

Patterns of Migration  
in the  
National Capital Region

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## PREFACE

This study presents the results of a survey undertaken to ascertain the volume and pattern of migration to six urban centres of the National Capital Region (NCR). This study has also attempted to estimate the possible future pace of migration into the nations capital from these urban centres. Undertaken at the behest of the National Capital Regional Planning Board, it has analysed the contribution of migration in urban population growth, the reasons underlying such migrations, as well as the characteristics of the migrants.

For the survey, the NIUA selected six towns and cities of various sizes and characteristics. These were Meerut and Sardhana (Uttar Pradesh), Panipat and Samalkha (Haryana) and Alwar and Khairthal (Rajasthan). During 1971-81, these towns and cities had registered substantial increase in their population but their growth rate was lower than the growth rate of Delhi.

The study covered a sample of 5,059 households which at the time of the field survey had a population of 30,615. An analysis of the results shows that there has been considerable movement of people within the region - both rural to urban and urban to urban. A little over half of the total migrants (55.7 per cent) in the case study towns/cities had their roots within the NCR. Larger cities such as Panipat, Alwar and Meerut, however, appeared to have a comparatively

higher proportion of migrants from outside the NCR. Less than half of the migrants (45.6 per cent) came from rural areas. The urban to urban stream of migration assumed greater importance in the case of larger cities. The urban to urban migration took place largely in quest of better employment while rural to urban migration was motivated by search for employment. Another important fact that emerged from the study is that nearly one-third of the migrant households had average per capita income of less than Rs.200 per month. In other words they were in the category of urban poor households. Finally, the survey showed that a significant percentage of migrant households moved from no/low to some/high income brackets, fulfilling at least one of their major aspirations after migrating into these towns and cities.

As indicated, the study also probed into the intentions of the people to migrate out of the case study towns and cities. About 80 per cent of those who intend to outmigrate from the case study towns and cities in the course of the next few years, indicated preference for Delhi as their destination and 88 per cent of the potential migrants to Delhi expressed their wish to migrate within the course of the next ten years. Those who expressed their intentions to move to Delhi were predominantly young (45 per cent), male (67 per cent), unmarried (60 per cent), and literate (82.6 per cent) with majority of them having educational qualification upto the 10th standard. Another important feature indicated by the study is that over one-third of the potential migrant households had an income of less than Rs.200 per capita per month and belonged to the urban

poor category. Economic reasons underlie their intention to migrate to Delhi. Over 83 per cent of the principal potential migrants to Delhi are motivated by search for employment or better paid employment.

One key question that can be raised at this point is - what are the implications of these results for policy purpose? To begin with, it is necessary to emphasise that if the projected migration took place it will have major repercussion on the future development of Delhi. Roughly 2.5 lakh persons will be added to Delhi's population in the next ten years as a result of migration from the urban centres of the NCR alone. The quantum of migration from rural areas of the region and from the rest of the country is likely to be much greater. It is important to note that economic reasons remain the predominant motive of people to migrate to Delhi. Other reasons such as better facilities or improved basic services are rarely the main attraction. It clearly implies, therefore, that if any impact of the overall objective of the NCR plan has to take place it will have to be through economic vitalisation of small and medium cities of the region rather than by increased investment in public services in these centres. Investment in public services would certainly improve the quality of life of the people but it would not check the flow of population into Delhi.

The very fact that people have moved into the case study towns and cities, rather than going to Delhi, and have fulfilled their aspirations upon migration shows that urban centres of the NCR have a



great deal of vitality. This vitality can be effectively utilised through proper planning of economic growth which would not only check outmigration to Delhi but would also enable secondary cities to absorb the diverted flow of migrants. This alone would result in a balanced distribution of economic activities and population within the region.

One factor which should not be overlooked while formulating a regional plan for the NCR is the contribution of natural increase in urban population growth. It is important to point out that by the year 2001 approximately 3 to 4 million people will be added to the urban population of the region as a result of natural increase, which will be almost one-third of the projected urban population growth. This would bring as much pressure on urban services as population increased through migration. Therefore, the NCR Board should stress the need for paying greater attention to family planning in urban areas as one of the policy measures.

