INTER-STATE IMMIGRATION INTO PUNJAB DURING 1971-91

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ABSTRACT: This paper focuses on the various 'push and pull' factors determining the reasons for, the quantum of', the sources of and the patterns of interstate immigration into Punjab in various streams i.e. rural to rural' rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural. For the 'push' factor, the focus is on the economic underdevelopment, lower wage rates and higher levels of unemployment and increasing number of landless workers in the states of origion of the migrants. The pull factors from Punjab side include higher levels of requirement for agricultural labour consequent to the adoption of "green revolution' technologies, comparatively higher wage rates, tremendous increase in the demand for skilled and unskilled workers in the urban industrial and informal sector consequent to the progress in industrialization and urbanization of Punjab. Census and National Sample Surveys are the secondary sources of data on migration in India. The present analysis is based on the data relating to the migrants by place of residence. The diverse perspectives from which crucial issues concerning the migrants and the host society and government need to be examined are indicated. The perspectives of human rights under the Indian Constitution and Law are advocated

I. Introduction: From year 1960, the process of socio-economic growth has fastened in the northwestern region especially in the State of Punjab because of agricultural growth with a remarkable increase in gross sown area and in the productivity of the crops due to adoption of Green Revolution technologies. In addition, the urban-industrial economy in general and banking & insurance, public health, transport, storage & communication, and public administration, in particular, have made significant progress during last four decades.

Consequently, in the beginning of the green revolution relative increase in daily wages and the demand for labour under free market conditions had started attracting migrant labour to the State. The industrial development in the State remained stagnant during 1981-91 periods. The proportion of workers engaged in secondary sector remained stagnant or rather declined in 1991 in relation to the corresponding decade of 1981. On the other, the pro-tempore employment procedures consciously adopted in the urban-industrial sector have led to the unprecedented growth of urban industrial and informal sectors.

A study in this context inferred that the patterns of poverty-induced migration of pauperized and marginalized peasants and laborers from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to relatively developed and favored states like Punjab, Haryana, and Delhi will continue unabated for another 100 years- the very same patterns which were initiated in1870-1880's and have persisted till now. Such migration patterns are the sign of underdevelopment, not development (Mukherji S., 2001).

The analysis of data spanning over a period of three decades, 1971-1991 shows that the Punjab state has been receiving migrants mainly from the North-Western States of Haryana, Up., Rajasthan and H.P. in addition to Bihar. The enumeration on the basis of place of birth and place of last residence shows that the volume of inter-State migration has increased not only in absolute terms but also both as a proportion of the total population and as a proportion of the migrant population.

II. AGRICULTURE SECTOR: ROLE IN ATTRACTING MIGRANT LABOUR:

With the advent of "green revolution" in Punjab, the agriculture sector has been set in on capitalist lines. This has created ample demand for agricultural labour. In addition to agricultural growth, the workers in 0-14 years age group in rural areas have declined from 2.08 lakhs in 1971 to 1.50 lakhs in 1981. In urban areas even in 1971 the number of workers in this age group was negligible and slightly increased by 1981. This may be because of the noticeable improvements in school enrollment rates and also substantial decline in dropout rates. This trend, it seems to have contributed for creating sufficient demand for labour in rural as well in urban areas.

The incidence of child labour based on the National Sample Survey (NSS, 1999-00) data reveals that in rural Punjab, about 5.5 percent of children in the age group 10-14, and 0.5 percent in the age group 5-9 are workers, while the corresponding figure for rural India is 9.3 percent and 0.7 percent, respectively. In urban areas of Punjab, about 3.5 percent of the children in the age group 10-14 and 1.8 percent in the age group 5-9 are workers as compared to 4.3 percent and 0.3 percent for the country as a whole. The age group 5-9 in urban areas of Punjab has the highest incidence of child labour in the country (S Mahendra, V Mahajan, 2003).

The 'high levels of real wages in Punjab sustained because of technology and the high growth rates of agricultural production maintained over a long period has been an important determinant of migration into Punjab. (G Parthasarathy, 1991). However, looking at the entire period of 1961-84 it is clear that wage hikes of the early years of the green revolution could never be repeated in the 70s and 80s ([Chada, 1986, p 267] cit. in G Parthasarathy, 1991).

