, 1983), virtually all available evidence shows that recruitment of immigrants is as much motivated by strategies of labour control and wage cost reduction. Numerous cases have been documented where the same areas export and import labour to identical sectors.³ Migrants are preferred because their labour is easier to control and it is easier to extract labour from them under arduous conditions. Moreover, the supply of labour can be easily increased or decreased with little cost to employers and migrants can work for long and flexible hours. Flexibility of the migrant workforce is reinforced because of the role of contractors and middlemen in recruitment and supervision. The segmentation of the labour market, which also leads to greater control over both migrant and local labour, is another outcome of the process.

Finally, the wage payment systems which grow around industries based predominantly on migrant labour are eminently suited to side-stepping minimum wage legislation. Thus migration reduces labour cost to employers.

³ South Gujarat cane harvesting, for which important source areas are in neighbouring Maharashtra, takes place in the context of surplus labour and there is evidence of source and destination areas being interchanged (Teerink, 1995; cf also Berman 1994b, 1996).

The labour market outcomes generated by labour immigration facilitate a certain kind of growth and accumulation in the destination areas, although this is via what can be described as a 'low road' to capitalism. According to Breman (1996) the basic rationale for the growing informalisation, two-way mobility of labour and segmentation is to be found in the type of mercantilist capitalist development witnessed in India, just as international migration is strongly related to the structure of international capitalism (cf. Sassen, 1988; Piore, 1990). Capitalists operate in uncertain markets, under circumstances in which they are highly dependent on traders. Labour immigration is one of the strategies favoured by entrepreneurs to shift both risk and cost of production on to workers. Another reason for continued informalisation is to keep businesses away from state surveillance. Thus most enterprises in the informal sector escape regulation of any kind.

Furthermore, in such destination areas, employers rarely provide anything other than wage subsistence requirements. Migrant labourers have to fend for themselves to meet their health, shelter and other basic requirements. Although the poor condition in which labourers subsist is a result of employers not internalising the legitimate costs of hiring labour (contravening numerous laws), to society the resulting urban congestion appears to be result of unplanned mobility. The costs of population mobility have been, as a result, considered in theory in the context of large costs imposed by population concentration in large cities. The social, political and other consequences of immigration, especially where such migration is by linguistically, ethnically or regionally distinct groups, has not been considered in the growing economic literature on internal migration, but figures prominently in the corpus of sociological and political literature (cf. Weiner, 1978).

Government legislation and policies

Labour laws and policies

The Indian Constitution contains basic provisions relating to the conditions of employment, non-discrimination, right to work etc. (e.g., Article 23(1), Article 39, Article 42, Article 43). India is also a member of the ILO and has ratified many of the ILO conventions. These provisions and commitments, along with pressure from workers' organisations, have found expression in labour laws and policies.

Migrant labourers face additional problems and constraints as they are both labourers and migrants. Many of the problems faced by migrant labourers are covered by laws and policies in as much as they cover all labourers in a particular sector or industry. These laws include the Minimum Wages Act, 1948; the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970; the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976; the Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service), Act, 1996; the Workmen's Compensation Act 1923; the Payment of Wages Act 1936; the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act, 1986; the Bonded Labour Act, 1976; the Employees State Insurance Act, 1952; the Employees Provident

Fund Act, 1952; and the Maternity Benefit Act, 1961. The last three Acts cover only organised sector workers and thus preclude temporary migrants.

In addition to the above laws, Parliament passed the Inter State Migrant Workmen (Regulation and Conditions of Service) Act 1979 specifically to deal with malpractices associated with the recruitment and employment of workers who migrate across state boundaries. The Act followed the recommendations of a committee set up by the Labour Ministers' Conference in 1976. The Act covers only interstate migrants recruited through contractors or middlemen and those establishments that employ five or more such workers on any given day. Under the Act:

- Contractors and establishments are required to be licensed and registered by a notified registering authority.
- The contractor is required to issue a passbook to every worker, giving details about the worker, including payments and advances, and pay each worker a displacement allowance and a journey allowance.
- Contractors must pay timely wages equal to or higher than the minimum wage; provide suitable residential accommodation, prescribed medical facilities and protective clothing; and notify accidents and casualties to specified authorities and kin.

The Act lays down machinery to resolve industrial disputes and provides for migrant workers to approach the authorities in destination states or in their home states if they have already returned home. The Act sets penalties including imprisonment for non-compliance, but provides an escape route to principal employers if they can show that the transgressions were committed without their knowledge.

Labour laws aiming to protect migrant workers have remained largely on paper. In the case of the 1979 Act, few contractors have taken licences and very few enterprises employing interstate migrant workers have registered under the Act. The record of prosecutions and dispute settlement has been very weak. Migrant workers do not possess pass books, prescribed by law, and forming the basic record of their identity and their transactions with the contractor and employers (NCRL 1991, GVT, 2003).

A study conducted on the status of migrant workers in the Punjab by the Centre for Education and Communication (CEC) pointed out gross violations of the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation Act 1986), the Minimum Wages Act (1948), the Contract Labour Act (1970), the Inter State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 and the Equal Remuneration Act (1976). The violation of these laws was found to be most rampant in the case of brick kilns. Different kinds of harassment were meted out to migrant workers by the police, postal department, owners of the establishments, owners of workers' dwellings, shopkeepers, labour contractors and the railway police during their journey. Migrant labour is recruited from various parts of a particular state through contractors or agents for work outside that state in large construction and other projects. This system lends itself to abuses – working hours are not fixed and workers have to work under extremely harsh conditions (<http://www.labourfile.org/cec1/cec>).

A similar situation was reported by Rani and Shylendra (2001) in their study of construction sites in Gujarat.

Legislation fails because regulatory authorities are over-stretched, the state lacks commitment and migrant workers are weak and vulnerable with little support from civil society. Most migrant labourers are also employed in the unorganised sector, where the lack of regulation compounds their vulnerability.

Following the recommendations of the Second National Commission of Labour (NCL, 2002), the central government has mooted a draft law (The Unorganised Sector Workers Bill, 2003) in order to identify workers employed in the unorganised sector and to provide them with basic social security. The Bill builds upon the experience of tri-partite welfare funds already in existence for a few industries in some states. Key provisions of the proposed Act include:

- The scope of the Act will extend to all workers in the unorganised sector, whether directly or through an agency or contractor, whether for one or several employers and whether a casual or temporary worker, a migrant worker, or a home based worker (self-employed or employed for wages).
- Central and state governments shall constitute an 'Unorganised Sector Workers' Central Board' and similar state boards for the administration and coordination of the Act at central and state levels.
- The boards shall set up 'Workers Facilitation Centres' for the registration of workers; issue of social security numbers and identity cards; mobilisation of workers to become members of the Welfare Fund; assistance in dispute resolution and in the conduct of inspections.
- Concerned governments could notify welfare schemes for any class of employment under the Act and establish a Fund for this purpose. It could also regulate the conditions of employment.
- The Welfare Fund will receive contributions from the government, employers and workers. Workers will have to make regular contribution to the Fund until the age of 60.
- All workers, including self-employed or home based will be eligible for registration.
- Lok Shramik Panchayats shall be formed for dispute resolution in the unorganised sector.
- The government will appoint persons known as *Shramik Samrakshak* to carry out inspections and check on the compliance of the Act.

Although broad in intent, the Act does not make registration or contributions to the Fund mandatory, remains trade/employment specific and the creation of the Fund itself will depend upon the relevant Board and its financial considerations. However, this is the first time that the government of India has conceived of a comprehensive law to cover all unorganised sector workers including migrants, and its scope and content need to be debated in all fora concerned with the welfare of such workers.

Other areas of government intervention and policy

Apart from labour laws, a whole gamut of governmental interventions and policies in favour of the poor also

impinge upon migrant workers. However migrants often fail to benefit. Participatory poverty assessments in Madhya Pradesh show that migrant labourers are not able to participate in the *gram sabha* meetings which identify beneficiaries for government programmes (PRAXIS, 2002). This is particularly true in cases where entire families migrate out.

Schooling of children is a major problem for migrants and, not surprisingly, several studies find that the hard-core of educationally under-privileged children belong to migrant families. Even in cases where men alone migrate, women in poor households are unable to take appropriate schooling decisions and supervise school-going children. (In the case of slightly better-off migrant households, however, migration may lead to a better recognition of the value of education.) The Lok Jumbish programme in Rajasthan became the forerunner of programmes of education focusing on migrants' children.

Migrants suffer from a lack of access to health services both at home and in the work places, although they are known to be especially vulnerable to health problems, and can serve as carriers of communicable disease. The issue remains largely unaddressed although seasonal migrants to rice fields in West Bengal have some access to doctors through their employers (Rogaly *et al*, 2002). The recent international focus on HIV/AIDS has galvanised governmental attention on the link between migration and the spread of this disease, and has resulted in a large number of NGOs working with migrant workers under the National AIDS Control Programme, but other health related problems of migrants continue to receive short shrift.

Government employment and watershed programmes have the potential to increase employment in dry and rain-fed regions and reduce distress migration. Together with well-executed public employment programmes, watershed development programmes resulted in lower levels of distress migration following drought in Madhya Pradesh in 1999–00, and 2000–01 (PRAXIS, 2002). This was also the case with food-for-work programmes in several drought affected states in 1987–88, but institutional break down and lack of political commitment prevented a similar impact in recent drought years. The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS), which has been operational since 1975 and which assures employment to labourers in public works, has succeeded to some extent.

The overall picture, however, is one of neglect: unwitting or otherwise. Thus, as with labour policies, few other government strategies have begun to accord visibility to migration, and build in issues of migration in the design and implementation of programmes.

Role of non governmental organisations

As in governmental policy, migrants have low visibility in the work of political organisations, trade unions and non-governmental/voluntary organisations. Regional political parties and organisations often ascribe economic and social problems to the presence of

migrants. Trade unions also sometimes emphasise the negative role of migrant workers (in dampening wages or being instrumental in strike breaking) and are relatively less active in organising these workers to protect their own rights.

Nevertheless, some organisations are actively engaged in helping to improve wages and working and living conditions of migrant labourers, and, in the source areas, to improve the flow of information and credit to migrant workers, protect their entitlements, and to develop these areas so as to curb distress migration.

- In West Bengal, the bargaining power of migrant labourers has improved due to the intervention of the Krishak Sabha and *panchayats*. These organisations have settled local disputes between labourers and employers and worked to close the gaps between immigrant and non-immigrant and male and female wages (Rogaly *et al.*, 2001, 2002). The Krishak Sabha has negotiated between employers and workers at the district level so that that migrant wages do not undercut local wages and employment, thereby reducing friction with local labourers.
- DISHA, a voluntary organisation in Ahmedabad, is addressing the living and working conditions of construction workers, migrating mainly from the Panchmahals area of Gujarat. The NGO has formed a labour union and has been able to provide shelters for the workers, with government support (www.disha.india.org).
- A few organisations like the Nirman Mazdoor Panchayat, the National Campaign Committee for Construction Labourers, and the National Federation of Construction labourers, are working to improve the wages and working conditions of construction labourers, many of whom are migrants. Nirman has also started mobile crèche for children of construction workers (Vaijanyanta 1998).
- The Mobile Crèches organisation was created in 1986 in Mumbai to meet the needs of children of migrant construction workers, giving children basic literacy and numeracy skills, together with health education. The Child-to-Child programme within Bombay Mobile Crèches introduced specific health messages covering personal hygiene, environmental cleanliness, safe water, prevention of accidents, nutrition, polio, measles, diarrhoea, scabies, leprosy, tuberculosis and bad habits (e.g. alcohol abuse). A similar Mobile Crèches programme also operates in Delhi with the support of the Aga Khan Foundation (www.schoolsandhealth.org).
- Constant male outmigration among Saora tribes in Orissa has had a negative impact on women who are left behind. They are overburdened with work, since apart for slash and burn agriculture, food and fuel gathering and domestic work, they are now playing new roles in settled agriculture. Income from migration does not mitigate poverty or compensate for the problems faced by women. A voluntary organisation – Kimidi Multisectoral Development Society (KMDS), is playing an active role, with financial assistance from the Royal Netherlands Embassy. Women activists hold regular meetings

with women groups in the area to find solutions to their problems and also provide some financial assistance to women for self-sufficiency programmes (Menon, 1995).

- The Banaskantha Women's Rural Development Project set up by SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association) has played a key role in improving the economic position of women through dairy and handicraft activity projects in Banskantha district, western Gujarat. There has been a significant decline in seasonal migration from this area since the inception of this project. In the whole process, the role of moneylenders and middlemen has been eliminated. The domestic workload of women has been reduced by the installation of piped drinking water. Income generation has been closely linked with formation of cooperatives, trade unions, skill and management training (Sanbergen, 1995b).
- The Society for Comprehensive Rural Health in Jamkhed (Ahmednagar district, Maharashtra) has been playing a leading role in health care among the women at village level through forming *mahila mandals* (women's groups) and farmers' groups in which female village health workers play a pivotal role. Their scope has widened to socio-economic development and the creation of sustainable local employment for women, reducing survival labour migration for this area (Sandbergen 1995b).
- The Western India Rainfed Farming Project is a seven-year development project covering village clusters in seven districts of three states (MP, Rajasthan and Gujarat). The project is being implemented through Gramin Vikas Trust (GVT) and Indian Farm Forestry Development Co-operative (IFFDC). Migration involves more than two-thirds of the households in the region and more than two-fifth of the working adults. Nearly 42% of the migrants are women. Development interventions (mainly soil and water conservation) have reduced the intensity of migration, although with mixed impact (reduced outflow of working males). Both GVT and IFFDC have developed extensive multi-pronged strategies to deal with migration, with some differences in emphasis (IFFDC continues to put greater stress on local asset creation and employment generation to reduce migration).

One major dimension of the GVT strategy is to increase returns to migration by upgrading skills, improving awareness, enhancing negotiation skills, and providing better information flows to migrants and potential employers, and strengthening linkages with government organisations and other service providers. The other dimension is to reduce the costs of migration through interventions both in the source and destination areas. Interventions in the areas of origin include improving communication with families, providing identity cards, setting up of shelters for the elderly and children, and pooled arrangements for taking care of cattle. Institutional initiatives include the strengthening of self-help groups to address the concerns of migrants, recruitment of *jankars*, for awareness building, setting up resource centres, and liaising with panchayats and other agencies and organisations. In order to carry the

migrant support activities forward, partnerships are being developed with organisations supporting migrants in urban areas.

Policy issues and recommendations

The nature of labour migration in India is linked, on the one hand, to the pattern of (uneven) development accentuated by several dimensions of policy, and, on the other, to a pattern of capitalist growth, which has implied continued and growing informalisation of the rural and urban economy. We have argued earlier in this paper that this pattern of development, apart from being inimical to the poor regions, is consistent with a 'low road' to capitalist development, constraining the possibility of more rapid growth and technical change. In the light of this, as was rightly observed by the National Commission on Rural Labour (1991), migration policy has to be concerned not only with supporting migrants, but also with the mutual links between migration and development. Some of the major issues in this context are summarised below.

Pro-poor development in backward areas.

One major set of policy initiatives has to address a more vigorous pro-poor development strategy in backward areas. This could take the form of land and water management through the watershed approach and public investment in the source area. These strategies need to be accompanied by changes that improve the poor's access to land, to common property resources, social and physical infrastructure, and to governance institutions. The latter set of changes will require strong organisational intervention by, and on behalf of, the poor (cf. NCRL 1991 for a similar set of recommendations). In rain-fed areas, the scope for an Employment Guarantee type of scheme, which dovetails with the need for the building of physical and social infrastructure, should be explored.

Food and Credit based interventions. Development in poor regions may ameliorate some of the highly negative features of labour migration. Further steps can be taken to strengthen the position of the poor who resort to survival migration. This involves helping the poor overcome two major constraints that they face; food and credit. Access to food can be improved through a more effective public distribution system, through grain bank schemes, or through 'food for work' schemes. Organising the poor into self-help or savings groups, specifically tailored to the requirements of migrants, could help increase access to credit.

Ensuring basic entitlements in other schemes.

A major policy focus has to be on ensuring that migrant households are able to access benefits of public programmes meant for poor households. A special focus has to be ensuring access of migrant labourers' children to schooling (and that they are not pushed into labour). There is scope for learning from the experiences of community based interventions (MV Foundation, GVT) as well as government programmes (Lok Jumbish, DPEP).

Improving the information base and bargaining strength of migrant workers. As described earlier, poor migrant workers lack bargaining strength. Further, their sense of vulnerability and social isolation is exacerbated by their ignorance, illiteracy and the alien environment in which they have to work. NGOs and governmental authorities have taken various routes to improve the information base and bargaining strength of migrant workers. Some of the NGO strategies have been discussed in the preceding section. In Bolangir (Orissa), district authorities have formed more than 125 labour societies which take up the execution of public works, issue identity cards to workers and negotiate with contractors.

Role of panchayats. Panchayats should emerge as the focus of the resource pool for migrant workers residing in their area. They should maintain a register of migrant workers and issue identity cards and pass books to them. Further, it should be mandatory for recruiters to deposit with the panchayats a list of the labourers recruited by them along with other employment details. With growing IT based communication, it may become possible for panchayats or NGOs to maintain a record of potential employers and employees.

Enforcement of labour laws. At the work place, stricter enforcement of labour laws is essential. It must be mandatory on employers to maintain the record of payments and advances in workers' passbooks, and to provide them with the basic facilities laid down by law. This may, however, also call for a scrutiny and simplification of some of these laws. The subjection of contractors and employers to the rule of law requires commitment on the part of the government. In Bolangir, authorities use criminal law in conjunction with the existing labour laws to ensure better compliance with the latter by contractors and middle-men. The Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act is one of the important pieces of legislation affecting inter-state migrant workers, who are often employed under very poor conditions. The Act requires both modifications and more rigorous implementation. In particular, the filing of complaints by third parties and trade unions and the constitution of an inter-state coordination mechanism should be taken up as proposed by the Tenth Plan Working Group on Migrant Labour.

Enlarge the scope of discussion on the Unorganised Sector Workers Bill to cover issues pertinent to migrant workers. The proposed Bill for unorganised workers includes many provisions that are potentially beneficial to migrant workers. The debate on the Bill should be vigorously extended in order to ensure that it meets the requirements of migrant workers as fully as possible. The provision of social security numbers, identity cards and passbooks for all unorganised sector workers could be made mandatory, instead of remaining optional as proposed at present. These cards could be used by migrant workers to access other services, for example health. The issue of strengthening existing entitlements could be delinked from new social security provisions which may be

handicapped due to budgetary constraints.

The thrust of our suggestions is that both governmental and non-governmental intervention should support migrant labourers and pro-poor development as vigorously as possible. This would not only influence the condition of migrants and the pattern of migration, but also the pattern of development that sustains these patterns of migration.