This study was coordinated and supervised by Dr. Pushpa Pathak, Research Fellow and Regional Planner at the Institute. She designed the questionnaire and the strategy for data collection, and prepared the draft report. I would like to compliment her for the seriousness and the systematic manner in which she conducted the study.

Dr. Gopal Krishan, Professor of Geography, Punjab University served as a Consultant to the study. His perceptive comments and active participation were extremely useful. Mr. Satish Chander, formerly an Economist with the Town and Country Planning Organisation

also served as a short-term Consultant and helped in organising the field surveys. Apart from these senior members, a number of staff members of the Institute whose names are separately acknowledged worked extremely hard in conducting the study, defying the rigors that are implicit in a study that involves field investigations on such a large scale. To every one of them, I would like to extend a word of thanks.

Last but not the least, our thanks are due to Shri M.Shankar, Member-Secretary, NCR Board, who entrusted the study to the National Institute of Urban Affairs, and took keen interest both in its design as well as in its results. He made available to the team his valuable time, discussing even the minutest details, questionnaires and methodology. We are extremely grateful to him. We would like to also express our gratitude to his colleagues, in particular, Shri B.N.Singh, Chief Regional Planner and Smt. V.R.Sundaram, Deputy Director. We hope that the results would be useful in the preparation of the plan for the National Capital Region.

November 1986

OM PRAKASH MATHUR  
DIRECTOR

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## PROJECT TEAM

Project Coordinator	:	Dr. Pushpa Pathak
Consultants	:	Dr. Gopal Krishan Mr. Satish Chander
Local Coordinators	:	Dr. Chetan Singh, Meerut Prof. Jaipal Singh, Alwar
Research Staff	:	Mr. K.K. Pandey Mr. Rajesh Chandra Miss Archana Chakravorty Miss Niti Dwivedi Mr. M. Ahmad Mr. Naveen Mathur Mr. Satya Pal Tyagi Miss Basudha Chatopadhyaya Mrs. R. Rama Rao Mr. M.C. Singhal Mr. D.P. Dubey Mr. Nand Lal
Field Investigators	:	Students of Alwar, Meerut & Panipat
Typing & Secretarial Assistance	:	Mrs. Durga Goplani Mrs. Sangeeta Vizh Miss Indu Mr. Tek Chand
Cartographic Assistance	:	Mr. Ajay Kashyap



## I INTRODUCTION

### SCOPE AND PARAMETERS

Since the formulation of the Draft Regional Plan for the National Capital Region (1974)<sup>1</sup>, and more recently the enactment of the National Capital Region Planning Board Act (1985), there has been an escalation of interest and efforts in finding out ways in which the pattern of growth within the National Capital Region (NCR) can be influenced so as to facilitate what the Act calls, a harmonious and balanced development of the NCR.<sup>2</sup> The provisions of the Act suggest though somewhat obliquely that the manner in which the economic activities, population and the whole range of associated infrastructure are presently distributed over the NCR's space can only lead to further polarisation of Delhi's growth. Therefore, this pattern of spatial distribution should be altered by properly planned interventions, by adopting various incentive/disincentive strategies of decentralisation of urban growth.

In this overall context, a series of questions arise, the principal one being whether the numerous urban settlements that fall within the jurisdiction of the NCR have any worthwhile set of opportunities and prospects that have so far remained untapped, but which can now be tapped and utilised for achieving the goals of

1. DRAFT REGIONAL PLAN FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION, TCPO, New Delhi, 1974.
2. The National Capital Region Board, Bill No. I-C of 1985, as passed by the Rajya Sabha on 23rd Jan., 1985.

balanced development. Alternatively, if opportunities do not exist, can these be created to achieve the same end? There are apprehensions that if opportunities are not created and utilised, and if the past growth trends are allowed to persist, then Delhi, the core of the National Capital Region, may grow into a formidable urban mass.

