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URBAN MIGRATION TRENDS, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN INDIA

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WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INFO BOXES

THE URBAN CONTEXT:

Urbanization has been a historical process linked to the level of economic development and social transformation. Demographically, it is measured as a proportion of the population living in urban centres that evolved overtime in varying sizes. Large urban centres are recognized as engines of economic growth since economic activities, communication services, educational and health services, scientific and technological innovations are concentrated in them. Urban centres also provide vital links to the rural areas and are instrumental in rural development. On the other hand, sustainable urbanization and equity in the distribution of social and economic resources remain a great challenge globally, and more so for those countries which have been urbanizing faster. India could be categorized as a country with a low level of urbanization as officially 31 per cent of the population lived in urban areas as per 2011 Census. The estimated level of urbanization for the year 2014 was 32 per cent of the population compared to 54 per cent at the global level. The rate of India's urbanization, that is the annual per cent change in the proportion of the urban population, is higher (1.1%) than the global average (0.9%) (UN DESA, 2014). This shows that India has been urbanizing faster, like most countries in Asia and Africa, and its urban population is likely to grow from 410 million in 2014 to 814 million in 2050 with 50 per cent living in urban areas (see Figure 1). However, paradoxically, India will also be a country with the largest rural population of about 805 million by 2050 (ibid.). So, while urbanization will be faster, the rural segment will continue to be substantial for many more decades beyond the middle of the twenty first century when India is likely to achieve population stabilization.

However, it may be noted that the comparison of the level of urbanization of India, with either global average or with any country, is beset with definitional heterogeneity as there is no standard definition of urban at the global level. Thus, the definition of urban followed in a country matters in order to understand the relationship between urbanization and migration.

The criteria of urban generally comprise one or more indicators like civic status, size, density, percentage of non-agricultural workforce, urban characteristics like presence of paved roads, electricity, piped water, sewers, and availability of education and health services. India follows a definition that consists of a combination of municipal status and demographic criteria. There is a variety of municipal status in India, such as Municipal Corporation, Municipality, Municipal Council, Nagar Panchayat, Notified Area Committee and Cantonment Board. If a settlement has a municipal status, it is defined as urban. For rest of the settlements, criteria such as a population of at least 5,000, a density of 400 persons per sq. km and 75 per cent male work force in the non-agricultural sector are applied. A settlement not covered by municipal status must satisfy all three criteria to be declared as an urban centre. These prerequisites with some minor changes have been followed since 1961.

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REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

4

Background paper

Figure 1: Urban Population in India, 1961–2050
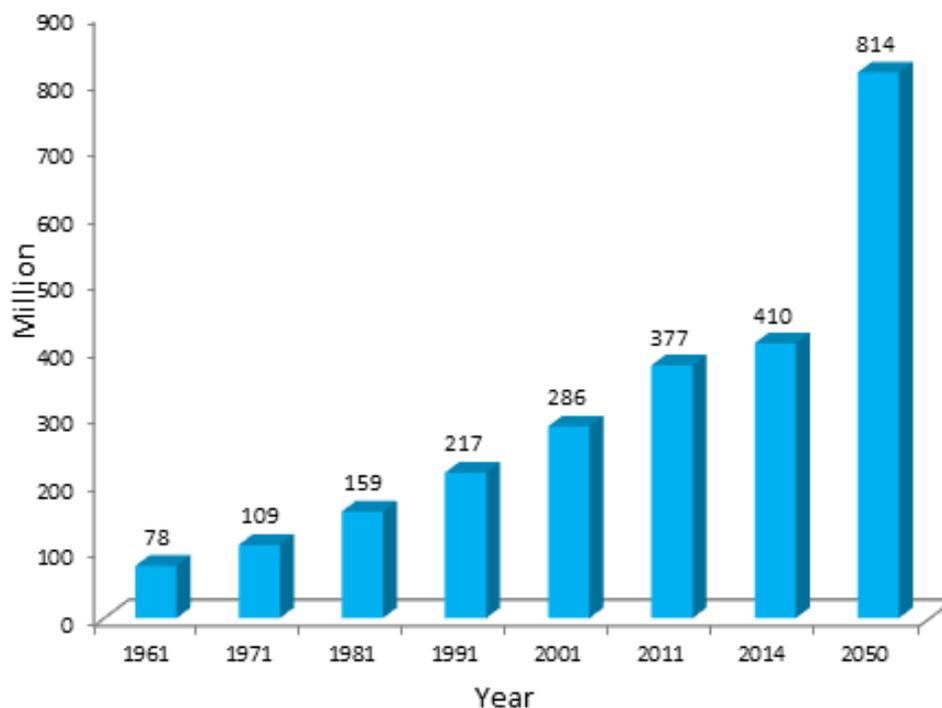
However, some discretion is applied by the census authorities, in consultation with the state government, in declaring certain places of importance as urban. As such, the level of urbanization provided by the Census of India has been disputed by some urban experts. Alternatively, on the basis of the criteria of contiguous built up areas less than 200 metres apart, as determined from satellite imagery, for settlements of 10,000 or more, some researchers have suggested revising the present urbanization level upwards by 10 percentage points (Denis, Mukhopadhyay and Zerah, 2012).

The existing literature on urbanization raises a concern that the relationship between the rate of urbanization and economic growth has been weaker in developing countries unlike in the developed world (UN DESA, 2013). This is probably due to the fact that in many developing countries the definition of urban is not linked to the non-agricultural workforce. In the context of India also, some researchers have advanced that the link between urbanization and industrialization has been weak in the past (Bose, 1965), but the empirical facts do not sustain this argument (Sovani, 1964). Moreover, since the 1961 Census, the criterion of 75 per cent non-agricultural workforce has been applied in defining urban that establishes a closer link between industrialization and urbanization in the Indian context. It is also alleged that migration is a weak force in urbanization in developing countries as urbanization has been occurring in the context of high population growth (Preston, 1982). On the other hand, the component of rural to urban migration was very strong in Western Europe in the growth of urban centres in the wake of industrialization in the eighteenth century which continued until the early twentieth century. The migration was not only internal but huge emigration occurred as well (McKeown, 2004). However, it is true that natural increase plays a very important role but, with demographic transition, the contribution of rural to urban migration

and reclassification of rural to urban areas has been significantly rising. It is also worthwhile mentioning that all three components, namely natural increase, rural to urban migration and reclassification of rural to urban areas, also affect the rural areas equally. For urbanization to occur, urban population growth rate essentially needs to be higher than the rural population growth rate. If both are growing equally, urbanization would not occur. So, in the context of high population growth countries, it is possible that there may be rapid urban population growth but no urbanization (Bose, 1965). On the other hand, most of the developing countries, including India, have been passing through fertility transition. In the case of India, fertility decline in urban areas has been faster than rural areas. In this situation, rural to urban migration and reclassification of settlements may emerge as a dominant force of urbanization. This requires an assessment of natural increase along with the components of migration and reclassification. India has adequate data on birth and death rates for rural and urban areas published separately on a yearly basis by the Registrar General of India.

As mentioned above, the definition of urban adds complexity to the nature and magnitude of urbanization and requires a careful adjustment in order to decipher the contribution of rural to urban migration. Similarly, the definition of migrants followed in official statistics of India, such as censuses and National Sample Surveys (NSS), also requires a careful evaluation in the study of migration trends, patterns and consequences. A detailed study of migration trends in general, and urbanward migration in particular, also requires an evolutionary understanding of urbanization and its association with migration as urban centres work as a strong pull factor due to the concentration of economic activities and opportunities.

EVOLUTION OF MIGRATION PATTERN:

India has a long history of migration which has shaped its social history, culture and pattern of development. In pre-colonial times, the reasons for the circulation of populations were mainly for religious and trade purposes (McNeill, 1984: 9). Migration, on account of military movements, also played an important role. People also travelled in search of pastures with their cattle. Nomadic migration, even for short distances, was an important feature outside the Gangetic valley. This practice is still found in some parts of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh located in central India and is one of the earliest forms of circulation in the history of human migration (Hutton, 1986: 61).

Urbanization is not a new phenomenon in India but was an important feature of India's ancient and medieval history. In ancient India, there were many great urban centres. For example, around 300 BC, it is estimated that *Patliputra* (the present Patna) had 270 thousand people, *Mathura* had 60 thousand, 48 thousand people lived in *Vidisha*, 40 thousand each in *Vaishali* and *Kaushambi*, and 38 thousand lived in *Ujjain* (Sharma, 2005). At the death of the Emperor Akbar, India had a population of 100 million in medieval times and Agra was perhaps one of the largest cities in the world. The Moghul emperors used to set out with an army and camp in several places during their military expeditions. This not only included soldiers but also a vast number of people who were manning the hundreds of accompanying *bazaars* (markets). Such military expeditions were themselves forming temporary cities which were constantly on the march (Nehru, 1965).

When the British came to India, the old feudal order was breaking up. The fall of the Moghul Empire produced political chaos and disorder in many parts of India. But even so, India in the eighteenth century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country, and Indian hand-looms were supplying

WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

6

Background paper

the markets of Asia and Europe (ibid.). However, in the face of machine-made garments produced in the mills of Lancashire and Manchester in Britain, the Indian fabric (both silk and cotton) and allied industries (carding, dying and printing) could not survive. The British also imposed transit duties (*octri*) in the internal movement of goods within India. This further crippled the Indian hand-based Industries. A vast number of Indian weavers and artisans became jobless and unemployed. India experienced a massive deindustrialization between 1757 and 1857 when the East India Company of Britain ruled the country. Most of the weavers and artisans lived in towns and cities. As a consequence of deindustrialization, a large number of the artisan class and their dependent families migrated to the countryside. Thus, India during the second half of the eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth century experienced urban to rural migration unlike many European countries that underwent massive rural to urban migration during the same time. As a result, cities and towns declined and languished and people became more dependent on agriculture (Nehru, 1965: 433). The economic hardship and economic disturbances were other important reasons for the migration of people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. However, there are indications that mobility from the countryside to town was limited through the operation of guild or guild-like restrictions on employment in urban trades. Furthermore, the structure of production and consumption patterns that guided urban output placed a major barrier to the growth of a rural-urban migratory process on account of the limited access to unskilled and casual labourers (Commander, 1989).

