

## Chapter 3

### DIMENSION OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration has an unavoidable relationship with the growth of population. In the recent years rural migration is gaining significance where we get to see movement of rural population to the urban areas in search of work and better amenities. This results in rural depopulation and increasing urbanization leading to extension of urban areas. Migration is thus, highly responsible for the changing demographics of a place.

In the recent years the researchers seem to be gaining more interest in internal migration as compared to international migration. This chapter makes an attempt to study the Census Data on migration for the years 1991 to 2001 (N.B: migration Data for the Census year 2011 are yet to be published) in order to have a clear idea of the magnitude of migration in Assam and Guwahati city. The dimension of migration has been described through types, flow, sex selectivity of migrants and reasons for migration into Guwahati city over the mentioned decade. In order to give an accurate picture of the current migration scenario, migration data of the '*place of last residence*' is been considered for the study.

### **3.1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MIGRANT POPULATION IN GUWAHATI CITY**

Migration plays a very prominent role in determining the demographic character of a place. Therefore it occupies a very significant place in demographic analysis. Migration affects the size of the population which leads to a vast change in the structure of a place. As per The Census 2001, the total volume of migrants population in Assam for the year 1991 was 54.07 lakhs which made (24.12%) of the total population. The volume further increased to 67.92 lakhs (25.5%) in 2001. The size of migrant's population in Guwahati in 1991 was 27.68 lakhs which increased to 37.86 lakhs in 2001. It is thus evident that migration has been highly responsible for the change in the demography of Guwahati and Assam at large.

In a study conducted by Basumatary (2014), Assam experienced four stages of population immigration. Large volume of migrant labours came from states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Odisha etc. to fill the shortage of labours in the newly established tea industries in Assam. This was the first flow of migrants in the region followed by farm labourers from East Bengal (Bangladesh) and the third flow was from Nepal. Once trade and commerce geared up in the state there was an advent of the fourth phase of labourers from other states of India.

In a study conducted by Borgohain (2011), the city has undergone a process of in-migration during different periods of history. If we look at the 1971 census we will see that 59% of Guwahati's population had migrated from other nearby places to the city. The highest migration (17%) was from within the kamrup district where Guwahati city was situated at that time. The next highest migration source was from outside Assam; Bihar (41.9%), West Bengal (12.6%), Rajasthan (10.4%), Meghalaya (10.2%) and Uttar

Pradesh (9.6%). This interstate migration was followed by intra district migration of (15%). Finally a large volume of migrants were from outside the national boundary; with immigrants from East Pakistan, now, Bangladesh (70%) followed by Nepal (15.5%)

The presence of a huge volume of migrants in Guwahati city can be linked up to the history of migration, starting in the colonial period into Assam. Myron Weiner wrote that Assam had been the fastest growing area in the sub-continent in the last seventy years (Baruah, 1999). The 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century show a marked increase in the volume of migrants due to the discovery and development of tea, coal, oil and natural gas. Assam's locals were not ready to provide their employment to the growing areas of opportunities as these people were involved in farm activities. Thus, a wave of migrants flushed in from nearby states of Bihar and Odisha to work in the plantations. Among the migrant groups this '*tea labour community*' is the oldest. Nepalis were also an old migrant community of Assam. The growth of coal and other industries further fostered the demand for the migrants from various places. The '*Marwaris*' also migrated to Assam during the British regime and looked after the trade and commerce of the state. The two other communities that migrated during the British rule were the Bengali Muslims and the Bengali Muslims from then East Pakistan. Later as a result of the partition of India in 1947 many people migrated to the North East India. Migration continued to persist in the wake of the war of liberation 1971 when East Pakistan separated from Pakistan and established as Bangladesh. Migration from Bangladesh also continued due to the porous border separating India and Bangladesh. Recognizing Bangladeshi immigrants is a very difficult task because of past close association of East Bengal communities with Assam (Baruah,1999).The tribal ethnic clashes are no less in adding volume to the already growing migrant population in Guwahati.

Guwahati city experienced a very high growth of population pressure during the period of 1971-1981 with Assam's capital shifting from shilling to Guwahati in 1972. This growth was mainly due to migration of people pouring into the city. Migration took place mostly among the rural poor who migrated to get rid of the hardships of life in the areas of origin. Some of them were affected by floods in the Brahmaputra River. These were the victims who had lost their lands to soil erosion. People from the lower middle class, also migrated, in search of better opportunities and living conditions. Being the primate city it attracted the well to-do rich class of people too. Children migrated in search of higher educational facilities not only from Assam but also from other North Eastern states. (CUE working paper (24), 2014). People migrated from different states in India to earn livelihoods through different activities. Since the colonial period there has been migration from Bihar, Punjab and also far away Andhra Pradesh consisting of its second generation migrants (Desai et al 2012).

In a state like Assam nature has a major role to play in the migration of people from the areas that are devastated by natural calamities to the advantaged regions. Flood in Assam is a major push factor for the people and rise in the volume of migrants in Guwahati city. Flood and soil erosion of the mighty river Brahmaputra is a significant cause of displacement of the people who are bound to take shelter in the hills and forest lands.

Migration of different groups of people to the city leads to community centric settlements. a huge volume of minority population is found in places like Machkhoa, Lakhtokia, Hatigaon and Sijubari areas of the city, Marwaris, Biharis and Rajasthanis are mostly seen in Paltan Bazar, Fancy Bazar and Aathgaon, Bengalis are found mostly in Maligaon, Pandu and Railway colonies, and Christians are mostly settled in Christian Basti (Saikia, 1996), However, The tribal people are found to settle down in the peripheral hills.

### **3.1.2. VOLUME OF MIGRATION INTO ASSAM AND GUWAHATI CITY**

Migration has been a contentious issue in Assam with 25% of decadal growth rate of migrant's population in the state during (1991 to 2001). The state has been a host not only to the internal migrants but also migrants from the rest of the country and other countries as well. Thus the city experiences inter-state, intra-state, intra-district and international migration of people flowing into the state.

#### ***3.1.2 (A) Immigration status in Assam and Kamrup urban***

As per The Census of India, Assam 1991 Vol-1 (table D-1, D-2) and, Census of India, Assam 2001, D-Series, (Table- D-1, D-2), international migrants to Assam in the year 1991 and 2001 are 339,555 and 190,558 persons respectively, out of which migrants from Bangladesh constitute 28,8109 persons in 1991 (84.84 percent) and 164,144 persons in 2001 (86.13 percent). Immigration from Bangladesh is the highest in Assam. In case of immigration from Nepal, 22,433 persons migrated in the year 1991 (6.61 percent) and 17,896 persons migrated in 2001 (9.39 percent). During the same period 15,110 persons migrated from Pakistan in 1991 (4.45 percent) and 7097 persons migrated in 2001 (3.72 percent). Immigration from Pakistan dropped by (-0.73 percentage points). Immigrants from other countries constitute 13,903 persons in 1991 (4.09 percent) and 1421 persons in 2001 (0.75 percent).