One of the prime concerns of the NCR Board is to know whether it is possible to slow down further growth of Delhi by redirecting potential migrants to alternative locations within the region in the next decade or two. In pursuance of this concern, the NCR Board, vide letter No. K-14011/9/85-NCR, asked the National Institute of Urban Affairs to study the migration patterns within the NCR which could provide the Board with some insights into the likely future pattern of population redistribution within the region. The Institute accepted the study as per the terms defined in the aforementioned letter.

The one redeeming feature that characterises the National Capital Region is that it is endowed with a fast expanding urban base. Some idea of this can be had from the fact that during the 1971-81 census decade, the number of urban settlements increased from 53 to 94 which was an extraordinarily large urban base expansion by almost any standard. Furthermore, Delhi was not the only city in the NCR that registered a high population growth rate (57.09 per cent); many other towns and cities too registered substantially high growth rates during the same period. According to one estimate, net migration contributed 39.25 per cent to the growth of urban population in the NCR. The share

of natural increase (births-deaths) was estimated at 31.25 per cent,<sup>3</sup> as may be seen below:

Table 1.1 - Components of Urban Growth, NCR, 1971-81

Components of Urban Growth	Percentage Share
(a) New towns	10.80
(b) Extension of boundaries	18.69
(c) In-migration	39.25
(d) Natural increase	31.25
Total increase	100.00

This overall demographic perspective of the NCR's growth raises a number of pertinent questions: What factors induced people to migrate to the NCR's various towns and cities? Where did they come from? What exactly are their characteristics? Did they fulfil their aspirations upon migration? Answers to these questions are essential to map out the future population distribution strategies within the National Capital Region as well as to come to grips with its internal growth dynamics.

Apart from analysing the past migration flows and their determinants, this study has also tried to ascertain the future mobility patterns by inquiring into the intentions of people to move out of the case study cities in the course of the next few years. In relation to the future mobility the relevant questions are: What is

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3. NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION : A PERSPECTIVE ON PATTERNS AND PROCESSES OF URBANISATION, NIUA, New Delhi (Forthcoming).



the rate of likely out-migration from these cities? What are the reasons for migration to Delhi? What are the characteristics of the potential migrants to Delhi?

And finally, the most crucial question that this study aims to address itself to is - if potential migration is any indicator of negative aspects in the economy of the case study cities and positive charm and attraction of Delhi, is it possible to reverse this process by adopting suitable urban and regional planning strategies for the NCR? However, which towns and cities in the NCR have the potential for responding to induced accelerated growth is a different question altogether.

There are numerous studies, mostly based on sample surveys, on who moves and why. Although the order of importance of the reasons is not necessarily the same, they fall basically into four categories:

- i. No employment at the place of origin and expectation of finding employment at the place of destination;
- ii. underemployment and job dissatisfaction at the place of origin and expectation of better employment opportunities at the place of destination;
- iii. search for better educational and other facilities than those available at the place of origin; and
- iv. a variety of other reasons such as transfers, marriages, and so on, that is, those which contain an element of involuntariness.

Apart from motives for migration, the existing studies also point towards several general trends. For example, rural-urban migrants are predominantly young and the educational levels attained by them are generally higher than those who remain in the place of origin; a



migrant has higher propensity to migrate than a non-migrant; migration from rural areas to a metropolitan centre tends to take place in several steps; and so forth. This study has also attempted to test some of these generally held notions.

## METHODOLOGY

As indicated above, this study attempts to address four basic questions pertaining to the present and potential migration namely: Where have the migrants come from? Who are these people and what are their characteristics? What induced them to migrate? Are they planning to move again and what will be the motivations to move if they are planning to do so?