4 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Historical development

Movement of people across national boundaries in South Asia is long standing. Trade, political and religious links have necessitated regular contacts with southeast, eastern and central Asia, and Africa. However, with the advent of colonial rule, international migratory movement entered a new phase. The imperial needs for labour required substantial migration of labour from India to the plantation colonies in the West Indies, Ceylon, Southeast Asia, Mauritius, Fiji and South Africa. The bulk of these migrants went as indentured labourers. Kingsley Davis estimates that about 30 million Indians emigrated between 1834 and 1947 (Davis, 1951). This scale of movement was as large as the European migration to the Americas in the 19th century. It declined with the ending of indenture in 1921. However, a significant free migration did continue between India and Ceylon, Africa and southeast Asia. Most of this migration was of unskilled labour.

International migration from independent India

Two distinct types of labour migration have been taking place from India since independence:

- People with technical skills and professional expertise migrate to countries such as the USA, Canada, UK and Australia as permanent migrants (since the early 1950s).
- Unskilled and semi-skilled workers migrate to oil exporting countries of the Middle East on temporary contracts, especially following the oil price increases of 1973–74 and 1979.

Migration to industrialised countries: magnitude and composition

Although labour flows to the industrialised countries have continued for a long time, information on them is scanty. Whatever analyses have been carried out to date on the composition of these flows is based on immigration statistics of destination countries.

Nayyar (1994) provides an analysis of the trends in migration flows from India to three industrialised countries, the USA, Canada and the UK, for the period between 1951 and 1990 (Annex 5, Tables B 1 and B 2). The USA received the largest number of Indian emigrants. The general trend shows that Indian immigration, which constituted a negligible proportion to the total immigrants in the USA and Canada, increased rapidly during the 1960s and 1970s. Of the total immigrants in the United States and Canada, Indians constituted

about 3.6% and 6% respectively, and these rates stabilised by the 1980s. In comparison, the proportion of Indian immigrants to the UK declined drastically from around 20% during the 1960s to about 10% during the 1980s.

Migration flows to industrialised countries during the 1990s, considered as the most critical phase of contemporary globalisation, are of great importance both for theoretical and policy reasons. However, there is hardly any detailed analysis of the changing nature of this flow.

We have tried to collate the latest information pertaining to Indian immigration flows to the industrialised world with a view to examining the trends in the 1990s. The information in relation to four major destinations, the USA, the UK, Canada and Australia are presented in Tables B3, B4, B5 and B6 (see Annex 5 for all Tables on external migration).

It is evident that the annual inflow of Indian immigrants in the USA and Canada increased in the 1990s. The average annual inflow of Indian immigrants to the USA increased from 26,184 persons during the 1980s to 38,330 (3.5% of total immigrants) during the 1990s (4.5 per cent of its total immigrants). In the case of Canada, the average annual inflow of Indian immigrants increased from 7,930 during the 1980s (6% of its total immigrants) to 13,770 during the 1990s (7% of total immigrants).

Another striking feature of migration flows from India to the industrialised nations during the 1990s is the growing importance of newer destination countries. This period witnessed significant flow of Indian professionals, especially IT professionals, to countries such as Australia, Germany, Japan, and Malaysia. For instance, nearly 40,000 Indians migrated to Australia, accounting for 4.1% of total immigrants.

Migration from India to industrialised countries, though modest in scale, grew steadily between 1950 and 2000. Nearly 1.25 million Indians have migrated to the principal destinations. The flow was especially impressive during the 1990s, a period that incidentally witnessed tightening of immigration policies in many industrialised countries. The average inflows of Indian immigrants to these principal destinations has in fact increased from around 10,300 persons per annum in the 1950s to around 60,000 persons per annum during the 1990s. The growth during the 1990s is especially striking as it took place in a period when immigration laws were made more restrictive in many industrialised countries.

Occupational distribution and skill composition

Analysis of the occupational distribution of the Indians immigrating to industrialised countries (Table B7) shows that in the first half of the 1970s, persons with professional expertise, technical qualifications and managerial talents constituted a large proportion of the emigrant workforce from India to the USA. But their share declined over time.

In Canada between 1971 and 1990 (Table B8), the share of professional, technical, entrepreneurial, managerial and administrative occupation groups also

declined. However the share of white-collar workers (clerical, sales and service) remained almost unchanged and the share of workers engaged in farming, horticulture and animal husbandry rose significantly.

During the 1950s and the 1960s, a significant proportion of those who migrated to the UK and, to some extent, to Canada, were unskilled or semi-skilled. During the 1970s and the 1980s, however, much emigration was made up of people with professional expertise, technical qualifications of managerial talents and of white-collar workers who were also educated. Such skill composition continued to dominate migration flows during the 1990s as well.

Migration to the Middle East: magnitude and composition

The oil price increases of 1973–74 and 1979 led to enormous growth in the demand for foreign labour in the oil exporting countries of the Gulf. In response, labourers from India began to migrate in large numbers and the flow still continues. The scale of labour movements into the Gulf was intimately linked to the escalation in oil revenues, the unprecedented rate of investment in domestic industry and infrastructure of the oil states, and the shortage of domestic labour.

Overall the number of migrant workers in these countries rose from 800,000 in 1972 to 1.71 million in 1975 and further increased to an estimated 2.82 millions by 1980 (Birks and Sinclair, 1980; Demery, 1986). Foreign workers' share in the total employment in the six Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) member countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)) rose from 50.5% in 1975 to 70% by 1980 – 49% in Oman, 59% in Bahrain, 78% in Kuwait, 89% in Qatar and the UAE.

Magnitude

The Ministry of Labour, Government of India, furnished the primary source of information on year wise outmigration. Section 22 of the Emigration Act, 1983 provides that no citizen of India shall emigrate unless he/she obtains emigration clearance from the Protector of Emigrants. However, the Act exempts some categories of people. Therefore, we can say that this data set is partial as it includes only the number of those who require and had actually obtained emigration clearance while migrating abroad to seek employment. Over and above this problem, the outflow of this proportion of the labour force to the Middle East has been on an increase from the mid 1980s for two reasons: (a) change in demand composition in the Middle East labour market in favour of skilled labour and (b) bringing in of more and more sections of people under the category requiring clearance.

The partial nature of these data is further compounded by illegal migration which does not get reflected in statistics. The main *modus operandi* is through the manipulation of tourist and business visas. People with passports endorsed under the category emigrant check required (ECR), have to obtain 'suspension' from the requirement to obtain

emigration clearance if they intend to travel abroad for non-employment purposes. While provisions have been made to safeguard against the misuse of 'suspension', it is common knowledge that considerable numbers of people who go to the Middle East after obtaining 'suspension' do not return and manage to secure a job there through networking with their relatives or acquaintances. This category of migrants also escapes from the data bank. Therefore, in general, we can state that although the data set suggests the broad trend, it under represents the size of outmigration.

Trends in the annual outflow of migrant labour from India to the Middle East for the period 1976 to 2001 based on the available statistics, although an underestimate, are outlined in Table B9. The data shows that outmigration increased at a phenomenal rate through the late 1970s, peaking in 1981. From 1979 to 1982, nearly 234,064 persons per annum had migrated from India to the Middle East for employment purpose. The period during 1983 to 1990, however, witnessed a significant reduction in the number of Indian workers migrating to the Middle East with the average number of persons migrating per annum declining to 155,401. Such a decline could mainly be attributed to the reduction in demand for migrant workers in the Middle East emanating mainly from the oil glut of the early 1980s.

Viewing this trend, apprehensions were expressed in many quarters as to whether Indian labour migration to the Middle East would be sustained in a significant manner in the next couple of decades. These apprehensions were further aggravated by the events relating to the Gulf crisis of 1990 which forced nearly 160,000 Indians to return home from the war-zones in distressed conditions (Sasikumar, 1995).

Contrary to apprehensions of declining outmigration, evidence indicates that labour migration from India to the Middle East has picked up substantial momentum since the initial hiatus in the early 1990s. During 1992–2001, nearly 360,000 persons per annum migrated from India to the Gulf countries. This is significantly higher than the quantum of labour outflows from India attained even during the 'Gulf boom' of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The data on emigration clearances by country of destination, for the period 1990 to 2001, is presented in Table B10. It shows that Saudi Arabia and the UAE. have been the principal destinations during the last two decades. In fact they account for about 55% of total Indian emigration to the Middle East.

Within India, migration to the Middle East originates from a number of states. A detailed review of the migration literature in India, however, reveals Kerala has always had a dominant position in terms of the export of manpower to the Middle East. International labour migration has been so integral to Kerala's economy and society that it is viewed as 'the single most dynamic factor in the otherwise dreary employment scenario of the socially well-developed state during the last quarter of the twentieth century' (Zachariah *et al*, 2002). It may also be appropriate to mention here that many of the available studies on international labour migration from India focus largely

on Kerala. Hence the empirical support to many of our arguments is based on evidence from Kerala.

A macro perspective on the relative importance of the different states in relation to labour migration to the Middle East can also be obtained from the emigration statistics, which as we have mentioned earlier, are for unskilled workers who require emigration clearances. Keeping in mind the likely under-estimation, these data provide some evidence regarding the pattern of unskilled labour movement from India.

The state-wise distribution of emigration clearances granted during 1993–2001 shows that nearly 16 states contribute to the process of emigration to the Middle East, with varying degrees of importance (Tables B11 and B12). Three states, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh together contribute to about 60% of those who have obtained emigration clearance. In terms of the share of these prominent states, there has been a steady decline in Kerala's contribution where as the share of Tamil Nadu, and Andhra Pradesh have registered considerable increases. This could also mean that larger numbers of people who are migrating from Kerala are now engaged in skilled/professional related activities in the Middle East where as there is a larger outflow of unskilled labourers who require emigration clearance emigrate from the other states.

Return flows

Return migration is an inevitable aspect of temporary or contract migration. In the case of Indian labour migration to the Middle East, return migration has assumed important dimensions since the mid 1980s. During the 1970s, employment possibilities in the Middle East were more or less assured. Under such market conditions, displacement of labour from labour importing countries was minimal. But the scenario changed towards the beginning of the 1980s as demand for imported labour declined and supply grew. The effect was to force intending migrants to return to their native countries. It is not that labour migration to the Middle East was reduced, but the labour flow started taking place in both directions. The net result was that 'return migration' emerged on a significant scale.

There is paucity of information to gauge the magnitude of the return migration. Attempts have been made by researchers to arrive at some macro estimates. Nayar (1994) estimates that around 131,900 people returned from the Middle East in 1983–86 and 38,000 returned in 1987–90. Zachariah *et al* (2002c) estimates that nearly 147,000 persons during 1988 to 1992 and around 400,000 during 1993 to 1997 returned to the state of Kerala alone. This study also reports that the current number of return migrants in the state would be around 750,000.

There is almost total lack of information on aspects like occupational structure, skills acquired, resource position, investment capabilities and investment plans of the return migrants. This has severely impaired the formulation of any purposeful reintegration plans for the return migrants underscoring the need for further research in this area.

Aggregate Indian migrant population in the Middle East

Attempts have been made to estimate the size of the Indian migrant population in the Middle East region. The available evidence for a few benchmark years is depicted in Table B13. It must be emphasised that these estimates are not based on any registration or census. They are, at best, an informed guess. The total stock of Indian migrant population is estimated to have registered a significant increase from around 0.5 million in 1979 to around 3 million by 2000. Saudi Arabia and UAE have been the major destinations of Indian migrants during the past three decades, They together account for about 70% of the total stock of Indians in the Middle East (Table B14).

A number of efforts have been made over the past three decades to estimate the number of Keralites working in the Middle East. The Kerala State Planning Board reports that a total of 1.6 million Keralites were working in the Middle East in 1998 (State Planning Board, 1998). Zachariah *et al* (2002) estimate the number of emigrants from Kerala in the second half of 1998 as 1.36 million. Although there are differences between the exact quantitative figures, all available estimates attest to the predominance of Keralite labourers in the Gulf region.

Skill composition

Analysis of the skill mix of the Indian migrant workers in Middle East labour markets is again difficult because of lack of data. Whatever is available is restricted to rough estimates made by individual researchers on the basis of sample surveys and some figures pertaining to certain periods published by government sources.

However, from the available estimates, it can be gauged that the majority of those who migrated during late 1970s and early 1980s belonged to the unskilled and semi-skilled category. One of the studies report that while about two thirds of the migrant workers were semi-skilled or unskilled, only about 14% were employed in professional technical and managerial occupations (Eevit and Zachariah, 1978).

The available evidence on the skill composition of the out migrants during the mid 1980s is presented in Table B15. It shows that the outflow of workers engaged in construction activities, skilled and unskilled taken together, declined not only in absolute terms, but also as a proportion of total out-migrants during this period. This can be attributed to the completion of major construction projects launched during the boom and also the cut in expenditure on construction followed by many Gulf States.

The 1990s witnessed a further structural shift in the market for expatriate labour. There was a marked change in demand for skills away from construction towards operations and maintenance, services, and transport and communications. In general there was a tendency to hire more professionals and skilled manpower as opposed to unskilled and semi skilled workers. The skill composition of the labour outflows from India has changed its character accordingly. The occupational distribution of emigrants as reflected in a

recent field survey conducted among Indian emigrants in the UAE shows that more people who are migrating to Middle East are those in the skilled/professional categories (Table B16).

Economic impact of labour migration

At the aggregate level, labour emigration affects the sending country's economy through its impact on the labour market, on macro-economic variables (savings, balance of payments and so on), and social relations. These impacts are summarised below.

Impact on labour markets

The labour market impact of international migration depends on factors such as size of outflow, employment status before migration, skill composition of migrants and, in the case of temporary migration, on the size of the return flow. The labour market implications of migration from India may be examined both in relation to permanent emigration to the industrialised countries and to the outflow of temporary migrants to the Middle East countries. From the discussion on the magnitude of permanent migration from India to the industrialised countries taken up earlier, it is abundantly clear that they form an insignificant proportion of the total workforce in India. Even though a large proportion of those who migrate to industrialised countries are fairly highly educated, the absolute number of migrants is small and their proportion of the total educated population of graduates is insignificant. In fact, total emigration to the four industrialised countries (USA, UK, Australia and Canada) constituted a mere 0.13% of the population of graduates in 1991. Similarly considering the large reservoir of educated unemployed in India, it may be reasonable to presume that permanent migration to the industrialised countries could have hardly created any supply shortages in the labour markets. In such a situation it may be prudent to assume that the aggregate labour market effects of permanent migration is negligible in the Indian context.

However, it is important to mention that such migration has given rise to considerable debates on costs and benefits of emigration of certain categories of highly skilled workers through 'brain drain'. Abella (1997), for example, highlights the important implications of the brain drain phenomenon as follows. The first is the need to avoid exacerbating the problem, which happens when the state facilitates the emigration of skills wanted at home. The second is the need to remove rigidities in the labour market which may be constraining timely supply response. The third implication is the challenge of including return through programmes that compensate for some of the comparative disadvantages of less developed countries.

Even though the magnitude of temporary migration from India to the Middle East is much larger than the quantum of migration to the industrialised countries, as a proportion to the total workforce in the country, it is again negligible. In terms of labour flows, even if we consider the year in which the largest number of emigration clearances were granted (1993), it would

constitute only around 0.1% of the total labour force of India during that year. The current magnitude of total migrants in the Middle East (3 million in 2000) would constitute less than 1% of the total workforce in India during 1999–2000.

Although at the pan Indian level the repercussions of migration on the labour market is not significant, as migration to Middle East takes place from specific regions, the labour markets of these regions are affected. For instance, Kerala's labour market experienced considerable shortage for semiskilled labourers such as carpenters, welders, plumbers, drivers, electricians, motor mechanics and other crafts men (Nair, 1998). As a result of this, wage rates have multiplied and yet there is continued shortage of such workers (Sasikumar and Raju, 2000).

Information on the status of employment of migrants before their emigration is scanty. Some micro level studies indicate that nearly half of the migrants, especially the unskilled, were unemployed prior to departure to the Middle East. Their migration would have directly reduced unemployment rates. However, this proportion too would be insignificant in terms of the unemployment rates for the country as a whole.

Thus the labour market effects of migration are reported to be significant in relation to major sending regions within the country. Research studies on international migration in 1970s and 80s have shown that migration acted as a safety valve in countering growing unemployment in states like Kerala and in districts like Ratnagiri in Maharashtra. (Abella and Yogesh, 1986; Mowli, 1992; Nair, 1988). The most recent evidence in this regard is reported by the Kerala Migration Study of 1998 (Zachariah *et al*, 2002). The study notes that the unemployment rates in the state has declined by about 3 percentage points as a consequence of migration.

Impact through financial flows

The most widely recognised immediate benefit from the international labour migration remains the flow of remittances, which not only augments scarce foreign exchange but also provides a potential source of additional savings and capital formation. Remittances have direct bearing on the balance of payments accounts as they meet a substantial part of the import bill.

In the balance of payments statistics of India, remittances are identified as credits on the accounts of private transfer payments. These aggregates also include grants that constitute a very small proportion of the total. Remittances constitute the larger part of it. Any variation in private transfer payments can thus be taken as identical to any variations in remittances.

The trends in value of remittances could be analysed in relation to three phases: 1951–52 to 1970–1971, a period which witnessed a rapid spurt in migratory flows to industrialised countries; 1971–72 to 1990–91, a period corresponding to a major increase and then a decline in labour migration to the Middle East; and 1990–91 to 2000–2001, a period characterised by new exchange regime as well as revival of larger labour flows to the Middle East.

The data pertaining to private transfer payments for the period 1950–51 to 1970–71 is depicted in Table B17. It shows that the remittances registered a sudden increase during 1960–67 to 1970–71, which as noted earlier had witnessed substantial increase in the number of Indians migrating to USA and Canada.

Trends in the volume of remittances for the period 1970–71 to 1990–1991 are presented in Table B18. It shows a substantial increase in the value of remittances during the mid 1970s to the late 1980s and subsequent stagnation till the beginning of the 1990s. It is more or less certain that this trend is closely related to the size of labour migration from India to the Middle East. It also highlights the major role played by remittances of Indian migrant workers from the Middle East in augmenting foreign exchange resources.

An examination of trends in value of remittances during the 1990s (Table B19) reveals a significant growth remittance flows in the Indian economy. This spectacular increase could mainly be attributed to the general liberalisation of the foreign exchange regime.