In the absence of available data on foreign migrants to Guwahati city, Immigration status was surveyed for the immigrants in Kamrup Metro and it was found that in the (year 1991), 11,072 people migrated from Bangladesh (73.8 percent) and 6,008 persons migrated (71.1 percent) in 2001. This shows a decline in the migration rate from Bangladesh in 2001. However, this figure underestimates the total volume of immigrants in the true sense. There are a significant number of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh

however; they have a tendency to give wrong information about their place of last residence. They hide their identities as immigrants and give information about their place of last residence as within the state of Assam. In case of Nepal, 2,360 persons migrated in 1991 (15.7 percent) and 1,861 persons migrated in 2001 (22.0 percent). During the same decade migrants from Myanmar constituted 180 persons in 1991 (1.2 percent) and 73 persons in 2001 (0.9 percent). Bhutan also had an insignificant number of migrants constituting 40 persons in 1991 (0.3 percent) which increased to 50 persons in 2001 (0.6 percent). Another reason for this decline in the number of immigrants could be the increasing competition and falling job opportunities in the labor market. Lack of skill is also a reason for their incapability to face the growing requirement in the work field.

### ***3.1.2 (B) Status of Inter-State Migration in Assam and Guwahati City***

There has been a growing trend of inter-state migration with a movement of people from different states of India to Assam. The study presents the data of migrants from various states of India to Assam and Guwahati city. As per Census of India, Assam, (Migration Table, 1991, Vol-1) and Census of India Assam, (2001 D-Series), migration from some major parts of India to Assam in 1991 and 2001 are 487,761 and 407,141 respectively. Out of these, from Bihar, 170,213 persons migrated (34.9 percent) in 1991 and 127,397 persons migrated in 2001 (31.3 percent), from West Bengal, 90,864 persons migrated in 1991 (18.7 percent) and 81,654 persons migrated in 2001 (20.1 percent), from Uttar Pradesh, 45,847 persons migrated in 1991 (9.4 percent) and 37,791 persons migrated in 2001 (9.3 percent), from Rajasthan, 27,269 persons migrated in the year 1991 (5.6 percent) and 23,210 persons migrated in 2001 (5.6 percent). The remaining migrated from other parts of the country.

Migration to Guwahati from some major states of India for the year 2001 is 74,304 persons. Out of which 28,080 persons migrated from Bihar (37.8 percent), 13, 646 persons migrated from West Bengal (18.2 percent), 4974 persons migrated from Uttar Pradesh (6.7 percent), 6, 175 persons migrated from Rajasthan (8.3 percent), 1,555 persons migrated from Andhra Pradesh (2.1 percent) and 1,407 persons migrated from Punjab (1.9 percent). The remaining migrated from other states of India.

Migrants from Bihar form the largest proportion in the entire migrant's population. These migrants usually belong to the unskilled labour force who are engaged in various petty works such as rickshaw pullers, construction labours etc. A huge chunk of Bihari migrants also work in the brick kiln industries. The migrants from Rajasthan are usually businessmen who are engaged in various businesses and are usually concentrated in some urban pockets of the state. Female migrants from West Bengal work as domestic help in the city. The services of these migrants are in great demand in the state. However, the migrants from Bihar and U.P dropped in 2001 and those from Rajasthan and West Bengal increased. Migration data enumerated for Guwahati city for 2001 on the basis of the place of last residence reveals that there has been a significant drop in migration to Guwahati city from other parts of the country in the period 1991 to 2001 from 93,714 to 74,304. This decline has been recorded despite the growth of total number of migrants to Guwahati city at a steady rate. This could be a fall out of a decline in the inter-state migration of unskilled labours to Guwahati city in the post liberalization period and also relocation of the second generation to more convincing places of their choice.

### ***3.1.2 (C) Status of Migration from the North-Eastern States of India in Assam and Guwahati City***

As per the Census of Assam, Migration Table, 1991, Vol-1 (Table D-2) and Census of India, Migration Table, 2001(D-Series, Table D-2), migration from other North-Eastern states to Assam for 1991 and 2001 are 93,342 and 82,798 persons respectively. Out of these, from Arunachal Pradesh, 8210 persons migrated in 1991 (8.79 percent) and 7619 persons migrated in 2001 (9.20 percent), from Nagaland, 9,780 persons migrated in 1991(10.47 percent) and 13,476 in 2001 (16.27 percent), From Meghalaya, 30,259 persons migrated in 1991 (32.41 percent) and 23,399 migrated in 2001(28.26 percent), from Manipur, 6,540 persons migrated in 1991 (7.0 percent) and 6241 persons migrated in 2001 (7.53 percent), From Mizoram, 2,880 persons migrated in 1991 (3.08 percent) and 1,789 migrated in 2001 (2.16 percent), the number of migrants was highest from Tripura constituting 34,443 persons in 1991 (36.89 percent) which dropped to 29,427 persons in 2001 (35.54 percent), In case of Sikkim 1230 persons migrated in 1991 (1.31percent) which further dropped to 847 persons in 2001 (1.02 percent). The second highest migration was from Meghalaya with 32.41% in 1991. However, the number of migrants from Tripura decreased to 35.54 % and Meghalaya to 28.26% in 2001 but Tripura remained the state with highest number of out migrants to Assam. Migration from the other states to Assam is comparatively less significant.

The total number of migrants from the North-East States to Guwahati city was 13070 in the year 2001. Out of which 639 persons migrated from Arunachal Pradesh (4.9 percent), 839 persons migrated from Nagaland (6.4 percent), 7499 persons migrated from Meghalaya constituting the highest proportion (57.4percent), in case of Manipur 982 persons migrated to Guwahati city (7.5 percent), 187 persons migrated from Mizoram



(1.4 percent), 2847 persons migrated from Tripura (21.8 percent) and 77 persons migrated from Sikkim (0.6 percent).

In case of Guwahati, migrants from Meghalaya and Tripura are relatively much higher in volume than the migrants from other North-Eastern States which are relatively smaller in size. However, the size of migrant's population from these states dropped in number in 2001. This indicates work availability and better amenities in their respective states that acted as pull factors. However, Migration from Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Manipur increased in absolute number as well as in percentage over the same period. This indicates that there has been a growing number of pull factors like; educational facilities, health facilities and livelihood opportunities that welcome the migrants from other states. The problematic law and order situation in these states also act as push factors leading to an increase in outmigration from these states.