All persons not born at the place of their present residence are identified as migrants for analysing migration patterns in the NCR. The norms adopted for classifying migrants correspond to those followed by the Indian census. For example, we had stated seventeen reasons for migration in the questionnaire, which were clubbed into six comparable sets of reasons, namely, economic (employment and

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### 4 REASONS FOR MIGRATION:

- |                                                      |                                                             |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Employment                                        | 11. Education                                               |
| 2. Better paid employment                            | 12. Marriage                                                |
| 3. Landlessness                                      | 13. To accompany family                                     |
| 4. Family debt                                       | 14. Inheritance of property                                 |
| 5. Better business prospects                         | 15. Prestige of living in a big city                        |
| 6. Official Transfer                                 | 16. Natural disaster, e.g. bad crops, floods, drought, etc. |
| 7. Organised recruitment                             | 17. Others (specify)                                        |
| 8. Social discrimination                             |                                                             |
| 9. Break-up of joint family                          |                                                             |
| 10. Religious, communal, political or legal disputes |                                                             |

better paid employment), education, to accompany family, marriage, transfer, and other reasons.

#### Data-Base

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The town/city level information on population, area, economic base, number of households, wardwise distribution of houses/households, industrial structure, future development plans, and so on, was obtained from census publications, local bodies and various government departments.

The data on migration patterns, both past migration to the case study cities and potential migration to Delhi, were generated by undertaking a household level sample survey.

Informal discussions with various government officials also provided insight into the development potential of the case study towns/cities.

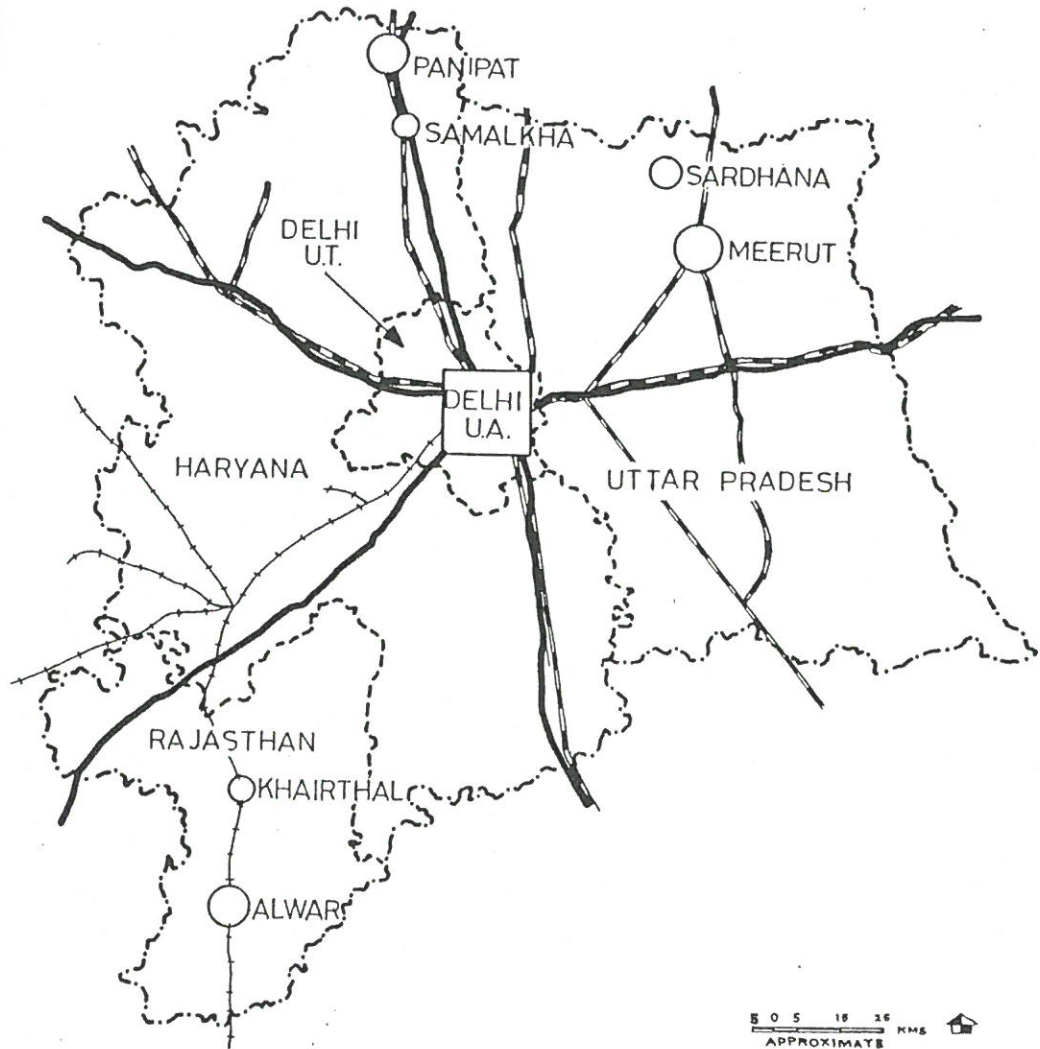
#### Selection of Case Study Towns/Cities