A certain proportion of remittances is channelled through informal means and thereby is undocumented in the official data. Here again, lack of reliable estimates makes meaningful inferences difficult. However, based on the findings of certain micro level studies, it could be ascertained that such undocumented remittances were fairly prominent in the late 1970s and 1980s. A survey of return migrants from the Middle East during the mid 1980s showed that respondents channelled around 25 to 30% of the total remittances through undocumented means (Nair, 1986). However such undocumented flows almost dried up during the 1990s due to the liberalisation of foreign exchange. Apart from these policy measures, the arrival of e-banking, which provide instantaneous transfer also encourages migrants to use formal means for remittances. (Zachariah *et al*, 2002b)

In terms of the macro level impact, the impact of remittances is most significant in the context of balance of payments. Remittance flows during the past three decades have financed a large proportion of the balance of trade deficit and thus reduced the current account deficit. In fact, during the 1980s, when India faced a severe balance of payment crisis, foreign remittances were in a position to finance as much as 40% of the balance of trade deficits. However, in terms of other macro level aggregates, the contribution of the remittances to the national economy is not that significant. For instance, remittances constitute only 4.4% of GDP during 1999–2000. But it must be stressed that this percentage has consistently grown during the past three decades from 0.2% in 1970–71 to 1.3% in 1981–82 to 1.5% in 1991–92 and to 4.4% in 1999–2000.

Remittances, however, have had a considerable impact on regional economies within India. Here again, the most striking case in point is that of Kerala. A recent study (Kannan and Hari, 2002) concludes that remittances to the Kerala economy averaged 21% of state income in the 1990s. This study also reports that an increase in per capita income as a result of remittances has contributed to an increase

in consumption expenditure in Kerala. Although the average per capita consumption in Kerala was below the national average until 1978–79, by 1999–2000 consumer expenditure in Kerala exceeded the national average by around 41%.

Social and demographic impacts of migration

Empirical evidence to assess the demographic consequences of international migration from India is limited. Evidence available in the case of Kerala highlights the following:

- Migration has had a direct effect in reducing the population growth in the state since the 1950s. In 1981–91, nearly a fifth of the natural increase of population was removed from the state through migration.
- Migration has reduced the working age population in the state and consequently increased the proportion of children and the elderly. Migration has contributed to the prevalence of large numbers of very small families in the state. Single member households have increased by 33% and two member households by 42% as a result of migration. (Zachariah *et al*, 2002b).

Research studies report that migration has had significant consequences on poverty levels. Zachariah *et al* (2002b) reports that migration has had a very significant impact on the proportion of population below the poverty line in Kerala during the 1990s. The study notes that the proportion has declined by over 3 percentage points as a result of remittances received by Kerala households from abroad. It is important to note that the largest decline has been in the case of the relatively economically backward sections of people belonging to the Muslim community, the decline being over 6 percentage points.

Another prominent impact, which migration, especially, male migration to the Middle East, has had, is in relation to the effects on women left behind. This is especially so in the case of those who are married. A number of studies conducted during the past three decades have concluded that one of the major problems encountered by wives of emigrants is loneliness. The extent of such loneliness is reported to be more severe among younger wives whose husbands migrated immediately after the marriage. Such solitude had given rise to mental tension in the wives of those migrated during the 1970s and 80s. Such mental tensions seem to have been reduced in the 1990s. This could mainly be attributed to the availability of quicker means of communication, new responsibilities, roles, and leisure activities for women (Zachariah *et al*, 2002 b).

Policy regime governing international labour migration from India

The overseas employment policy regime in India mainly addresses temporary and contract migration. The most important policy instrument, the Emigration Act 1983, deals with the emigration of Indian workers for overseas employment on a contractual basis and seeks to safeguard their interest and ensure their welfare.

Prior to the Act of 1983, the Emigration Act of 1922

governed the migration of Indians across national boundaries. The main purpose of this Act was to regulate and control the recruitment and emigration of unskilled agricultural workers. The Rules of the Act stipulated procedures for emigration and the steps to be taken by the foreign agents in India for the welfare of such emigrants. According to the Act, emigration of unskilled workers involved notifications for specific countries. However, since no such notification was issued by the government, the emigration of unskilled workers progressively declined between 1923 and 1947. The Act did not specify any regulations governing the emigration of people with technical qualifications or professional expertise and therefore permanent migration to the industrialised countries, which began from the 1950s, was hardly regulated or monitored by the policy regime in India.

The migration boom to the Middle East during the mid 1970s exposed the limitations of the 1922 Act in safeguarding the interests of workers emigrating for employment. This period witnessed the emergence of a large number of illegal recruiting agents who employed exploitative practices, including extortion and fraud. Workers with low skills and incomes suffered most. It was in this broader context the Emigration Act, 1983 was introduced with a view to alleviate the problems associated with emigration of unskilled and skilled workers.

The Act aims to safeguard the interests of Indians migrating abroad for employment by stipulating emigration clearance and registration of recruiting agents, and by setting up mechanisms for redressing grievances of migrants. Section 22 of the Act states that all Indian citizens seeking to migrate must obtain emigration clearances from the Office of the Protector of Emigrants, Ministry of Labour, as an endorsement in their passports. In providing such clearances, the Protector of Emigrants is required to examine the terms and conditions of employment contracts to ensure that the wages and working conditions are not exploitative and that adequate provision has been made for travel expense, accommodation and medical care. In order to facilitate free movement of manpower, 17 categories of persons are currently exempted from the requirement to obtaining clearance and placed under emigration check not required category (ECNR category) (see Annex 9). In addition six more categories of persons with valid employment visa endorsed on their passports can also obtain ECNR endorsement (see Annex 10).

The Emigration Act 1983 focuses on regulating overseas employment recruitment systems in India. Section 10 of the Act states that no recruiting agent can carry out the business of recruitment without a registration certificate issued by the Protector General of Emigrants. The Certificate is granted after taking into account inter-alia the recruiting agent's financial soundness, trustworthiness, adequacy of premises, experience in the field of handling manpower export, etc., and after obtaining security ranging from Rs.0.3 million to Rs.1 million in the form of Bank Guarantee (Table B20). The financial security is intended to secure due performance of the terms and conditions of the Registration Certificate and

also to meet the cost of repatriation of any stranded worker sent by him.

Another important aspect of the Emigration Act relates to the maximum amount that the recruiting agents are authorised to charge as fees for services rendered to the migrant. Currently this ranges from Rs.2000 for unskilled workers to Rs. 3000 for semi-skilled workers to Rs.5000 for skilled workers and to Rs.10,000 for other than the above categories.

An examination of the provisions of the Emigration Act indicates that overseas employment policies in India have been largely confined to ensuring that the terms and conditions of employment conformed to certain specified norms so that agents and employers did not subject the workers to exploitation. Efforts to manage and direct export of manpower have indeed been minimal. The policy regime has also not been concerned with migration of persons with technical or professional qualifications. The Emigration Act has considerably reduced the problems encountered by migrant workers. However, there is little policy influence on the forces of market supply and demand which still largely determine the emigration of workers from India.

Problems encountered by migrants

Problems encountered by the migrant workers may be examined at two levels. First in relation to recruitment violations and the second in relation to working and living conditions in destination countries. Commonly reported violations are delayed deployment or non-deployment of workers, overcharging or collection of fees far in excess of authorised placement fees and illegal recruitment. Delayed deployments are often caused by factors beyond the control of the recruitment agency, such as visa delays or when the employer requests a postponement. Non-deployment is however a serious case and the magnitude of its implications are amplified if an excessive placement fee is collected from the worker. Overcharging is a serious offence and is prevalent in all labour-sending countries in Asia. What makes overcharging doubly serious is that the workers end up paying huge amounts equivalent to many months salary (Sasikumar, 2000). Minimising, if not totally eliminating, overcharging poses a serious challenge to overseas employment administrators. Illegal recruitment is another serious violation of the rules as workers get recruited and deployed overseas without the government knowing about them. Being unlicensed, illegal recruiters are beyond the reach of the normal regulatory machinery of the national overseas employment policy. They are and should be the concern of police and other enforcement agencies.

Some major problems encountered by the migrants in their countries of employment include: a) premature termination of job contracts, b) changing the clauses of contract to the disadvantage of the workers, c) delay in payment of salary, d) violation of minimum wage standards, e) freezing of fringe benefits and other perks, f) forced over-time work without returns and g) denial of permission to keep one's own passport.

Migrant labourers seldom lodge any complaint against the erring employers for the fear of losing their

jobs. In cases where migrant workers decide to complain against the erring employer, they have two options. First, the employee may inform the home embassy in the country of employment. This is mainly done by people lacking the means to return home. Embassy officials sometimes seek the help and assistance of the local government to take actions against the erring employers. Apart from that, the Embassy also passes information about the complaints made to it to the Protector of Emigrants (POE) offices in India. If a registered recruiting agent recruited the complainant, then the POE refers the complaint to the concerned agent seeking explanation. In most cases the agents maintain that it was the foreign employer who committed any violation. However, if the POE office finds the explanation unsatisfactory it proceeds with further action.

Secondly, the employee registers the complaint after he/she reaches India. To facilitate the lodging of such complaints, a system of public hearing is conducted at the POE offices, where emigrants, recruiting agents, project exporters etc. can meet the most senior officer on duty to obtain information and voice their grievances.

When complaints are received against foreign employers, the POE office forwards them to the Indian embassy in the concerned country of employment for taking necessary actions. As in the case of first option, if a registered agent has recruited the complainant, the POE office seeks the agent's explanation. If the agent does not provide satisfactory explanations, a case is registered for the violation and the case is referred to the police for investigation. In some instances, the POE officials themselves conduct the inquiry.

Employers against whom the complaints have been made, if found guilty through preliminary investigations, are blacklisted and this information is passed on to embassies and registered agents in order to ensure that in future labourers are not supplied to these employers. Apart from this, generally no action can be taken against foreign employers as they are governed by laws of another nation state.

Suggestions and recommendations

Some specific suggestions relating to international labour migration are:

1. Developing migration information systems:

One of the areas requiring immediate policy intervention is the creation of an appropriate information system on international emigration. This would enable closer surveillance and better management of emigration. The status of out-migrant data can be improved by making the registration of entry by migrant workers mandatory in the Indian missions operating in labour receiving countries. The nature of outflow data at home can be strengthened by a fuller utilisation of the data already available with government departments and recruitment agencies. A chief requirement in this connection would be the strengthening of the statistical wings of the concerned government departments.

There is also a need to use border control records for more accurate measurement of international labour migration. International experience suggests that it is possible to extract labour outflow and return flow data

on key variables from embarkation/ disembarkation cards. An essential first step to make use of this source is to redesign the existing arrival/departure cards to yield required information. To obtain further information, periodic airport surveys could be resorted to.

Data on migration are as much essential at the state level as they are at the national level. Apart from relevant disaggregation of national data sources, it would be desirable if the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) conduct detailed surveys on international migration periodically, say once in five years.

To strengthen the information base abroad, an identification and networking of Indian associations operating in different Middle East countries is necessary. The Gulf crisis of 1990 had highlighted the vital role played by various Indian associations and bodies in safeguarding the interests of Indian migrants in the Gulf at a time of emergency (Sasikumar, 1995). Discussions with evacuees from Kuwait revealed that the majority of Indian migrants maintained very close liaison with community organisations even in times of stability.

2. Managing and directing migration flows:

There is an urgent need to manage and direct migration flows from India. It is important in this context that labour markets of the major labour importing countries are closely monitored. This may be done through the establishment of a labour market monitoring authority. The authority has to carry out negotiations on various labour contracts and also study the nature of emerging skill requirements. The activities of the labour market monitoring mechanism should be linked with a comprehensive system of labour market information for all types of employment seekers.

3. Welfare funds: Although the issue of welfare of families of workers left behind in the home country has come to be recognised as potentially important, there are hardly any policies in this area. It may be worthwhile to consider the constitution of a 'Welfare Fund' for Indian workers abroad. Such a fund can be utilised for a wide range of welfare measures concerned with both the migrant workers and their families. The Welfare Fund could also be of vital importance to women employees in the Gulf who are largely in the category of para-medical staff and domestic servants. The Gulf crisis of 1990 had brought to light the adverse conditions that women employees, especially the domestic servants category had to face, while their employers fled to safety. The Fund could mainly comprise of the contributions received from Indians working in the Middle East. Incentives such as attractive insurance schemes and tax relief should be offered to the migrants contributing towards the Fund.

4. Pre-departure orientation programmes: One of the most neglected aspects of overseas employment policy in India is the absence of any form of pre departure orientation to the intending emigrants. It is important to recognise adaptability of the workers to changed working conditions and to new socio-cultural environment. It can also influence their productivity levels. The orientation programme can include topics such as religion, the

socio-cultural and political conditions of the country of employment, the do's and don'ts, the contract of employment, description of the jobsite, the duties and responsibilities of the workers, travel tips, procedure on how the workers may handle their problems at the worksite, and advice on remittance procedures. The government, registered recruitment agencies, returnee associations and non-governmental organisations working among the migrant workers can participate in providing pre-departure training to the potential emigrants.

5. Responding to transformations in labour

markets: Any policy intended to streamline the overseas labour recruitment system in India has to recognise, as a pre-condition, the important transformation that has occurred with respect to expatriate labour market in most of the labour importing countries, i.e. a transformation of expatriate labour market from being a seller's to a buyer's market. Under the transformed expatriate labour market conditions, the expenditure incurred by the recruiting agents for the promotion and maintenance of their business has risen significantly. In order to match such a rise in expenditure, most private recruiting agents sidestep the law and charge a fee much higher than the legally prescribed limit. It is also true that most emigrants are willing to pay an amount higher than the ones prescribed by the law as the earnings from the Gulf can easily abate losses due to extra payment. In such a context, government may take a more flexible position and reconsider the amount of maximum chargeable fee.

6. Financing outmigration: It would also be worth establishing a government system of offering low interest loans to less well-off emigrants to finance outmigration. Such a system of financing outmigration may also ensure that those emigrants availing the low-interest loans would resort to formal banking channels to transfer their remittances back home. This would further augment the foreign exchange resources, which are vital for a developing country like India.

7. Utilising resource flows and human capital of emigrants to strengthen development: There is an absence of any policy framework regarding the effective utilisation of financial inflows from emigrants to strengthen the development process at national or state levels. Similarly, the existing policy regime in India hardly addresses any concerns related to the migration of persons with technical or professional expertise, many of whom are willing to make a contribution to the development process, either in their non-resident status or as returnees. These issues need close consideration at national and regional levels and effective policies need to be formulated which can integrate development concerns with the migration process.

Recommendations and key next steps

Summary of key issues

Labour mobility is a key feature of the development process in India. Because much of it is poorly measured

and undocumented, it remains largely invisible in the strategising of policies.

Internal labour flows are highly heterogeneous and hence their impacts on the poor need to be carefully disaggregated. Migration is a vital component of poor people's struggle for survival. It entails both costs and benefits for migrants and their families.

International worker emigration from India has been closely linked to phases of immigration policies in other countries. Since the oil boom, the emigration of low-skilled workers to the Middle East has been the major source of employment and inward remittances. Inward remittances have significant macroeconomic implications in especially regions of high outmigration.

Both internal and external migration have potentially growth producing and poverty reducing impacts, which can be increased through suitable policies and supportive interventions by civil society and other national/international actors.

Internal migration, particularly seasonal migration, is largely driven by the persistence of large regional inequalities and its potential positive impacts on the lives of the poor are also minimised by the inadequate legislative environment and the lack of a rights based perspective with respect to migrants. Migrants enjoy the least rights, even among a comparatively right-less group of poor workers and labourers.

International migration is also driven by unemployment, lack of suitable opportunities, and mismatches between skills and opportunities, but the requirement of sizeable financial costs make it accessible only to those who possess appropriate skills and can raise the necessary financial resources to undertake migration.

There are imperfections in both types of labour markets which can be addressed through suitable policy measures. But internal migrants have such weak bargaining power that they would require far greater legislative and non-legislative support from governmental and non-governmental actors. This role can not only be confined to the Ministry of Labour, which is the key Ministry dealing with migrant workers but requires coordinated support from all the social sector Ministries.

The thrust of our suggestions is that both governmental and non-governmental intervention should first discourage regional and labour market dualism as vigorously as possible. Secondly they should take all measures necessary to improve labour market outcomes. Third, the basic rights and entitlements should be ensured for all migrant workers and their families through coordinated inter-governmental effort and civil society action. Fourth, action should be focused on improving the social and political environment in which migrants live and work. These steps would not only influence the condition of migrants and the pattern of migration, but also the pattern of development which has sustained these patterns of migration.

We briefly elaborate on these four suggestions below discussed in detail in sections 3 and 4 under these four heads. Although the detailed issues with respect to internal and international migration are different, we bring them together here to underscore a common analytical and policy framework.

Suggestions and key next steps

Synergising migration and development

A major policy focus has to be on a more vigorous pro-poor development strategy in the backward areas. This should address the needs of these regions, and simultaneously improve the access of the poor to land, CPRs, financial resources and governance institutions. Depending upon the availability of financial resources, the provision of an employment safety net can be dovetailed with the development programmes.

Evolving suitable development policies in order to maximise the positive impact of inward remittances and to reduce its negative impact (through labour market and expenditure distortions, or the 'Dutch Disease' effect), remains a priority even with external migration. Thus in all cases, the synergy between migration and development requires to be strengthened.

Improving labour market outcomes

The main problem is that poor migrants lack bargaining strength. Hence steps taken to organise them, improve their negotiating strength and level of awareness are necessary.

At the workplace, stricter enforcement of labour legislations (with necessary simplification and modification of the laws where necessary) is a prerequisite for improved outcomes.

Panchayats could emerge as the pivotal institution in the resource pool for migrant workers residing in their area. They could maintain a register of migrant workers and issue identity cards and pass books to them. Further, it should be mandatory for recruiters to deposit with the panchayats, a list of the labourers recruited by them along with other employment details. NGOs and panchayats could cooperate in building up an information base to cut down transaction costs for both employers and labourers. They could also assist in upgrading the skills of migrant workers.

An improved information base, orientation and skills are also important requirement in the case of international migration. Labour markets of the major labour importing countries need to be closely monitored. This could be done through the establishment of a labour market monitoring authority which could also carry out negotiations on various labour contracts and also study the nature of emerging skill requirements. Another important area in which the government could take the lead is in providing pre-departure training through registered recruitment agencies; returnee associations and non-governmental organisations working among the migrant workers.

While regulation of recruitment conditions is a must, provisions of the Emigration Act, 1983, which are out of line with the changing market conditions under which recruitment agents operate should be liberalised so that there is no adverse incentive for the latter to operate outside the law.

Loans could be granted to potential migrants to

cover their transaction costs and could be linked to their seeking the assistance of the formal recruiting system. This could help to curb malpractices.

Ensure basic entitlements to migrants and their families

A focused approach is required to ensure that the basic entitlements of the poor to food, elementary education, basic health are fulfilled, as also their entitlement to other government programmes and subsidies.

The proposed Bill for unorganised workers includes many provisions which are potentially beneficial to migrant workers. The debate on the Bill should be vigorously extended in order to ensure that it meets the requirements of migrant workers as fully as possible.