### **3.2 MIGRATION: TYPES, STREAMS AND REASONS**

**3.2.1 Types of Migration:** There are three types of migration; Intra-state (intra-district plus inter-district migration), Inter-state (Migration from other states) and international migration (Migration from different countries).

#### **3.2.1 (A) Types of Migration in Assam**

Table 3.1 (a): Types of Migration in Assam (1991-2001)

<b>Types of Migrants</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>
Intra-district	3267528 (61.02)	3795474 (70.66)
Inter-district	1353414 (25.27)	1066766 (19.86)
Inter-state	478365 (9.0)	378076 (7.03)
International	2,54,893 (4.76)	1,30,966 (2.43)
All-types	53,54,200 (100)	53,71,282 (100)

Note: figures in the parentheses are percentages of total

Source: Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 1991, vol-1 (table D-2) and Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 2001, D- Series (table D-2)

As per the classification of three different types of internal migration by the Indian Census, intra district migration is the highest in Assam. In 1991, the composite of intra-district migration was 61.02% which increased to 70.66% in 2001. The inter-district and inter-state migration fell from 25.27% in 1991 to 19.86 % in 2001 and 9.0% in 1991 to 7.03% in 2001 respectively. Volume of international migration also dropped from 4.76% in 1991 to an insignificant size of 2.43% in 2001. However, the exact figure of international migrants is an underestimation of the real figure.

### ***3.2.1 (B) Types of Migration in Guwahati City***

Table No. 3.1 (b): Types of Migration in Guwahati city (1991-2001)

<b>Types of migration</b>	<b>1991 Persons</b>	<b>2001 Persons</b>
Intra-district	40354 (14.66)	75829 (25.14)
Inter-district	142490 (51.77)	150496 (49.91)
Inter-state	79591 (28.92)	69487 (23.04)
International	12770 (4.64)	5708 (1.89)
All types	275205 (100)	301520 (100)

Note1: figures in the parentheses are percentages of the total and Note 2: Intra-district migration in 2001 comprises only (R-U) migration to Guwahati city due to unavailability of data for (U-U) migration in the city for 2001

Source: Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 1991, vol-1 (table D-2) and Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 2001, D- Series (table D-2)

In case of Guwahati city the *intra-district* migration increased from 14.66 percent in 1991 to 25.14 percent in 2001. However, *inter-district* migration dropped from 51.77 percent in 1991 to 49.91 percent in 2001. *Inter-state* migration during the same period declined from 28.92 percent to 23.04 percent and international migration also dropped from 4.64 percent to 1.89 percent in the same decade. The increase of *intra-district* migration is indicative of short-distance migration within the district due to good accessibility of transport facilities. However, the fall of inter-district migration reveals that apart from the capital city Guwahati, urbanization is also taking place in other parts of the state attracting labours from rural areas. The drop in the international migration could be an underestimation of migrants who succeed to hide their identity with a fear of being thrown out of the country.

**3.2.2 Pattern of Migration:** There are four classified patterns of migration. Pattern refers to the flow/stream of migration from Rural to Rural, Rural to Urban, Urban to Rural and Urban to Urban areas.

#### **3.2.2 (A) Pattern of Migration in Assam and Guwahati City**

The total in each stream constitutes the number of migrants from intra-district, inter-district and inter-state migration in that stream.

Table No. 3.2 (a): Distribution of migrants by Pattern of Migration in Assam and Guwahati (1991 and 2001)

Streams	For Assam		For Guwahati	
	1991	2001	1991	2001
Rural to Rural Persons:	P: 40,51,345	P: 38,65,99		
Rural to Urban Persons:	P: 5,49,433	P: 6,74,172	P: 1,51,741	P: 2,20,693
Urban to Rural Persons:	P: 1,65,783	P: 1,52,126		
Urban to Urban	P: 3,32,749	P: 5,27,419	P: 1,10,694	P: 75,098

Source: Census of India Assam, Migration Table, 1991, Vol-1, Table: D-2, D-10 and Census of India Assam, Migration Table, 2001, D-Series (U/A City Table)

Source: Census of India Assam, Migration Table, 1991, Vol-1, Table: D-2, D-10 and Census of India Assam, Migration Table, 2001, D-Series (U/A City Table)

Among the four classified patterns of migration, '*rural to rural*' migration pre dominates the migration scene of Assam with 40, 51,342 migrants in 1991. Although, the size declined to 39, 64,312 migrants in 2001 but it was still higher than the other three flows of migration.

*Rural to urban* stream in Assam leaped from 5, 49,433 persons in 1991 to 7, 05,556 persons in 2001. The migrants increased by 1, 56,123 in number. During the same period *rural to urban* migration to Guwahati also increased from 1, 51,741 to 2, 20 714.

*Urban to urban* migration in Assam also leaped from 3, 32,749 migrants in 1991, to 5, 35, 998 in 2001. However, in case of Guwahati city, Urban to urban migration dropped from 1, 10, 694 to 75, 098. Thus in case of Guwahati too *rural to urban* flow is the dominant migration stream.

Reverse migration or *urban to rural* flow declined from 1, 65,783 in 1991 to 1, 54, 512 in 2001. Thus, counter migration dropped by 11,271 persons from 1991 to 2001)

### 3.2.2 (B) Types of migration by different streams in Assam

Table No.3.2 (b): Cross classification of types of migration by different streams in Assam (1991-2001)

Intra : district Persons			Inter : District Persons			Inter : State persons persons		
1991	2001		1991	2001		1991	2001	
R-R	29,46,562 (90.17)	31,14,90 1 (82.06)	R-R	8,97,501 (66.31)	6,36,646 (59.68)	R-R	2,07,279 (43.33)	1,35,052 (35.72)
R-U	2,02,242 (6.18)	3,04,954 (8.03)	R-U	2,15,579 (15.92)	2,37,392 (22.25)	R-U	1,31,612 (27.51)	1,31,826 (34.86)
U-R	59,840 (1.83)	82,795 (2.18)	U-R	70,735 (5.22)	44,600 (4.18)	U-R	35,208 (7.36)	24,731 (6.54)
U-U	58,884 (1.80)	2,92,824 (7.71)	U-U	1,69,599 (12.53)	1,48,128 (13.88)	U-U	1,04,266 (21.79)	86,467 (22.87)
All streams	32,67,528	37,95,474	All Streams	13,53,414	10,66,766	All streams	4,78,365	3,78,076

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages of total

Source: Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 1991, Vol-1 (Table D-2) and Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 2001, De-Series Table D-2

*Rural to rural migration* pre-dominated all the three streams during 1991 to 2001. However, the highest was *intra-district R-R migration*. It was 90.17% in 1991 and 82.06% in 2001. Though it increased in absolute numbers by 1,68,339, it dropped relatively by (-8.11 percentage points), *Rural-rural migration* also dropped at the *inter district* and *inter-state* level by both relative and absolute numbers. This fall indicates a falling incentive to move within the rural areas. *Inter-district rural to rural migration* was 66.31 percent in 1991 which dropped to 59.68 percent in 2001. And *inter-state rural to rural migration* dropped from 43.33 percent in 1991 to 35.72 percent in 2001. This is indicative of the distress factors in the villages that push people out of their villages to urban areas.