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The NIUA undertook this survey in six case study towns/cities in the NCR. The case study towns/cities were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- 1) The case study towns/cities should be of different population sizes;
- 2) They should not be too close to the Delhi Metropolitan Area and should be located at roughly the same distance from Delhi;
- 3) They should be connected by rail and road transport network with Delhi;
- 4) One city and one town each should be located in the three sub-regions of the NCR; Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

# CASE STUDY TOWNS AND CITIES



## NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

### LEGEND

- N.C.R. BOUNDARY
- STATE BOUNDARY
- NATIONAL HIGHWAY
- RAILWAY B.G.
- RAILWAY M.G.

### URBAN CENTRES

□	DELHI	U. A.	5.73 millions
○	CLASS I		5,00,000 - 9,99,999
○	CLASS I		100,000 - 499,999
○	CLASS III		20,000 - 49,999
○	CLASS IV		10,000 - 19,999

It was assumed that if the two factors, distance and accessibility, were kept constant in case of all the case study cities it would be possible to correlate city size with migration patterns as well as to identify those social and economic factors which induce people to migrate to Delhi. The selected case study towns and cities are as follows:

Table 1.2 - The Case Study Towns/Cities

Towns/ Cities	Location	Population 1981	Decennial growth rate 1971-81
Meerut	Uttar Pradesh	536,615	40.07
Alwar	Rajasthan	145,795	45.25
Panipat	Haryana	137,927	56.77
Sardhana	Uttar Pradesh	30,138	36.48
Khairthal	Rajasthan	15,962	49.36
Samalkha	Haryana	13,532	-

These case study towns and cities are visualised as the destination points for the past immigration (predominantly rural-urban) as well as the source regions for potential out-migration, especially to Delhi (urban-urban).

#### The Questionnaire

The household level survey was aimed at examining past migration to the case study towns/cities as well as potential outmigration from them. The questionnaire, therefore, was designed to reveal both types of migration in each of the sample households.



The questionnaire was divided into two sections. The first section sought to elicit information on the characteristics of all the regular members of the household, their migrant status, reasons for migration, their economic status prior to migration into the case study towns/cities, links with the native place, and so forth. The second part of the questionnaire focussed on future mobility intentions and motivations of those members of the same household who were living in the case study towns/cities at the time of the survey.

The questionnaire was finalised after being pre-tested by the Institute staff in one of the case study cities. Households with high, medium and low incomes were covered while conducting the pre-testing of the questionnaire.

#### The Sample Size

Taking a uniform sample size for the six case study towns/cities could not be contemplated because (i) the universe of the households at the time of the survey was not known, and (ii) the size of the case study towns/cities varied to the extent that the same size of sample for all of them posed problems of scale.

The latest data on number of households in urban centres were available for the year 1981. It was assumed that the number of households would have increased since the last census. Without knowing the exact number of households in a city at the time of survey it was not possible to ascertain a truly proportionate sample size.