It may be worthwhile considering the constitution of a welfare Fund for employees working abroad. Such a fund can be utilised for a wide range of welfare measures concerned with both the migrant workers and their families. The fund could be supported mainly by contributions received from Indians working in the Middle East. Incentives such as attractive insurance schemes and tax reliefs should be offered to migrants contributing.

Improvement in the economic, social and political environment in favour of migration

Disadvantages faced by poor migrants are accentuated because of their low political voice in source and destination areas; because they often comprise a distinct ethnic, social or cultural group, and are seen to be threatening to the livelihoods of workers in the destination areas. As a consequence, they can be victims of strong prejudices. There is, thus a role for advocacy to remove stereotypes and misapprehensions and for a campaign to buttress the voices of poor migrants.

In the case of Indian emigrants and people of Indian origin, it is critical to address how they can participate in selected but specific developmental activities. Another significant issue is the identification of possible ways in which human capital can return to India and, having returned, can contribute to the development process.

ANNEXURES

Annex no.	Heading	Page
1	Acronyms and Abbreviations	24
2	Selected Bibliography	25
3	Organisational Structure dealing with Internal and External Migration	30
4	Tables on Internal Migration (A1–A12)	32
5	Tables on External Migration (B1–B19)	40
6	Maps	49
7	A Note on the Stakeholder Workshop	53
8	NGOs Involved in HIV/AIDS Programmes for Migrant Workers	54
9	List of Persons/Categories of Workers in Whose Case Emigration Check is Not Required	56
10	List of Categories of Persons who can obtain ECNR if they possess a Valid Employment Visa	56
11	Common Report Outline for the Inter-country Study	57

ANNEX 1 ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
APRLP	Andhra Pradesh Rural Labour Programme
CEC	Center for Education and Communication
CPR	Common Property Resource
DISHA	Developing Initiatives for Social and Human Action
DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
ECNR	Emigration Check Not Required
ECR	Emigration Check Required
EGS	Employment Guarantee Scheme
EIRFFP	Eastern India Rain fed Farming project
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission on Asia and Pacific
GCC	Gulf Corporation Council
GOI	Government of India
GVT	Gramin Vikas Trust
HIV	Human Immuno Deficiency Virus
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Scheme
IFFDC	Indian Farm Forestry Development Co-operative
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISMW	Inter State Migrant Workmen
IT	Information Technology
KMDS	Kimidi Multisectoral Development Society
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Madhya Pradesh
NACO	National Aids Control Organisation
NCL	National Commission of Labour 2002
NCRL	National Commission on Rural Labour
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
PDS	Public Distribution System
PGE	Protector General of Emigrants
POE	Protector of Emigrants
RLP	Rural Labour Project
SC	Scheduled Caste
SEWA	Self Employed Women's Association
SNCL	Second National Commission on Labour
ST	Scheduled Tribe
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UPR	Usual Principal Residence
WIRFFP	Western India Rainfed Farming Project

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Chart 1: Organizational Structure for Implementing Policies Relating to Internal Labour Migration in India

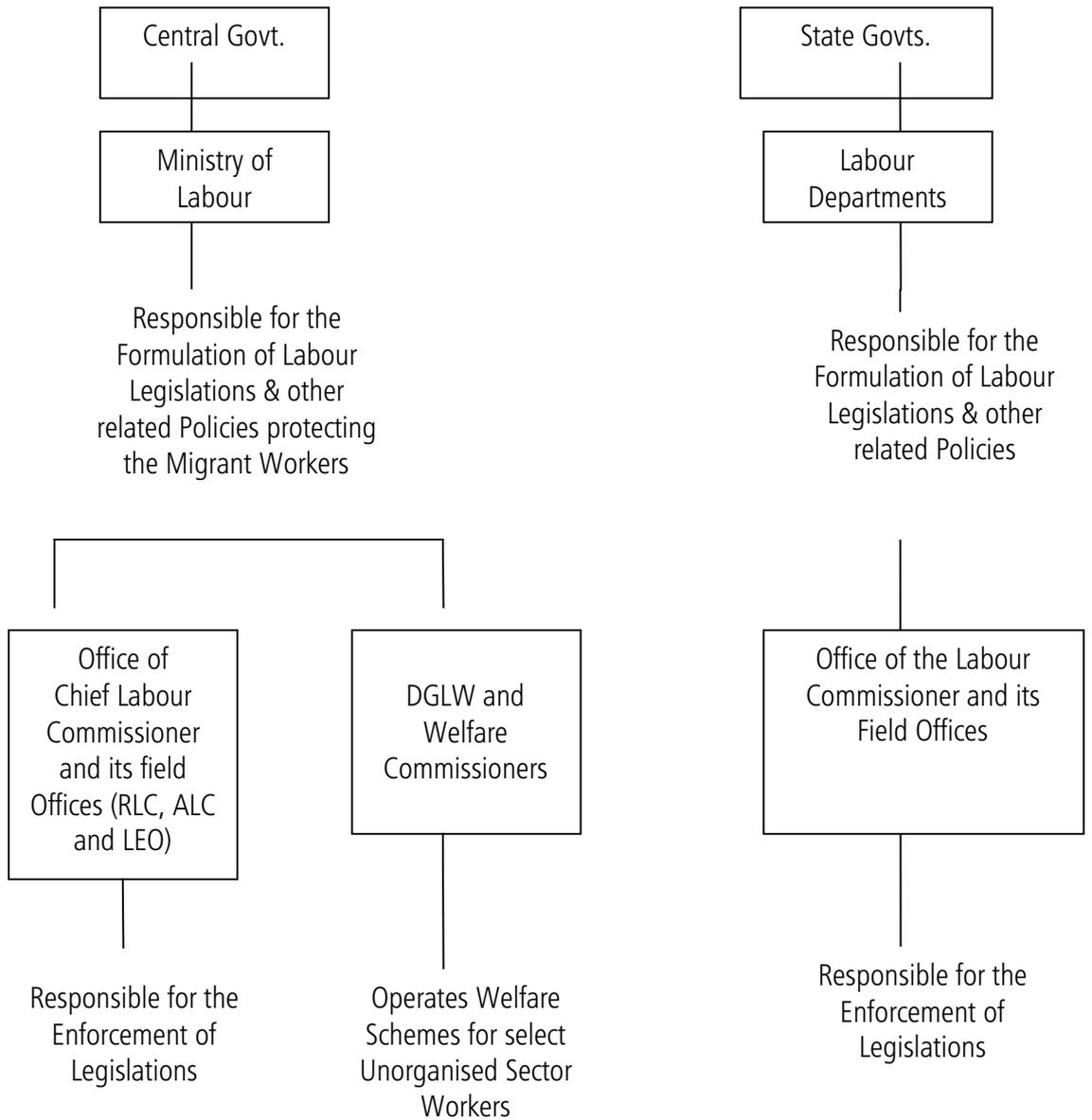


Chart 2: Organizational Structure for Implementing Policies Relating to International Labour Migration from India

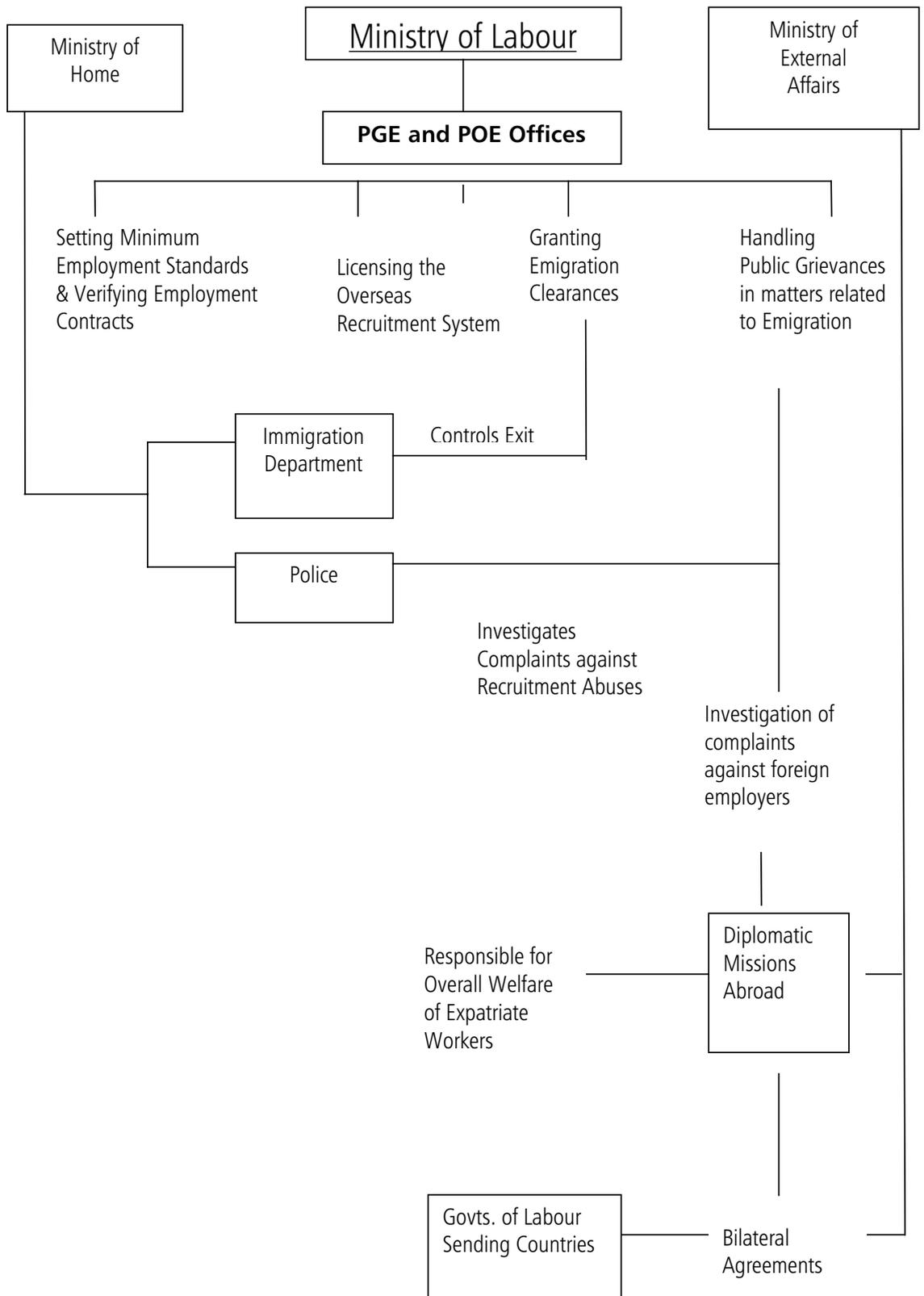


Table A1: Migrants in each category according to reason cited for migration – all migrants

REASON FOR MIGRATION

	Employment		Business		Employment + Business		Education		Family Moved		Marriage		Natural Calamities		Others	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
TOTAL	26.96	1.80	6.86	0.55	33.82	2.35	4.84	0.82	26.62	11.01	3.99	76.12	1.09	0.25	29.65	9.45
MIGRANTS																
A. Within India	27.79	1.79	7.06	0.54	34.85	2.33	5.02	0.82	26.46	10.68	4.13	76.97	1.15	0.25	28.39	8.95
1. Within state	24.02	1.60	5.99	0.48	30.01	2.08	5.39	0.79	27.13	9.32	4.72	78.63	1.28	0.25	31.47	8.94
(a) intra-district	18.08	1.21	5.20	0.39	23.27	1.59	5.44	0.70	27.17	7.40	5.69	81.04	1.36	0.23	37.07	9.03
(b) other districts	33.96	2.65	7.32	0.74	41.27	3.39	5.31	1.04	27.06	14.51	3.11	72.10	1.15	0.29	22.10	8.68
II. Other states	43.42	3.76	11.49	1.17	54.90	4.93	3.48	1.11	23.68	24.46	1.67	60.14	0.61	0.29	15.65	9.06
Outmigrants from:																
AP	37.67	3.74	8.98	1.32	46.65	5.06	5.80	1.45	24.63	24.74	2.22	56.58	1.64	0.58	19.06	11.59
Assam	28.97	3.87	8.85	0.95	37.82	4.82	3.61	1.41	32.68	37.75	2.18	42.95	2.09	0.89	21.63	12.18
Bihar	51.21	4.52	11.02	0.92	62.24	5.44	3.67	0.98	17.99	22.91	1.77	62.76	0.73	0.47	13.62	7.45
Gujarat	27.68	2.28	19.67	1.72	47.35	4.00	4.90	1.43	23.71	23.40	1.53	56.39	0.34	0.19	22.17	14.60
Haryana	38.64	1.64	10.93	0.58	49.57	2.22	3.15	0.66	32.20	18.56	1.76	73.05	0.32	0.10	13.01	5.41
HP	48.70	3.58	5.74	0.51	54.44	4.09	4.50	1.56	25.27	27.85	1.34	58.27	0.43	0.15	14.01	8.07
Karnataka	33.55	3.69	13.43	2.35	46.98	6.04	3.38	1.12	22.20	19.90	1.81	57.81	0.77	0.41	24.86	14.72
Kerala	52.65	10.85	8.09	1.25	60.74	12.10	4.04	3.33	18.37	28.93	1.44	41.42	0.16	0.19	15.25	14.04
MP	31.68	2.72	10.66	1.16	42.33	3.88	3.16	0.66	27.77	15.17	2.80	72.12	0.96	0.23	22.98	7.94
Maharashtra	34.32	4.60	9.82	1.52	44.14	6.12	2.47	0.90	27.08	24.24	1.95	55.92	0.37	0.19	24.00	12.63
Orissa	54.61	5.21	6.02	0.79	60.63	6.00	3.20	0.89	19.65	20.39	2.06	64.77	1.02	0.34	13.44	7.61
Punjab	32.49	2.47	13.51	1.19	45.99	3.67	2.39	1.08	34.39	30.14	1.09	57.38	0.55	0.29	15.59	7.45
Rajasthan	36.82	2.66	20.70	1.48	57.52	4.15	2.58	0.68	22.87	18.99	1.56	68.36	0.39	0.18	15.07	7.64
Tamil Nadu	47.76	8.27	7.14	1.00	54.90	9.27	2.68	1.14	23.69	30.81	2.71	46.59	0.96	0.52	15.06	11.67
Uttar Pradesh	53.07	3.13	11.97	1.01	65.05	4.15	3.12	1.03	20.87	30.78	0.96	57.27	0.21	0.16	9.80	6.62
West Bengal	40.72	2.89	10.66	0.85	51.39	3.74	3.89	1.06	25.17	19.69	2.00	68.75	1.60	0.54	15.96	6.22

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D-3

Table A2: Percentage of total migrants citing employment and business motives for migration

	<u>TOTAL MIGRANTS</u>			<u>REASON FOR MIGRATION</u>								
	P	M	F	Employment			Business			Employment+ Business		
				P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
Total Internal Migrants	100.00	27.06	72.94	8.83	27.79	1.79	2.31	7.06	0.54	11.13	34.85	2.33
Total Urban Migrants	100.00	44.89	55.11	19.91	39.26	4.14	4.67	9.19	0.99	24.58	48.46	5.13
Rural-Urban	100.00	45.70	54.30	21.16	41.50	4.05	4.93	9.65	0.96	26.10	51.15	5.01
Urban-Urban	100.00	43.64	56.36	18.06	35.86	4.27	4.29	8.50	1.03	22.35	44.36	5.30
Total Rural Migrants	100.00	19.60	80.40	4.19	16.78	1.12	1.31	5.01	0.41	5.50	21.79	1.53
Rural-Rural	100.00	18.24	81.76	3.72	15.98	0.99	1.22	4.98	0.39	4.95	20.96	1.37
Urban-Urban	100.00	33.74	66.26	9.19	21.70	2.82	2.28	5.27	0.75	11.47	26.97	3.58
1. Intra-district Migrants	100.00	21.96	78.04	4.91	18.08	1.21	1.44	5.20	0.39	6.35	23.27	1.59
Rural	100.00	18.22	81.78	3.00	12.67	0.85	0.99	4.01	0.32	3.99	16.68	1.16
Rural-Rural	100.00	17.33	82.67	2.78	12.35	0.78	0.95	4.02	0.31	3.73	16.37	1.08
Urban-Rural	100.00	31.69	68.31	6.46	15.74	2.15	1.67	4.02	0.58	8.13	19.76	2.73
Urban	100.00	40.10	59.90	14.18	30.00	3.59	3.63	7.80	0.83	17.81	37.80	4.42
Rural-Urban	100.00	39.90	60.10	14.82	31.82	3.55	3.86	8.46	0.82	18.69	40.27	4.36
Urban-Urban	100.00	40.64	59.36	12.56	25.44	3.75	3.01	6.15	0.86	15.58	31.59	4.61
2. Inter-district Migrants	100.00	31.32	68.68	12.46	33.96	2.65	2.80	7.32	0.74	15.26	41.27	3.39
Rural	100.00	21.17	78.83	6.10	22.72	1.63	1.74	6.02	0.60	7.84	28.74	2.23
Rural-Rural	100.00	19.06	80.94	5.33	22.04	1.40	1.65	6.23	0.57	6.98	28.27	1.97
Urban-Rural	100.00	33.70	66.30	10.87	25.60	3.39	2.36	5.38	0.82	13.23	30.98	4.21
Urban	100.00	44.59	55.41	20.77	40.93	4.54	4.17	8.12	1.00	24.94	49.05	5.54
Rural-Urban	100.00	46.43	53.57	22.93	44.12	4.55	4.61	8.74	1.02	27.53	52.86	5.58
Urban-Urban	100.00	42.37	57.63	18.25	36.90	4.54	3.67	7.34	0.97	21.92	44.24	5.51
3. Inter-state Migrants	100.00	44.53	55.47	21.42	43.42	3.76	5.76	11.49	1.17	27.18	54.90	4.93
Rural	100.00	30.97	69.03	12.00	32.16	2.96	3.76	9.78	1.05	15.76	41.94	4.01
Rural-Rural	100.00	28.22	71.78	11.19	32.81	2.69	3.60	10.24	1.00	14.79	43.05	3.68
Urban-Rural	100.00	41.34	58.66	15.13	30.70	4.15	4.29	8.55	1.30	19.42	39.25	5.45
Urban	100.00	52.01	47.99	26.61	47.12	4.39	6.87	12.05	1.27	33.49	59.16	5.66
Rural-Urban	100.00	56.11	43.89	31.02	51.81	4.45	7.59	12.55	1.24	38.61	64.36	5.69
Urban-Urban	100.00	47.72	52.28	22.05	41.47	4.32	6.15	11.48	1.28	28.20	52.95	5.60

