

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with migration for work from rural India. It attempts to describe and analyse certain features of such migration; it deals with the magnitude of rural urban and rural-rural migration, features of socio-economic conditions of households of migrant workers in their villages of origin, the conditions of living and work at certain selected migrant destinations, and the impact of migrant earnings on household incomes in villages. These questions are examined with specific reference to rural West Bengal.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Every seventh person in the world today is a migrant. Globally over 244 million people are international migrants and around 763 million are internal migrants (World Migration Report 2018). According to Census of India 2011, there were 454 million migrants in India. This has risen by 139 million from 315 million in 2001 and 220 million in 1991, a doubling over 1991-2011 (Report of the working Group of Migration 2017). The number of people migrating within the geographical boundaries of their country of origin i.e. internal migrants in the world is about four times the number of migrants who cross international borders. Even on the remittance front, the NSS estimates that international remittances received in India comprised about half of the domestic remittances received (Tumbe 2011). Therefore, internal migration comes across as a crucial study area, globally as well as in the context of India. In this thesis I would like to delve into the magnitude of internal migrants in India, characteristics of internal migrants and migrant households at the place of origin of the migrant and the work and living conditions of these internal migrants at a selected migrant destination. I attempt to study all these with special reference to West Bengal in particular.

1.1.1 Definitions

This thesis is primarily concerned with studying socio-economic aspects of male internal migrant workers from rural West Bengal. Before delving into it, the principal definitions concerning the different types of migration are discussed below:

Migration can be of several types depending upon destination of the migrant worker, stream of migration, duration of stay at the destination, gender and occupation.

Internal and International Migration

Internal Migration: Migration within the political boundaries of a nation is termed as Internal Migration. This may be

Intra-district migration i.e. when a person moves out of his place of origin to another area which is within the district of enumeration or it may be,

Inter-district migration where a person crosses the boundary of the district of enumeration but remains within the state of enumeration or

Intra-State migration when a person crosses the boundary of his/her village/town elsewhere within the state of enumeration or

Inter-State migration where migration is to a different state within the boundaries of the country of which the migrant is a resident.

International migration refers to migration outside the borders of the country.

Migration depending on stream of migrant worker

Based on the rural or urban nature of the place of birth and the place of enumeration, internal migrants can be classified into following four migration streams:

(a) rural-to-rural,

(b) rural-to-urban,

(c) urban-to-urban, and

(d) urban-to-rural.

Census of India 2011 pegs the total number of internal migrants in India to be around 139 million. Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are the biggest source states, followed closely by Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttarakhand, Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal; the major destination states are Delhi, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. However according to the quinquennial rounds on Employment, Unemployment and Migration conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) there were 326 million migrants in India in 2007-8, approximately 29 per cent of the total population (NSSO, 64th Round, July 2007- June 2008). Ninety-one per cent of migrants in rural areas and 59 per cent of migrants in urban areas in India had migrated from a rural region (*ibid.*). Therefore, internal migration from rural India is an important section of the migrant population of this country.

Duration of stay at the destination

Based on duration of stay at the migrant destination, migration in India is primarily of two types:

Long-term migration, resulting in the relocation of an individual or household;

Short-term or seasonal/circular migration, involving back and forth movement between the source and destination¹.

The Census of India 1991 estimated 7.07 million or 3.04% of the migrants as short duration (less than one year's duration) of whom 1.37 million migrated for economic reasons. In 2001, the short duration migration rate fell to 2.8%. In the 55th (1999-2000) and the 64th rounds (2007-8) of the NSS tried to quantify short duration migration. The 55th round defined "short-duration out-migrants" as persons "who stayed away for a period that was between two and six months for work or seeking work." The 64th Round defined the people "who stayed away from their usual place of

residence (UPR) for work/seeking work for a period between one month and six months, provided further that they had stayed away for more than 15 days in any one spell” as short duration migrants (Srivastava 2011). The results from the NSSO rounds will be discussed in the next chapter. Although differences in the definition of short-duration migrants make the data non-comparable, the data from both constitute a first attempt at gauging the magnitude of short-term migration from rural India.(as discussed in greater detail below, the current concepts and definitions used by different data sources are likely to underestimate short-duration migration).

The 55th round of the NSS (1999-2000) estimated that a total of nearly 12.24 million people were, by its definition, short-term migrants. Of these, 77 per cent were resident in rural areas and 23 per cent in urban areas. The NSS 64th round estimated the number of short-duration outmigrants in India to be 13.6 million, of whom 71 per cent were rural out-migrants.