If a faster pace of capitalist farming has contributed to the growth of wage labour in the technologically leading States, demographic pressure and fast declining land-man ratios have increased the proportion of wage labour in the technologically lagging States (G Parthasarathy 1991). Further, the livelihood opportunities available to the rural poor are hardly keeping pace with the increase in their numbers (RaoVM1992). The prevailing conditions have further perpetuated the inequalities in terms of poverty, illiteracy, undernourishment/ malnutrition, poor housing/slums, and inhuman living conditions/degraded environment. This type of conditions invariably induces 'distress migration' of families of rural poor in other States towards Punjab.

During the first decade of "green revolution", when the new technology was only confined to wheat; the state because of it soil type, climatic conditions and irrigation potentials was the most prominent beneficiary and its agriculture recorded a 6.63 percent compound rate of growth per annum. During the second decade from mid-70s to mid-80s, which was characterized by the extension of new seed fertilizer technology from wheat to rice the growth rate of Punjab agriculture came down to 4.74 percent per annum (Sidhu HS 2002). Though the compound annual growth rate of agriculture sector has slowed down from mid-1970's

onwards, that has significant bearing on the employment situation in the state. It is interesting to note that Punjab's farm sector's capacity to absorb surplus labor has declined over time. In early 1970's, the employment elasticity w r t aggregate output in India's agriculture was 0.54 meaning thereby that one per cent increase in agricultural output was giving rise to 0.54 per cent increase in labor employment. By early 1980's it came down to 0.49 and by late 1980's it was nearly 0.36 (Bhalla G S cit. in Sidhu HS 2002).

Census data, nevertheless, show that the absolute number of inter-state immigrants in the state has gone up from 6.36 lakhs in 1971 and 9.20 lakhs in 1981 to 11.20 lakhs in 1991. During this period, the urban areas have attracted more inter-state immigrants in comparison to rural areas. In 1971, 54.51 percent or 3.47 lakhs inter-state immigrants came to urban areas of Punjab, and their percent share to urban areas has almost remained constant in 1981 i.e. 54.18 percent, while, their absolute number increased to 4.99 lakhs. Further, the urban share of interstate immigrants in the State has increased to 55.98 percent or 6.27 lakhs in 1991 because of the unprecedented growth of urban 'informal' economy in addition to the 'formal' sector.

LEVELS OF DAILY WAGES IN PUNJAB AS A PULL FORCE:

The DMWR for Male agricultural worker was higher in Punjab as compared to other major States in the country during the period 1960 to1980. During this period, in Punjab the DMWRs for male agricultural workers have increased from RS 2.42 in 1960 to RS 6.52 in 1970 and further increased to RS 12.12 in 1980. Whereas, DMWRs have not registered significant increase in all the neighboring States from where a majority of the immigrants originate or last resided. For instance, in Uttar Pradesh money DMWRs for male agricultural workers have marginally increased from RS 1.62 in 1960 to RS 2.11 in 1970, and further increased significantly to RS 6.27, in 1980. While, in Rajasthan DMWRs for male workers have registered a moderate increase- it increased from RS 3.39 in 1970 to RS 7.41, in 1980. The DMWRs in Haryana of male agricultural laborers were substantially increased from RS5.84 to RS11.63 during this period.

On the contrary, in Punjab State the DMWRs of female agricultural workers

have shown significant increase as compared to male workers. In 1960, the DMWRs of women workers were about half of the male worker's wages, but thereafter the wages of women workers have registered a quantum jump- it increased from RS 1.61 in 1960 to RS 4.75 in 1970, and in 1980 the wages significantly increased to RS12.50.

In sum, the analysis of data shows that from 1960 to 1980, the flow of immigrants increased and thereafter starts declining steadily (in absolute numbers). Interestingly enough, the gender differentials among immigrants during this period have minimized. In other words, feminization of migrant labour force took place during this period at much faster pace, These trends in the flow of inter-state immigration more or less are consistent with the increase or decrease in the monetary as well as real wage rates in rural areas or in the agricultural sector.

The percent share of inter-state immigrants in Punjab from the four neighboring states has marginally declined in 1981 and thereafter in 1991 the decline is significant as compared to the previous decade of 1971. The share of migrants resided in other than those four states have thus gone up during this period.