After the great mutiny of soldiers in 1857, the British Government took direct charge of India. In the post-1857 period, the development of plantation agriculture, including tea, rubber, jute, cotton, indigo, and mining and quarrying was an important factor of internal migration. The two areas of plantation agriculture that emerged – namely Assam in the north-east and Travancore and Mysore in south India – were dependent on migrant labour. The labour was indenture in nature. The migrants were generally placed under a five-year indenture containing penal provisions for breach of the agreement. Since plantations were located in the remote wilderness with very little communication with the rest of India, the workers were virtual prisoners for the duration of their contact. On the other hand, growth of plantation agriculture and mining and quarrying led to the development of railways and ports, which established trade relations with the colonies of the British Empire and with Great Britain. This reorganized the space relations, pattern of migration and circulation which was mostly directed towards new foci in western, southern and eastern India. Ports like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were established. These new cities did not exist in ancient or medieval times but came to exert a great influence on the pattern of circulation and migration in the Indian sub-continent in colonial and post-colonial India. However, only with the beginning of the census in the late nineteenth century was it possible to study the trend and pattern of migration in definite terms.

NATURE OF MIGRATION DATA:

Data on migration have been available in India from the beginning of the Imperial Census in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first synchronous census was conducted in 1881. Definitive information on migration based on place of birth (POB) only became available in the 1881 Census and has continued in all censuses conducted to date. However, the POB data on migration provides only lifetime migration. As it is not known to which migration move it refers and when it occurred, it has a limited use in the study of migration patterns and its characteristics. POB migration data, however, does not cover return migration. Realizing the limitation of POB data on migration, the Census of India has since 1971 also provided migration data on the basis of place of last residence (POLR). The POLR data is also classified by

duration of residence at the place of enumeration. Unlike POB, which provides information on lifetime migration, POLR gives information on the last move of migrants and also captures return migration. As per census procedure, if the POB/POLR is different from the place of enumeration (POE), the person is classified as migrant. Villages and towns, whose boundaries are administratively defined, are the lowest units for determining POB/POLR. Villages are defined as revenue villages which comprise areas occupying human habitation as well as areas of other land uses. It is also possible that some revenue villages may be uninhabited. Any change of residence beyond the village or town/city boundary qualifies a person to be classified as a migrant. At town level, migration data are not available for all urban centres but mostly for cities having a population of more than a 100,000. However, it is important to mention that migration data, while not available for administrative towns/cities, exist at the urban agglomeration (UA) level. An urban agglomeration is a continuous urban area consisting of a town or city and its adjoining outgrowths (OGs), or two or more physically contiguous towns/cities with or without their adjacent outgrowths. As POLR and POE are classified by rural and urban areas, it is possible from census data to study the various streams of migration such as rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural. It should be noted that, while the rural-urban status of POE is classified based on the urban definition followed, the rural and urban status of POLR is collected at the household level during census enumeration. As a result a certain number of rural and urban migrants are unclassifiable (13% of urban migrants are unclassifiable in the 2001 census) in the streams of migration. Further data on migration are provided, for instance, a change in residence elsewhere in the district (intra-district); from one district to another within the state (inter-district); from one state to another (interstate), and from another country. The duration of migration is also available through POLR criterion which provides duration of stay at the present place since the last move of the migrant. Such data in censuses appear to be badly affected as the unstated duration has kept on rising particularly that relating to males. About one-fifth of urban male migrants did not report duration in the 2001 Census.

Districts are the lowest unit for which migration data are available. There were 593 districts in the 2001 census which increased to 640 in the 2011 census. Migration data from 2011 has not yet been published by the Census of India. An increase in the number of districts could greatly affect intra-district and inter-district migration data and it is, therefore, advisable to compare the within and the between states migration which largely remains unaffected by the number of districts. In censuses, immigrants are also enumerated but the Indian census, being de facto, does not provide information on the emigration of Indians. It is, consequently, not possible to study net international migration from census data though net interstate migration in India can be examined. Since the 1981 census, the reasons for migration have been added to the census schedule. Apart from the census, the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) — a wing of the Ministry of Planning and Programme Implementation — also now includes a question on migration based on POLR in its employment and unemployment surveys. In NSSO surveys, the POLR is defined as a place (village or town) where the migrant has stayed continuously for a period of six months or more before moving to the place of enumeration. In contrast, censuses do not limit the duration of residence in defining the POLR. In both censuses and NSSO, there is no limit of duration at the POE to qualify as a migrant. Migrants are identified as such if the POLR is different from the POE. The 55th Round conducted in 1999–2000 and the 64th Round held in 2007–08 also provided information on migration by Monthly Per capita Consumer Expenditure (MPCE) in addition to other household characteristics.

In this background paper, both Census and NSSO data have been used. In most of the demographic studies, migration is analysed in terms of stocks which denotes that the study is concerned with the number of migrants. On the other hand, a migrant might be making many moves in his or her life cycle but national datasets like Census and NSSO surveys are not able to capture all these moves but provide data only on the last move based on POLR. All those who move within the village and municipal boundaries are not considered migrants. In some cases, where municipal areas are very large, intra-urban migration could be significant.

It is alleged that Census and NSSO data are not able to fully capture the 'short-term migrants' on the basis of POB and POLR criteria as short-term migration is seasonal, temporary and circular in nature. NSSO has tried to capture short-term/temporary migrants using a different question. For example, in the 64th Round (2007–08), each household was asked whether any member had gone away for employment purposes for more than one month but less than six months during the previous year. The same definition was also employed in the 55th Round (1999–2000) except that duration was for more than two months (NSSO, 2010). The Census and NSSO data are enormously helpful in the study of migration, reflecting changes in the Indian economy and society.

URBAN MIGRATION TRENDS:

Kingsley Davis (1951) in his pioneer work on India argued that Indians were less mobile. This conclusion was based on inter-provincial/state migration which stood at 3.6 per cent in India in 1931 compared to 23 per cent in the United States in 1940. Davis attributed this fact to the prevalence of the caste system, joint families, traditional values, the diversity of language and culture, the lack of education and the predominance of agriculture and semi-feudal land relations in India. However, the fact remains that Indian migration is predominantly a 'within state' phenomenon. According to the 2001 Census – the latest data available on migration as the 2011 Census is yet to be published – shows inter-state migration based on POLR is only about 4 per cent (41 million) of India's population compared to 26 per cent within state migration (268 million) (Bhagat, 2010). Thus, taking into account the entire mobility including within and between state migrations, the mobility of Indian population stands close to 30 per cent – much higher than what Davis believed. It is also startling to see that about 30 per cent of India's population is internally mobile, a figure which has remained remarkably stable over the last several decades and is also consistent with NSS data. The 1971 Census shows 29 per cent internal mobility compared to 30 per cent in 2001 and the latest available NSS data for the year 2007–08 shows about 29 per cent of India's population are internally mobile.

India is a federal country. At the time of the 2011 Census, it comprised 28 states and 7 union territories. A new state of *Telangana* was created in 2014 from the state of Andhra Pradesh increasing the number to 29. At the state level, there is a marked variation in the level of urbanization. States like Bihar, Assam and Himachal Pradesh are at the bottom of the ranking where the urbanization level is less than 15 per cent compared to the states of Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Maharashtra and Gujarat where the urbanization level, ranging from 37 per cent in Punjab to 48 per cent in Tamil Nadu, is much higher than the national average. These highly urbanized states show a higher level of per capita income and also a higher level of in-migration (ibid.). The National Capital Territory of Delhi is another important state and stands out

alone with huge in-migration. The megacity of Delhi along with Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai (Madras), which emerged as port cities during the colonial rule, shaped the regional pattern of urbanization and the flow of migration. Any understanding of the trend and pattern of migration in India is basically rooted in the emerging pattern of urbanization and the urban system that evolved during the colonial rule and was reinforced in independent India (Raza and Habeeb, 1976; Bhagat, 2012a).

Table 1 shows that about 35 per cent of India's urban population is constituted of migrants according to latest NSS Survey 2007–08. In addition, the census gives a higher proportion of migrants than the NSS surveys due to the difference in defining the POLR as mentioned earlier.

Table 1: Trend in Migration Rates in Urban Areas, 1981–2008 (migrants per 100 persons)

Census/NSS Years	Census			NSS		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
1981–1983	33.2	40.8	36.8	27.0	36.6	31.6
1991–1993	26.3	36.2	31.0	23.9	38.2	30.7
2001–2000	32.0	39.4	35.5	25.7	41.8	33.4
NA/2008	NA	NA	NA	25.9	45.6	35.4

Source: Census of India 1981 to 2001. NSS figures are taken from NSSO, 2010: 23.
Note: Migration rates exclude Assam for 1981 and Jammu and Kashmir for 1991 where the census was not conducted.

There was a decline in the rate of migration to urban areas between the Census/NSS years of 1981–1983 and 1991–1993[1]. India suffered from an economic crisis and also a serious balance of payment difficulty associated with declining investment, rising inflation and growing unemployment during this period. In order to overcome the economic crisis, India initiated economic reforms in 1991 with a new economic policy aimed at promoting liberalization and globalization of the Indian economy. The economic reforms aimed at loosening the control of the Government and encouraged entrepreneurs to participate actively in the process of economic development. This led to the emergence of India's growth story resulting in the rise in GDP at the rate of 8 per cent per annum during 2000s (Ahluwalia, 2011). There was an increase in the rate of migration in urban areas after the Census/NSS year 1991–1993 as revealed by both the census data of 2001 and the NSS year 2000. The increase is also supported by the latest publication from NSSO for the year 2007–08 (see Table 1). Increase in migration was evident both for males and females but it was larger in the case of females. It appears that the feminization of urban migration has become a definite trend in India in recent times. On the other hand, in the rural areas, male migration shows a decline though female migration has risen. Thus feminization of migration is evident in both rural and urban areas. As recent census data on migration from the 2011 Census are not available, this paper mostly relies on NSSO data in subsequent tables and, whenever necessary, results are compared with census data.