In case of *rural to urban migration inter-state* migration pre-dominated the three streams with 27.51 percent in 1991 and 34.86 percent in 2001 followed by *inter-district rural-urban* migration that increased from 15.92 percent in 1991 to 22.25 percent in 2001 (an increase by 6.33 percentage points). The least was *intra-district rural –urban* migration with 6.18 percent in 1991 that increased to 8.03 percent in 2001 (an increase by 1.85 percentage points). The growth of *inter-state rural-urban* migration reflects growing urbanization process in the state and consequently growing demand for labours from the rest of the country. The growing *inter-district* migration also exhibits the ease of movement within the state due to similar socio-cultural characteristics.

In case of reverse migration or *urban to rural* migration during (1991 to 2001) there was an insignificant increase by 0.35 percentage points in case of *Intra-district* migration.

However, reverse flow in terms of both *intra-district* and *inter-district* migration dropped by -1.04 and -0.82 percentage points. This indicates that counter-migration is insignificant in the state.

The *urban to urban* flow of migration in Assam is the highest in case of *interstate migration* with 21.79 percent in 1991 which further increased to 22.87 percent in 2001 (an increase by 1.08 percentage points). It was followed by *inter-district urban to urban* migration that increased from 12.53 percent to 13.88 percent in 2001 (an increase by 1.35percentage points).The least was intra-district urban to urban migration that increased from 1.80 percent to 7.71 percent during the same period but it rose significantly by 5.91 percentage points. This movement from *urban to urban areas* reflects growing urbanization and growing demand for unskilled labours. It also indicates the diversity of work in the urban centres and the growing urban informal sector capable of absorbing the migrants.

**3.2.2 (C) Types of migration by different streams in Guwahati:** In case of Guwahati, only two streams of migration flows are considered; *rural to urban* and *urban to urban*.

Table No. 3.2 (c): cross classification of types of migration by different streams in Guwahati (1991-2001)

<b>Intra</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>Inter</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>Inter</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>District persons</b>	<b>Persons</b>		<b>District persons</b>	<b>Persons</b>		<b>State persons</b>	<b>Persons</b>	
R-U	33,714 (83.54)	75,829	R-U	80,467 (56.47)	1,03,544 (68.80)	R-U	37,560 (47.19)	41,341 (59.49)
U-U	6,640 (16.45)	----	U-U	62,023 (43.52)	46, 952 (31.19)	U-U	42,031 (52.80)	28,146 (40.50)
All Streams	40354	----	All streams	1,42,490	1,50,496	All streams	79,591	69,487

Note: figures in the parentheses indicate percentage of total

N.B Migration flows for 1991 were enumerated at the place of birth

Source: Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 1991, Vol-1 (Table D-2 and Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 2001, D-Series (U/A City Table)

The *Intra-district rural to urban* migration dominated the two streams in Guwahati during 1991 with 83.54 percent of migrants. On the other hand *inter-district rural-urban* migration increased from 56.47 percent in 1991 to 68.80 percent in 2001 and also the inter-state rural urban migration to Guwahati during the same period increased from 47.19 percent to 59.49 percent. The increasing percentage of inter-district migration is a fall out of increasing urbanization and development in the transport sector that made migration worthwhile.

In case of *urban to urban* migration in the city, inter-state migration was highest with 52.80 percent in 1991 which dropped to 40.50 percent in 2001. This could be possible due to relocation of the second generation migrants to different places and also due to reverse flow of migrants to their respective place of birth or other places due to political upsurge in the state. There was also a fall of the inter-district urban to urban migration in the city from 43.52 percent in 1991 to 31.19 percent in 2001. This indicates that apart from Guwahati the other areas in the state are also growing rapidly with increasing urban advanced centres which has made it possible for the people to migrate to places other than Guwahati. However Guwahati attracts the maximum number of migrants (3,72,949) both from within and rest of the country.



### ***3.3 Reasons for migration***

The Census of India 1981 had introduced this aspect for the first time and the data was enumerated on the basis of migrants by last residence. It cited various socio economic factors such as employment, business, education, marriage, movement of family, natural calamities, moved after birth and others as the causes behind migration. The same list continued for the census of 1991 and 2001. However, business was introduced in the list for the first time in the Census 1991 and 'moved after birth' in the Census of India, 2001. The later was added to rule out the over estimation of migrants population which took place due to movement of pregnant women to their maternal homes or places with better medical facilities. However, natural calamities as a cause of migration were dropped from the list in 2001.

#### ***3.3.1 (A) Reasons for Migration in Assam (2001)***

Table No.3.3 (a): Migration by causes of Migration in Assam 2001

<b>Reasons for Migration</b>	<b>Migrants</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Employment	377143	5.55
Business	192255	2.83
Education	47026	0.69
Marriage	2478625	36.48
Family Moved	1024785	15.08
Moved after birth	70631	1.03
Others	2602391	38.31
<b>Total</b>	<b>6792856</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: computed from Census of India Migration Tables-2001

Marriage is cited to be a very strong reason for migration in the context of Assam. 36.48 percent migrants moved out due to '*marriage*' as a reason for migration in 2001. This proves the migration of females to a great extent and hence indicates an increased number of dependents. '*Family moved*' is another reason responsible for 15.08 percent of migrants. Both the reasons are responsible for associational migration. 5.55 percent people moved into the state in search of employment opportunities. 2.83 percent moved for '*businesses*' in the state. Very insignificant percentage of 0.69 percent and 1.03 percent people migrated into the state for '*education*' and '*moved after birth*' respectively. However, 38.31 percent cited other reasons responsible for their movement into the state.