Bihar and U.P. are among the other states from where migrants into Punjab have increased. The migrations from far off states such as Bihar evidently reveal that the proximity in relation to wages seems to be less important as the distance of migration increases. During 1971-91

periods, Bihar was among the states where the real wage rates were lowest both for male and female agricultural workers. The DRWR for male agricultural workers have increased at a slow pace from RS 1.18 in 1960 to RS 1.32 in 1980. While, for female agricultural workers the wages were low and declined marginally from RS1.02 in 1960 to RS 0.98 in 1970, and again increased to RS 1.11 in 1980. In the three neighboring states of origin the DRWR for agricultural workers have increased more than that of Bihar between this periods.

During 1970-80, for Uttar Pradesh, DRWR for male agricultural workers has increased from RS 1.08 to RS1.48, for Rajasthan it increased from RS 1.75 to RS1.80. And, for Haryana the DRWR for male workers was relatively high but has declined from RS 2.94 in 1970 to RS 2.80 in 1980. Interestingly, in all the three states of origin, for women agricultural workers DRWRs have increased at higher pace than in Bihar. During 1970-80, for women agricultural workers, the DRWR has increased from RS 0.97 to RS 1.41

The pull factors other than real wages address to some of the important parameters such as increasing investment in tertiary and secondary sectors, urbanization and phenomenal growth of urban informal sector and consequent interplay of market forces etc. that have influenced immigration into Punjab are discussed in the next Section.

III. a. Structural transformation of the economy of Punjab: Despite deceleration of the overall state economy, it has undergone a structural transformation during the last three decades, 1970-71 to 1998-99. The primary sector grew at the rate of 3.9 per cent per annum as against the secondary sector at 6.5 per cent and the tertiary sector at 5.4 per cent.

The sectors which have grown at a rate less than the state average are trade, hotel and restaurants (4.9%), agriculture and livestock (3.9%), other services (3.3%), agriculture (3.2%), forestry and logging (2.8%), real estate ownership of dwellings and business services (2.3%), construction (1.6%), and mining and quarrying (-4.9%). The sectors experiencing a rate of growth higher than the state average were fishing (12.5%), banking and commerce (9.7%), electricity, gas and water supply (9.4%), manufacturing (8.6%), public administration (8.0%), transportation storage and communication (7.6%) and livestock (5.3%).

Sectoral Rates of Growth in Punjab, 1970-71 to 1998-99 at 1980-81 Constant Prices										
Sector 1970-74		1974-78		1980-85		1985-90		1992-97		1997-
99 1970-71 to										
1998-1999										
(A) Primary										
Agriculture and livestock 1.4			1.42	3.93	4.96	3.96	2.66	1.76	3.92	
Agriculture	0.56	2.20	5.65	3.58	1.73	2.53	3.19			
Livestock	1.40	2.30	3.53	4.76	4.27	0.72	5.28			
Forestry and logging 2.		2.05	8.21	-16.43	-1.09	0.24	0.30	2.83		
Fishing 0.29	2.57	2.28	16.88	15.15	11.17	12.54				
Mining and quarrying -1		-19.18	4.20	-3.04	35.79	-36.63	-3.82	-4.90		
Total (A)	0.81	2.30	4.66	3.91	2.66	1.80	3.93			
(B) Secondary										
Manufacturing	3.48	5.40	8.36	6.66	7.16	3.53	8.62			
Electricity, gas and water supply				3.88	6.30	5.36	9.99	4.96	3.36	9.41
Construction	-0.85	5.01	-2.75	0.88	2.29	3.55	1.60			
Total (B)	1.44	5.28	4.93	5.75	6.25	3.52	6.52			