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1 Some demographers are of the opinion that the quality of the 1991 Census was affected due to political turmoil in several parts of the country during 1991 (Srinivasan, 1994).

WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

10

Background paper

Table 2: Distribution of Migrants in India by Streams of Migration (percentage)

Streams	Male			Female		
	2001 Census	1999–2000 NSSO	2007–2008 NSSO	2001 Census	1999–2000 NSSO	2007–2008 NSSO
Rural to Rural	36.3	32.3	27.1	72.4	70.3	70.0
Rural to Urban	34.2	34.3	39.0	13.5	14.4	14.8
Urban to Rural	6.2	10.7	8.9	4.1	5.2	4.9
Urban to Urban	23.0	22.6	24.8	9.9	10.1	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of India 2001; NSSO, 2010.
Note: Rural-urban unclassifiable is excluded.

Migration streams by rural and urban origins are important dimensions of migration trend and patterns. It will be worthwhile examining the trend in migration by various streams and also the categories that reflect upon short and long distance migration. As mentioned earlier, migration data by rural and urban status is available and also by administrative locations such as intra-district, inter-district and inter-state. Intra-district and inter-district may be considered as short distance whereas inter-state migration may be treated as long distance migration. However, in many cases, the destination district in respect of inter-state migration is very close to the state boundaries. As migration data by distance is not available, these proxies are likely to throw some light on the nature of movement which may be characterized as relatively proximate and distant. Table 2 shows the composition of migration streams by sex. It may be seen from the table that the rural to urban stream has the largest proportion of male migrants (39% in 2007–08) followed by the rural to rural stream (27%). Amongst females, rural to rural migration is the dominant form of migration followed by rural to urban. However, between 2000 and 2007, the percentage of female migrants across different streams has not changed that much. In other words, it indicates that the female migration was more or less in equal intensity across all streams of migration, whereas this is not the case with male migration. Though rural to rural male migration has definitely declined, rural to urban has significantly risen in recent years with some increase in urban to urban male migration. It would be also interesting to examine how migration differs across different administrative jurisdictions. Both the Census and NSSO provide data on migration for intra-district, inter-district and inter-state levels.
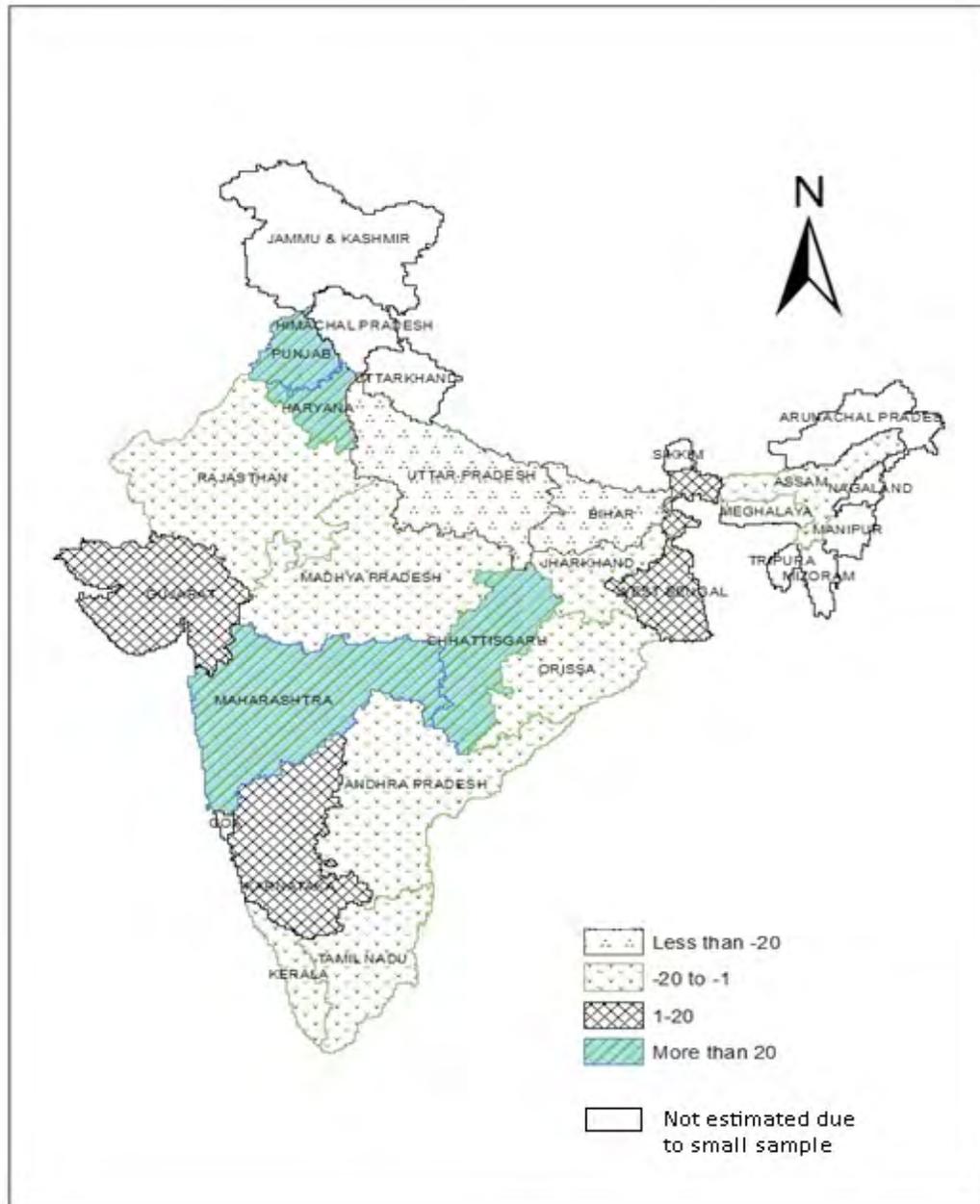
Table 3: Migration by Streams and Administrative Locations (percentage)

Migration Streams	Intra-district	Inter-district	Inter-state	All
Census 2001	**62.5**	**24.1**	**13.2**	**100**
NSS 1999–2000				
Rural to Rural	75.3	20.1	4.6	100
Rural to Urban	43.8	36.5	19.6	100
Urban to Urban	46.5	33.5	20.0	100
Urban to Rural	36.6	43.5	19.9	100
Total	**56.1**	**30.0**	**13.9**	**100**
NSS 2007–08				
Rural to Rural	72.4	23.2	4.4	100
Rural to Urban	41.2	33.6	25.2	100
Urban to Urban	48.8	33.8	17.5	100
Urban to Rural	27.9	49.2	22.9	100
Total	**53.3**	**32.0**	**14.7**	**100**

Source: Census of India 2001, Table D2; NSSO, 2001, 2010.

As Table 3 shows, the intra-district movement was about 53 per cent in 2007–08 and, though the largest share, it is a declining trend. However, inter-district and inter-state migration has risen. Of those who moved across states, one quarter moved from rural to urban and one fifth moved from urban to rural areas. Urban to urban migration is also substantial (approximately 18% in 2007–08), while rural to rural migration between states is almost negligible (about 4% in 2007–08). It is worthwhile emphasizing that internal migration in India is predominantly a 'within state' phenomenon as only around 15 per cent of migrants moved from one state to another. As far as immigration is concerned, its share is less than 1 per cent among all migrants (NSSO, 2010). The latest figures from the National Sample Survey for 2007–08 show that the states which receive a large number of migrants are Maharashtra, Haryana, Punjab, Gujarat and Karnataka. On the other hand, among outmigration states, Bihar tops the list followed by Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand and Orissa (ibid.). Inter-state migration is presented in Figure 2.

Background paper

WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

12

Figure 2: Net Inter-State Migration in India, 2007–2008

Source: R.B. Bhagat, forthcoming.

While inter-state migration comprises just 14 per cent of all migrants for the combined rural and urban areas and for both sexes, its disaggregation shows some contrasting results. For example, among males migrating to urban areas, it is as high as one third and for females about one fifth in 2007–2008 (see Table 4).

Table 4: Migration by Administrative Locations in Rural and Urban Areas (percentage)

Type by Location	Migrated in Rural Areas		Migrated in Urban Areas	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
NSSO 1999–2000				
Intra-district	59.7	74.6	34.5	45.1
Inter-district	25.4	20.7	40.3	38.6
Inter-state	14.7	4.6	25.0	16.2
NSSO 2007–08				
Intra-district	55.6	72.1	27.9	40.6
Inter-district	27.9	23.5	38.9	40.4
Inter-state	16.4	4.2	33.0	18.9

Source: NSSO, 2001, 2010.