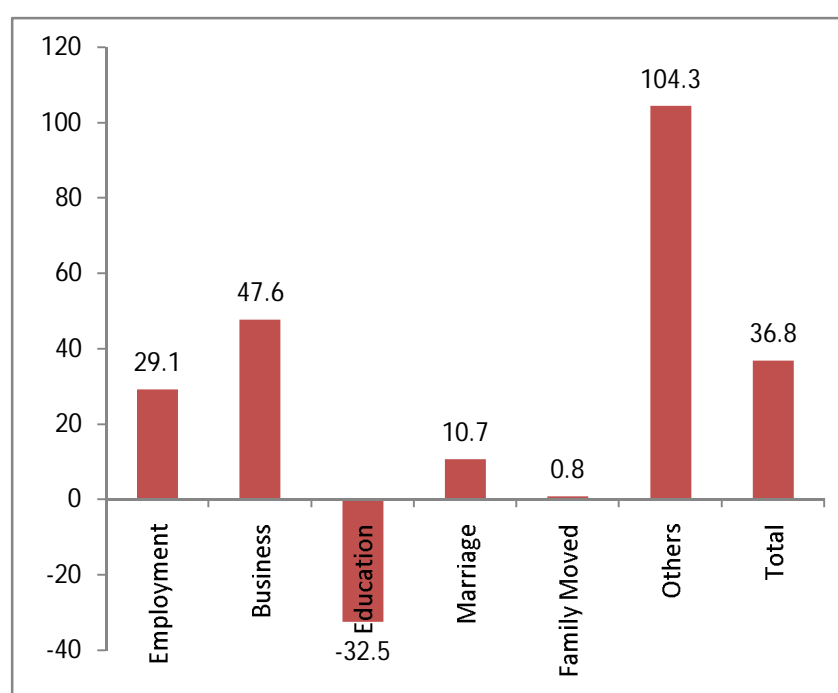
### 3.3.1 (B) Reasons for Migration into Guwahati City

Table No.3.3 (b): Migration by causes of Migration in Guwahati City (1991- 2001)

Reasons for migration	Migrants (1991)		Decadal Growth	Migrants (2001)	
	Persons	percentage (%)		Persons	Percentage (%)
Employment	60, 867	22.0	29.07	78, 565	20.7
Business	24, 471	8.9	47.58	36, 116	9.5
Education	16, 710	6.0	-32.54	11, 272	3.0
Marriage	47, 974	17.3	10.71	53, 144	14.0
Family Moved	62, 400	22.5	0.80	62, 905	16.9
Natural Calamities(for 1991) and	970	0.4		5, 026	1.3
Moved after Birth (for 2001)					
Others	63, 443	22.9	104.32	1, 29, 629	34.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>2, 76, 835</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>36.78</b>	<b>3, 78, 657</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Computed from Census of India Assam 1991 (Table D-10-Vol 1) and 2001(D-Series, Table D-03, U-A City) migration by causes of Migration in Guwahati City (1991-2001)

Fig No 3.1: Decadal Growth of migrants by reasons for migration in Guwahati City (1991- 2001)



There was a decadal drop of the migrants in Guwahati city only in case of education as a reason to migrate (-32.5%). This could be explained by the fact that most of the outstation students are enumerated in their hometowns during the Census and hence do not qualify as migrants in Guwahati. This exemption is justified in order to avoid double counting. The overall decadal increase of migration due to business (47.6%) was higher than employment (29.1%) as a cause of migration. There was a decadal increase (10.7%) for marriage as a reason for migration. A Very insignificant decadal rise (0.8%) was due to 'family moved' as a cause of migration. The overall decadal rise was 36.8%. A huge

volume of migrants cited other reasons as causes of migration to the city making the decadal rise to go up by 104.3%.

### **3.4 COMPOSITION OF THE MIGRANT POPULATION**

The composition of population in a place gives a clear idea about the status of people inhabiting the place. Composition influences the demographics of a place to a great extent. In order to know the composition of population in a given area it is very essential to know the age-group of the people under survey, their educational background and sex selectivity in a given place. Age-group gives an idea about the working population or dependents in the place, educational background of the population gives an idea about the type of unemployment prevailing in the place and sex selectivity of the population gives an idea about the gender-based composition of people in a given area. At the same time, analysis of reasons for migration to a place is useful in understanding the behavioral aspects of the migrants. The study makes an attempt to incorporate all the said parameters.

#### ***3.4.1 (A) Age, sex composition and educational background of the migrants in Assam***

Table No. 3.4 (a): Distribution of Migrants by Age and sex composition in Assam (2001)

<b>Age- Group</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
0-14	485541 (19.0)	456453 (11.03)
15-59	1870935 (73.0)	3264914 (78.84)
60 and above	208141 (8.11)	419487 (10.13)

Source: Computed from Census of India, Assam, (Migration Tables, 2001). Note: Figures in parentheses are percentage of total.

In Assam, in the year 2001 there were 48, 5541 males (19.0 percent) and 456453 females (11.03 percent) who belonged to the age group of 0-14 years. 18,70935 males (73.0 percent) and 3264914 females (11.03 percent) belonged to the age group of 15-59 years (working class). The females in this case made a larger proportion than their male counterparts. In the same year 208141 males (8.11 percent) and 418487 females (10.13 percent) belonged to the age group of 60 and above.

Table No. 3.4 (b): Percentage (%) of migrants by gender and education in Assam (1991 and 2001)

Educational attainment	All Ages			
	1991		2001	
	M	F	M	F
Illiterate	44.6	66.0	35.7	53.1
Below Metric	37.6	26.4	39.1	32.0
Metric but below Graduate	12.3	6.1	17.7	12.2
Graduate and above other than technical degree	4.4	1.3	6.1	2.4
Technical diploma or certificate (not equal to degree)	0.4	0.01	0.3	0.02
Technical degree or diploma equal to degree/ P.G	0.7	0.1	1.0	0.2

Source: computed from Census of India, Assam Migration Tables: D-13, 1991 and D-3, 2001

There was a decline in the volume of illiterate migrants in 2001. This was a possible fall out of growing level of literacy in the rural areas due to various Policies of the Govt. to raise the level of literacy and consequently free primary education to the poor in the villages. Tough competition for the ‘illiterates’ to survive in the urban core could also be another possible reason. The highest number of migrants belonged to the ‘below metric’ category followed by metric but below graduates. The other categories had insignificant proportion of migrants.

### ***3.4.1 (B) Age, sex composition and educational background of the migrants in Guwahati city***

Table No. 3.4 (c): percentage (%) of migrants by gender and education in Guwahati (1991 and 2001)

<b>Educational attainment</b>	<b>All Ages</b>			
	<b>1991</b>		<b>2001</b>	
	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>
Illiterate	18.1	31.6	10.3	16.7
Below Metric	33.9	35.7	34.5	40.3
Metric but below Graduate	26.8	22.5	27.4	28.6
Graduate and above other than technical degree	17.4	9.3	18.5	11.4
Technical diploma or certificate (not equal to degree)	0.9	0.2	4.3	1.4
Technical degree or diploma equal to degree/ P.G	2.9	0.9	5.9	1.6

Source: computed from Census of India, Assam Migration Tables: D-13, 1991 and D-3, 2001.