1.1.3 Migration and Employment

In India migration for employment is an important livelihood strategy for people in rural areas. According to the 64th round survey of Employment, Unemployment and Migration (2007-8) of the NSSO there were 326 million migrants in India out of which 140 million were workers(Srivastava 2011). The drivers of such migration are complex and diverse, important ones of which are the lack of employment opportunities (farm and non-farm) in one’s place of origin, land fragmentation and better employment opportunities in other growth sectors(Deshingkar and Farrington 2009).

According to the Census of India 2011 if we consider migrants as a share of the rural and urban workforce, then work related migration has increased from 2001 to 2011. We see that 3.4% of the (base year 1991) rural workforce migrated during 1991-2001. However, in 2011, this share was 4.1% (base year being 2001). For the urban male work-related migrant, it had increased from 5.1% to 6.8% of the base year workforce. Since the workforce grows over the intercensal period, this

involves an absolute increase from 5.7 million to 6.9 million from rural areas to 2.8 million to 4.8 million from urban areas. Our workforce especially from rural India is thus increasingly mobile.

Rural migrants also constitute a large proportion of short term/ seasonal/circular migrants who move for work/ employment related reasons. According to the 64th round of NSSO, these short-term migrants were estimated at 15 million.

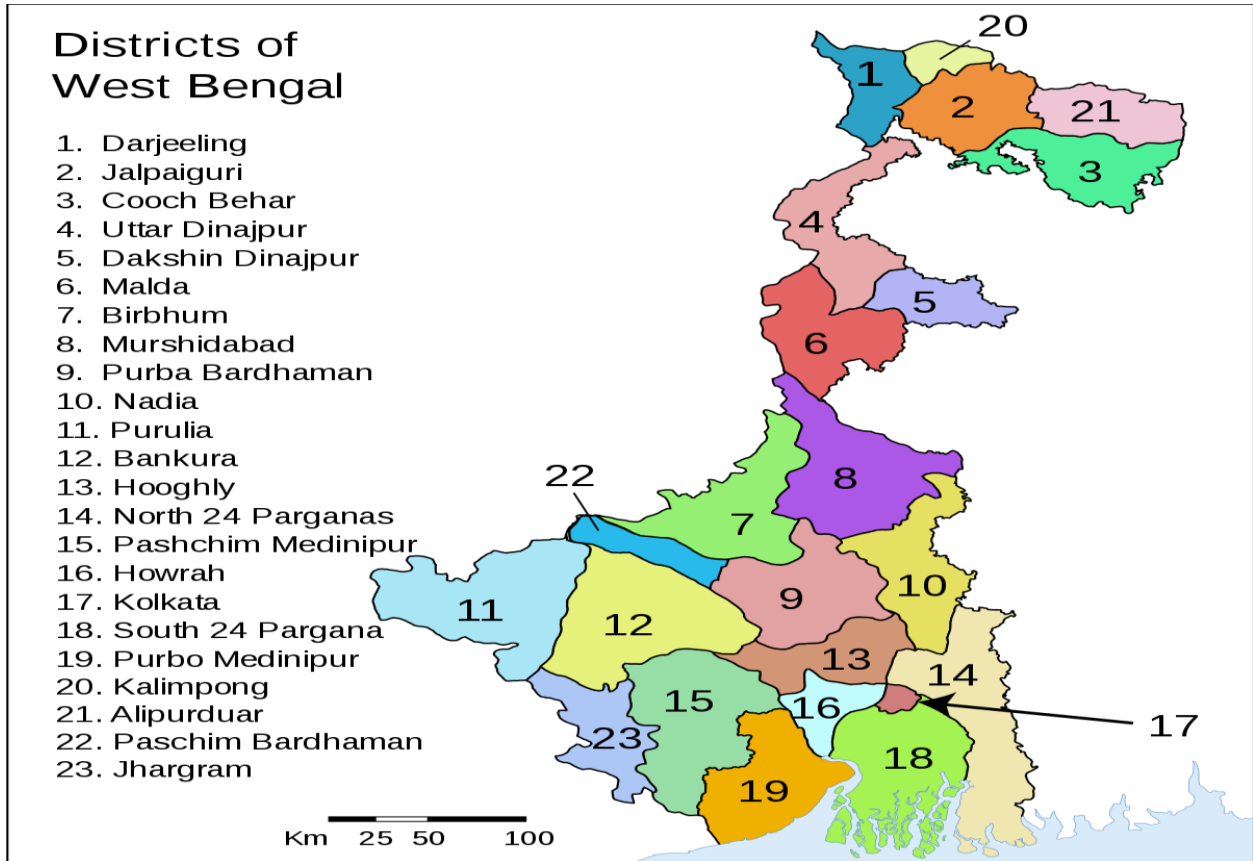
Intra-district inter-district and interstate migrants who are seasonal short-term migrants who migrate for work and employment related reasons contribute in a large way to the present and the future status of the Indian economy. Research on the socio-economic characteristics of short term/ seasonal male rural migrant workers, the work and living conditions that these migrants encounter at the destination, and the impact of migrant earnings on the rural household incomes, is thus necessary for an understanding of this crucial segment of India's labour force. I study this question with a special focus on rural West Bengal.