The available evidence above indicates that migration in India has increased during the two NSSO Surveys of 1999–2000 and 2007–08. This is mainly due to female migration, but among both males and females inter-state migration to urban areas has increased. Furthermore, the decline in male migration observed during the Census and NSS Survey years of 1981–1983 and 1991–93 was reversed. However, the decline or increase in migration rates depends upon the base year that is taken into account. For example, Kundu (2011) observed that the migration rate, especially for male migration, has been in decline since the 1961 Census (ibid.; Kundu and Saraswati, 2012). However, it is to be noted that there is no secular decline but male migration to urban areas manifested an ebb and flow pattern – characteristic of male migration in response to economic crisis or opportunities. Kundu further tried to show that adult male migration in the 15–59 age-group to urban areas declined from the 32 per cent recorded in the 1999–2000 NSSO Survey to 31.4 per cent in the 2007–08 Survey (Kundu and Saraswati, 2012). However, this rate excludes the migration of children and the elderly who also form part of the workforce. According to the 2011 Census, there was a total of 2.6 million workers in the 5–14 age group and 8.6 million workers in the over 60s age group. It is also inappropriate to exclude female migrants whose number not only shows an increasing trend in urban areas but also constitutes 20 per cent of the urban migrant workforce as per available data in the Census. Moreover, migration rates are affected by the changing size of the denominator (age 15–59) as a result of the age-structural transition of population evident in the rising percentage of the 15–59 age group – a potential indicator of demographic dividend. For example, the proportion of the population in the 15–59 age group in India increased from 55 per cent in 1991 to about 57 per cent in 2001 and to 60 per cent as revealed in the 2011 Census. In view of the age-structural transition, the decline of one percentage point in adult male migration rate in urban areas seems partly to be a statistical artefact and partly the result of low growth in employment (Bhagat, forthcoming). In addition, the Census and NSSO data based on POLR, which measures residential migration of permanent and semi-permanent nature[2], are not able to capture temporary and seasonal migrants who constitute 1.3 per cent of India's population. Rural to urban migration is the dominant form of short-term migration (Keshri and Bhagat, 2012).

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2   Permanent and semi-permanent migration means migrants who changed their usual place of residence.

WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

14

Background paper

The NSS 64th Round 2007–08 defined short-term migrants as those people who were away from their village or town for 30 days or more, but for not more than six months in the preceding 365 days, for the purpose of employment or search for employment. They were enumerated at their place of origin and considered as not having changed their POLR. The number of short-term migrants was around 14 million in 2007–08. It is also important to note that commuting as a form of spatial mobility providing an alternative to residential migration is a result of improved transportation between rural and urban areas. Chandrasekhar (2011) estimated that a total of about 32 million individuals live in households where one or more members commute for work from rural to urban areas compared to 15 million commuting from urban to rural areas. Migration to urban areas is, therefore, not only the product of opportunities and constraints in the urban centres but is also influenced by alternative forms of spatial mobility emanating from urban transition.

CONTRIBUTION OF MIGRATION TO URBAN GROWTH:

While rural to urban migration adds to urban population, the counter stream of urban to rural depletes the urban population. Similarly, in the reclassification of rural to urban areas, while some villages are reclassified as towns, some existing towns may be declassified in the absence of fulfilling urban criteria. The net rural to urban classification is therefore the real contributor to urban population growth. Previous studies have made attempts to estimate the contribution of all three components, namely natural increase in urban areas, net rural to urban migration and net rural-urban classification of and boundary changes of urban centres (Bhagat, 2012a). Figure 3 shows that the percentage of net rural to urban migration increased during the 1990s compared to the 1980s. However, it remained at the same level during the 1990s and 2000s. On the other hand, the proportion of net rural to urban migration, together with net rural to urban classification and boundary changes, rose from 38 per cent during the 1980s to 42 per cent in the 1990s and to 56 per cent during the 2000s. This shows significant changes in the forces of urban transition in association with migration and related spatial changes. Large cities are expanding largely due to migration, while the cores of several of them have declined (Sita and Bhagat, 2007: 59–82). The fertility level of many large cities has significantly declined and some have even reached the replacement level fertility (IIPS, 2009). The growth rates of large cities are, therefore, predominantly the result of migration as well as areal expansion. At the state level, the more urbanized states show a contribution of net rural to urban migration to urban growth of about one-third, whereas at the all India level the contribution is about one-fifth (Bhagat and Mohanty, 2009). However, in absolute terms, net rural to urban migration has risen from about 11 million during 1981–1991 to 14 million during 1991–2001 and to about 19 million during 2001–2011 at the all-India level. In the past, rural to urban migration was largely directed to big cities and to a few small cities and towns where large scale industries had developed. This trend continues but migrants are now moving to the peripheries of metropolises and large cities which are often devoid of basic services and have largely grown in an unplanned manner.[3]

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3   See: www.planningcommission.nic.in/reports/sereport/ser/vision2025/urban.doc (accessed 11 October, 2014).

Figure 3: Contribution of Net Rural to Urban Migration in Urban Population Growth (percentage)
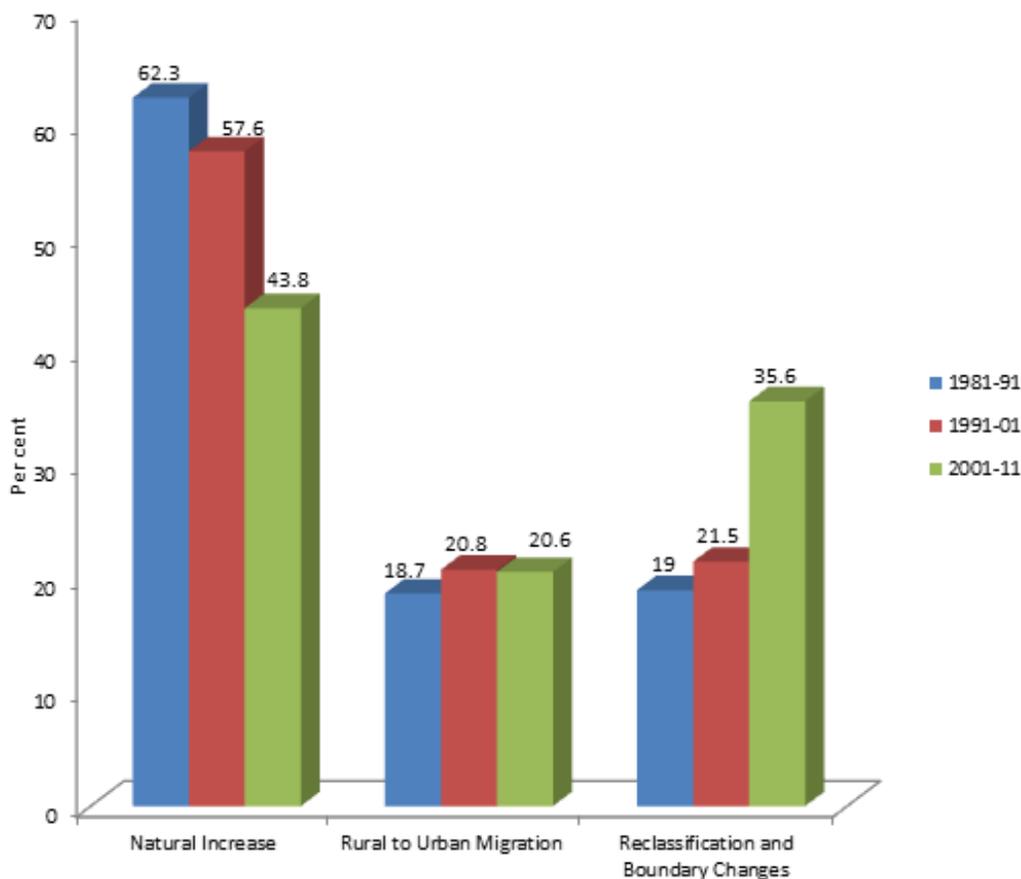
Source: R. B. Bhagat, 2012.

REASONS AND CHARATERISTICS OF URBAN MIGRANTS:

As mentioned previously, migration to urban areas is predominantly rural to urban. Table 5 presents the motives for migration to urban areas. The share of employment-related migration has increased for males, but for females it is marriage-migration which has been on the rise. However, migration related to movement with parents and family members, excluding marriage, has declined. On the whole, family-related migration for females has been increasing during the last two decades. It would seem that male and female migration to urban areas are related as males move for employment and for better employment prospects whereas females follow them as a consequence of marriage or move later as soon as the male migrants settle down. However, as stated earlier, irrespective of the reasons for migration, a substantial proportion of female migrants make up the workforce.

Table 5 indicates that the share of those who searched for better employment as a reason for migration has been increasing whereas the proportion of those searching for work declined during the two NSS Census periods of 1999–2000 and 2007–08. It is also significant that education as a reason for migration has been declining. This may be due to the large expansion of educational institutions in rural areas in recent decades.

WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

16

Background paper

Table 5: Reasons of Migration to Urban Areas

Reasons	Male			Female		
	1993	1999–2000	2007–08	1993	1999–2000	2007–08
In search of employment	8.6	17.0	15.1	1.3	0.7	0.6
In search of better employment	12.9	15.6	16.5	1.4	0.8	0.6
To take up employment/better employment/transfer of services	18.3	18.3	23.1	1.8	1.4	1.2
Proximity to work	1.7	1.0	1.0	0.4	0.1	0.2
Total employment related	**41.5**	**51.9**	**52.7**	**4.9**	**3.0**	**2.6**
Marriage	1.0	1.6	1.4	31.7	59.7	60.8
Movement with parents and family members	28.3	27.0	25.2	49.5	31.0	29.4
Total family related	**29.3**	**26.6**	**26.6**	**81.2**	**89.5**	**90.2**
Studies/Education	**18.0**	**6.2**	**6.8**	**7.0**	**1.3**	**2.2**
Others*	**11.3**	**13.3**	**13.9**	**6.9**	**6.2**	**5.0**
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**

Source: NSSO, 2001, 2012.
Note: Others*: This includes business; acquisition of own house or apartment; housing problems; health care; post-retirement; natural disaster, and social/political problems.

In India, income data at the household level are generally not available, so studies generally rely on consumer expenditure which includes both food and non-food expenditure. The NSSO provides information on migrants by monthly per capita consumer expenditure (MPCE) of the households. Figure 4 shows that the percentage of migrants in urban areas increases with rising MPCE for both males and females. The rise in the migration rate with MPCE is much steeper for males compared to that for females. The migration rate rises five times for males from the lowest to the highest decile class compared to 1.2 times increase for females. Furthermore, India has number of communities which are historically disadvantaged due to the caste system. Caste is an endogamous group hierarchically arranged based on birth. As far as migration is concerned, higher castes migrate more than lower castes.