A 2.5 per cent (of the households) sample was quite suitable for the largest case study city, Meerut and was numerically far too small

for the smallest town, Samalkha. On the other hand, a larger sample of 5.0 per cent though quite suitable for the small towns, was unmanageably large for Meerut. We decided, therefore, to take samples of different sizes. The size of the sample, as a percentage to the total number of households in 1981, was inversely related to the size of the case study towns/cities (Table 1.3). Altogether, 5,059 households were covered by this survey which is 3.1 per cent of the total households. The sample size was about 3 per cent in lakh-plus cities and over 7 per cent in the case of the three towns.

Table 1.3 - The Size of the Sample, 1986  
(Household Survey)

Towns/Cities	No. of Households in 1981	Target Sample	Completed Schedules Received	% of Sample Households to the Total Households (1981)
Meerut	101,222	2,800	2,800	2.8
Alwar	25,128	800	793	3.1
Panipat	24,946	800	800	3.2
Sardhana	4,098	300	299	7.3
Khairthal	2,467	200	191	7.7
Samalkha	2,240	200	176	7.8
Total	160,101	5,100	5,059	3.1

#### Identification of Sample Households

The unit of enquiry in this study was the household. The only sampling frame available to us for identifying sample households was the wardwise number of households compiled in the 1981 Census Tables. Even the local bodies concerned could not provide more up-to-date

information. Secondly, ward boundaries have undergone changes in all the case study towns/cities since the 1981 Census, and consequently, the 1981 data pertaining to the number of households had become irrelevant. Considering the lack of a complete list of households and erratic house numbering it was not possible to apply any systematic sampling technique. As a result, a stratified-purposive sampling was chosen on the basis of a rough estimate of the number of houses in each locality and on the presumption that each house contained one household. In cases where there were more than one household residing in one house, only one of the households was included in the survey.

A step-wise procedure was adopted for identifying the sample households:

- i. The whole town/city was divided into three ward-wise zones according to the predominant phase of their development, namely, (a) old/core city (up to 1950), (b) intermediate development (1951 to 1970), and (c) newly developed areas (1971 onwards).
- ii. Each zone was further classified into three broad income categories - high, medium and low - at the Mohalla/locality level.
- iii. Almost equal proportions of the three income category households, in all the three types of zones, were covered by the household survey. This exercise excluded predominantly institutional areas. One household in every seventh house was interviewed till the target sample of each type was achieved.

#### The Survey

The household level survey in the six case study towns/cities was conducted with the help of local investigators most of whom were graduate/post-graduate students. They were appropriately trained in tasks related to the surveys.



Local expertise was utilised in drawing out the sample and in supervising the field investigation. The Institute's staff members were responsible for the allocation of work to the investigators, the day to day scrutiny of the completed schedules, and for revisiting almost every tenth sampled household for cross-checking and ensuring the authenticity of the data collected.

The survey was conducted during the months of January and February, 1986. The household schedules were processed and tabulated manually at the Institute.

#### Limitations of the Study

An analysis of migration patterns on the basis of primary data collected from sample households/individuals has its own limitations. Firstly, at the macro/city level, it is not possible to get an estimate of net migration or the balance of in-migration minus out-migration. Secondly, there is a high risk in interpreting the direction of migration flows and motivations for migration given the behavioural aspect of the process of migration, which is shaped by a complex set of perceptions and subjective rationale, besides economic and social considerations. Thirdly, limiting the scope of this study to urban-urban potential migration excludes a large proportion of rural migrants who are also likely to move to Delhi in the near future. Rural-urban migration is a vast field in itself. Considering the time constraint and unresearchability of this stream of potential migration it could not be incorporated in this study. However, it does not imply therefore that rural to metropolitan cityward migration is in any way less significant than urban-urban migration. Finally,



estimation of potential outmigration from any source region is generally an underestimate. A large majority of persons especially in the developing countries, do not plan their future mobility. They tend to respond to opportunities, excepting those who have no alternative but to move in search of opportunities.

#### Organisation of the Report

This report is divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction, methodology and city profiles; the second is concerned with analysis of the past migration to the case study towns/cities; the third chapter is focussed on assessment of potential migration to Delhi from the case study towns/cities while the last one presents the summary of the major findings, conclusions and policy implications.