1.1.4 West Bengal

West Bengal has the second highest population density of all the major Indian states. Over the years the agrarian scene of West Bengal has seen dramatic changes. There have been radical changes in production relations since the abolition of zamindari in the 1950s and the cross-class movement of peasants demanding its implementation in the 1960s (Rogaly, Biswas, et al. 2001). The United Front coalition governments of the late 1960s, in which the CPI(M) was a major partner, actively pursued land redistribution, including thorough support to 'land seizure' by peasants themselves (*ibid*). By the 1970s, peasants of all classes were seeking opportunities for productive investment (Mitter 1977) (Rogaly 1998) and the stage was set for the rapid agricultural growth of the 1980s (Gazdar and Sengupta 1999). Rice production (paddy is one of the principal crops of West Bengal), has since been cultivated by peasants with holdings of less than five acres of land (Rawal 2001). Although large rentier landlords have disappeared, 28 per cent of land is still owned by the 7 per cent of

peasants with holdings of more than five acres (*ibid.*). These changes coincided with an uninterrupted period (since 1977) of Leftist coalition government (the Left Front Government), led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI (M)) (*ibid.*). Given the increasing population density, small agricultural land holdings, short agricultural seasons and unavailability non-farm employment, it became possible for wage workers to view migration as a way of earning, rather than simply surviving through food payments during the period of work, as had taken place in the past. Various primary level studies in West Bengal have time and again indicated that with a background of declining feudal production relations in West Bengal began the trend of migration for work which gradually comprised of both agricultural and non-farm work. This thesis intends to study the stream of internal male migrant workers from West Bengal who migrate for work, breaking away from the agrarian set up, to diversify their incomes.

Figure 1.1 Map of West Bengal showing the districts



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_districts_of_West_Bengal

1.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1.2.1 Theories of migration

In 1885 E.G. Ravenstein through his 'laws of migration' made the first attempt to theorise migration. Using the birthplace data, Ravenstein identified what he called as 'laws of migration' concerning inter-county migration. Through these laws Ravenstein elucidated on the key areas on which the future of migration research would largely be based. He emphasized primarily on the factors influencing migration and highlighted on the importance of the distance of the place of origin and destination, and the direction of migration being largely from a primarily agricultural region to a region of relatively flourishing commerce and industry. The principal laws were:

1. Most migration is over short distances
2. Migration occurs in steps
3. Long-range migrants usually move to urban areas
4. Each migration produces a movement in the opposite direction
5. Rural dwellers are more migratory than urban dwellers
6. Within their own country females are more migratory than males, but males are more migratory over long distances
7. Most migrants are adults
8. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase
9. Migration increases with economic development
10. Migration is mostly due to economic causes

Everett Lee (1966) remoulded Ravenstein's theory to give more emphasis to internal (or push) factors. Lee also emphasized on the impeding effects of distance, physical and political barriers and presence of dependents on migration. He was the first person to point out the effect of age, gender and social class on the responsiveness to push-pull factors.

Since then several theories have been developed to treat international patterns of migration on their own terms, but these too are variants of push-pull theory. The other theories relating to migration are discussed below:

The neo classical economic theory of migration has its historical roots in models of development (Lewis 1954). This theory describes rural-urban migration to be caused by geographic differences in the supply and demand for labour, wage differentials between rural and urban areas and an army of 'underemployed' rural labour in agriculture.

In the *Lewis model*, the underdeveloped economy consists of two sectors: a traditional, overpopulated, rural subsistence sector characterized by zero marginal labour productivity—a situation that permits Lewis to classify the **surplus labour** in the sense that it can be withdrawn from the traditional agricultural sector without any loss of output—and a high-productivity modern, urban industrial sector into which labour from the subsistence sector is gradually transferred. The primary focus of the model is on both the process of labour transfer and the growth of output and employment in the modern sector. Both labour transfer and modern sector employment growth are brought about by output expansion in that sector.