It is also important to mention that not only do migrants have a higher level of education compared to the non-migrants but the proportion of educated and technical migrants in urban areas has also risen during period of the two NSSO Surveys of 1999–2000 and 2007–08 (Kundu and Saraswati, 2012). Earlier studies on India also pointed out that the propensity to migrate increases with rising economic status for permanent and semi-permanent migration (not seasonal and temporary) (Oberai and Singh, 1983; Skeldon, 1986; Bhagat, 2010).

Figure 4: Migration Rate by MPCE Decile Class, 2007–2008
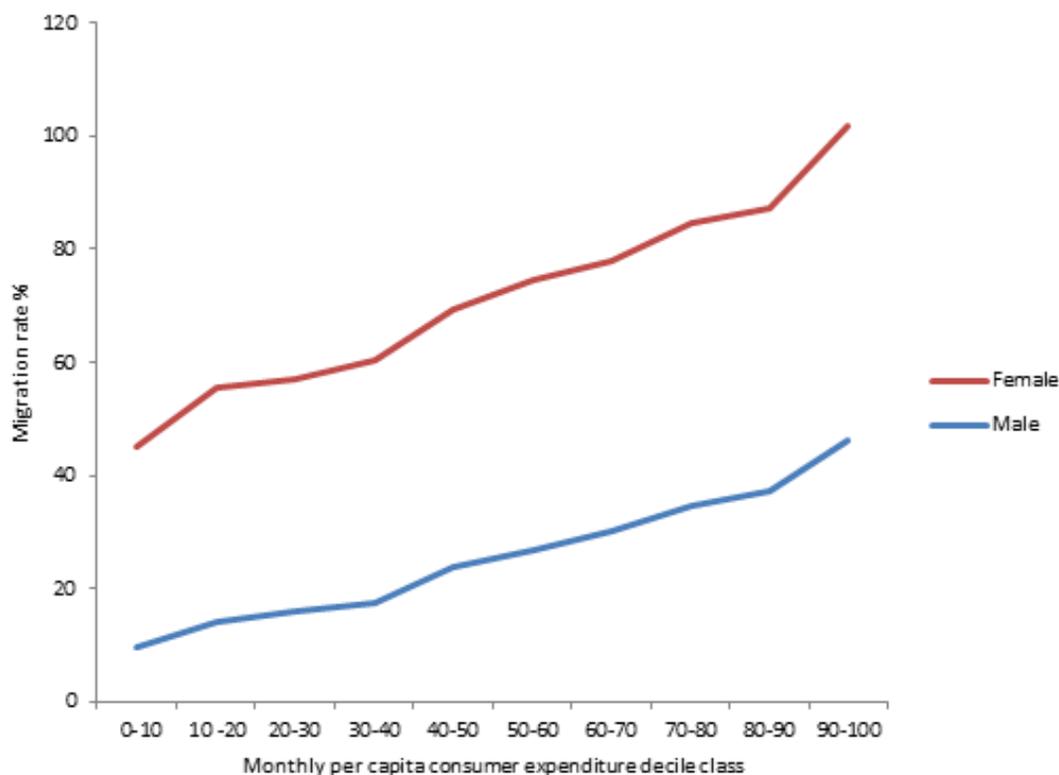
Source: Based on NSSO, 2010.

However, the results observed for permanent and semi-permanent migration does not apply to seasonal and temporary migration. Seasonal and temporary migration predominantly occurs among the poor and the socially disadvantaged groups. Temporary migration also largely occurs in the rural to urban migration stream. Further studies show that the annual rate of temporary migration is seven times higher than permanent migration (Keshri and Bhagat, 2013). Studies also point out that seasonal and temporary migration is a livelihood strategy among rural households (Deshingkar and Farrington, 2009; de Haan, 2011; Keshri and Bhagat, 2012). The largest proportion (about 36%) of seasonal and temporary migrants is employed in the construction industry followed by agriculture (20%) and manufacturing (about 16%). There is a dearth of data on the actual magnitude of seasonal and temporary migration and estimates vary from about 13 million, based on the NSSO, to 100 million evaluated by individual researchers (Keshri and Bhagat, 2013; Deshingkar and Akter, 2009). The Planning Commission suggested that there is a need to undertake state-centric surveys to capture the flow and pattern of migration to the various sectors, particularly the construction sector (Planning Commission, 2013: 363). Srivastava opines that seasonal and temporary migration has been increasing in recent times (2012a).

Recently there has been an effort to provide livelihood security to the rural population through the launch of a massive rural employment programme under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) 2005. Rural workers are provided by the central government with 100 days of employment on demand at the real wage rate of 100 rupees per day. According to the Economic Survey

WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

18

Background paper

2011–12, 'the MGNREGA has successfully raised the bargaining power of agricultural labour, resulting in higher agricultural wages, improved economic outcomes, and reduction in distress migration' (Ministry of Finance 2012: 314). However, while the differential in rural and urban wages has narrowed, the share of rural to urban migration has risen (Hnatkovska and Lahiri, 2013). It is possible that MGNREGA may have had some impact on reducing rural to rural male migration which has fallen more substantially than the rural to urban migration.
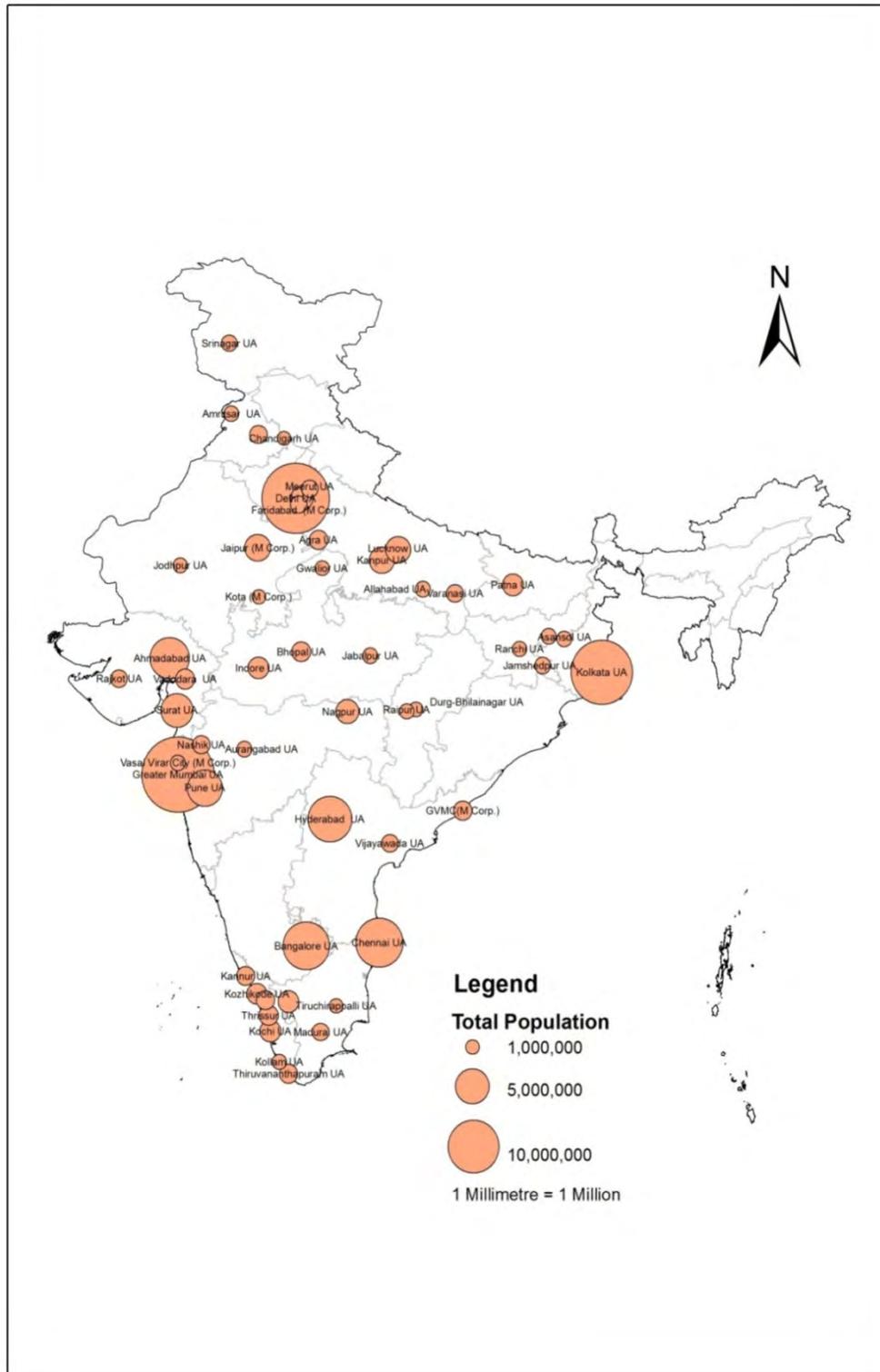
MIGRATION TO CITIES:

India has 7,935 cities and towns according to the 2011 Census, but 70 per cent of the urban population lives in 468 Class I Urban Agglomerations (UAs), that is with a population of 100 thousand and above. The number of Class I UAs increased from 384 in 2001 to 468 in 2011. Furthermore, there are 53 million-plus UAs which comprise 43 per cent of India's urban population. The number of million-plus UAs increased from 35 in 2001 to 53 in 2011 – an addition of 18 UAs during the period 2001–2011 –demonstrating that the nature and pattern of urban population is heavily concentrated in large cities. There were eight megacities with a population more than 5 million in 2011 (see Figure 5). Of these megacities, the three having a population of more than 10 million are Greater Mumbai UA (18.4 million), Delhi UA (16.3 million) [4]and Kolkata UA (14.1 million).

The rising importance of these million-plus cities, both in numbers as well as the huge concentration of urban population within them, indicates the significance of the presence of migrants in the city space. The share of in-migrants in million-plus UAs varies from less than 15 per cent in Allahabad and Agra to 55 per cent and more in Surat, Ludhiana, and Faridabad. About 45 per cent of the population of Mumbai and of Delhi was comprised of migrants in 2001 (see Figure 6). Looking at the proportion of migrants across the million-plus cities, it is quite evident that this is closely related to the economic position and vibrancy of these cities.