5.20	2.38	2.75	2.96	2.37	4.89			
on	2.56	2.71	5.28	5.67	9.92	7.92		
7.59								
5.92	9.12	11.76	8.90	6.94	9.66			
Real estate, ownership of dwellings and busines				0.49	1.46	2.65		
2.14	9.14	4.53	5.09	8.01				
2.13	2.47	2.00	1.72	1.80	1.40	3.26		
4.46	4.24	3.97	5.42					
1.27	3.23	4.18	4.45	3.98	2.92	4.94		
·	т	\ D	0.24	2.20	2.40	2.02		
Per capita Net State product (Per Capita Net Income) Rs. 2.42 1.95 2.88					2.40	2.93		
	5.92 and busing 2.14 2.13 4.46 1.27	5.92 9.12 and business ser 2.14 9.14 2.13 2.47 4.46 4.24 1.27 3.23	5.92 9.12 11.76 and business services 2.14 9.14 4.53 2.13 2.47 2.00 4.46 4.24 3.97 1.27 3.23 4.18	5.92 9.12 11.76 8.90 and business services 0.47 2.14 9.14 4.53 5.09 2.13 2.47 2.00 1.72 4.46 4.24 3.97 5.42 1.27 3.23 4.18 4.45	5.92 9.12 11.76 8.90 6.94 and business services 0.47 0.49 2.14 9.14 4.53 5.09 8.01 2.13 2.47 2.00 1.72 1.80 4.46 4.24 3.97 5.42 1.27 3.23 4.18 4.45 3.98	5.92 9.12 11.76 8.90 6.94 9.66 and business services 0.47 0.49 1.46 2.14 9.14 4.53 5.09 8.01 2.13 2.47 2.00 1.72 1.80 1.40 4.46 4.24 3.97 5.42 1.27 3.23 4.18 4.45 3.98 2.92		

Source: Various issues of *Statistical Abstracts*, Punjab/CRRID State Development Report-Punjab

Note: The data presented in the table marks the seventies and latest year, and the last year of the respective plan periods beginning from Fourth Plan

III. b. Shifts in the percentage distribution of workers by industrial categories in Punjab:

Sector

% of working population

Sector	70 OI WOII	ang populado
1971 2001		
1. Primary	63.63	39.64
a. Cultivators	42.56	22.60
B. Agri Laborers	20.11	16.30
c. Livestock forestry & fishing	0.95	0.73
2. Secondary.	13.18	14.83
a. Small-large industry	11.3	12.82
b. Construction	1.98	2.01
3. Tertiary	23.09	45.53
Trade & commerce	8.22	13.46
Transport storage Communication	2.80	4.32
Other Services	12.07	27.75

The changes in the occupational pattern leads to the conclusion that the importance of primary sector has declined, there is a marginal increase in the share of secondary share and a significant improvement in the share of tertiary sector which is an indication of Punjab economy moving towards developing status. It is worth mentioning that in tertiary sector, Punjab is much progressive than country as a whole as the national average was only 20.5 in 2001. This is essentially due to the phenomenal growth in the requirement of skilled, unskilled and domestic workers in the urban-industrial and urban informal sub-sectors. These sub-sectors account for the major part of the interstate migration into the urban Punjab.

IV. A. Source wise Quantum of migration from other state:

1991 Census enumerated 1.12 million interstate migrants into Punjab as compared to 0.87-0.89 million in 1981 and 0.58-0.64 million in 1971. Such migrants constituted 5.5 per cent of the total population in the state in 1991, 5.3 per cent in 1981 and 4.3 per cent in 1971. Sources of inflow indicate that the majority of interstate migrants into Punjab are from the adjoining and neighboring states and Union Territories. The only far-away locations from where people move in large numbers into Punjab are either in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, which, together with the adjoining states and Union Territories, account for a little less than 90 per cent of interstate migrants into Punjab.

Trends in Interstate Migration into Punjab (1971-1991)

		0	, \	,		
Origin of migration		1971		1981		1991
Place of birt	th (PoB)	PoB	PoB	PoB	PoB	PoB
Bihar	1.3	1.3	5.8	5.4	8.1	7.9
Haryana	31.0	32.5	28.4	29.4	26.5	26.6
Н. Р.	15.4	13.7	12.9	12.1	12.1	11.7
J. & K.	4.5	4.1	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.2
Rajasthan	10.0	11.7	10.5	10.3	9.8	9.7
U. P.	24.0	22.4	25.2	24.0	24.9	24.4
Delhi	4.2	5.7	4.2	4.7	4.1	4.4
Others State	es 9.6	8.6	9.5	10.7	11.3	12.1
and UTs in	India					

All interstate migrants100.0 (584853)100.0 (636230)100.0 (872377)100.0 (887492)100.0 (1126149)100.0(1120282) Source: Census of India 1971, 1981, 1991: Punjab.