Improving upon the limitations of the Lewis model, especially the assumption of full employment, the *Harris-Todaro model* (1970) and its extensions have modelled rural-to-urban migration in less developed countries. The underlying micro-foundations of these models is that expected wage or expected income in urban areas is the pull factor for rural migrants.

Starting from the assumption that migration is primarily an economic phenomenon, which for the individual migrant can be a quite rational decision despite the existence of urban unemployment, the Todaro model postulates that migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected income rather than actual earnings. The fundamental premise is that migrants consider the various labour market opportunities available to them in the rural and urban sectors and choose the one that maximizes their expected gains from migration. The theory assumes that members of the labour force, both actual and potential, compare their expected incomes for a given time horizon in the urban sector (the difference between returns and costs of migration) with prevailing average rural incomes and migrate if the former exceeds the latter.

The New Economics of Migration theory (Stark and Bloom, 1985) describes the decision of migration to not just be caused by differences in economic structures (Ravenstein, 1885) or by wage differentials (Lewis 1954, Harris Todaro, 1970) but the state of other markets in the country of origin, such as the insurance market, the capital market, the consumer credit market. This theory states that governments are capable of downscaling or upscaling the volume of migration by regulating labour markets and the markets mentioned above.

Segmented (dual) labour market theories (Piore 1979) emphasizes on the importance of institutional factors as well as race and gender in occurring labour market segmentation (Castle and Miller 2009). (Piore 1979) argues that First World economies are structured so as to *require* a certain level of immigration. This theory suggests that developed economies are dualistic: they have a primary market of secure, well-remunerated work and a secondary market of low-wage work. Segmented labour-market theory argues that immigrants are recruited to fill these jobs that are necessary for the overall economy to function but are avoided by the native-born population because of the poor working conditions associated with the secondary labour market.

Network Theory is one of the most important structural mechanisms that support migration. Bauer (1995) advocates that migration can become a self-perpetuating process because the costs and risks associated with migration are reduced by the existence of a diaspora or networks. Network increases the probability of migration as it reduces costs and risks while at the same time increases net returns. The fact of knowing people through friendship and shared community decreases relatively the monetary and psychic costs related to the displacement because of the availability of information. Every new migrant reduces the risks linked to movement and expands the network. When the number of migrants reaches a critical threshold, the cost of migration falls and the probability to

migrate rises. In this theory, the effect of self-selection reduces over time and the network of migrants is more representative of the place of origin.

Whether the presence of networks between a migrants of origin and that of destination, eases the decision to migrate or not, will also be studied in this thesis.

1.2.2 Socio-economic conditions of a migrant household

Rural migrants, whether rural-rural or rural-urban, are a highly differentiated group. They are differentiated, *inter alia*, by class, caste, and gender; by region and the type of agrarian regime in their places of origin; by purpose of migration (for education, marriage, employment, or other purpose); by labour skills (often part of a long historical tradition) and levels of education; by the type of employment gained at the destination work-place; by the duration of the period of migration and the nature and strength of links maintained with the native village; by sex and age; and by whether or not they send remittances home, and the magnitude of those remittances.

Almost every social group in the village migrates, and as the villages from which they migrate are characterised by social and economic differentiation, so too are the migrants themselves. In some case we find that the poor with marginal land holding migrate (Yuko and Oda 2012) and in some case we find that the well off in terms of social group, land holding, gender and incomes tends to migrate more (Bhagat 2010) because they are able to support the cost of migration.

Thus, statements such as “migration is likely to increase with the size of landholding,” or “migration rises with educational levels,” are statements so aggregative as to be meaningless. To labour the point, the study of socio-economic characteristics of migrants requires careful and disaggregated enquiry into a *differentiated* group.

1.2.3 Remittances

Remittances are transfers of money sent to the place of origin by individuals working outside the place of origin. Remittance is mainly a household income and is sent back through formal or informal channels such as cash or in kind. Following a study carried out by Rapoport and Docquier (2005), the following reasons were found as main motivators behind the decision to remit: (a) altruism, migrant's willingness to help family in home country, (b) insurance, whereby remittance acts as an additional source of fund in situations of adverse risks and shocks, (c) investment, whereby remittance is used for investment at home or to ensure potential family inheritance (Rappoport and Docquier 2005). Since many migrants continue to maintain close links with their places of origin, and since migration is a livelihood strategy that is intended to improve the economic well-being of not only the migrant, but also of the family that they leave behind, the study of migrants' remittances on rural economies, including rural household economies, is an important part of the study of labour migration.