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4   According to the Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN, Delhi was the second largest UA with 22.7 million inhabitants in 2011 after Tokyo (UN DESA, 2012). As per Census of India practice, the UA is limited to the state boundaries that exclude the part of the Delhi UA spread out in the States of Uttar Pradesh and Haryana.

Figure 5: Million-Plus Cities in India, 2011

Source: Based on 2011 Census of India.

WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

20

Background paper

Figure 6: Percentage of Migrants in selected Million-plus Urban Agglomerations
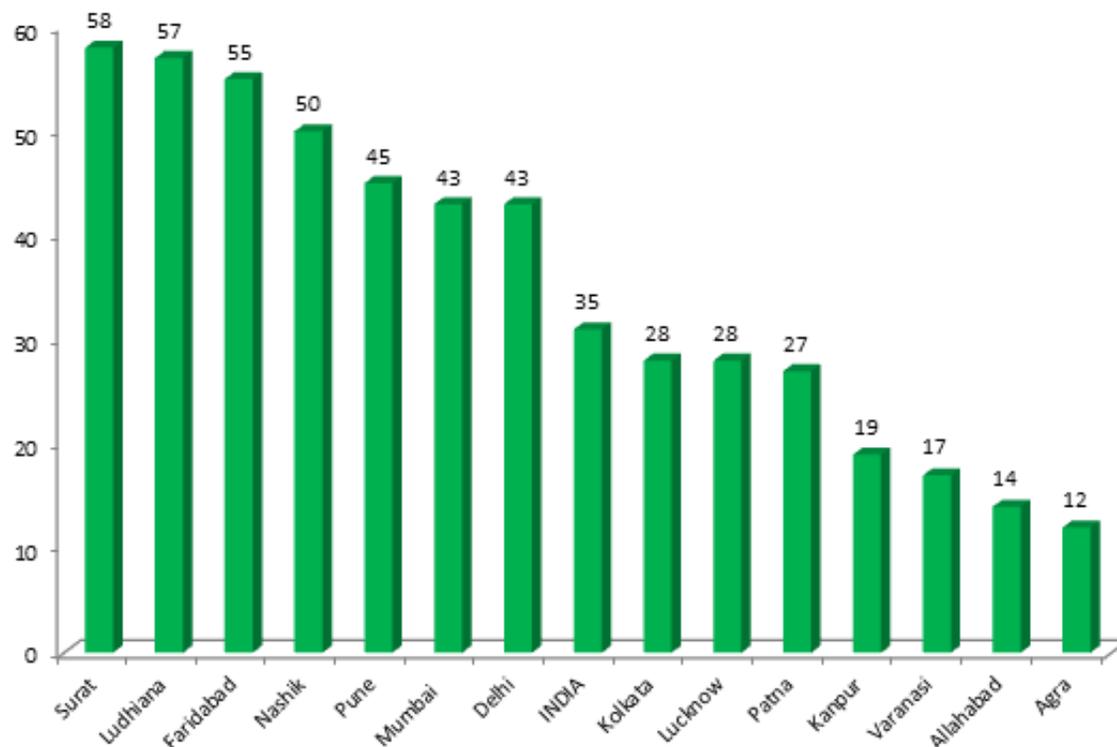
Many million-plus UAs, namely Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Bangalore and Pune, show an increase in female migration (Bhagat, 2012b). In fact, the increase in female migration is evident across the class size of urban centres (Singh, 2009). Although the increase has largely occurred due to the rise in marriage and family-related migration in recent times, large cities also show enormous growth in female domestic servants as well as construction workers who were all mainly migrants. A large number of placement agencies have also sprung up that are involved in the recruitment process (Neetha 2002; Srivastava, 2012: 166–193).

Another characteristic feature of India's urbanization is the emergence of urban corridors shaped by transport linking the million-plus UAs. These corridors have also influenced the flow of goods, services and movement of people. Some of the important urban corridors are: the Mumbai-Delhi Industrial Corridor, the Amritsar-Delhi-Kolkata Industrial Corridor, the Chennai-Bangalore Industrial Corridor, and the Mumbai-Bangalore Economic Corridor. The transport network and urbanization would seem to be reinforcing each other. This phenomenon is not new but has strengthened since the liberalization and globalization of the Indian economy in 1991. Urban corridors play an important role in industrial development and labour migration, unhindered by the administrative boundaries of districts and states. Previously, cities and towns mostly existed within district boundaries but there are now about a dozen UAs spread over several districts indicating their increasing size. It is also evident that eastern and north-eastern India stand marginalized in the process of urbanization with the exception of the Kolkata UA. Patna is the next largest city in the region but is seven times smaller than Kolkata. However, both cities have not been able to attract large migrant populations unlike cities in north, west and southern India. As a result, Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh are largely out-migration areas, and the entire region not only has a very low level

of urbanization but is also one of the more backward regions of India. The regional inequality, pattern of urbanization and distribution of million-plus UAs are consequently all closely associated. Areas with a high level of urbanization and per capita income also have a high level of migration (Bhagat, 2010). In this way, migration as influenced by development processes surges through cities and urban corridors.

India's development is manifested by its growing agglomeration economies in the million-plus cities. However, in recent years, the expansion of industry and services and related employment growth has been larger not only in the secondary million-plus UAs, such as Bangalore, Hyderabad, Pune, Ahmedabad and Jaipur, but also in the peripheries of primary million-plus UAs like Delhi, Mumbai, and Chennai. Srivastava (2012a) relates this to the 'hub and spokes' pattern of growth to which the migration pattern is closely associated.

OPPORTUNITIES OF URBANWARD MIGRATION:

Rural to urban migration is not viewed positively in many countries including India. Policies are often aimed at reducing rural to urban migration, although this may not be desirable as there are many reasons to believe that migration, particularly rural to urban, may prove beneficial (Lucas, 1997). The two-sector classical model by Lewis (1954: 139–191) argued that rural to urban migration helps to transfer the surplus labour and boost economic development. In the Indian context, Dubey, Palmer-Jones and Sen (2004) found strong support for the Lewis model. They also observed that as relatively better off sections of the populace and higher castes migrate from rural areas, the gaps that emerge are likely to be filled by the poor and the lower castes with implications for economic improvement and poverty reduction in rural areas. A number of studies show that internal migration can help reduce or prevent households sliding into poverty in both sending and receiving areas (Harris, 2004; Deshingkar and Grimm, 2005; Higgins et al., 2010). The efficiency of labour use and poverty reduction are the two main outcomes associated with transfer of surplus labour from agriculture to the non-agricultural sector. NSS data also support the increased transfer of the labour force from agriculture to the non-agricultural sector in recent times. About 55 per cent of migrants who worked in agriculture prior to migration were reported to have shifted to non-agricultural activities in 1999–2000. This figure increased to 66 per cent in 2007–08. Studies also show that migrants are better off than non-migrants at the place of destination (Srivastava and Bhattacharya, 2003; Kundu and Sarangi, 2007). Furthermore, in 2007–08, the majority of permanent and semi-permanent male migrants (57%) were employed in regular jobs in urban areas compared to non-migrant males who were largely self-employed or worked as casual labourers (63%). However, seasonal and temporary migrants fall largely behind when compared to permanent/semi-permanent migrants and non-migrants in urban areas (Srivastava 2012a). The consequences of migration, therefore, also depend upon the nature and diversity of migration patterns.

In recent years, cities have come to be considered as engines of economic growth as urban areas contribute about 65 per cent of India's GDP (Planning Commission, 2008). Migrants help in growth and capital accumulation by providing cheap labour and undertaking many risky and unsafe jobs which natives prefer not to do, although they may face stiff competition or even conflict with the natives. In addition, the seasonal and temporary migrant labour supply is highly flexible in terms of work intensity, payment regimes, and working hours (Srivastava, 2012a). A study by Deshingkar and Akter (2009) shows that the economic contribution of seasonal and temporary migrants, based on major migrant employing sectors

in India, amounts to 10 per cent of the national GDP. On the other hand, informalization of the labour market, increased control of labour, and low wages are also associated with increased availability and choice both for the employers and the migrant workers. This is evident in the considerable decline during 1999–2007 of the unemployed among migrants, particularly amongst those who had moved from rural to urban areas; a decrease was similarly noted in the share of those not in the labour force during this period. This suggests that many rural folk are able to improve their economic conditions through migration, and there is no evidence of strong distress driving rural to urban migration. On the other hand, migration decisions have a positive and significant impact on livelihood patterns (Kundu and Saraswati, 2012: 223).

Box 1: Opportunities of Migration – Four Key Areas

i) *Labour Demand and Supply* – fills gaps in demand for and supply of labour; efficiently allocates skilled and unskilled labour; cheap labour, disciplined and willingness to work.

ii) *Remittances* – provides insurance against risks to households in the source areas; increases consumer expenditure and investment in health, education and assets formation.

iii) *Return Migration* – brings knowledge, skills and innovation (these are known as social remittances).

iv) *Skill Development* – migration is an informal process of skill development. It enhances knowledge and skills of migrants through exposure and interaction with the outside world. New skills are learnt from co-workers and friends at the place of destination.