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D-3

Table A3: State-wise share in inter-state outmigration – all migrants

	<u>TOTAL MIGRANTS</u>			<u>REASON FOR MIGRATION</u>								
	P	M	F	Employment			Business			Total Economic		
				P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
Inter-state Outmigration	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Of which percentage share of:												
AP	4.60	4.35	4.80	3.87	3.77	4.78	3.62	3.40	5.41	3.82	3.69	4.93
Assam	1.32	1.48	1.20	1.01	0.99	1.23	1.12	1.14	0.97	1.03	1.02	1.17
Bihar	11.33	13.44	9.64	15.44	15.85	11.60	12.30	12.90	7.56	14.77	15.24	10.64
Gujarat	3.50	3.53	3.48	2.24	2.25	2.11	5.94	6.04	5.12	3.02	3.04	2.83
Haryana	5.34	3.81	6.57	3.34	3.39	2.87	3.58	3.62	3.25	3.39	3.44	2.96
HP	1.29	1.32	1.26	1.46	1.48	1.20	0.65	0.66	0.55	1.28	1.31	1.05
Karnataka	5.35	4.80	5.78	3.90	3.71	5.67	6.29	5.62	11.61	4.41	4.11	7.08
Kerala	3.63	4.28	3.11	5.56	5.19	8.97	3.05	3.02	3.31	5.03	4.74	7.63
MP	5.57	3.76	7.02	2.97	2.75	5.09	3.88	3.49	6.95	3.17	2.90	5.53
Maharashtra	6.64	5.95	7.19	5.10	4.70	8.82	5.57	5.09	9.33	5.20	4.78	8.94
Orissa	2.33	2.39	2.28	3.02	3.00	3.17	1.28	1.25	1.54	2.65	2.63	2.78
Punjab	5.16	5.07	5.22	3.76	3.80	3.44	5.89	5.97	5.32	4.21	4.25	3.89
Rajasthan	7.31	6.48	7.98	5.51	5.50	5.65	11.51	11.69	10.10	6.79	6.79	6.71
Tamil Nadu	5.49	6.03	5.06	7.07	6.63	11.14	3.81	3.75	4.32	6.38	6.03	9.52
Uttar Pradesh	21.56	25.01	18.79	29.12	30.57	15.67	24.96	26.07	16.23	28.24	29.63	15.80
West Bengal	4.27	3.66	4.76	3.45	3.43	3.66	3.41	3.40	3.47	3.44	3.42	3.62

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D-3

Table A4: Percentage of migrants of less than one year duration citing employment and business motives for migration

	<u>TOTAL MIGRANTS</u>						<u>REASON FOR MIGRATION</u>						
				Employment			Business			Employment+Business			
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	
Total Internal Migrants	100.00	46.02	53.98	15.00	26.44	5.25	4.35	6.88	2.19	19.35	33.32	7.43	
Total Urban Migrants	100.00	52.24	47.76	20.52	33.74	6.05	3.73	5.98	1.28	24.25	39.72	7.33	
Rural-Urban	100.00	53.38	46.62	21.76	35.01	6.61	4.02	6.26	1.46	25.79	41.27	8.07	
Urban-Urban	100.00	50.64	49.36	18.79	31.92	5.33	3.34	5.58	1.05	22.14	37.50	6.37	
Total Rural Migrants	100.00	43.08	56.92	12.39	22.26	4.93	4.64	7.39	2.55	17.03	29.66	7.47	
Rural-Rural	100.00	41.38	58.62	11.90	21.94	4.81	4.79	7.83	2.64	16.69	29.77	7.45	
Urban-Rural	100.00	52.67	47.33	15.20	23.75	5.68	3.81	5.50	1.93	19.01	29.25	7.62	
1. Intra-district Migrants	100.00	41.68	58.32	9.50	18.07	3.38	2.99	5.22	1.40	12.50	23.29	4.79	
Rural	100.00	39.22	60.78	7.88	15.46	2.99	2.92	5.20	1.46	10.80	20.66	4.45	
Rural-Rural	100.00	38.04	61.96	7.60	15.26	2.90	2.96	5.39	1.47	10.56	20.64	4.37	
Urban-Rural	100.00	48.40	51.60	10.20	16.91	3.90	2.69	4.11	1.35	12.88	21.02	5.25	
Urban	100.00	50.75	49.25	15.47	25.49	5.15	3.26	5.29	1.16	18.73	30.79	6.31	
Rural-Urban	100.00	51.46	48.54	16.20	26.34	5.45	3.51	5.63	1.27	19.71	31.96	6.72	
Urban-Urban	100.00	49.03	50.97	13.81	23.53	4.46	2.66	4.47	0.92	16.47	28.00	5.39	
2. Inter-district Migrants	100.00	48.16	51.84	17.71	29.83	6.44	5.75	8.28	3.40	23.46	38.11	9.84	
Rural	100.00	45.68	54.32	14.99	25.24	6.38	7.23	10.36	4.59	22.22	35.60	10.97	
Rural-Rural	100.00	44.07	55.93	14.49	24.80	6.36	7.91	11.57	5.03	22.40	36.37	11.39	
Urban-Rural	100.00	52.77	47.23	17.18	26.81	6.41	4.26	5.99	2.33	21.44	32.80	8.74	
Urban	100.00	51.84	48.16	21.72	35.81	6.54	3.57	5.56	1.42	25.28	41.38	7.96	
Rural-Urban	100.00	53.24	46.76	23.50	37.62	7.42	4.02	5.98	1.78	27.52	43.60	9.21	
Urban-Urban	100.00	50.29	49.71	19.79	33.76	5.65	3.09	5.11	1.05	22.88	38.87	6.70	
3. Inter-state Migrants	100.00	55.13	44.87	26.58	40.05	10.02	5.92	8.48	2.79	32.50	48.52	12.81	
Rural	100.00	55.53	44.47	27.82	39.34	13.44	7.23	9.56	4.32	35.05	48.90	17.76	
Rural-Rural	100.00	53.53	46.47	29.45	42.44	14.49	7.79	10.45	4.73	37.24	52.88	19.23	
Urban-Rural	100.00	61.54	38.46	22.72	31.07	9.36	5.50	7.16	2.84	28.22	38.23	12.20	
Urban	100.00	54.73	45.27	25.29	40.78	6.57	4.58	7.35	1.23	29.88	48.13	7.81	
Rural-Urban	100.00	57.08	42.92	29.34	45.63	7.67	4.96	7.69	1.34	34.30	53.31	9.01	
Urban-Urban	100.00	52.32	47.68	21.19	35.45	5.55	4.21	7.00	1.14	25.40	42.44	6.70	

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D-3

Table A5: Percentage of migrants in each stream as percentage of total internal migrants

	<u>TOTAL MIGRANTS</u>						<u>REASON FOR MIGRATION</u>						
				Employment			Business			Employment + Business			
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	
Total Internal Migrants	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
Total Urban Migrants	29.53	48.97	22.31	66.58	69.19	51.59	59.83	63.79	40.76	65.19	68.09	49.07	
Rural-Urban	17.67	29.83	13.15	42.36	44.54	29.76	37.80	40.80	23.30	41.41	43.79	28.26	
Urban-Urban	11.70	18.86	9.04	23.92	24.33	21.56	21.77	22.72	17.23	23.48	24.01	20.55	
Total Rural Migrants	70.47	51.03	77.69	33.42	30.81	48.41	40.17	36.21	59.24	34.81	31.91	50.93	
Rural-Rural	64.21	43.27	71.98	27.07	24.89	39.64	34.09	30.50	51.39	28.52	26.02	42.38	
Urban-Rural	5.97	7.44	5.42	6.21	5.81	8.55	5.89	5.55	7.54	6.15	5.76	8.31	
1. Intra-district Migrants	62.14	50.41	66.49	34.57	32.79	44.81	38.85	37.11	47.26	35.46	33.67	45.38	
Rural	82.91	68.79	86.88	50.64	48.21	60.91	57.03	53.11	71.86	52.09	49.31	63.56	
Rural-Rural	77.65	61.29	82.25	44.01	41.88	53.02	51.13	47.46	65.04	45.63	43.12	55.93	
Urban-Rural	4.96	7.15	4.34	6.52	6.23	7.72	5.75	5.53	6.57	6.34	6.07	7.44	
Urban	17.09	31.21	13.12	49.36	51.79	39.09	42.97	46.89	28.14	47.91	50.69	36.44	
Rural-Urban	12.38	22.50	9.54	37.38	39.60	28.03	33.19	36.62	20.18	36.43	38.93	26.12	
Urban-Urban	4.63	8.56	3.52	11.84	12.05	10.94	9.66	10.14	7.86	11.34	11.62	10.19	
2. Inter-district Migrants	26.05	30.15	24.53	36.76	36.84	36.33	31.61	31.25	33.34	35.69	35.71	35.63	
Rural	56.64	38.28	65.02	27.73	25.62	40.06	35.32	31.48	52.67	29.12	26.66	42.81	
Rural-Rural	48.50	29.51	57.17	20.76	19.15	30.18	28.53	25.13	43.90	22.19	20.21	33.17	
Urban-Rural	7.86	8.45	7.58	6.85	6.37	9.68	6.62	6.21	8.46	6.81	6.34	9.42	
Urban	43.36	61.72	34.98	72.27	74.38	59.94	64.68	68.52	47.33	70.88	73.34	57.19	
Rural-Urban	23.51	34.85	18.34	43.27	45.28	31.50	38.71	41.65	25.41	42.43	44.64	30.18	
Urban-Urban	19.64	26.57	16.48	28.78	28.87	28.22	25.75	26.64	21.72	28.22	28.48	26.80	
3. Inter-state Migrants	11.82	19.44	8.99	28.67	30.37	18.86	29.54	31.64	19.40	28.85	30.63	18.99	
Rural	35.57	24.74	44.26	19.93	18.33	34.82	23.17	21.06	39.77	20.62	18.90	36.00	
Rural-Rural	28.18	17.86	36.46	14.72	13.50	26.09	17.62	15.92	30.99	15.34	14.00	27.25	
Urban-Rural	7.12	6.61	7.53	5.03	4.67	8.32	5.30	4.92	8.32	5.08	4.72	8.32	
Urban	64.43	75.26	55.74	80.07	81.67	65.18	76.83	78.94	60.23	79.38	81.10	64.00	
Rural-Urban	32.58	41.06	25.77	47.20	48.99	30.53	42.89	44.87	27.26	46.28	48.13	29.75	
Urban-Urban	31.36	33.61	29.55	32.28	32.09	33.99	33.45	33.60	32.32	32.53	32.41	33.59	

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D-3

Table A6: Percentage of migrants in each stream as percentage of internal migrants of less than one year duration

	<u>TOTAL MIGRANTS</u>			<u>REASON FOR MIGRATION</u>											
	<u>P</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Employment</u>			<u>Business</u>			<u>Employment + Business</u>					
				<u>P</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>			
Total Internal Migrants	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total Urban Migrants	32.05	36.39	28.35	43.85	46.43	32.72	27.53	31.62	16.58	40.18	43.38	27.97			
Rural-Urban	18.50	21.46	15.98	26.85	28.42	20.13	17.13	19.54	10.67	24.67	26.58	17.34			
Urban-Urban	13.40	14.75	12.26	16.80	17.81	12.44	10.31	11.97	5.86	15.34	16.60	10.51			
Total Rural Migrants	67.95	63.61	71.65	56.15	53.57	67.28	72.47	68.38	83.42	59.82	56.62	72.03			
Rural-Rural	57.58	51.78	62.52	45.68	42.96	57.37	63.41	58.94	75.41	49.66	46.26	62.68			
Urban-Rural	10.15	11.62	8.90	10.29	10.44	9.65	8.91	9.30	7.86	9.98	10.20	9.12			
1. Intra-district Migrants	52.03	47.13	56.21	32.97	32.21	36.25	35.84	35.77	36.04	33.61	32.94	36.19			
Rural	78.63	73.98	81.95	65.21	63.29	72.52	76.75	73.63	85.05	67.98	65.61	76.19			
Rural-Rural	69.54	63.47	73.87	55.61	53.58	63.37	68.74	65.46	77.45	58.76	56.25	67.50			
Urban-Rural	8.86	10.28	7.84	9.50	9.62	9.04	7.94	8.10	7.52	9.13	9.28	8.59			
Urban	21.37	26.02	18.05	34.79	36.71	27.48	23.25	26.37	14.95	32.02	34.39	23.81			
Rural-Urban	15.06	18.60	12.54	25.67	27.10	20.20	17.66	20.03	11.34	23.75	25.52	17.60			
Urban-Urban	6.23	7.33	5.45	9.06	9.55	7.18	5.54	6.27	3.58	8.21	8.81	6.13			
2. Inter-district	30.40	31.81	29.19	35.89	35.90	35.83	40.20	38.27	45.37	36.86	36.39	38.64			
Rural	59.63	56.55	62.49	50.49	47.84	61.88	74.95	70.79	84.37	56.48	52.82	69.65			
Rural-Rural	48.40	44.29	52.23	39.60	36.81	51.60	66.63	61.93	77.25	46.22	42.26	60.46			
Urban-Rural	11.08	12.14	10.10	10.75	10.91	10.05	8.21	8.79	6.91	10.13	10.45	8.96			
Urban	40.37	43.45	37.51	49.51	52.16	38.12	25.05	29.21	15.63	43.52	47.18	30.35			
Rural-Urban	20.93	23.13	18.88	27.77	29.17	21.76	14.63	16.72	9.89	24.55	26.46	17.66			
Urban-Urban	19.32	20.17	18.52	21.59	22.83	16.26	10.38	12.44	5.71	18.84	20.57	12.61			
3. Inter-state	17.58	21.06	14.61	31.15	31.90	27.92	23.95	25.95	18.59	29.53	30.67	25.17			
Rural	50.72	51.08	50.28	53.10	50.18	67.41	61.88	57.58	77.96	54.70	51.48	69.70			
Rural-Rural	38.06	36.95	39.42	42.17	39.16	56.98	50.05	45.53	66.98	43.61	40.27	59.16			
Urban-Rural	12.40	13.84	10.63	10.60	10.74	9.92	11.51	11.69	10.83	10.76	10.90	10.12			
Urban	49.28	48.92	49.72	46.90	49.82	32.59	38.12	42.42	22.04	45.30	48.52	30.30			
Rural-Urban	24.50	25.37	23.44	27.05	28.90	17.93	20.53	23.00	11.27	25.86	27.87	16.48			
Urban-Urban	24.41	23.16	25.94	19.46	20.50	14.37	17.33	19.12	10.64	19.08	20.26	13.56			

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D-3

Table A7: Migrant workers in 1991 by place of residence by industrial category (percentage to total)

	<u>Total migrant workers</u>			<u>Cultivators</u>			<u>Agricultural Labourers</u>			<u>Workers in household industries</u>			<u>Other workers</u>		
	<u>P</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
	AP	100.00	41.50	58.50	20.05	15.23	23.46	43.27	19.87	59.88	3.67	2.84	4.26	33.01	62.06
ASSAM	100.00	73.86	26.14	44.07	41.00	52.72	11.36	10.91	12.63	1.19	0.73	2.48	43.39	47.36	32.17
BIHAR	100.00	32.81	67.19	26.27	15.17	31.69	44.21	12.92	59.48	2.08	1.97	2.14	27.44	69.94	6.69
HARYANA	100.00	68.74	31.26	23.73	12.82	47.73	13.93	9.05	24.68	1.60	1.78	1.21	60.73	76.34	26.38
HIMACHAL	100.00	47.96	52.04	56.81	24.83	86.29	3.24	4.60	1.99	1.21	1.71	0.75	38.74	68.86	10.98
KARNATAKA	100.00	50.51	49.49	23.44	18.76	28.21	32.13	15.00	49.61	1.85	1.78	1.93	42.58	64.46	20.25
KERALA	100.00	65.11	34.89	10.77	13.52	5.64	22.68	16.93	33.42	2.93	1.45	5.70	63.61	68.09	55.25
MP	100.00	41.64	58.36	40.82	25.08	52.04	28.26	16.17	36.88	2.76	2.32	3.08	28.17	56.43	8.00
MAHARASHTRA	100.00	48.91	51.09	26.96	11.80	41.46	28.97	12.29	44.94	1.46	1.52	1.41	42.60	74.39	12.18
ORISSA	100.00	55.44	44.56	23.53	21.30	26.30	32.96	16.75	53.13	4.21	2.88	5.87	39.30	59.08	14.69
PUNJAB	100.00	87.43	12.57	19.07	20.54	8.86	14.86	13.46	24.58	1.50	1.26	3.13	64.58	64.74	63.44
RAJASTHAN	100.00	44.40	55.60	51.82	26.35	72.16	13.37	7.82	17.81	1.75	1.95	1.59	33.06	63.89	8.44
TAMILNADU	100.00	51.55	48.45	15.73	10.61	21.18	33.58	14.34	54.05	3.22	2.41	4.07	47.47	72.64	20.69
UTTAR PRADESH	100.00	47.59	52.41	37.69	24.22	49.91	24.44	10.54	37.05	2.31	1.77	2.81	35.56	63.46	10.23
WEST BENGAL	100.00	73.40	26.60	16.85	16.39	18.11	21.57	14.44	41.24	5.06	2.79	11.34	56.52	66.39	29.31
ALL INDIA	100.00	51.77	48.23	27.32	17.79	37.55	28.18	13.33	44.11	2.57	1.98	3.19	41.93	66.89	15.14

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D- 11

Table A8: Percentage of migrants in different states in India, 1991

	Andhra Pradesh	Assam	Bihar	Gujarat	Haryana	Karnataka	Kerala	Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra	Orissa	Punjab	Rajasthan	Tamil Nadu	Uttar Pradesh	West Bengal
Andhra		0.78	3.03	1.29	0.55	24.38	5.00	2.39	13.92	9.83	0.89	3.37	22.79	3.66	3.00
Assam	1.69		35.24	1.69	0.89	0.26	1.00	1.10	1.05	1.75	1.57	5.02	0.82	9.18	17.83
Bihar	1.48	1.21		0.74	2.51	0.42	1.19	5.60	0.87	7.76	1.91	2.08	0.81	26.54	43.85
Gujarat	2.09	0.60	3.67		0.93	1.21	3.04	5.64	34.55	3.84	1.17	20.12	1.70	16.61	1.78
Haryana	0.36	0.28	5.83	0.26		0.20	0.67	1.07	0.79	0.32	20.67	19.49	0.30	31.95	1.09
Karnataka	25.79	0.28	1.13	1.08	0.37		13.44	0.56	18.36	0.44	0.68	2.61	29.16	1.89	0.92
Kerala	2.80	0.41	0.83	1.08	0.30	13.77		1.55	7.51	0.54	0.60	0.99	60.76	1.35	1.07
Madhya Pradesh	2.53	0.38	9.79	2.69	0.95	0.55	2.20		18.08	7.42	1.75	12.52	0.98	34.15	3.07
Maharashtra	7.01	0.36	3.54	10.49	0.62	18.84	4.78	10.09		0.97	1.23	5.19	4.43	26.93	2.08
Orissa	17.55	0.76	28.63	1.09	0.55	0.69	1.70	16.34	1.57		0.87	1.28	1.42	3.91	19.23
Punjab	0.54	0.54	10.85	0.47	21.57	0.28	0.68	1.65	1.49	0.66		9.04	0.61	27.72	1.81
Rajasthan	1.01	0.79	4.22	7.53	20.36	0.69	1.46	18.00	3.34	0.59	10.07		1.00	23.25	1.95
Tamil Nadu	18.48	0.52	1.08	1.22	0.32	14.84	36.42	0.91	4.85	0.64	0.78	3.56		1.95	1.69
Uttar Pradesh	1.06	1.01	27.78	1.00	7.06	0.60	1.24	18.80	3.39	1.06	6.15	7.80	1.00		6.23
West Bengal	1.21	6.61	61.17	0.57	0.55	0.31	0.58	1.48	1.09	7.26	1.33	2.06	0.93	11.42	
Delhi	0.67	0.38	10.99	0.52	11.83	0.51	1.61	2.72	1.48	0.64	5.43	6.18	1.56	49.64	2.80