The volume of illiterate migrants in case of both males and females dropped during the decade 1991-2001. The highest number of migrants belonged to the category of '*below metric*' followed by matriculates and below graduates. This is a result of the growing literacy drive undertaken by the Govt. However, migrants in the category of '*graduates and above other than technical degree*' increased in case of both males and females in 2001. It indicates the diversity of work available in the urban informal sector which paves way for self-employment.

### 3.4.1(C) Sex selectivity of Migrants by Types of Migration

Table No. 3.5(a): Sex selectivity of migrants in Guwahati city by types of Migration

Types of migration	1991		2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Intra-district	21404 (13.57)	19020 (16.0)	76179 (35.65)	59801 (36.24)
Inter-district	80118 (50.82)	62720 (52.7)	90138 (42.18)	72528 (44.0)
Inter-state	48744 (30.9)	31767 (26.7)	44178 (20.67)	30129 (18.26)
International	7360 (4.66)	5410 (4.6)	3178 (1.48)	2530 (1.53)
All types	157626	118917	213673	164988

Note: figures in the parentheses are percentages of total. Source: Source: Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 1991, vol-1 (table D-2) and Census of India, Assam, Migration Table, 2001, D- Series (table D-2)

It is interesting to notice that the size of female migrants is larger than the male migrants in case of both intra-district and inter-district migration in both 199 and 2001. However, inter-district migration among females is larger than intra-district migration among females. This indicates that marriage has a significant impact on the migration of females from one district to another and also that females migrate more in case of short distance migration

#### **3.4.1 (D) Sex Selectivity of Migrants by Pattern of Migration**

Table No. 3.5 (b): Sex Selectivity of Migrants by Pattern of Migration in Assam and Guwahati (1991 and 2001)

<b>Streams</b>	<b>For Assam</b>		<b>For Guwahati</b>		<b>Decadal Growth for Assam</b>	<b>Decadal Growth for Guwahati</b>
	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>		
Rural to Rural	M:13,85,217 F: 26,66,125 P: 4051345	M:111,6,947 F:27,70652 P: 3887599			M: -19.36 F: 3.92 P: -4.04	
Rural to Urban	M: 2,93,763 F: 2,55,670 P: 549433	M: 3,56713 F: 3,17459 P: 674172	M: 89,868 F: 61,873 P: 151741	M:1,30,480 F: 90,231 P: 220693	M: 21.42 F: 24.16 P: 22.70	M: 45.19 F: 45.83 P: 45.44
Urban to Rural	M: 72,204 F: 93,579	M: 58865 F: 93260			M: -18.47 F: -0.34	

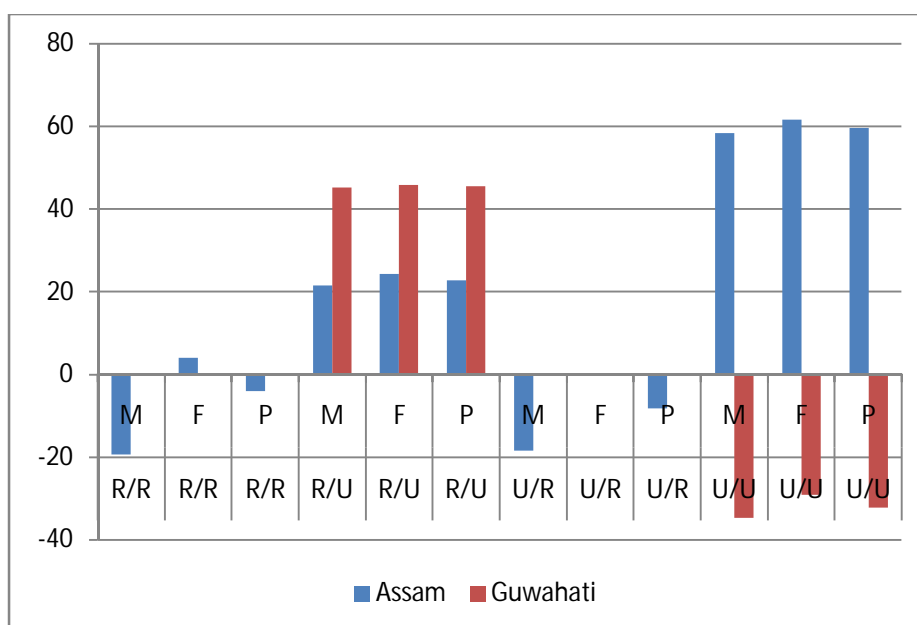


	P: 165783	P: 152125			P: - 8.23	
Urban	M: 1,64,263	M: 2,60037	M: 59,780	M: 39,058	M: 58.30	M: -34.66
to Urban	F: 1,65,486	F: 2,67382	F: 50,914	F: 36,040	F: 61.57	F: -29.21
	P: 329749	P: 527419	P: 110694	P: 75098	P: 59.54	P: -32.15

Source: Census of India Assam, Migration Table, 1991, Vol-1, Table: D-2, D-10 and  
Census of India Assam, Migration Table, 2001, D-Series (U/A City Table)

Note: The total volume of migrants for Guwahati for 2001 is without data for Intra-district male and female migrants

Fig No 3.2: Decadal Growth of migrants by gender for Assam and Guwahati city (1991 and 2001)



In case of *rural to rural* migration the total decadal drop of persons in Assam was - 4.04%. Females increased by 3.92% and males dropped substantially by -19.36. The decadal increase in the female migrants could be due to marriage.

The increasing *rural to urban* flow in terms of both males and females in Assam shows a falling incentive to move within the rural areas. The decadal increase of total migrants in

this stream was 22.70% with a decadal increase of male migrants by 21.42% and female migrants by 24.16%. This indicates the increasing push factors in the rural areas and increasing pull factors in the urban areas. *Rural to urban* migration in Guwahati city during the same period (1991 to 2001) increased in terms of both males and females. The decadal increase of migrants to Guwahati in this stream was 45.44% percent. Males increased by a decadal rise of 45.19% and females by 45.83%. In this stream the migrated males were more than the migrated females in number.