Using both secondary and primary data, Jha (2008) concluded that, in India after 1991, outmigration played a decisive role in asset-building in the areas of origin and contributed to poverty reduction through remittances. Chellaraj and Mohapatra (2014) concluded that both internal and international remittances have a poverty-reducing effect and showed that remittances are associated with higher household expenditure on health and education. Similarly, in other parts of the world, urban employment provides an opportunity for rural households to supplement their earnings and to also diversify their sources of income. Remittances from urban employment were found to boost consumption in rural areas and contribute to household savings (IOM, 2005: 15). Increased investment in agriculture has been possible in some countries through migrants' remittances leading to growth in agricultural production. Remittances are also spent on housing, in accessing health care and schooling of children (Lucas, 1997). The UNDP Human Development Report noted that household remittances are vital in improving the livelihoods of millions of people in developing countries (UNDP, 2009). Available evidence from India shows that about 55 per cent of male outmigrants send remittances. These remittances constitute half of the average household consumer expenditure and are utilized for food, education and health care. About three quarters of those households which receive remittances spend the amount on food followed by expenditure on health (37.4%), education (31%) and household durables (20.1%). It is therefore evident that remittances are an important means of food security as higher proportions of households with lower socio-economic backgrounds depend on them for such expenditure (Deshingkar and Sandi, 2012). Several studies have pointed out that migration is a family strategy wherein one or more members are employed in urban areas as insurance against distress and crisis; it also improves their credit worthiness (Stark and Lucas, 1988; Lucas, 1997; Deshingkar and Sandi, 2012).

It is also significant to mention that, in India, the household remittances sent by internal migrants in 2007-08 were twice those of the household remittances sent by international migrants for the same period (NSSO, 2010). However, it should be borne in mind that migration alone may not improve household conditions as these are influenced by a number of factors. So, while it is reported that remittances from internal migrants increase school attendance, children of seasonal migrants moving with their parents drop out of school (Deshingkar and Sandi, 2012; Smita, 2008). However, it is necessary to emphasize that migration is very intrinsic to the path of human development, but its impact is also place specific (de Haan, 2011).

As a recent publication by UNESCO (2013) points out, migration is an historical process that has shaped human civilization, culture and development. Along with economic remittances, returning migrants bring a variety of skills, innovation and knowledge to their areas of origin and these are known as social remittances. Migration also enhances the capabilities of the migrants through exposure and interaction with the outside world. Many learn new skills through previous migrants who helped them to migrate and are part of the migrants' social network at the place of destination. In a study in the state of Andhra Pradesh in south India, more than 20 per cent of circular and permanent migrants were able to learn more than two skills (Deshingkar et al., 2009: 84). In fact, migration is an informal process of capability formation and skill development. Cities are places where new migrants accumulate new skills required by modern production sectors (See Box 1). In the long run, migration could play a positive role with a right type of policy and may benefit both the areas of origin and destination (World Bank, 2009).

SLUM DWELLERS AND URBAN PARTNERSHIP:

Migrants in cities and towns are predominantly engaged in the informal sector as construction workers, hawkers and vendors, domestic servants, rickshaw pullers/drivers, electricians, plumbers, masons, security personnel, etc. A large number of these jobs are seasonal and temporary in nature and take place in cities and also in more distant urban destinations. The majority of the seasonal and temporary migrants are either casual workers or self-employed in urban areas. About 31 percent are casual workers, followed by 26 per cent self-employed, with about 23 per cent regular workers; however, approximately 11 per cent were not in the labour force and 8 per cent were reported to be unemployed. The casual workers and self-employed seasonal and temporary migrants seem to be quite vulnerable to the vagaries of the labour market as they lack any social protection (NSSO, 2010).

Migrants are not only employed largely in informal sectors but are also housed in informal settlements, generally known as slums. In India as a whole, every fifth urban resident lived in slums according to the 2011 census; in the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, about half of the population lives in slums. Slums are an integral part of urbanization and a manifestation of rural to urban migration. Slums provide cheap housing and serve as a gateway to the large cities through a network of friends and kin who migrated previously and are living there. Cheap housing is also available through rented accommodation in slum areas. A study conducted by the International Institute for Population Sciences shows that one quarter of slum households in Mumbai and about half of those in Kolkata live in rented accommodation (IIPS, 2009: 94). The same study also shows that, in eight selected million-plus cities, the percentage of male migrants living in slums varies from approximately 53 per cent in Delhi to 29 per cent in Nagpur (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Percentage of Male Migrants (15–49) among Slum Dwellers, 2005–2006
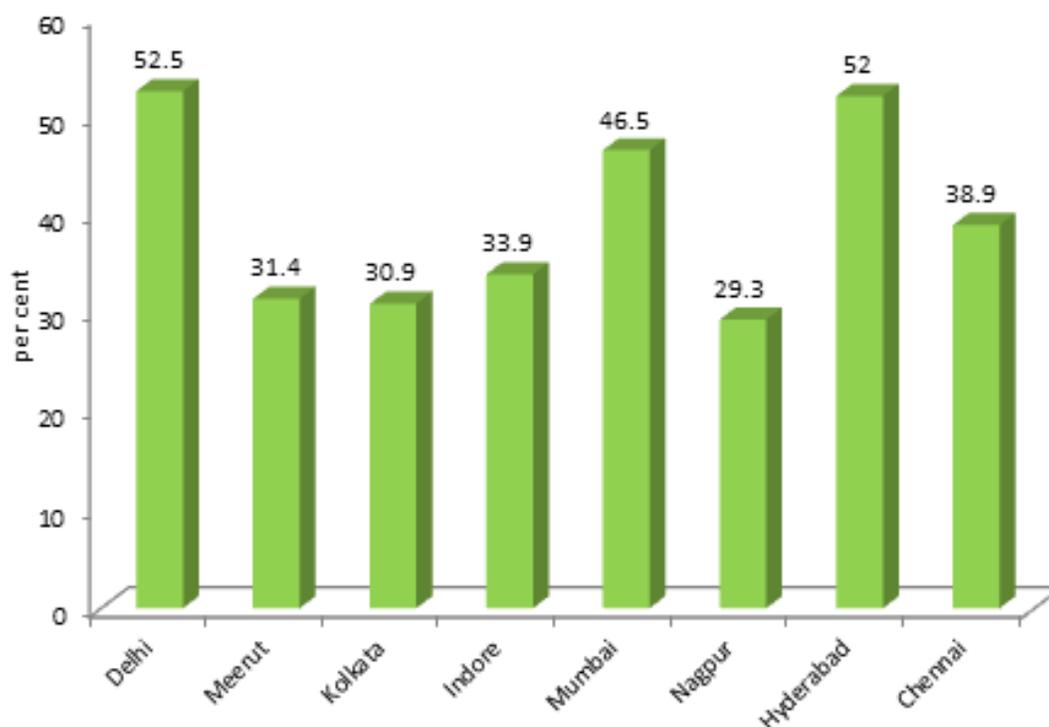
Source: International Institute for Population Sciences, 2009.

It is generally understood that migrants encroach upon urban land creating slums that are perpetually mired in squalor and stink and unfit for human habitation. On the other hand, it is little known that slums are also sites for production and business connected with local and global markets. This is evident in the existence of a large number of household industries in the slums of Mumbai. One of the largest slums in Mumbai, *Dharavi,* is well known for its many industries, not only recycling plastic, paper and scraps but also manufacturing leather, metal, paper products as well as clothing. Dharavi produces various processed food, provides catering and printing services and is also a reservoir of highly qualified craftsmen such as tailors, carpenters and potters. Products like plastic tags, suitcase wheels, paper files and leather goods are sold in the international market. Even high-tech products, like surgical thread, are produced from the intestines of goats in some areas of Dharavi. Over 5,000 small scale industries and 1,500 single-room factories generate a yearly turnover of half a billion US dollars. The leather industry alone employs some 200,000 workers in Dharavi. Daily commuting to Dharavi is greater than those who leave it to work in the city (Engqvist and Lantz, eds., 2009: 197). Sassen (2011) labelled them 'global slums' as they exist in many global cities including Mumbai. These slums provide a range of services and products to the formal sectors and their employees and a range of professional connections exists with slum dwellers in global cities.

Studies have also documented slums as areas of innovation, agency and partnership with state machinery. Organizations have been formed which are playing a critical role in slum rehabilitation, the resolution of housing problems and the management and delivery of community-based services relating to water, sanitation, health and microfinance. Some of the developments in Mumbai's slums are noteworthy of being mentioned (McFarlane, 2012; Appadurai, 2009). Slum communities in Mumbai have formed several community-based organizations such as the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF*)* and *Mahila Milan*

(Women Together) which are supported by a non-governmental organization, the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC). All three organizations formed a partnership, the *Indian Alliance*, working not only in Mumbai but also in other cities in India and abroad. They undertake various types of slum development through community involvement, assist in providing municipal services engaging local governments, and protect the rights of slum dwellers (d'Cruz, Cadornigara and Satterthwaite, 2014).

The NSDF is a powerful community-based organization which was established in Mumbai in 1974. It was followed in 1984 by SPARC, an NGO created by a group of professional social workers to deal with the problems of urban poverty. Mahila Milan was set up next in 1986 and is a decentralized network of poor women's collectives in Mumbai focusing on the self-organized saving and credit scheme, also known as microfinance, to alleviate urban poverty. Members of Mahila Milan save for both short-term economic problems and long-term housing plans. Although all three organizations have a different history and strategy, a common aim to alleviate urban poverty and housing problems in Mumbai brought them together to form The Indian Alliance in 1987. In 1996, the Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) was founded as a network of community-based organizations of the urban poor, with the Indian Alliance being the oldest member; there are now 34 affiliated countries. In 2001, the SDI presented a model house and a children's toilet to the then UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, to highlight the ability of the poor to find solutions to their problems using advanced knowledge and new technology which could then be developed and realized in partnership with experts and with support from the state and international communities (Appadurai, 2009). The Alliance has also organized housing exhibitions and toilet festivals in many cities in India inviting state officials and international organizations. These festivals demonstrated the functioning of public toilets designed for the urban poor, as well as their maintenance and sustainability as a community effort based on collective payment and servicing for optimal safety and cleanliness. Armed with increased knowledge and bottom-up solutions, the strategy of the Alliance has been to develop a partnership with state and local authorities. The Alliance works closely with the state government of Maharashtra and the Municipal Corporation of Mumbai in securing housing loans, water supplies, sanitation and the protection of the rights of slum dwellers (Appadurai, 2009).