Data shows that the four neighboring states namely Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, and Rajasthan are the major contributors of inter-state migrants to Punjab. From these four states their absolute number has consistently increased over a period of time.

The migrants from these four states have increased from 4.70 lakhs in 1971 to 6.91 lakhs in 1981, and further increased to 8.09 lakhs in 1991. The migrants from Haryana has increased from 2.60 Lakhs (28.29 percent) in 1981 to 2.97 Lakhs (26.57 percent) in 1991. Uttar Pradesh from 2.30 Lakhs (25.00 percent) to 2.73 Lakhs (24.43 percent), Himachal Pradesh from 1.15 Lakhs (12.52 percent) to 1.30 Lakhs (11.71 percent), and Rajasthan from 0.86 Lakhs (9.33 percent) to 1.09 Lakhs (9.75) During period 1981 to 1991. The share of migrants resided in states other than those four sates has also gone up during 1971-91.

Bihar is one of the other states from where migration to Punjab has increased. In 1971 there were 8005 migrants come from Bihar. Whereas, in 1981 and 1991 this figure gone up to 57132 (6.20 percent) and 88388 (7.88 percent).

Data pertaining to each individual State of origin reveals that the gender differentials among migrants are significant according to proximity. In other words, females dominate the migrants from adjoining states and this trend strengthened in the subsequent decades. From distant states males dominate the migrants and have shown a declining trend during this period. Out of the total migrants from Bihar, 81.8 percent were males in 1981, and their percentage has declined to 71.26 in 1991. Similarly, from Uttar Pradesh their share has declined from 65.20 percent in 1981 to 58.10 percent in 1991. The remaining places of origin namely Haryana, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh contributing significant proportion of women migrants and their proportion have consistently been increased during this period. The percent

share of women migrants from Haryana has increased from 69.50 to 76.61, followed by Rajasthan from where it has increased from 61.90 to 69.16, and Himachal Pradesh from 58.41 to 62.31 during 1981 to 1991. A few women had economic reasons for migration and a majority had migrated both because of "marriage" and "along the family" or migrated owing to the "associational" reasons. The common cultural tradition perhaps has facilitated the migration of women in greater numbers from the adjoining states.

The same set of data reveals that of the total number of inter-state immigrants in Punjab, the share of women migrants has increased significantly from 52.89 percent in 1981 to 58.80 percent in 1991. Out of the total female migrants among the five states, though the absolute number of women migrants from Haryana and Himachal Pradesh has increased significantly but their percent share has declined from 37.04 & 13.58 in 1981 to 34.35 & 12.31 in 1991, respectively. While, in case of Uttar Pradesh the proportion of women migrants has increased from 16.26 percent to 17.32 percent, followed by Rajasthan where it increased from 10.70 percent to 11.25 percent and Bihar it increased from 02.06 percent to 03.80 percent, during 1981 to 1991. Of the total inter-state male migrants the proportion of male migrants from Uttar Pradesh is significantly high i.e.34.18 percent in 1981 and slightly increased to 34.35 percent in 1991. The migration from Bihar is consistently remained a male dominated- the proportion of male migrants has increased from 10.39 percent in 1981 to 13.48 percent in 1991 whereas, from Haryana, the share of male migrants has declined from 18.24 percent in 1981 to 15.0 percent in 1991. From Himachal Pradesh the male's share has marginally declined from 10.85 percent to 10.65 percent, and for Rajasthan it declined from 07.40 percent to 07.17 percent during this period. Among the lifetime migrants having longer duration of residence, the employment of women and attractive wages in spite of poor living conditions have unequivocally encouraged the spatial mobility of families.