In case of *urban to urban* flow of migration during (1991 and 2001) in Assam, both male and female migrants show an increase. The number of migrated females in the urban to urban stream in Assam is larger than the migrated males. The decadal increase of female migrants is 61.57% and males are 58.30%. The total migrants had a decadal rise of 59.54%. However, during the same decade (1991 to 2001), in Guwahati city, on the contrary, the magnitude of *urban to urban* flow declined both in relative as well absolute terms. The number of both male and female migrants dropped in the *urban to urban* flow of migration in Guwahati. There was a decadal drop of -32.15%. The decadal drop of males was -34.66% and females was -29.21%. This indicates that the other urban areas also developed with the growth of Guwahati city that attracted the migrants to those areas.

In case of reverse migration or *urban to rural* flow of migration in Assam during (1991 to 2001), both the male and the female migrants dropped in number. The decadal drop of persons in the urban to rural stream in case of Guwahati was -8.23%. The males had a decadal drop of 18.5% and the females dropped by 0.3%.

### ***3.4.1 (E) Sex Selectivity of Migrants by Reasons for Migration***

In order to know the behavior of the migrants it is highly significant to know the reasons that lead to migration. Therefore, research pertaining to migration puts a lot of emphasis on the reasons for migration. Analysis of the reasons for migration gives researchers a clear idea about the profile of the migrants. The reasons are undertaken as cited by The Census of India 1991 and 2001 (explained earlier).

In a study conducted by Basumatary (2014), at the All India level, the over-all dependency ratio of the migrant population is 56.03 percent. Out of which the females constitute 43.77 percent and males 12.36 percent. The proportion of female dependents is more than the males. The dependency ratio is larger than the work participation rate by 12.06 percent in India. The work participation rate among males is 68.56 percent and that of females is 28.25 percent. However, the workforce participation rate as per the 2001 Census is 33.4 percent for Kamrup district, 34.8 percent for Guwahati metropolitan area and 35.1 percent for Guwahati municipal corporation area. Her study reveals that the pattern of socio economic character of migrant population shows larger volume of concentration of dependent population.

### ***Sex Selectivity of Migrants by Reasons for Migration in Assam***

Table No. 3.6: sex selectivity of migrants by causes of migration in Assam (2001)

<b>Reasons for Migration</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Employment	329601	12.44	47542	1.14
Business	179166	6.76	13059	0.31
Education	32481	1.22	14545	0.35
Marriage	42241	1.59	2436384	58.79
Family Moved	519776	19.62	505009	12.18
Moved after Birth	47218	1.78	23413	0.56
Others	1498274	56.56	1104117	26.64
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,648,217</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4,144,069</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Computed from migration Tables, Census of India, Assam-2001

In the state of Assam (19.62 %) migrated because their families moved out. 12.44 percent of males migrated for employment opportunities in the urban core. 6.76 percent hoped to do some business in Assam. A very insignificant percentage of 1.22 percent males migrated for education, 1.59 percent for marriage and 1.76 percent for natural calamities. 56.56 percent males cited other reasons for migration other than the ones mentioned above.

In case of females, highest percentage of females (58.79%) cited marriage to be a reason for migration in the state. The social construct is an obvious reason for the females to move out to the places where their husbands take them. This indicates growing associational migration in the state. Moreover, 12.18 percent of females migrated for the reason that their families moved out. This also indicates dependence of females on their respective families leading to associational migration. It is interesting to see that the percentage of males (19.62%) moving out due to the reason; 'family moved' is larger than females (12.18%) migrating for the same reason. However, in case of males it could be chain migration for work in a new place other than just mere dependence on their families that make them migrate. 26.64 percent women cited other reasons for their decision to make a move. The other reasons are insignificant for making migration take place.

### ***Sex Selectivity of Migrants by Reasons for Migration in Guwahati***

From the given tables we realize that the reasons for migration for both male and female migrants differ in nature. In both the years the males migrated in search of better economic activities. Employment is cited as the highest cause for migration among males in all the streams.

Table No. 3.6 (a) Sex selectivity of migrants by reasons for migration in Guwahati (1991)

Reasons for Migration	Intra-district (%)		Inter-district (%)		Inter- state (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employment	40.3	5.2	40.1	5.7	26.8	2.6
Business	10.9	0.9	11.3	0.5	23.1	1.1
Education	10.4	3.4	9.7	4.9	4.0	2.6
Marriage	0.4	44.6	0.7	40.0	0.8	36.3
Family moved	14.4	23.0	16.3	28.2	19.2	35.9
Natural Calamities	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4
Others	23.8	22.7	21.9	20.4	25.6	20.9

Source: computed from Census of India, Assam, 1991, Migration Tables, Vol-1 (Table: D-10) Migrated males in search of employment opportunities constituted more than 40 percent in case of both Intra-district and Inter-district migration in 1991. However, at the Inter-state level, migration among males for employment was 26.8 percent. The second major reason for the migration among males to Guwahati was business. It was the highest in case of inter-state flow (23.1 percent). Very insignificant percentage of females migrated for employment and business. The most important reason cited for female migration was marriage in all the streams and both the years. It was as high as 44.6 percent at the Intra-district level, 40.0 percent at the Inter-district level and 36.3 percent at the inter-state level. A very insignificant percentage of both males and females cited education as a reason for migration. However, males migrating for education are more than females in all the three streams. Migrants citing natural calamities as a reason

to migrate were less than 1 percent in all the three streams. Males constituted 14.4 percent and females constituted 23.0 percent at the intra-district level that cited '*family moved*' as a reason to migrate. It was 16.3 percent males and 28.2 percent females at the inter-district level and 19.2 percent males and 35.9 percent females at the inter-state level. This is an obvious consequence rise of dependents ratio. (20% to 25 %) males and females cited other reasons responsible for migration in all the three streams.

Table No. 3.6 (b) Sex selectivity of migrants by reasons for migration in Guwahati (2001)

Reasons for Migration	Intra-district (%)		Inter-district (%)		Inter- state (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employment	24.0	3.7	41.0	7.0	31.5	3.7
Business	12.1	0.7	16.1	1.1	27.4	1.4
Education	2.3	0.7	6.2	2.7	2.1	1.5
Marriage	0.3	22.6	0.4	36.7	0.4	37.6
Family moved	8.2	12.9	13.0	25.3	16.6	32.8
Moved after birth	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.8	2.0
Others	51.8	58.2	22.0	26.0	20.2	21.1

Source: computed from Census of India, Assam, 2001, Migration Tables, Vol-1 (Table: D-03-UA-City)

In 2001, the migrated males for employment at the intra-district level dropped to 24.0 percent but, increased substantially at the Inter-district level to 41.0 percent. The male migrants for employment also increased at the inter-state level to 31.5 percent. This indicates employment as a very strong pull-factor for the males to migrate to Guwahati