From other sources, it is reported that slum dwellers, through community initiatives, have acquired a new consciousness which has changed their perception of themselves. As an example, garbage pickers in a Buenos Aires slum described themselves as 'ecological entrepreneurs' (Sassen, 2011). However, policymakers and planners need to recognize the contribution of slum dwellers and migrants in the urban economy and social life.

CHALLENGES OF MIGRATION AND POLICY ISSUES:

Although migration in general and rural to urban migration in particular is conducive for economic and urban transition, there are many challenges confronting migrants in urban areas. A negative attitude towards migration persists as well as a strong hostility towards migrants in spite of the fact that the Indian Constitution guarantees the right to move as a fundamental principle under Article 19. The conflict between natives and migrants has been a core issue since the 1970s. In one of his early writings, Myron Weiner (1978) surveyed the nature of migration and the emergence of the ideology of the *sons of soil* leading to ethnic conflict in different parts India. He presented three types of conflict in three

WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

26

Background paper

distinct regions, namely Assam, Chotanagpur and Hyderabad. In Assam, the reason for conflict was the success of migrants while the natives failed; in Chotanagpur, the cause was unique where tribal members encountered migrants which led to their subjugation and displacement; and in Hyderabad, the basis of conflict was the effort to protect the middle-class *mulki* (natives) from the competing migrants. In all three cases, Weiner (1978) argued that the sons of the soil meet the challenge of outsiders by advancing themselves into elitist positions in an effort to oust their non-indigenous competitors. This process has been accelerated rather than diminished by economic development and modernization. In the 1980s and later, the ideology of nativism further bolstered and spread to others areas, such as Mumbai, Goa and Meghalaya, inciting conflict and violence against migrants (Rajan, Korra and Chyrmang, 2011). The hatred against migrants in the case of Mumbai is more organized and intense as some political parties based on the sons of the soil ideology articulated strongly and voiced threats to the migrants (Hansen, 2001). Discrimination against migrants and their exclusion in India is more subtle and indirect compared to that in China where migration to cities is controlled through the institution of *hukou* (household registration). Persons with rural hukou may enter a city but are excluded from regular urban welfare benefits and social services, such as access to local schools, urban pension plans, public housing and other rights, that are available to people with urban hukou. Rural hukou labour now inundates almost all low-end factory jobs and services that have turned China into a world factory. This segment of migrants provides cheap labour to the cities and is easily exploited. They are not only vulnerable but also excluded from welfare services, urban citizenship and entitlements (Chan, 2012).

In India, all migrants are not equally vulnerable. Permanent and semi-permanent migrants with higher education and skills can withstand the challenges and succeed in becoming members of the urban citizenship. On the other hand, migrants with low education and skills, together with the seasonal and temporary nature of their employment, are more vulnerable and subject to various kinds of exclusions in urban areas. These categories of migrants are excluded from social security programmes such as public distribution of food, access to education and health care and, most importantly, entitlement to housing at the place of destination owing to the absence of identity and residential proof. Social security programmes are place-bound and the implementation of the programmes fall under the purview of the state governments. The inter-state migrants incur more hardships as the portability of social security programmes is not possible; they also face hostility from native residents instilled with the ideology of the sons of the soil.

Migration is treated more as an issue of governance rather than one of development. Deshinkar and Sandi (2012) argue that there is untapped potential for human development if the positive impacts of migration can be harnessed properly, but this requires accompanying changes in attitude and institutional structures. While there is a lack of integration of migration into development planning, there are a host of labour laws that deal with the conditions of migrant workers. However, the Inter-state Migrant Workmen Regulation Act, 1979 (ISMWRA), which deals with contractor-led movements of inter-state migrant labour, is not enforced properly. While a segment of migrant workers moves with contractors, many also find work independently through the network of family, friends and kin and so do not fall under the purview of the ISMWRA. Many schemes and programmes exist for workers in the informal sector which are also applicable for migrant workers but require registration and, in some cases, identity cards. One such very

significant programme for migrant workers comes under the Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996. Under this Act, funds are collected through a tax on construction for the welfare of construction workers. Substantial funds have been collected by Construction Welfare Boards in many states, but implementation of the programme is very poor due to the paucity of registration of workers. Some non-governmental organizations, like the *Ajeevika Foundation,* have been doing good work in Rajasthan helping in the registration of migrant workers and issuance of identity cards[5] to them. A principal flaw in the Act is that it treats construction workers as immobile and does not provide for locational or even inter-sectorial mobility (Srivastava, 2012b).

Urban planning has been virtually a failure in India (Planning Commission, 2013). The city master plan hardly reflects concerns for migrants. On the other hand, migrants are often blamed for the declining civic amenities and for almost all the woes of the city. They are even held responsible for the rising crime rate as well as the law and order problems in the city. Urban development is a state subject in India. Urban Local Bodies (ULB) are still controlled by most of the state governments who are unwilling to delegate power and financial autonomy to them in spite of the constitutional provisions made in the 74th Amendment to the Constitution. According to these new constitutional provisions, ULBs are designated as planning and development authorities. However, in actual practice, there are multiple organizations engaged in planning and development of urban centres. Due to the lack of local democracy, concern for migrants is not visible in various city development plans and projects (Bhagat, 2012b).

The *Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)* and *Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)* are two important urban development programmes initiated by the central Government. JNNURM focuses on infrastructure development and provision of basic services to the urban poor in urban centres, while RAY makes provision for housing for slum dwellers. Both programmes represent very significant steps in addressing the needs of the urban poor and slum dwellers. However, they do not address the migrant issue explicitly, although shelter is the most serious concern for the slum dwellers. There is also a sizable presence of the homeless in many large cities and the provision of night shelters and construction of hostels for working men and women could be a solution if incorporated in to city development plans.

Many have argued that it would be inappropriate to prevent migration as it plays a very important role in development and in fulfilling human aspirations. Preventing migration could even be counterproductive (World Bank, 2009; UNESCO, 2013; Foresight, 2011). The recent UNESCO (2013) publication highlighted that the policies and programmes facilitating integration of migrants at the destination remain weak at best or non-existent and suggested ten key areas for the inclusion and integration of migrants in development (see Box 2).

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5   The Government of India has launched a biometric identification of the population residing in India under the UID (Unique Identity) Programme also known as ADHAR. Migrants have the opportunity to enroll and get an ADDHAR card which can be used for identity and residential proof. But as many migrants lack proper documents for identification, a significant step was taken when a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the National Coalition of Organizations for Security of Migrant Workers, a group of NGOs working with migrant workers, and the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) for facilitating the inclusion of migrant workers in the UID programme. See: http://uidai.gov.in. Recently the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Mr. Raghuram Rajan, announced that bank accounts will be opened for migrant workers without proof of address (Times of India, 16 August 2014, p. 21).

WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

28

Background paper

Box 2: Key Strategies for Integration and Inclusion of Migrants in Urban Areas

i)   *Registration and Identity* - There is an urgent need to ensure that internal migrants are issued with a universally recognized and portable proof of identity that can enable them to access social security programmes anywhere in India.

ii)   *Political and Civic Inclusion* - Special provisions are needed to ensure the voting rights of internal migrants, and their inclusion in decision-making processes and urban planning.

iii) *Labour Market Inclusion* - Negotiate opportunities with employers including training, placement and skill upgrade with the help of NGOs. In case of uneducated and poor migrants, create awareness about their rights and support them.

iv)   *Legal Aid and Dispute Resolution* - Internal migrants should be able to access legal aid and counselling to protect themselves against work- and wage-related malpractices and provide grievance- and dispute-handling mechanisms to negotiate with employers/contractors.

v)   *Inclusion of Women Migrant* - Fill knowledge and research gaps in the gender dimension of migration. Prevent discrimination, exploitation and trafficking of women.

vi)   *Inclusion through Access to Food* - The public distribution system (PDS) should be made portable to include multi-locational migrant populations.

vii) *Inclusion through Housing* - Provide dormitory accommodation, rental housing and also enable private housing. In situ upgrade of slums and provide basic services.

viii) *Educational Inclusion* - Provide seasonal hostels at the source region to retain left behind children in schools and also worksite schools at destination for children moving with parents.

ix)   *Public Health Inclusion* - Avoid stigmatization of migrants as carriers of diseases and infections and recognize women and children migrants as vulnerable to health risks. Strengthen intervention and out-reach health services to them.

x)   *Financial Inclusion* - Extend banking facilities to promote savings and secure transfer of remittances in the source and destination areas.

Source: UNESCO, 2013.

Migration policy, however, should not be viewed merely as part of labour policy but needs to be embedded in urban development policy and planning as rural to urban migration is the predominant form of migration. Social security is a very important aspect of labour policy as approximately 90 per cent of the workforce is employed in the informal sector. Although poverty is a yardstick of many policies and a segment of migrants is indeed poor, the consideration of poverty as the only status is not adequate. The migrant status of labourers needs to be incorporated very explicitly because it adds to their vulnerability along with poverty and social disadvantages associated with caste, ethnic and minority status. Vulnerable migrants need to be protected against exploitation, long working hours, low wages and restriction of movement after working hours. Access to decent living conditions should also be included in migration policy ensuring that migrants are not denied access to housing and basic services. Although poverty and migrant status overlap, they cannot be treated as synonyms. This is perhaps the strong tacit assumption in India's urban policies and programmes mostly formulated in the Five Year Plans prepared by the Planning Commission of India. As a result, rural to urban migration is looked upon as 'distress migration' arising out of poverty and rural development programmes are formulated to contain rural to urban migration (Planning

Commission, 2013; de Haan, 2011). The implicit assumption negates the very fact that rural to urban migration is also the result of increasing aspiration and ability to migrate as income and educational levels rise in rural areas. The positive values of migration could far outweigh its negative impacts if supported by proper policies and programmes.

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WORLD MIGRATION
REPORT 2015
Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
to Manage Mobility

30

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to Manage Mobility

32

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Migrants and Cities:
New Partnerships
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34

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