1.2.3.1 Theories of Remittances

a) The Neoclassical Approach

The neoclassical approach can be traced back to (Smith 1776) and (Ravenstein 1889). According to this approach, a migrant will choose to maximize his/her own utility subject to a budget constraint by seeking the destination that will maximize his/her well-being. The central argument is to maximize wages and hence remittances. This theory predicts a linear relationship between wage differentials and migration with the assumption that there is full employment. Wage differentials between regions cause the labour to shift from a low wage region to a high wage region. The larger the differential, the greater the flow will be. The neo classical approach has been particularly criticized for ignoring the effects of sending and host regions, markets imperfections, asymmetric

information, relative deprivation, the importance of politics and policies, which are accounted as distortions and additional migration costs.

New Economics of Migration

Taking a different level of analysis, the New Economics of Migration (NEM) (Stark and Bloom, The New Economics of Labor Migration 1985) stipulates that migration decisions are not taken by one individual only, but rather by families or households (*ibid.*). People act collectively not only to maximize income in absolute terms, but also relative to other households (*ibid.*). The theory of relative deprivation also tells that the chance of sending migrants abroad is greater when the amount of income earned is higher and income inequality is greater compared to the reference group(*ibid.*). Stark and Taylor (1989) showed that relative income had a greater impact than absolute income on migration based on a sample of Mexican households(Stark and Taylor 1989).

Human Capital Theory

The human capital theory puts forward that a migrant will estimate the costs and benefits associated to the displacement, will migrate if the net return is positive and his destination will be where the expected discounted net returns are greatest over some time horizon(Borjas 1994) thus emphasising the importance of remittance in the whole process. The costs associated also include psychological costs such as separation from family in addition to monetary costs. Individual characteristics such as age, marital status, preferences, education, experience, training skills, languages skills increase the probability of migration as these would increase the likelihood of remuneration and being employed in the host country

Remittances from internal migration are difficult to estimate. Williamson (1988) suggests that urban-rural remittances range from 10 to 13 per cent of urban incomes in Africa, and are “thought to be” in the same order in Asia. Reardon's (1997) observation on the importance of the share of rural non-

farm income in Africa (which was between 22 and 93 per cent of total rural income, with an average of 45 per cent over 25 case studies), notes that in areas that are not close to major cities, remittance from migrants constituted only 20 per cent of total non-farm earnings, whereas the proportion was as high as 75 per cent of total non-farm earnings in areas close to major cities (Reardon 1997). This difference can be said to be expected, because proximity to origin villages reduces the cost of transfer of remittances.

Connell (1976) deals with the relationship between village-level inequality and migration. He found that remittances from town to village were not substantial because the cost of education or job search at the destination area was often higher than expected and households ended up in debt when attempting to finance such migration (Connell 1976).

By contrast, some recent studies on internal migration suggest that the money sent back home by migrants constitutes a substantial part of family income (Swamy 1990). Migration thus has a distinct and substantial effect on the economic situation of the migrant household.

1.3 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

The principal research hypotheses that I propose from my thesis are as follows:

A large portion of the workforce engaged in temporary and contractual employments across India are predominantly rural migrants.

Socio-economic variables such as caste, class and ownership of land and assets differ among migrant and non-migrant households.

Literacy status of migrants differs from that of non-migrant households.

Indebtedness pattern of migrant and non-migrant households differ significantly.

Migrant workers constitute a major share of unorganized workers in India.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The principal research questions that this thesis aims to answer are the following:

What is the magnitude of rural internal migration from India and West Bengal?

What are the characteristics of migrant workers from rural West Bengal who engage in internal migration?

What are the differences between migrant and non-migrant households? What is the effect of remittances on rural household incomes?

What are the conditions of work and living conditions that migrants encounter at the destination work-places?

To study these issues in adequate detail, and to study the different relationships that these questions seek to uncover, this study is restricted to one State-West Bengal- and to certain selected villages in the State.

1.5 RESEARCH METHOD

The Census and the NSSO are the two official secondary sources of data that presents information regarding internal migrants in India. For the present study I first study the magnitude of internal migration in India and West Bengal using the available secondary data.