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D-2

Table A9: Proportion of migrants out-migrating to different states in India, 1991

	Andhra Pradesh	Assam	Bihar	Gujarat	Haryana	Karnataka	Kerala	Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra	Orissa	Punjab	Rajasthan	Tamil Nadu	Uttar Pradesh	West Bengal
Andhra		2.10	1.14	1.96	0.45	20.40	5.38	1.85	8.58	18.10	0.80	2.04	16.55	0.69	3.08
Assam	0.57		4.75	0.92	0.26	0.08	0.39	0.31	0.23	1.15	0.51	1.08	0.21	0.62	6.54
Bihar	0.96	2.26		0.78	1.42	0.24	0.89	3.01	0.37	9.90	1.19	0.87	0.41	3.45	31.13
Gujarat	2.97	2.46	2.10		1.16	1.55	4.98	6.66	32.43	10.77	1.60	18.50	1.88	4.74	2.78
Haryana	0.52	1.15	3.33	0.61		0.26	1.09	1.26	0.74	0.89	28.17	17.87	0.33	9.09	1.69
Karnataka	35.85	1.12	0.64	2.44	0.45		21.53	0.65	16.85	1.21	0.91	2.35	31.55	0.53	1.40
Kerala	1.28	0.54	0.15	0.81	0.12	5.65		0.59	2.27	0.49	0.27	0.29	21.64	0.12	0.54
Madhya Pradesh	4.89	2.13	7.64	8.45	1.61	0.95	4.91		23.10	28.31	3.25	15.67	1.48	13.27	6.52
Maharashtra	22.97	3.39	4.68	55.86	1.79	55.36	18.08	27.49		6.27	3.86	11.01	11.29	17.73	7.50
Orissa	7.12	0.89	4.69	0.72	0.19	0.25	0.80	5.51	0.42		0.34	0.34	0.45	0.32	8.57
Punjab	0.60	1.71	4.82	0.85	20.85	0.28	0.87	1.51	1.08	1.42		6.43	0.52	6.13	2.19
Rajasthan	1.24	2.78	2.09	15.00	21.94	0.76	2.06	18.35	2.71	1.43	11.88		0.95	5.73	2.63
Tamil Nadu	12.47	1.00	0.29	1.34	0.19	8.97	28.32	0.51	2.16	0.85	0.50	1.55		0.26	1.25
Uttar Pradesh	1.57	4.28	16.57	2.40	9.16	0.80	2.11	23.09	3.31	3.09	8.75	7.46	1.15		10.11
West Bengal	1.47	23.04	29.92	1.11	0.58	0.34	0.82	1.49	0.87	17.35	1.55	1.61	0.87	2.78	
Delhi	2.11	3.46	13.91	2.65	32.59	1.42	5.84	7.08	3.07	3.96	16.38	12.53	3.81	31.26	9.62
Other state	3.42	48.69	3.89	5.08	7.47	8.86	4.87	1.50	5.11	2.05	20.46	1.62	14.33	3.61	5.95
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D-2

Table A10: Migrant workers by industrial categories

STATES	Total migrant workers			Cultivators			Agricultural labourers			Household Industries			Other Workers		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
INDIA	100	51.7	48.23	27.3	17.8	37.6	28.18	13.33	44.11	2.57	1.98	3.19	41.93	66.89	15.1
ANDHRA Pr	100	41.5	58.5	20.1	15.2	23.5	43.27	19.87	59.88	3.67	2.84	4.26	33.04	62.06	12.4
ARUNACHAL Pr	100	63.28	36.72	43.27	23.83	76.76	7.80	7.90	7.61	0.27	0.33	0.19	48.66	67.94	15.44
ASSAM	100	73.8	26.14	44.2	41	52.7	11.36	10.91	12.63	1.19	0.73	2.48	43.37	47.36	32.2
BIHAR	100	32.8	67.19	26.3	15.2	31.7	44.21	12.92	59.48	2.08	1.97	2.14	27.44	69.94	6.69
DELHI	100	89.96	10.04	0.35	0.25	1.22	0.70	0.61	1.56	1.18	1.15	1.51	97.76	97.99	95.71
GOA	100	66.19	33.81	9.02	3.06	20.68	6.68	3.03	13.82	2.18	2.10	2.35	82.12	91.81	63.15
GUJRAT	100	58.65	41.35	18.72	9.61	31.64	24.09	9.75	44.44	1.27	1.17	1.42	55.92	79.47	22.51
HARAYANA	100	68.74	31.6	23.7	12.8	47.7	13.93	9.05	24.68	1.6	1.78	1.21	60.73	76.34	26.4
HIMACHAL Pr	100	47.96	52.04	56.8	24.8	86.3	3.24	4.6	1.99	1.21	1.71	0.75	38.74	68.86	11
KARNATAKA	100	50.51	49.49	26.4	18.8	28.2	32.31	15	49.64	1.85	1.78	1.92	42.58	64.46	20.3
KERALA	100	65.11	34.89	1.08	13.5	5.46	22.68	16.93	33.42	2.93	1.45	5.7	63.61	68.09	55.3
MADHYA Pr	100	41.64	58.36	40.8	25.1	52	28.26	16.17	36.88	2.76	2.32	3.08	28.17	56.43	8
MAHARASTRA	100	48.91	51.09	27	11.8	41.5	28.95	12.29	44.94	1.46	1.52	1.41	42.6	74.39	12.1
MANIPUR	100	51.95	48.05	43.42	34.71	52.84	7.59	4.25	11.21	8.79	1.70	16.46	40.19	59.35	19.48
MEGHALAYA	100	74.90	25.10	40.74	37.84	49.41	10.56	9.57	13.52	0.70	0.61	0.98	47.99	51.98	36.09
MIZORAM	100	58.46	41.54	46.21	33.98	63.43	2.77	2.82	2.69	1.24	1.38	1.05	49.77	61.82	32.82
NAGALAND	100	76.21	23.79	29.32	19.07	62.17	3.55	3.44	3.91	0.88	0.50	2.12	66.25	77.00	31.80
ORISSA	100	55.44	44.56	23.5	21.3	26.3	32.96	16.75	53.13	4.21	2.88	5.85	39.3	59.08	14.7
PUNJAB	100	87.4	12.57	19.1	20.5	8.86	14.86	13.46	24.58	1.5	1.26	3.31	64.58	64.74	63.4
RAJASTHAN	100	44.56	55.6	51.8	26.4	72.2	13.37	7.82	17.81	1.75	1.95	1.59	33.06	63.89	8.44
SIKKIM	100	64.15	35.85	37.28	23.70	61.57	8.66	9.19	7.73	1.26	1.78	0.33	52.80	65.33	30.38
TAMILNADU	100	51.55	48.45	15.7	10.6	21.2	33.58	14.32	54.05	3.22	2.41	4.07	47.47	72.64	20.7
TRIPURA	100	83.80	16.20	29.95	30.23	28.49	20.03	18.73	26.76	2.13	1.75	4.11	47.89	49.29	40.64
UTTAR Pr	100	47.59	52.41	37.7	24.2	49.4	24.44	10.54	37.04	2.31	1.77	2.81	35.36	63.46	10.3
WEST BENGAL	100	73.4	26.6	16.9	16.4	18.1	21.57	14.44	41.24	5.06	2.79	11.3	56.25	66.39	29.3

Source: Migration Tables, 1991 Census, D-11

Table A11: Male migrants by occupational division, 1991

STATES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7/8/9	10
INDIA	10.81	4.4	12.2	15.4	9.04	3.20	43.12	1.67
ANDHRA PR	11.65	3.79	12.76	16.11	9.62	2.61	42.15	1.31
ARUNACHAL PR	12.10	4.91	13.59	11.51	9.84	5.05	39.97	3.03
ASSAM	10.80	2.98	11.79	24.00	11.61	7.63	28.93	2.26
BIHAR	15.22	4.22	14.24	12.14	10.13	1.38	40.71	1.96
DELHI	7.38	6.00	12.48	17.59	9.31	0.82	44.93	1.48
GOA	10.44	6.30	10.01	10.24	9.95	3.58	47.82	1.66
GUJRAT	8.96	4.57	11.02	14.12	7.08	2.24	50.91	1.11
HARAYANA	10.96	4.30	11.43	16.86	7.69	1.47	46.04	1.26
HIMACHAL PR	14.09	2.99	17.63	10.89	11.35	4.50	37.18	1.37
J& K	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
KARNATAKA	12.21	4.38	12.49	15.09	9.67	6.32	38.26	1.57
KERALA	11.12	4.55	9.05	14.07	8.94	16.87	34.44	0.95
MADHYA PR	12.85	5.08	12.28	11.52	8.86	3.22	43.29	2.90
MAHARASTRA	9.71	4.33	12.04	14.15	8.91	1.76	48.14	0.96
MANIPUR	11.13	5.69	9.24	10.83	43.08	1.64	17.09	1.29
MEGHALAYA	12.45	6.49	12.20	13.83	14.16	7.89	29.51	3.46
MIZORAM	24.52	5.12	20.10	4.78	13.60	1.38	28.71	1.79
NAGALAND	11.71	5.79	14.84	16.74	18.77	2.25	24.10	5.80
ORISSA	15.25	4.80	14.93	14.22	9.40	3.23	36.47	1.70
PUNJAB	9.27	2.34	11.01	18.81	8.00	1.21	47.25	2.11
RAJASTHAN	14.31	3.98	12.80	15.24	9.48	2.31	39.90	1.97
SIKKIM	11.87	10.26	8.14	10.07	14.83	3.10	39.58	2.14
TAMILNADU	9.71	6.95	11.65	16.54	8.46	3.41	42.55	0.73
TRIPURA	16.70	2.33	13.82	20.62	10.20	3.68	30.54	2.12
UTTAR PR	12.80	3.46	14.40	15.54	9.68	1.48	38.15	4.50
WEST BENGAL	7.55	3.03	11.36	19.32	7.94	2.57	46.27	1.96

Source: Census of India, 1991, Migration tables, D-12

Occupational Division: 1. Professional, Technical and related workers; 2. Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers; 3. Clerical and related workers; 4. Sales workers; 5. Service workers; 6. Farmers, Fisherman, Hunters, Loggers; 7-8-9. Production and related workers; 10 Occupation not classified.

Table A12: Female migrants by occupational division, 1991

STATES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7/8/9	10
INDIA	21.1	1	6.3	8	12.4	8.5	40.6	2.1
ANDHRA PR	11.69	0.45	3.14	11.80	20.13	3.11	48.45	1.24
ARUNACHAL PR	21.32	1.27	21.11	5.36	10.92	9.85	25.98	4.19
ASSAM	20.26	0.53	4.93	3.93	9.10	46.73	13.08	1.44
BIHAR	31.10	0.78	3.47	7.68	9.25	1.54	43.35	2.83
DELHI	28.65	3.59	14.77	6.81	19.45	0.43	23.99	2.32
GOA	23.30	1.58	13.99	10.88	18.26	3.07	26.13	2.79
GUJRAT	24.02	0.70	5.53	7.02	7.56	29.45	24.06	1.66
HARAYANA	42.70	0.91	8.21	3.52	10.67	1.06	30.11	2.82
HIMACHAL PR	40.19	0.71	13.19	3.58	8.38	4.75	25.19	4.01
J & K	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
KARNATAKA	15.46	0.94	5.84	8.44	9.60	13.36	44.77	1.58
KERALA	30.06	1.19	9.24	3.27	11.59	10.39	33.58	0.69
MADHYA PR	17.13	1.03	3.85	7.43	7.64	3.41	55.56	3.95
MAHARAstra	21.64	1.43	8.99	10.11	11.85	3.54	40.23	2.21
MANIPUR	15.59	1.83	10.49	14.38	4.23	1.06	50.65	1.77
MEGHALAYA	24.29	3.09	12.58	13.93	18.07	9.34	15.81	2.90
MIZORAM	30.35	8.28	15.66	23.08	6.95	3.34	11.40	0.93
NAGALAND	34.35	2.12	32.93	5.80	9.86	0.93	11.86	2.14
ORISSA	22.01	0.63	3.78	11.01	10.17	2.89	47.41	2.11
PUNJAB	50.47	0.66	11.09	4.10	9.80	0.86	19.94	3.07
RAJASTHAN	25.84	1.07	3.53	5.45	9.61	4.91	44.64	4.95
SIKKIM	32.72	5.13	12.34	5.05	12.18	2.21	28.28	2.11
TAMILNADU	18.80	1.10	6.53	7.50	14.57	8.49	42.01	1.01
TRIPURA	31.58	0.23	15.15	3.35	15.75	9.72	22.56	1.65
UTTAR PR	24.65	0.63	3.59	8.88	12.14	2.72	41.70	5.70
WEST BENGAL	15.63	0.52	5.07	6.06	14.48	9.22	47.07	1.94

Source: Census of India, 1991, Migration tables, D-12

Occupational Division: 1. Professional, Technical and related workers; 2. Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers; 3. Clerical and related workers; 4. Sales workers; 5. Service workers; 6. Farmers, Fisherman, Hunters, Loggers; 7-8-9. Production and related workers; 10 Occupation not classified.

ANNEX 5 TABLES ON EXTERNAL MIGRATION
Table B1: Trends in immigration from India to selected industrial countries: 1951–1990

Immigration to	1951-60	1961-70	1971-80	1981-90
United States				
From India	2,120	31,214	172,080	261,841
From all Countries	2,515,000	3,322,000	4,493,000	7,338,000
India's Share(%)	(0.1)	(0.9)	(3.8)	(3.6)
Canada				
From India	2,802	25,722	72,903	79,304
From all Countries	1,574,841	1,409,677	1,440,338	1,336,767
India's Share (%)	(0.2)	(1.8)	(5.1)	(5.9)
United Kingdom				
From India	n.a.	125,600	83,040	51,480
From all Countries	n.a.	635,000	732,900	516,870
India's Share (%)	n.a.	(19.8)	(11.3)	(10.0)

Source: Nayar, 1994

Table B2: Trends in immigration from India to selected industrialized countries: 1951–1990

Year	(Number of Persons)						
	United States	Canada	United Kingdom	Year	United States	Canada	United Kingdom
1951	109	120	n.a	1971	14,310	5,313	6,900
1952	123	226	n.a	1972	16,926	5,049	7,600
1953	104	169	n.a	1973	13,124	9,433	6,240
1954	144	208	n.a	1974	12,779	12,731	6,650
1955	194	224	n.a	1975	15,773	10,106	10,200
1956	185	254	n.a	1976	17,487	6,637	11,020
1957	196	186	n.a	1977	18,613	5,514	7,340
1958	323	325	n.a	1978	20,753	5,112	9,890
1959	351	585	n.a	1979	19,708	4,517	9,270
1960	391	505	n.a	1980	22,607	8,491	7,930
1961	421	568	n.a	1981	21,522	8,263	6,590
1962	545	529	2,900	1982	21,738	7,792	5,410
1963	1,173	737	15,500	1983	25,451	7,051	5,380
1964	634	1,154	13,000	1984	24,964	5,513	5,140
1965	582	2,241	17,100	1985	26,026	4,038	5,500
1966	2,458	2,233	16,700	1986	26,227	6,970	4,210
1967	4,642	3,966	19,100	1987	27,803	9,747	4,610
1968	4,682	3,229	23,100	1988	26,268	10,432	5,020
1969	5,963	5,395	11,000	1989	31,175	8,836	4,580
1970	10,114	5,670	7,200	1990	30,667	10,662	5,040

Source: Nayar, 1994

Table B3: Indian immigration to United States 1991–2000

Year	Number	Percentage of Indians to total Immigration
1991	45064	2.5
1992	36755	3.8
1993	40121	4.4
1994	34921	4.3
1995	34748	4.8
1996	44859	4.9
1997	38071	4.8
1998	36482	5.6
1999	30237	4.7
2000	42046	5.0

Source: www.migrationinformation.org

Table B4: Indian immigration to Canada 1990–1995

Year	Number	Percentage of Indians to total Immigration
1991	12850	5.6
1992	12675	5.1
1993	20445	7.9
1994	16637	7.7
1995	16254	7.7

Source: www.migrationinformation.org

Table B5: Indian immigration to United Kingdom 1991–2001

Year	Number	Percentage of Indians to total Immigration
1991	5680	10.5
1992	5500	10.5
1993	4890	8.8
1994	4780	8.7
1995	4860	8.8
1996	4620	7.5
1997	4645	7.9
1998	5430	7.8
1999	6295	6.5
2000	8045	6.4
2001	7280	6.8

Source: www.migrationinformation.org

Table B6: Indian immigration to Australia 1990–1999

Year	Number	Percentage of Indians to total Immigration
1990	5081	4.2
1991	5608	5.2
1992	3553	4.7
1993	2643	3.8
1994	3908	4.5
1995	3700	3.7
1996	2681	3.1
1997	2786	3.6
1998	2557	3.0
1999	4631	5.0

Table B7: Immigration from India to the United States by major occupation group: 1971–1990

Occupation Group	Number of persons (percentages)			
	1971-5	1976-9	1982-5	1986-90
Professional and Technical	31,623 (43.4)	20,586 (26.9)	15,461 (15.7)	19,160 (13.5)
Executive, Administrative and Managerial	1,503 (2.1)	3,574 (4.7)	5,059 (5.2)	8,292 (5.8)
Clerical and Administrative support	1,620 (2.2)	2,491 (3.3)	2,326 (2.6)	3,982 (2.8)
Sales	375 (0.5)	704 (0.9)	1,317 (1.3)	1,989 (1.4)
Service	800 (1.1)	788 (1.0)	2,115 (2.2)	6,453 (4.5)
Farming, Forestry and Fishing	214 (0.3)	1,311 (1.7)	2,675 (2.7)	4,646 (3.3)
Skilled Workers	1,637 (2.2)	2,512 (3.3)	2,823 (2.9)	3,583 (2.5)
Total above with occupation	37,772 (51.8)	31,966 (41.8)	31,776 (32.4)	482 (33.8)
No occupation or occupation not reported	35,140 (48.2)	44,595 (58.2)	66,403 (67.6)	94,035 (66.2)
Total Immigration	72,912 (100.0)	76,561 (100.0)	98,179 (100.0)	142,140 (100.0)

Source: Nayar, 1994.