IV. B REASONS FOR MIGRATION INTO PUNJAB:

Out of the total inter-state immigrants in 1981, 28.37 percent migrants came to the State for "employment" and "business" purposes, and this proportion has declined to 24.86 percent in 1991. Interestingly, the gender differentials in relation to specific reasons of migration are highly significant- out of the total inter-state immigrants the proportion of males moved because of "employment" and "business" has decreased from 26.0 Percent in 1981 to 21.89 percent in 1991. And, a few women, though slightly increased from 2.36 in 1981 to 3.03 percent in 1991 migrated because of these reasons. The proportion of women moved because of "marriage" has increased from 30.32 percent in 1981 to 38.30 percent in 1991. And, a few men, only 0.55 percent in 1981 and 0.71 percent in 1991 migrated because of marriage. Another important reason of migration is "family moved", and for this reason gender differentials are minimal. Over a period of time when the receiving areas start accommodating the migrants. Consequently, migrations become stable, less circulatory and start involving families. In context, sizable proportion i.e. 10.55 percent men and 13.16 percent women migrants in 1981, and 10.72 percent men and 12.32 percent women migrants in 1991 moved along with the family. In brief, the proportion of migrants remained almost same, and the female migrants have slightly outnumbered the male migrants in both the decades.

IV. C. MIGRATION TO RURAL AREAS OF PUNJAB:

It is interesting to note that compared to intra-state migrants, in the inter-state migration the proportion of rural migrants is substantially lower while the proportion of rural-urban and urban-urban migrants is considerably higher. While, rural to rural migration involves about 70 per cent of the intra- state migrants, it accounts for only about 30 per cent of the

inter-state migrants. Nearly one-third of the inter-state migrants are in the rural to urban stream against about 15 per cent of the intra-state migrants. The urban to urban migration accounts for about 30 per cent of the inter-state migrants compared to about 9 per cent of the within the state migrants. There is, however, no considerable variation in the ratio of urban to rural migration (Ibid).

The total farm labour requirements in Punjab increased by 78.65 percent from 1965-66 to 1972-73 (Sidhu 1976). The rural areas of Punjab have been experiencing an influx of seasonal migrant laborers mostly from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, particularly after the initiation of green revolution, that is, during the past decade. And, further, estimated that the migrant laborers numbering about 2.20 Lakhs or 7.6 per cent of the total agricultural laborers temporarily come to Punjab (Grewal & Sidhu 1981). The Census may not have enumerated the entire migrant labour in circulation

In Punjab, the rural-rural stream of migration consisted of 34.92 percent of the total Inter-state migrants in 1971, 35.04 percent in 1981 and 33.66 percent in 1991. The proportion of male migrants in rural-rural to stream has marginally increased from 24.66 percent in 1971 to 26.79 percent in 1981, and again declined to 23.04 percent in 1991. The rural-rural stream has comprised of the highest proportion of women migrants, but registered a steady decline-this proportion has declined from 43.88 percent in 1971 to 42.40 percent and 40.97 percent in 1981 and 1991 decades, respectively.

The urban-rural migration though statistically not very significant but has paramount importance in an agrarian economy, which in addition to return migration also reflects the extent of diversification of rural economy. During 1971, the urban-rural migration stream constitutes about 10.33 percent of the total inter-state immigrants. The proportion of migrants in urban-rural stream has slightly declined to 9.96 percent in 1981, and again increased to around 10.0 percent in1991. In urban-rural stream, the proportion of male migrants has shown marginal decline, whereas, female migrants has shown marginal increase, during this period. During thirty years period the rural-rural and urban-rural migration streams combined together has shown decline in the proportion of inter-state immigrants in Punjab.

Of the total inter-state female immigrants 54.57 percent and 53.53 percent female came to rural areas in 1971 and 1981 decades, respectively. This proportion has declined to 51.74 percent in 1991. The percentage of male inter-state immigrants to rural areas has increased from 34.57 percent (1.02 lakh) in 1971 to 35.45 percent (1.53 Lakhs) in 1981 whereas in 1991 decade it has declined to 31.74 percent (1.46 Lakhs).

IV. D. INTER-STATE IMMIGRATION TO URBAN AREAS OF PUNJAB

Rural to Urban Stream: The contribution of rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban streams of migration has paramount importance for the growth of urban areas, in general and the growth of big cities in particular.