1.5.1 The Census of India

Historically, information on migration has been collected by the Census of India since 1872 (census.co.in) . Initially the information was limited to place of birth till 1961. Such an approach later changed by including the rural and urban status of place of birth (POB) and duration of stay at the residence. Since the 1971 Census, data is being collected based on place of last residence in addition to the question on birth place (*ibid*). The question on ‘Reason for migration’ was introduced in 1981. The the category ‘Natural Calamities’ as one of the reasons for migration was excluded and a new reason ‘Moved at birth’ added (*ibid*).The most recent set of migration table released by the Census of India is the provisional D-5 table of the 2011 Census Report. This table includes data on migrants based on sex, age, duration of migration and reasons for migration.

The tables on migration usually cover data on migrants by sex, age, rural – urban status of place of enumeration, place of birth, place of last residence, duration of residence at place of enumeration and the reasons for migration. Table D1 and D2 give information at the district level, while Table D-3, provides data for States and for cities. These tables are however not available for the 2011 data set on migration. The definitions and concepts followed by the Census are described in detail in Annexure 1.

1.5.2 The National Sample Survey

The National Sample Survey (NSS) was set up by the Government of India to collect socio-economic data employing scientific sampling methods. It has conducted a number of surveys on employment and unemployment to assess its volume starting from the 9th Round (May-September, 1955). Data on migration was first collected by the National Sample Survey in this round followed by the 11th and the 12th rounds. In these rounds migration particulars were collected for the persons in the labour force only. From the 13th round onwards, more detailed information on internal migration was collected. In the 18th round, survey on internal migration was conducted on a much larger scale with a view to provide estimates comparable to the Census data on internal migration. In the NSS 28th round survey on birth, death & disability, migration particulars of the usual members of the sample households were also collected. In the 38th round, the collection of migration data was integrated with the regular quinquennial surveys on employment and unemployment. The same approach was followed in the 43rd round also. In NSS 49th round an integrated schedule providing comprehensive coverage of housing condition and migration was designed. In the sixth quinquennial survey of NSS (55th round; 1999-2000), along with the employment and unemployment, data on migration particulars of the members of the sample households were collected through the 'Employed and Unemployment' schedule. Data on migration particulars were not collected during the seventh quinquennial survey of NSS (61st round; 2004-5). The 64th round (July 2007-June 2008) of NSS the latest data on internal migration was earmarked for survey on 'Employment-Unemployment and Migration'. A stratified multi-stage sampling had been adopted for this survey.² The concepts and definitions followed in this survey are explained in Annexure II.

²For details please see www.mospi.nic.in for 'Introduction: Concepts, Definitions and Procedures, NSS 64th Round'.

There is a crucial difference in the definitions of the term “migrant” in the Census of India and the NSS. The Census defines a person as a migrant if he or she has changed residence over one intercensal period. The NSSO terms an individual a migrant if he or she has not stayed in his/her household for six months or more.

A shortcoming of the Census and the NSSO data is that they underestimate of the magnitude of seasonal and/or short-term circular migration in India (Srivastava 2011). Such migration is an important component of internal migration in India. People who migrate for less than six months from their places of origin for a temporary job to other rural or urban areas are not recorded as migrants in the existing databases.

In this thesis I also examine and compare migrant and non-migrant households from the available primary data. For this, I have studied the data collected by the Foundation for Agrarian Studies. The Foundation for Agrarian Studies conducts census type village surveys all over India as a part of its Project of Agrarian Relations in India (PARI). In its 2010 survey, the Foundation conducted such surveys in three villages in West Bengal. These villages were Panahar in Kotulpur block of Bankura district, Amarsinghi in Ratua I block of Malda district, and Kalmandasguri in Cooch Behar II block of Cooch Behar district.

In 2015 a re-survey was conducted on these three villages. This was a sample survey which also focused on migrant worker households. The results from these two surveys will be presented in this thesis.

Finally, I also study working conditions of migrant workers at selected migrant destinations. For this a sample survey was conducted by the Foundation for Agrarian Studies in the Ernakulam district of Kerala in November 2015. The intention of this survey was to focus on the life and working conditions of independent migrant workers at the destination and migrant workers from the already surveyed villages from West Bengal.

The survey followed a snow ball sampling for the former and a targeted sampling methodology for the latter.

1.6 CHAPTERISATION

Chapter 1: *Introduction*. This chapter introduces the research topic; reviews the available literature relevant to the study, states the research questions and the research methodology followed during study.

Chapter 2: *Sources of data on rural migrants in India: An evaluative analysis*. This chapter is intended to describe and critically evaluate the results obtained from the secondary database available i.e. the Census and the NSS surveys and compare their methodology with that of various primary surveys on internal migration.

Chapter 3: *Aspects of rural migration from West Bengal*. This chapter is intended to describe and critically evaluate the results obtained from the secondary database i.e. the NSS survey with special focus on West Bengal.