Table B8: Immigration from India to Canada by major occupation group: 1971–1990

Occupation Group	Number of persons (percentages)			
	1971-5	1976-9	1982-5	1986-90
Professional and Technical	4,721 (11.1)	1,070 (3.5)	914 (2.8)	974 (2.1)
Entrepreneurs, Managers and Administrators	567 (1.3)	210 (0.7)	221 (0.7)	687 (1.5)
Clerical and Sales	2,337 (5.5)	800 (2.6)	484 (1.5)	774 (1.7)
Service	549 (1.3)	179 (0.6)	236 (0.7)	432 (0.9)
Farming, Horticulture and Animal Husbandry	2,063 (4.8)	454 (1.5)	1,225 (3.7)	2,208 (4.7)
Skilled Workers	5,956 (14.0)	955 (3.2)	790 (2.4)	1,899 (4.1)
Occupation not classified	1,814 (4.2)	3,694 (12.2)	6,139 (18.8)	9,430 (20.2)
Total Workers	18,007 (42.3)	7,362 (24.3)	10,009 (30.6)	16,404 (35.2)
Total Non-workers	24,625 (57.8)	22,909 (75.7)	22,648 (69.4)	30,243 (64.8)
Total Immigration	42,632 (100.0)	30,271 (100.0)	32,657 (100.0)	46,647 (100.0)

Source: Nayyar, 1994.

Table B9: Number of emigration clearances granted: 1976–2001

Year	Number
1976	4200
1977	22900
1978	69000
1979	171800
1980	268200
1981	272000
1982	224257
1983	217971
1984	198520
1985	160396
1986	109234
1987	121812
1988	165924
1989	125786
1990	143565
1991	197889
1992	416784
1993	438338
1994	425385
1995	415334
1996	414214
1997	416424
1998	355164
1999	199552
2000	243182
2001	278664

Source: Ministry of Labour, Government of India

Table B10: Number of emigration clearances granted by countries of destination: 1990–2001

Country	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Bahrain	6782	8630	16458	15622	13806	11235	16647	17944	16997	14905	15909	16382
Kuwait	1077	7044	19782	26981	24324	14439	14580	13170	22462	19149	31082	39751
Oman	34267	22333	40900	29056	25142	22338	30113	29994	20774	16101	15155	30985
Saudi Arabia	79473	130928	265180	269639	265875	256782	214068	214420	105239	27160	58722	78048
UAE	11962	15446	60493	77066	75762	79674	112644	110945	134740	79269	55099	53673
Singapore									21298	19468	18399	27886
Others	10004	13508	13971	19974	20476	30866	26162	29951	33654	23500	37816	18110
Total	143565	197889	416784	438338	425385	415334	414214	416424	355164	199552	232182	264835

Source: Ministry of Labour, Government of India

Table B11: State-wise number of emigration clearances granted

State	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Andhra Pradesh	35578	34508	30284	29995	38278	30599	18983	29999	37331
Bihar	7518	6785	5867	5816	6369	14569	5866	6726	9711
Gujarat	13742	112802	12182	11991	12792	8528	3956	5722	10924
Goa	1702	157	969	962	1024	945	543	1331	2255
Haryana	833	745	794	892	929	1692	288	52	154
Karnataka	34380	32266	33496	33761	40396	11535	5287	10927	10095
Kerala	155208	154407	65629	167325	156102	91720	60445	69630	61548
M.P.	6542	5815	4248	4141	3897	6429	904	1706	5035
Maharashtra	35248	32178	26312	25214	25146	24657	9871	13346	22713
Orissa	3528	3612	3685	3441	3511	2079	549	576	3014
Punjab	14212	12445	11852	11751	12414	26876	15167	10025	12422
Rajasthan	25243	27418	28374	18221	28242	19824	9809	10170	14993
Tamil Nadu	70313	70525	65737	64991	63672	69793	47402	63878	61649
UP	25115	22815	18932	18962	17754	33728	11789	9157	13912
West Bengal	2821	2020	2278	2377	2254	3765	1559	1940	4830
Delhi	4342	3816	3281	2892	2494	5535	3569	3165	3183
Others	2013	3071	101414	11482	1150	2890	2071	2164	7
Total	438338	425385	415334	414214	416424	355164	198058	240514	273776

Source: Ministry of Labour, Government of India

Table B12: State-wise distribution of emigration clearances granted

(in percentage)

State	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Andhra Pradesh	8.12	8.11	7.29	7.24	9.19	8.62	9.58	12.47	13.64
Bihar	1.72	1.60	1.41	1.40	1.53	4.10	2.96	2.80	3.55
Gujarat	3.14	3.01	2.93	2.89	3.07	2.40	2.00	2.38	3.99
Goa	0.39	0.04	0.23	0.23	0.25	0.27	0.27	0.55	0.82
Haryana	0.19	0.18	0.19	0.22	0.22	0.48	0.15	0.02	0.06
Karnataka	7.84	7.58	8.06	8.15	9.70	3.25	2.67	4.54	3.69
sKerala	35.41	36.30	15.80	40.40	37.49	25.82	30.52	28.95	22.48
M.P.	1.49	1.37	1.02	1.00	0.94	1.81	0.46	0.71	1.84
Maharashtra	8.04	7.56	6.34	6.09	6.04	6.94	4.98	5.55	8.30
Orissa	0.80	0.85	0.89	0.83	0.84	0.58	0.28	0.24	1.10
Punjab	3.24	2.93	2.85	2.84	2.98	7.57	7.66	4.17	4.54
Rajasthan	5.76	6.45	6.83	4.40	6.78	5.58	4.95	4.23	5.48
Tamil Nadu	16.04	16.58	15.83	15.69	15.29	19.65	23.93	26.56	22.52
UP	5.73	5.36	4.56	4.58	4.26	9.50	5.95	3.81	5.08
West Bengal	0.64	0.47	0.55	0.57	0.54	1.06	0.79	0.81	1.76
Delhi	0.99	0.90	0.79	0.70	0.60	1.56	1.80	1.32	1.16
Others	0.46	0.72	24.42	2.77	0.27	0.81	1.05	0.90	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on Table-B11

Table B13: Estimates of the Indian migrant population in the Middle East

Country	1979	1983	1987	1991	2000
Bahrain	26,000	30,000	77,000	100,000	130,000
Iraq	20,000	50,000	35,000	-	-
Kuwait	65,000	115,000	100,000	88,000	280,000
Libya	10,000	40,000	25,000	12,000	-
Oman	60,000	100,000	184,000	220,000	340,000
Qatar	30,000	40,000	50,000	75,000	120,000
Saudi Arabia	100,000	270,000	380,000	600,000	1,200,000
U.A.E.	152,000	250,000	225,000	400,000	1,000,000
Others	38,000	21,000	20,000	10,000	-
Total	501,000	916,000	1,096,000	1,505,000	3,070,000

Source: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India

Table B14: Percentage distribution of Indian migrant population in various Middle Eastern countries

Country	1979	1983	1987	1991	2000
Bahrain	5.19	3.28	7.03	6.64	4.23
Iraq	3.99	5.46	3.19	-	-
Kuwait	12.97	12.55	9.12	5.85	9.12
Libya	2.00	4.37	2.28	0.80	-
Oman	11.98	10.92	16.79	14.62	11.07
Qatar	5.99	4.37	4.56	4.98	3.91
Saudi Arabia	19.96	29.48	34.67	39.87	39.09
U.A.E.	30.34	27.29	20.53	26.58	32.57
Others	7.58	2.29	1.82	0.66	-
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on Table- B 13

Table B15: The skills composition of labour outflows from India to the Middle East, 1984–1986

Skill Category	1984		1985		1986	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1. Unskilled workers	88,575	43.0	55,710	34.2	45,577	40.1
Construction Labour	85,797	41.7	51,330	31.5	39,314	34.6
Farm labour & household workers	2,778	1.3	4,380	2.7	6,263	5.5
2. Skilled workers	86,014	41.8	86,037	52.8	53,432	47.0
Construction sector	45,882	22.3	46,318	28.4	24,485	21.5
Other activities & services	40,132	19.5	39,719	24.4	28,947	25.5
3. White-collar workers	7,477	3.6	5,753	3.5	7,351	6.5
4. High-skill workers	6,495	3.2	7,378	4.5	5,958	5.2
Paramedical staff	2,630	1.3	1,205	0.7	1,175	1.0
Technical & supervisory personnel	3,865	1.9	6,173	3.8	4,783	4.2
5. Others	17,361	8.4	8,157	5.0	1,331	1.2
Total	2,5,922	100.0	163,35	100.0	113,649	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, Government of India

Table B16: Occupational distribution of Indian emigrants in U.A.E.

Category	Percent
Professional/Technical and Related Workers	20.78
Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	5.72
Clerical and Related Workers	14.76
Sales	13.25
Service	9.04
Farmers, Fishermen and Related Workers	0.6
Production and Related Workers, Transport	
Equipment Operators and Related Workers	35.84
Total	100.00

Source: Zachariah et.al, 2002

Table B17: Private transfer payments 1951/52–1970/71

(Annual averages, in Rs. million)

Years	Private Transfer Payment
1951/52-55/56	400
1956/57-60/61	400
1961/62-65/66	408.0
1966/67-70/71	1137.0

Source: Nayyar, 1994

Table B18: Private transfer payments 1970–1 and 1989–90

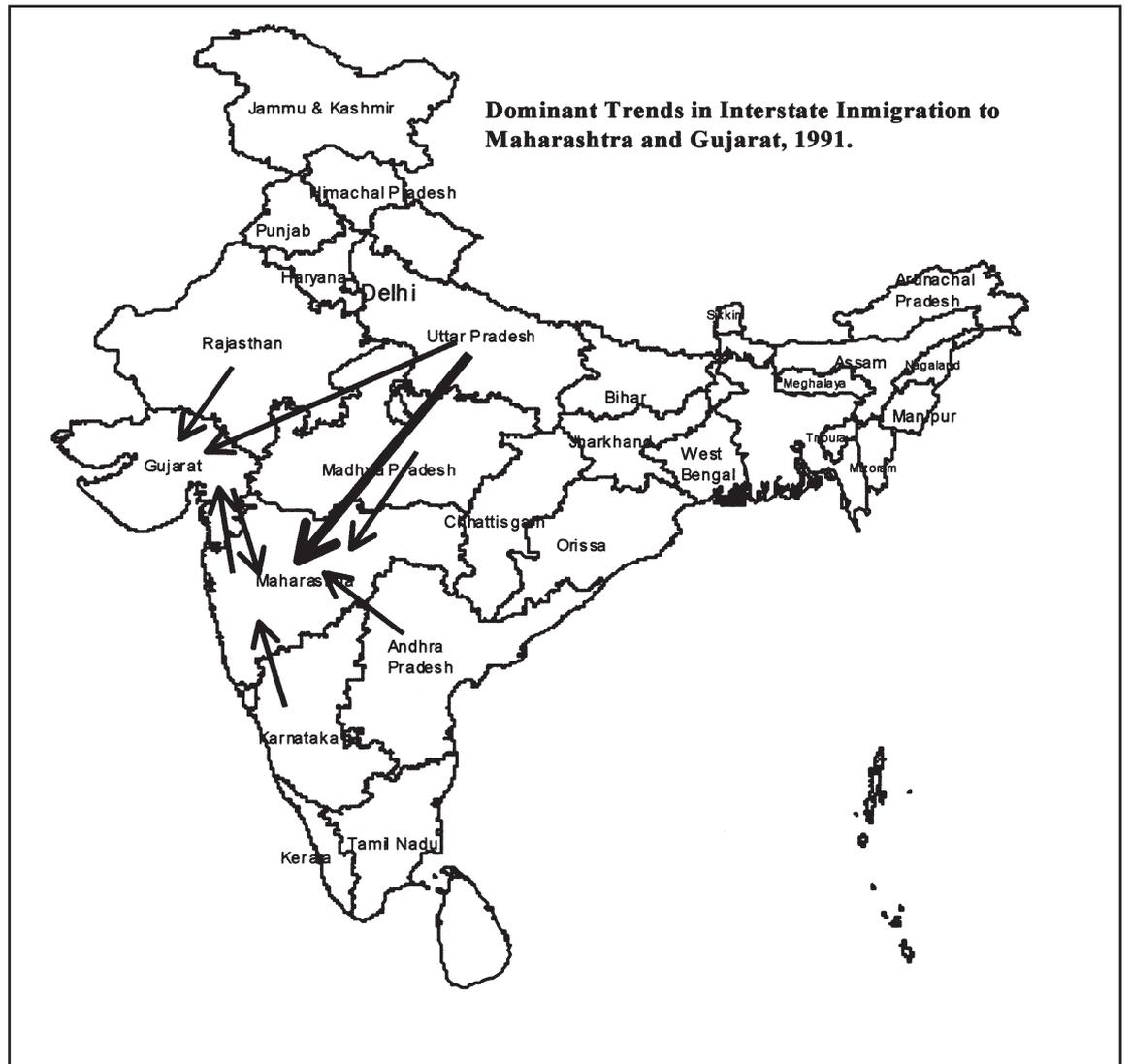
Year	in Rs. million	Year	in Rs. million
1970-1	1364	1980-1	22687
1971-2	1745	1981-2	22370
1972-3	1653	1982-3	25410
1973-4	2033	1983-4	27850
1974-5	2799	1984-5	31162
1975-6	5412	1985-6	28354
1976-7	7457	1986-7	29906
1977-8	10923	1987-8	35327
1978-9	10592	1988-9	38654
1979-80	16320	1989-90	38239
		1990-1	37367

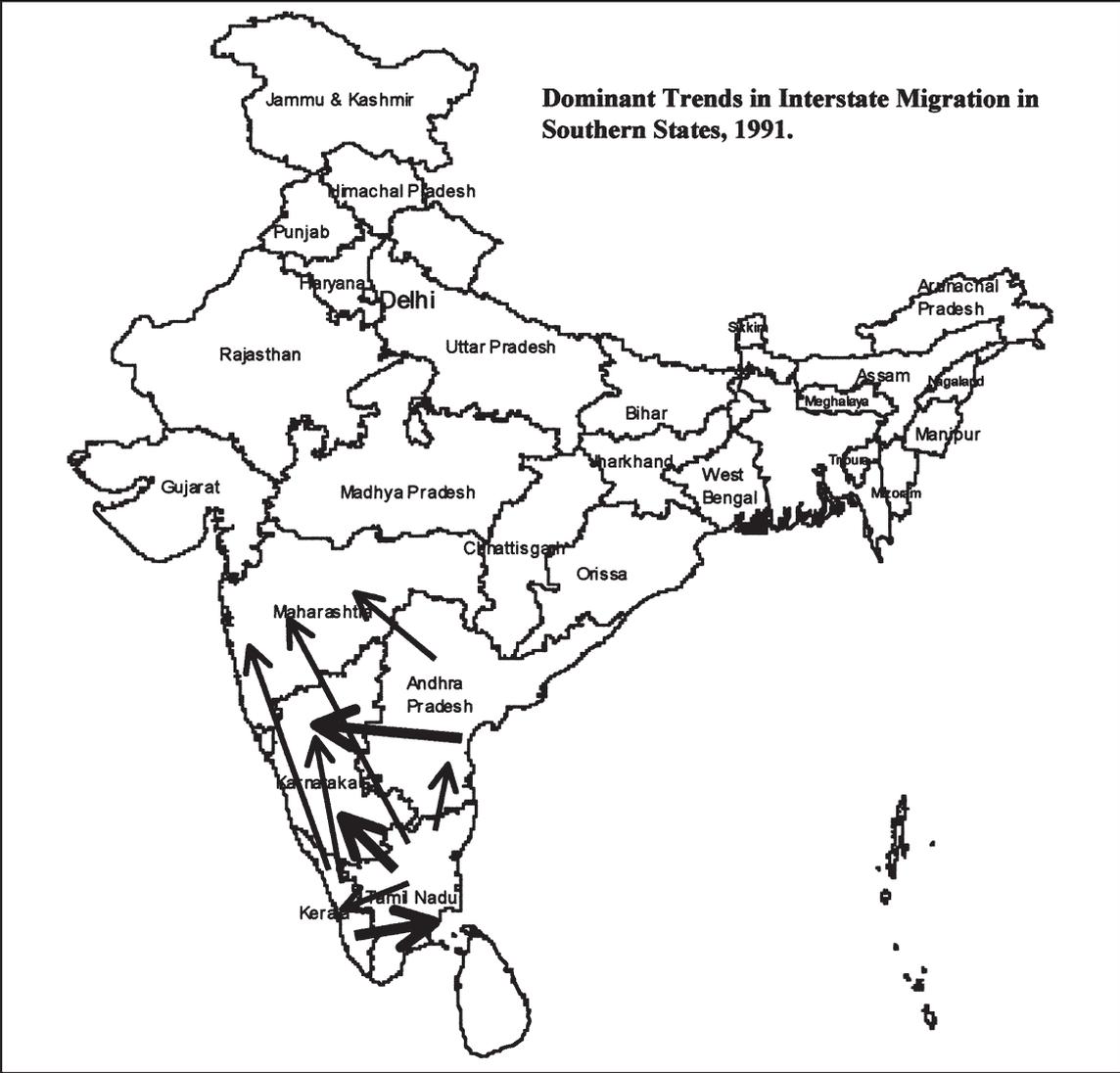
Source: Nayyar, 1994

Table B19: Private transfer payments 1990-91–2000-01

Year	In Rs.(million)
1991-2	94189
1992-3	112608
1993-4	165821
1994-5	254742
1995-6	287684
1996-7	442083
1997-8	439293
1998-9	434940
1999-2000	532800
2000-2001	587560