Census data shows that among the total inter-state migrants, 54.50 percent came to urban areas of Punjab in 1971, and their proportion has declined to 52.12 percent in 1981 and again increased to 55.26 percent in 1991. Data, however, show that in 1971 rural-to-urban migrants constituted 21.21 percent of the total inter-state migrants This has increased to 24.66 percent (2.27 lakh) in 1981 and thereon in 1991 their percent share declined to 23.30 (2.61lakh). The rural-urban stream primarily is male dominated. In this stream 28.56 percent male migrants in 1971 increased to 31.98 percent in 1981 and this proportion remained almost same in 1991. On the contrary, the percentage of females has increased from 14.79 in

1971 to 18.20 in 1981 and declined to 17.45 in1991.

The urban-urban stream is relatively more prominent. In 1971, this constituted 33.29 percent (2.12 lakh) of the total inter-state migrants. This share of urban-urban stream has declined to 27.46 percent (2.52 lakh) in 1981 and again increased to 31.96 percent (3.58lakh) in 1991. The male migrants in this stream has sharply declined from 36.56 percent in 1971 to 29.18 percent in 1981 and again increased to 35.0 percent in 1991. Similar trend has been noticed in case of female migrants in urban-urban stream. The proportion of females has sharply declined from 30.45 percent in 1971 to 25.92 percent in 1981 and again increased to 29.89 percent in 1991.

V. Urbanization and Immigration in Punjab

A unique feature of contemporary rural Punjab is the 'Rural-Urban Continuum'. The differences between the villages and the cities in terms of basic facilities have diminished over the years, to the point where they, by themselves, are no longer sufficient inducement to trigger a migration of population from the villages to the cities.

The overall ratio of rural and urban population has changed hardly by 6 % i.e. from 76.27 % rural population in 1971 to 70.45 % in 1991. During this period, the overall percentage of increase of the entire population at national level was 54.5 % while for Punjab it was lower at 49%. The rate of growth of the urban population in Punjab between 1971 and 1991 has been lower than national level and has been dropping sharply from 47.39 in 1971-81 to 26.60 in 1981-1991. Further 75 % of this was due to natural increase with net migration, both internal and interstate, contributing less than 25%. Natural increase is the main reason for Punjab urban growth and in this rate Punjab leads rest of the country. The in-migration to the urban areas has been far below the national average. (In 1981-91 in-migration in Punjab contributed to urban growth only 17.49 while this figure at the national level was 28%)

Reasons for faster growth of Urban Population as compared to rural areas in Punjab: 1. Expansion of the boundaries of major urban centers has included within them villages that were formerly beyond their boundaries. The increase in the area of Ludhiana has been from 20 to 135 kms while Amritsar increased from 47 to 115 and Jalandhar from 20 to 80 kms. The total area covered by Punjab towns has increase fro 692 sq kms to 1132 sq kms during 1971 and 1984. This integration of rural areas into urban ones cannot be considered as out-migration from the villages. This reclassification contributed 11.52 % to urban population growth in 1981-91 periods.

2. There has been significant and substantial influx of migrants from the rural areas of Bihar and U.P. to the Punjab cities where they have settled permanently constituting a reservoir of unskilled, semi-skilled labour for industry, services and domestic labour. Their precise quantification eludes for essentially political reasons. Their entry into electoral rolls is a source of emotive reaction and potentially susceptible to political manipulation. A recent study, surveying random households in the District of Ludhiana, found that migrant households constituted 56% of the total and of these, in turn, migrants out of state constituted 60%. And 71% of these came from the rural areas of other states. Therefore, extrapolating from the findings of the survey it would appear that as much as one-third of the total urban population of Ludhiana consists of such new' first generation arrivals'.

In1981, the urban growth rate works out to 44.51 percent. 29 new towns that have been

classified as urban with a population of 2.11 lakhs. Their contribution to urban growth rate taking into consideration the corresponding 1971 urban population is 6.56 percent. The contribution of internal migration comes to 16.73 percent. The natural increase of urban population, therefore, comes to 21.23 percent. The inter-state immigrants into urban areas of Punjab constitute about 5.62 percent, and the remaining 11.10 percent intra-state migrants contributed for the urban growth during 1971-81 decade. The contribution of internal migration to urban areas constitutes 10.34 percent of the urban growth rate, and out of this inter-state immigration contributes nearly 3.01 percent to the urban growth rate during 1981-91 decade. The natural increase of urban population, therefore, comes to 20.61 percent.