Chapter 4: *Introduction to the study villages*. This chapter introduces the villages which will be studied as the origin of the migrant worker. For this purpose I study the villages of West Bengal which were surveyed by the Foundation for Agrarian Studies as part of the 2010 West Bengal Round survey of the Project on Agrarian Relations in India (PARI).

Chapter 5: *Socio-economic characteristics of the migrant and non-migrant households*. This chapter is intended to compare the socio-economic conditions of migrant and non-migrant households in the study villages.

Chapter 6: *Migration from rural West Bengal: A regression analysis*. This chapter analyses the difference between migrant and non-migrant households with respect to rural household incomes.

Chapter 7: *Migrant workers at the destination*. This chapter studies the migrant worker at the destination. The samples for this study are the migrant construction workers from West Bengal who migrate to

the Ernakulam district of Kerala. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics, of migrant workers is studied in this chapter.

Chapter 8: *Conclusion*. The final chapter summarizes the specific findings of the chapters of the thesis.

APPENDIX I

Concepts and definitions used in the Census of India.

The following are the concepts and definitions related to migration as followed by the Census of India.

Internal Migration: It includes any movement within political boundaries of a nation which results in a change of usual place of residence. It may consist of crossing of a village or town boundary as a minimum condition for qualifying the movement as internal migration. Thus, the concept of internal migration involves implicitly an imposition of boundary lines which must be crossed before a movement is counted as internal migration (Census, 2011) .

Migrant: Migrant is usually defined as a person who has moves from one politically defined area to another similar area. In Indian context, these areas are generally a village in rural and a town in urban (*ibid*). Thus, a person who moves out from one village or town to another village or town is termed as a migrant provided his/her movement is not of purely temporary nature on account of casual leave, visits, tours, etc(Census, 2011) .

Non-migrants (immobiles): People, who are seen living their entire life-time and die in the same village/town in which they were born, are defined as immobile or non-migrants(*ibid*)..

Migrant by Place of birth: If at the time of Census enumeration, there is a change in the usual place of residence of an individual with reference to his/her birth place, he/she is defined as a migrant in accordance with 'birth place' concept(*ibid*)..

Migrant by Last Residence: If at the time of Census enumeration, a change in the usual place of residence of an individual is noted with reference to his/her previous usual residence, he/she is termed as a migrant in accordance with 'last residence' concept(*ibid*)..

In-migrant: A person, who crosses the boundaries of a village/town for the purpose of residing at the place of enumeration, is an in-migrant(*Census 2011*)..

Out-migrant: If a person moves out from the place of enumeration (village/town) to another politically defined area (village/town) for usual residence, he or she is termed as an out-migrant(*Census 2011*)..

Intra-district Migrant: When a person moves out from his place of usual residence or birth to another politically defined area (village/town), which is within the district of enumeration, he/she is termed as intra district migrant(*Census 2011*)..

Inter-district Migrant: Any person who is in the course of migration crosses the boundary of the district of enumeration but remains within the State of enumeration, is termed as an inter-district migrant(*Census 2011*)

Intra-State Migrant: When a person crosses the boundary of his/her village/town for usual residence elsewhere within the State of enumeration, the person concerned is treated as an intra-State migrant(*ibid*).. This Intra-district and Inter-district migrants together constitute intra-State migrants(*Census 2011*).

Inter-State migrantIf the place of enumeration of an individual differs from the place of birth or last residence and these lie in two different states, the person is treated accordingly as an inter-state migrant about birth place or last residence concept(*Census 2011*)

Life-time In Migration: It denotes the total number of persons enumerated in a given area at a particular Census who were born outside the area of enumeration but within the national boundaries(*Census 2011*)

Life-time out Migration: It gives the total number of persons born in each area but now enumerated outside the area within the national boundaries at the time of particular Census(*Census 2011*)

Life-time net migration: The difference between the life time in-migration and life-time out-migration is termed as lifetime net-migration(*Census 2011*)

Migration rate: It is the ratio of total migrants in the Census to its total population multiplied by 1000. While discussing the migration result, the term population mobility is taken as a synonym to migration rate(*Census 2011*)

The data on migration is represented in the Census under the following headings:

Migration by Place of Birth: The Census of India collects data on the total in-migrants by place of birth and classifies them further by a) sex b) movement of migrants (intra-district, inter-district, interstate and from abroad). The Census releases this data state-wise as well as for the entire nation(*Census 2011*)

Migrants by place of birth by age: Census gives information on migrants by age groups. In the 2001 Census report this was reported in the D1 appendix table.