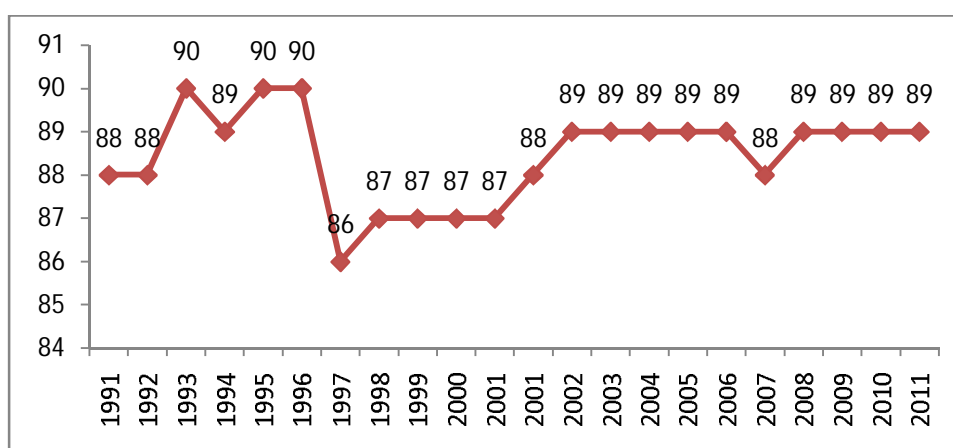
city. On the other hand a very insignificant proportion of females migrated to the city in search of work. Females who migrated to Guwahati in search of employment constituted only 7 percent at the Inter-district level. It shows an insignificant proportion in the other two streams as well in both the years. It was highest at the Intra –district level. Insignificant percentage of males migrated due to ‘*marriage*’ as a reason for migration. The second major reason for the migration of males to Guwahati cited was business which shows an increase for all the streams in 2001. It increased from 10.9 percent to 12.1 percent at the Intra-district level, 11.3 percent to 16.1 percent at the Inter-district level and 23.1 percent to 27.4 percent at the Inter-state level in the period 1991-2001. Although, it is the highest among the migrants from the rest of the country (inter-state), it shows an increase for the other two streams as well. The percentage increase in migration for business at the intra-district and Inter-district levels indicate the involvement of the local communities in business activities other than the migrants from other states. However, the females migrating for business constitute very small proportions and show a decline over the decade in the two streams except Inter-state migration constituting a very small proportion of 1.4 percent. Education which attracted 10.4 percent of males in 1991 dropped to 2.3 percent in 2001 at the Intra-district level, 9.7 percent to 6.2 percent at the Inter-district level and 4.0 percent to 2.1 percent at the Inter-state level during the same period. The small proportion of female migrants who moved for education as a reason for migration declined in all the three streams over the same decade. Migration that took place as a reason cited as movement of family is higher among females than males. In 1991 the females constituted 23.0 percent as against 14.4 percent of males at the Intra-district level, 28.2 percent against 16.3 percent males at the Inter-district level and 35.9 percent against 19.2 percent males at the Inter-state level. However this type of migration dropped in all the three streams for males as well as

females in 2001. It declined to 8.2 percent males and 12.9 percent females at the Intra-district level, 13.0 percent males and 25.3 percent females at the Inter-district level and 16.6 percent males and 32.8 percent females at the Inter-state level. The higher percentage of females migrating due to the movement of their families is indicative of the fact that such type of migration is associational in nature and the dependents like the females and children move along with the principal earner. Migrants who moved after birth form an insignificant proportion in all the three streams and Migration due to reasons other than these are highest among the female migrants at the intra-district level. This indicates that the short distance migrants are more opportune to enjoy better amenities and have better choices.

### ***Migration and the Urban Informal sector***

Informal sector and migration are interdependent. Most of the migrants are absorbed in the urban informal sector of the city.

Fig No: 3.3: Year wise % of informal sector employment to total employment



The diagram clearly indicates rapid urbanization in Guwahati city. In 2001 Guwahati accounted for 89.18 % of the district's urban population. Moreover, 85 to 90 % of the total employment is absorbed in the urban informal sector. It definitely indicates diverse activities in



the informal sector which attract the rural poor to the urban core in search of livelihood opportunities. The graph reveals a very high absorption of total employment (90%) in the urban informal sector just after 1991. This is a fall out of LPG which had its impact all over the nation including Guwahati city. However it declined to (86%) in 1996 and almost remained constant at (87% to 89%) for the last more than a decade. During periods of relatively poor economic conditions, as indicated by slow natural growth of job opportunities, the costs associated with migration are higher. These higher costs are due to more intense job-search activities because access to entry level jobs as well as providing specific skill training is more difficult. The costs associated with, migration is lower at the time of economic expansion. Thus the average quality of the migrant flow is relatively lower. The above diagram shows a situation of very increased rate of migration during 90s (an obvious case of LPG). Though, it declined after that but still continued to absorb a very high percentage of total employment of the city in its informal sector. If the size of the population in the city continues to increase at such a rate there would be utter chaos in the informal sector of the urban core with saturation of the informal sector engaging people with very low quality.

**Conclusion:** Migration is highly responsible for the changing demographics of a place. Although, Assam experienced population immigration at large, migration to Guwahati city has been spectacular. The chapter explained above provides a detailed sketch of the dimension of migration into Assam at large and Guwahati city in particular on the basis of the Census data available for the years 1991 and 2001 (migration data for 2011 are not published yet). Migration data of the '*place of last residence*' is been considered for the study.

The dimension has been viewed from the angles of type, flow, reasons for migration and sex selectivity of migrants. In case of international migration, Immigrants from Bangladesh constitute the highest volume moving into Assam and Guwahati city.

However, in case of interstate migration, migrants from Bihar constitute the highest percentage usually belonging to the unskilled labour force engaged in various petty works. Tripura and Meghalaya constitute the highest number of out migrants in case of migration from the other North-Eastern states to Assam and Guwahati city. Intra district migration pre dominates the state with 70.66 percent in 2001 and inter-district migration pre dominates the type of migration with 49.91percent in 2001 in Guwahati city. The rural to rural migration pre dominates the flow of migration in Assam. However, rural to urban flow proves to be more powerful in case of Guwahati city. Reverse migration in both the cases is not very significant. Most of the males cite employment (search for employment opportunities) as a reason for migration followed by business. However, females migrated mostly due to marriage. Most of the migrants are below matriculates and the percentage of illiteracy among females is much higher than the males. Short-distance migration among females is more dominating than the males. The study also reveals the dependence of the migrants on the urban informal sector that absorbs 85 to 90 % of the total employment in the city. This indicates the diverse activities in the urban core that act as a source of livelihood for the rural poor.