The uniqueness of the Punjab's experience is that the process of urbanization took place without any significant permanent spatial dislocation or transfer of the rural population.

VI. MIGRANTS: DO THEY POSE PROBLEMS? WHAT IS THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE HOST STATE?

No reliable data is available to come to any firm conclusion on these and similar politically very sensitive questions. In developed countries like U.S.A. detailed studies were undertaken by well established institutions like Rand Corporation in the context of illegal and legal migrants from other countries. These included issues like costs and benefits to the host country and society in terms of taxation, provision of social security and public services. The context is totally different in India in view of the legal and human rights guarantied under our Constitution and Law.

The mindset of most of the state governments is to consider immigrants as part of the problem but have not been able to curtail the immigration despite some of the measures decided but ineffectively enforced by them. Goa state decided to enhance the security deposit of the contractors who bring immigrant laborers. Such measures are only for publicity and cannot negate the rights of the immigrants or cope with the market forces.

From the perspective of competitiveness and further growth of small scale industry, availability of cheaper labour force is of great importance to cut down the cost of production and improve the profitability. The perspective of the states of origion of the immigrants is that the faster growing states like Punjab further delay the development of those states by siphoning of their skilled labour force on the lines we lament the brain drain resulting from out-migration by our highly skilled youth to foreign countries.

VII. RIGHTS BASED APPROACH TO IMMIGRATION:

A. Interstate Immigrant's Rights in India

The Indian Constitution contains basic provisions relating to the conditions of employment, nondiscrimination, right to work etc. (for example, Article 23 (1), Article 39, Article 42, Article 43) which are applicable for all workers including migrant workers within the country. Migrant laborers are covered under almost all labour laws and policies. Only the Employees State Insurance Act, 1952; and Maternity Benefit Act, 1961.cover only organized sector workers and exclude temporary migrants.

The Inter State Migrant Workmen (Regulation and Conditions of Service) Act 1979, specifically deals with malpractices associated with the recruitment and employment of workers who migrate across state boundaries. The Act only covers interstate migrants recruited through contractors or middlemen and those establishments that employ five or more such workers on any given day. The Inter-State Migration Workmen Act, 1979, defines a migrant workman

as one who is recruited by the contractor in the workman's home state. It clearly states that migrant workers are entitled to equitable money to dependent family payable by employers along with their travel expenses when they migrate.

The Inter State Migrant Workmen Act, has largely remained on paper and proved to be futile in the backdrop of helplessness, ignorance and desperation of the prospective migrants. In the case of the 1979 Act, few contractors have taken Licenses and very few enterprises employing interstate migrant workers have registered under the Act. The record of prosecutions and dispute has been very weak. Migrant workers do not posses pass books, prescribed by the law, and forming the basic record of their identity and their transactions with the contractor and employers (National Commission of Rural Labour 1991).40

Several studies conducted on the migrant workers working in the unorganized sector in several states point out the 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) (Breman, 1996; Biswas 2003; Gamber & Kulkarni 2003).41

VII. B. Policy and Direction for the Change:

Policy-makers have tended to perceive migration largely as a problem, posing threat to social and economic stability and hence there has been an effort to control it, rather than viewing it as an important livelihood option for the poor. There has been little or no effort of organized support made accessible for the poor migrants who face insecurity in their source location as well as the destination areas.

The most obvious challenge is to integrate the needs of both the host and migrant population.

The 'rights based approach' to migration implies the interpretation of human rights principles and labour standards into policy making. Such an approach necessitates the use of commitments voluntarily made by the state- whether of origin, destination or transit – to protect rights and prevent serious human rights violations during the migration cycle. There is a need to introduce rights-based approach to frame migration policies which includes observance of international human rights norms, including equality and nondiscrimination, standard setting and accountability, the recognition of migrants as subjects and holders of rights, the participation of migrant communities and the integration of gender, child's rights and ethnic perspective.

Laws and policies protecting the rights of migrants during the migratory cycle should be set in the context of, and complemented by, development policies, which address the underlying causes of migration. The over-riding priority is to create a situation in which migration can take place in conditions of dignity, and become an informed choice rather than a strategy for survival in an economically asymmetric world.

The human rights framework facilitates an increased focus on which migrants live and address the stigmatization and discrimination from the rights perspective

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