Duration of Migration: The Census also collects data on the basis of duration of migration. As for example the number of migrants by place of last residence who are migrants for the past one year, one to four years and so on(*Census 2011*)

Reasons for migration: The Census also collects data based on reasons for migration. The principal categories under which this is recorded are:

Work/Employment

Business

Education

Marriage

Moved after birth

Moved with household

Other

Migrant streams: The distribution of migrants by migration streams (i.e., rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to rural and urban to urban areas) is generally associated with the degree of economic and social development(*Census 2011*). Population pressure on land, increased opportunities for work, education and a variety of reasons including marriage in case of females contribute to migration to a rural or urban area. Therefore, Census collects data based on migrantstreams(*ibid*).. These migrant streams are

Rural to rural migration within the country

Rural to urban migration within the country

Urban to rural migration within the country

Urban to urban migration within the country

The following are the concepts and definitions used for the 64th Round survey of the NSS:

Usual place of residence (UPR): In this survey, usual place of residence (upr) of a person is defined as a place (village/town) where the person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more(NSSO)..

Migrant: A member of a household is treated as a migrant, if he/she has stayed continuously for at least six months or more in a place (village/town) other than the village/town where he/she has been enumerated(NSSO)..

Migrant household: If the entire household, as now being enumerated has moved to the place of enumeration during the last 365 days preceding the date of survey, it will be considered as a migrant household((NSSO)..If one member of the household has moved ahead of other members to the present household and others have joined later (but all of them during the reference year) such households will also be considered as migrant households. Where some members of the household

were born or married into households which have moved, during the last 365 days, the entire household is to be treated as migrated to the place of enumeration. (*ibid*).

Out-migrant: Any former member of a household who left the household, any time in the past, for staying outside the village/ town is considered as out-migrant provided he/ she is alive on the date of survey.(NSSO)..

Reason for migration: The reasons for migration, which are to be collected in codes, are as follows:

In search of employment.

Social or political problems (riots, terrorism, political refugee,bad law and order, etc.)

In search of better employment displacement by development project

Business acquisition of own house/ flat

To take up employment / better employment housing problems

Transfer of service/ contract health care

Proximity to place of work post retirement

Studies

Marriage

Natural disaster (drought, flood, tsunami, etc.)

Migration of parent/ earning member of the family others(*ibid*).

Remittances: These are the transfers, in either cash or kind, to the households by their former members who had migrated out. For the purpose of this survey (NSSO, 64 Round), it was decided that only former household members who had migrated out any time in the past, will be considered and the transfers by them during the last 365 days will be treated as remittances(*ibid*).. However, if

such transfers are in the form of loans, these will not be considered as remittances. The valuation of the remittances received in kind will be done by considering the market value of the kind received by the household (*ibid*). If the cash remittances are in any foreign currency, exchange value of the cash remittances in Indian Rupee may be arrived at to determine the amount of remittances (*ibid*). It is, moreover, to be noted that amount of remittances may be arrived at considering both the remittances received through formally recorded channels as well as remittances sent through informal channels. (*ibid*).

Concepts and Definitions used in the PARI villages

Migrant: A member of a household is treated as a migrant, if he/she has stayed continuously for at least six months or more in a place (village/town) other than the village/town where he/she has been enumerated. From the surveys conducted from the year 2008, the foundation has decided to identify the migrants of a particular household using a specific number series.

In the survey conducted in 2015 in the three villages of West Bengal, any member who was outside the village of origin anytime during the survey year, was considered a migrant and a separate schedule was canvassed for the household to capture this feature of the household.

Remittances: These are the transfers, in either cash or kind, to the households by the migrant members of the household. The Foundation has been collecting data on remittances received for all the surveyed villages.

Apart from the above specific data, which are migration specific, the surveys also collect data on land holding pattern of the household, crop production, animal resources, agricultural and non-agricultural wage labour, the level of indebtedness of the household, current asset ownership of the household and earning from salaries, business and trade, rent, pensions etc.

In this thesis I present the results from this dataset in order to focus on the following characteristics of the origin of the migrant worker:

- a) The type of work that migrant workers are engaged in *vis-à-vis* the work conditions in the village.
- b) The landholding pattern of migrant and non-migrant households.
- c) The indebtedness situation of migrant and non-migrant households.
- d) The living conditions of migrant households and non-migrant households.
- e) The agricultural income and nonagricultural income of migrant households' *vis-à-vis* non-migrant households.