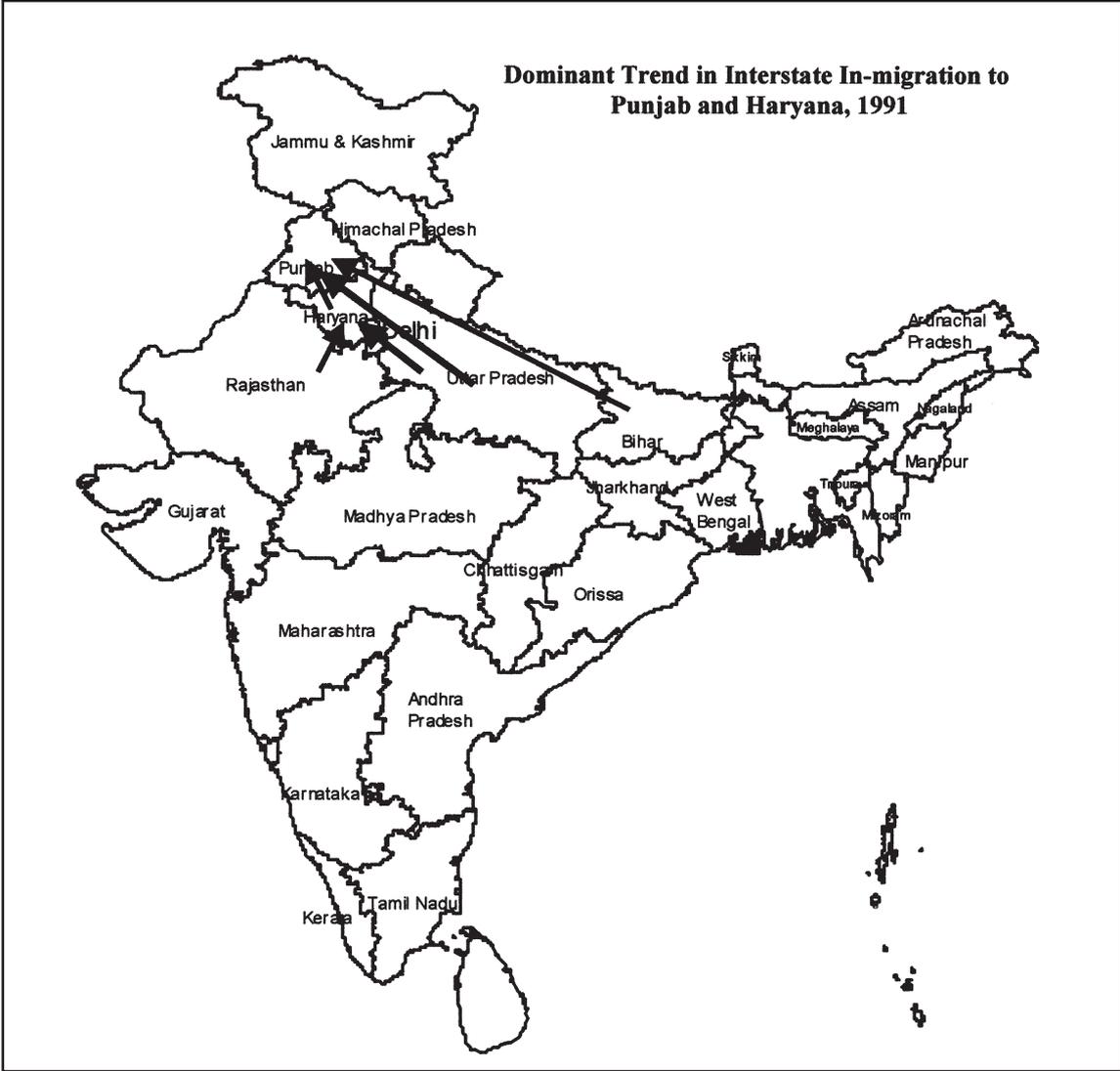
Source: Report on Currency and Finance, RBI (various years)







Dominant Trend in Interstate In-migration to Punjab and Haryana, 1991



A Note on the Stakeholder Workshop on Internal Migration

February 7, 2003

A stakeholders' workshop on internal migration was organised by ASREP in Delhi on February 7, in order to share perspectives and experiences in dealing with internal migration. The workshop was attended by 20-25 persons which, besides the senior author of this paper and his research support staff, included representatives from DFID New Delhi, ASREP, Gramin Vikas Trust and representatives of the organisations implementing the Western India Rain-Fed Farming Project in selected districts of MP, Gujarat and Rajasthan, representatives of the Eastern India Rain-Fed Farming Project (EIRFFP), the Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project (APRLP), the Orissa Rural Livelihoods Project, and the District Collector of Bolangir District in Orissa.

Presentations on the analysis of migration, policy perspectives and evaluation of experiences were made by the senior author of this paper and by the teams from GVT, IFFDC, EIRFFP, APRLP, ORLP and the Bolangir administration. The above organisations were working with a great deal of seasonal migration and migration was always a significant component of the livelihood strategy of the poor. For various reasons, migration was associated with high costs and low returns.

Both GVT and IFFDC had developed multi-pronged strategies in their respective areas of work to reduce the costs of migration and to increase the returns from it. The strategies were being implemented in a number of villages in the WIRFFP. The Bolangir experience was quite different and the strategy there was led by the dynamic District Collector. The main elements of the strategy were a stricter implementation of the labour laws, especially the Inter-state Migrant Workers Act, and the formation of labour societies to improve the bargaining power of labourers and to provide employment to them, and eliminating leakages.

In the last session of the workshop, there was a long discussion on policy imperatives. A policy and intervention matrix presented by this author was discussed in detail and participants responded to the various elements in it with their own suggestions.

The evidence discussed in the workshop, analysis of experiences of the governmental/non-governmental organisations, and the policy perceptions were very useful and have been incorporated at various places in Section 3 of this paper.

List of Workshop Presentations

APRLP: "Brief Note on Study on Migration Opportunities and Livelihood Concerns in A.P."

Gramin Vikas Trust (EIRFFP): "Migration in the EIRFFP".

Gramin Vikas Trust (WIRFFP): "Migration and intervention strategies in the WIRFFP".

Orissa RLP and Collector, Bolangir: "Migrations, Evidence and Strategies of interventions".

Samal, Chandan: "Study on Migration concerns and opportunities in Andhra Pradesh".

Srivastava, Ravi: "A Migration Policy cum Intervention Matrix".

Tewari, G.P. "Internal Migration Pattern of Tribal Community: IFFDC's Experiences in western India Rain-Fed Farming Project".

ANNEX 8 NGOS INVOLVED IN HIV/AIDS PROGRAMMES FOR MIGRANT WORKERS

NGOS SERVING MIGRANT WORKERS ON HIV		
NAME OF NGO	STATE	TARGET GROUP
Organization for Tribal Development (Helpline), Bathu Basti, Glenchamme	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Migrant Labourers
Arunachal Pradesh Welfare Society, Itanagar	Arunachal Pradesh	Migrant Labourers
NESPYM	Assam	Transport Workers
Rural Multimedia Publicity and Promotion	Assam	Migrant Labour
Association for Socio-Cultural & Environmental Development	Assam	Migrant Labour
Jan Shikshan Sansthan SCO 313, 1st Floor, Sector 38-D, Changarh	Chandigarh	Migrant Population of Colony No. 4
Family Planning Association of India (Mohali Branch) Kothi No. 637, Phase -2, Mohali	Chandigarh	Commercial Sex Workers, Intravenous Drug Users and Migrant Population
Krithialaya, 1A, Thiru-Vi- Ka Street, Korattur, Chennai-80	Chennai	Slum Dwelling Migrants
DISHA13/88, Block, C-4/B, Flat No 88	Delhi	Migrants
Society for Services to Voluntary Agencies, 1st Floor, Community Centre (Near Fire Station), Hari Nagar Asharam	Delhi	Migrants
Child Survival India 33C-Z-1, Dilshad Garden	Delhi	Migrants
Jan Ugahi	Goa	Migrant Labourers
Sarvodaya Mahila Udyog Mandal Opp. G.E.B. Okha Port-361350 Dist. Jamnagar	Gujurat	Migrant Fishermen
Shroff Foundation AT&PO Kalali Tal & Distt. Vadodara – 390012	Gujurat	Ind./Migrant Workers
Bhavnagar Blood Bank "Alang House", Diamond Chowk Bhavnagar - 364001	Gujurat	Ind./Migrant Workers
Deepak Charitable Trust, 9-10, Kunj Society, Alkapuri Baroda	Gujurat	Ind./Migrant Workers
Sahas 33/34, Meghani Towers Old Capital Cinema, Station Road, Surat - 395003	Gujurat	Ind./Migrant Workers
Trust for Reaching the Unreached	Gujurat	Migrants
SNS Foundation, # 88-89, I.D.C. Mehrauli Road, Gurgaon - 122001	Haryana	Migrant Workers
Surya Foundation, # 3139, Sector 28 D, Chandigarh	Haryana	Migrant Workers
SAWERA, A-298, Prashant Vihar, Near Rohini, New Delhi	Haryana	Migrant Workers
Dhauladhar Public Education Society (DPES), P.O. Yol Cantt., Distt. Kangra-176052	Himachal Pradesh	TI for migrant workers of slate mines
DEEDS, No.5/1, 6th Main, S.K. Garden, Bangalore-46. Bangalore	Karnataka	Migrant Labours
Suraksha, No.76, 2nd Stage, Gruhalakshmi Lalyout, Kamalanagar, Bangalore-79	Karnataka	Migrants
Citizen Alliance for Rural Development & Training Society (CARDTS), No.13, Lakshmi Nivas, Mariyanna Layout, Sultan -Palya, B'lore-32	Karnataka	Migrants
Grama Swaraj Samsthe (GSS) B-318, Shetty Layout, Ullalu Upanagar, Bangalore-56	Karnataka	Migrants Workers
Prajna Counselling Centre, Falnir Road, Kankandi, Mangalore	Karnataka	TI among Migrant Workers
HILDA, PB.No.9, Mysore Road, Sultan Bathery, Wayanad - 92	Kerala	Tribal, Migrant labourers, Truck Drivers, Estate workers
Institute of Applied Dermatology (IAD) MP Commercial Complex, Room No. 3/131-1C, Bhandari Road, Kasargode	Kerala	Sex Workers MSMs, Street Children & Migrants
Solidarity Movement of India, Kanjikuzhy P.O. Idukki - 685602 dwellers	Kerala	Tribals, Migrant labourers, Slum
Kerala Association for KASWW Kollam Social and Women's Welfare (KASWW), CSWs Mupparayil Building, Vellayittambalam, Kollam	Kerala	Slum Dwellers, Migrant Labourers,
Naranganam Rural Development Society, Naranganam West, Pathanamthitta Distt.-689642	Kerala	CSWs and Migrant Labourers
Ranbaxy Clear, Bilaspur	Madhya Pradesh	Migrant Labourers & Truckers
Padki Education Society, Ichalkarangi	Madhya Pradesh	Mine Workers/Migrant Labour
Nandkishore Education Society, Nasik	Maharashtra	Migrants
CASP, Pen (Raigad)	Maharashtra	Migrants
AIDS Prevention Society, Shillong	Meghalaya	Migrants
Jagruiti Kendra (Extension) Centre, C/o St. Jude's Church, Jerimeri, Mohili Village, M.V.Road, Mumbai - 400072	Mumbai	Migrant Labourers
Nagari Seva Prabodhini: C/o Maharashtra State Government Employees, Confederation, M/6, Mantralaya, Mumbai-32	Mumbai	Migrant Labourers
South Orissa Voluntary Action, Atpujariput, P.O. District-Koraput, Orissa	Orissa	Migrant Labours
Indo-National Socio-Economic Foundation (INSEF), 77-C, Bramheswar - 751002, Orissa	Orissa	Migrant Labours
National Institute of Applied Human Research and Development, Kalyani Nagar, Cuttack-753013, Orissa	Orissa	Migrant Labours

continued on next page

NGOS SERVING MIGRANT WORKERS ON HIV (continued)

NAME OF NGO	STATE	TARGET GROUP
Orissa Institute of Medical Research and Health Services, Friends Colony, Brajakabati Road, Cuttack-753001, Orissa	Orissa	Migrant Labours
Society for Service to Vol. Agencies	Punjab	Migrant Labours
GDC Rural Research Foundation, RIICO, Gem Stone Park, Tank Road, Jaipur-302011	Rajasthan	Out Migrants
FPAI (Family Planning Association of India) 2-CHS-15, Jawaher Nagar, Jaipur	Rajasthan	In Migrants
Rajasthan Medical Society and Research Centre, Mahaveer Nagar, Sumerpur Pall	Rajasthan	Out Migrants
Himali Club Middle Bermiok, West Sikkim	Sikkim	Migrant Labourers
Tamil Nadu Rural Environment Eco Development Org., No.14, West Car Street, Tiruparan kundram, Madurai District	Tamil Nadu	Migrant and Industrial workers Interventions
Gramodaya PB. No.6, Manaparai Post, Trichy District-6	Tamil Nadu	Migrant workers Intervention
Society for Social Education and Development (SAMUGAM), No.1047, 16th Central Cross Road, PB.No.2697, MKB Nagar, Chennai - 600039	Tamil Nadu	Intervention for Migrant and Sex Workers
Human Uplift Trust (HUT), Sri Meikandar Complex, Kalpalayam Road, Manachanallur, Trichy District – 621005	Tamil Nadu	Migrant workers Intervention
Durga Women's Organization No.9, Kamatchi Josier Street, Kumbakonam, Tanjore District-1	Tamil Nadu	Migrant Workers and CSWs Intervention
Dhanam Trust, No.52, V.O.C. Nagar, Chinna Manur, Theni District-625515	Tamil Nadu	Migrant workers Intervention
Society Organized for Promotion of Rural, Tribal and Downtrodden (SOPORT), Gandhiagam, No.M/3-1, Housing Unit, Salai Road, Woriyur, Trichy-620003	Tamil Nadu	Migrant workers Intervention
Lions Club, Agartala	Tripura	Migrant Workers
Udiyaman Sangha, Agartala	Tripura	Migrant Workers
Krishak Sangha Dhalai District	Tripura	Migrants
Action Abhoynagar	Tripura	Migrants
Organization for Rural Services Belonia, South Tripura	Tripura	Migrants
Human Development & Research Institute	West Bengal	Migrant Labourers
The Calcutta Samaritan	West Bengal	CSWs Migrants
Bhoruka Public Welfare Trust	West Bengal	Migrant Workers
Matri o- Sishu Bihash Kendra	West Bengal	Migrant Zari Workers
Alakendu Bodh Niketan Residential	West Bengal	Migrant Labourers
Chittaranjan Welfare & Research Center	West Bengal	Migrant Labourers and CSWs
Narayantala Mass Communication Society	West Bengal	Migrant Labourers
Indian Institute of Training & Development	West Bengal	Migrant Labourers

Source: National AIDS Control Organization
<http://naco.nic.in/vsnaco/nacp/activity.htm>

ANNEX 9

LIST OF PERSONS/CATEGORIES OF WORKERS IN WHOSE CASE EMIGRATION CHECK IS NOT REQUIRED

Persons going in managerial capacity in Hotels, Restaurants, Tea Houses or Public Resorts, etc., possessing specialised degrees in these fields.

All gazetted government servants.

All Income-tax payers (including Agricultural Income-tax payers), assuming that they have been assessed for income tax for the past three years and have paid the appropriate sum.

All professional degree holders, such as doctors holding M.B.B.S. degrees or degrees in ayurved or homoeopathy; accredited journalists; engineers; chartered accountants; lecturers; teachers; scientists; advocates etc.

Spouses and dependent children persons in categories 2 to 4.

All persons who have been abroad for more than three years (the period of three years could be either in one stretch or broken) and spouses, and children of such persons.

All Indian seafarers who hold Indian or foreign CDCs and are in possession of an offer of employment from shipping companies in India or abroad and sea-cadets.

All holders of Diplomatic/Official Passports.

Dependent children of parents whose passports are classified as ECNR. In the case of such children, ECNR classification to be restricted till they attain 24 years of age.

Persons holding permanent immigration visas, such as UK, USA and Australia.

Persons holding diplomas or higher degrees.

Persons holding diplomas from recognised Institutions such as polytechnics.

Nurses possessing qualifications from recognised institutions such as polytechnics.

All persons over 60 years of age.

All visitors to Pakistan and Bangladesh.

All persons emigrating to any country in Europe (excluding CIS countries) North America, Australia, New Zealand or Japan.

Persons possessing certificates of vocational training from government/government-recognised institutions.

Source: Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India

ANNEX 10

LIST OF CATEGORIES OF PERSONS WHO CAN OBTAIN ECNR IF THEY POSSESS A VALID EMPLOYMENT VISA

Supervisors (all professions);

Skilled workers (all professions);

Semi-skilled workers (all professions);

Light/Medium/Heavy Vehicle Drivers;

Clerical workers of all categories including stenographers, store-keepers, time-keepers, typists, etc.; and

Cooks excluding those who seek employment in household duties as cooks

ANNEX 11

COMMON REPORT OUTLINE FOR THE INTER-COUNTRY STUDY

Maximum length: 2 page Executive Summary, 35-40 page report, plus annexes.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

2 pages

1 INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the study
Structure of the report
Methodology
Definitions of migration
1 page

2 BACKGROUND

The country
Historical development of migration (international and internal)
Indication of the importance of migration to the livelihoods of poor people and national economy.
Overview of Government departments, donor and other organisations responsible for migrants/migration (including an organogram or diagram showing how they relate to each other)
4 pages

3 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Main flows and determinants (include map identifying sending and receiving areas)
Scale (numbers, growth)
Who migrates (ethnic/gender/age/education level)
Labour markets – conditions, entitlements
Key problems faced by migrants
Remittances (documented + undocumented), transfer mechanisms and costs
Costs and returns of migration to migrants
Impacts of migration on households and home communities
Government policies and instruments (direct and indirect)
Policies and programmes of international agencies and donors
Welfare programmes
Main pro-poor organisations working to support migrants – current and potential roles (Govt., local govt., private sector, civil society, trades unions, migrant worker associations)
Key policy issues, gaps, drivers of change and recommendations
15 pages

4 INTERNAL MIGRATION

Main flows and determinants (include map identifying sending and receiving areas)
Scale (numbers, growth)
Who migrates (ethnic/gender/age/education level)
Labour markets – conditions, entitlements
Key problems faced by migrants
Remittances – (documented + undocumented),

transfer mechanisms and costs
Costs and returns of migration to migrants
Impacts of migration on households and home and receiving communities/areas
Government policies and instruments (direct and indirect)
Policies and programmes of international agencies and donors
Welfare entitlements
Main pro-poor organisations working to support migrants – current and potential roles (govt., local govt., private sector, civil society, trades unions, migrant worker associations)
Key policy issues, gaps, drivers of change and recommendations
15 pages

5 RECOMMENDED NEXT STEPS

Summary of key issues
Links between international and internal migration
Recommendations on next steps
3 pages

ANNEXES (as appropriate)

- 1 References
- 2 Statistics
- 3 Policies
- 4 Brief details on key organisations working to support migrants.
- 5 Results of the stakeholder workshop



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The Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit is an inter-disciplinary research institution based at the University of Dhaka. It specialises in refugee, migration and displacement related issues, conducting research and organising consultations with policy makers, academics, researchers, civil society activists, professional groups and civil servants to influence public opinion and policy decisions.

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