#### CITY PROFILES

##### Meerut:

The largest case study city Meerut is located in the rich agricultural plains of western Uttar Pradesh. It lies about 60 km. north-east of Delhi. Meerut is connected, both by roads and railways, with Delhi as well as with other places in the State.

Meerut occupied an area of 59.13 sq. km. in 1961, 57.27 sq.km. in 1971, and the area increased to 80.82 sq.km. in 1981. Meerut's population in 1981 was 5.36 lakhs, in 1971 it was 3.83 lakhs and in 1961 the population was 2.94 lakhs. The decadal population growth of

the city in 1961-71 was 29.93 per cent and in 1971-81 it was 40.07 per cent.

Meerut would be considered slow growing in comparison to the average urban growth rate of the nation. The city was also growing at a far slower pace than the average urban growth in the NCR. The relatively lower growth of Meerut can be explained by two factors, (i) proximity to Delhi, and (ii) emergence of a fairly large number of new urban centres within the district. The accelerated growth of Meerut in the seventies can easily be attributed to about 40 per cent increase in the municipal area. This is supported by the fact that the density of persons per sq.km. declined from 6,689 in 1971 to 6,640 in 1981.

Around 27 per cent of the city's total population was classified as workers in 1971 and the proportion of main workers was just over 28 per cent in 1981. The average work participation rate in the country was over 29 per cent at both points of time.

The 1981 Census does not provide data on the distribution of workers into the conventional nine industrial categories. As a result, it is quite difficult to comprehend the economic structure of cities. It is, however, quite clear that in Meerut the participation of workers in other activities ( including industry, transport, construction, other services, etc.) has declined from 91.67 per cent in 1971 to 86.50 per cent in 1981. On the other hand, agriculture and household industries have acquired a comparatively larger share of the workforce.

According to the earlier censuses, industry and services were the predominant functions of Meerut in 1961 and in 1971. At the time of the survey, industries and trade and commerce appeared to be equally important.

In 1983, there were 10 large scale industrial units in Meerut which employed 4,274 persons. These units were producing sugar and mollasses, cotton yarn, transformers, straw board, beverages, flour and other food products, and metal goods. Also, there were 1,646 small scale industries functioning in the city which together employed 12,387 persons. Food processing, paper, printing and allied products, rubber and plastic products, electronics and electrical goods, chemicals, and sports goods were important items being produced in the city in the small scale sector.

The state government has made an attempt to aid the industrial development of the city by providing infrastructure. This includes an industrial estate on 40 acres of land which has 31 sheds and 86 plots, an industrial area with 21 sheds and 19 plots and a sports goods complex consisting of 51 plots. In addition, the State Industrial Development Corporation proposes to develop an industrial area of 1,000 acres near Meerut city under the Seventh Five Year Plan.

Discussions with the officials of the District Industries Centre reveal that industrial development of Meerut city is not taking place at a very fast pace. There are three negative factors which

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5 According to the census, there are three economic types of urban centres, viz.  
Mono-functional - 40% or more workers in one activity.  
Bi-functional - 60% or more workers in two activities.  
Multi-functional - Equal predominance of three or more activities



place Meerut at a disadvantageous position as far as expansion of the city's industrial base is concerned:

- i. Meerut District is considered industrially developed, therefore, State incentives of concessional finance for setting up new firms are offered to only small-scale units, and hence, large-scale industries are not attracted to Meerut.
- ii. Rural industrialisation is one of the objectives of the state-owned District Industries Centre's development scheme.
- iii. Three industrial growth centres, Sardhana, Hastinapur and Baghpat, have been identified for intensive industrial development which are expected to create a nucleus of development in the rural areas.

Meerut, being a large industrial centre and having inherent agglomeration economies has a tremendous potential for further industrial development, in spite of having the above mentioned disadvantages.

#### Sardhana

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Sardhana is a small town located about 70 km. away from Delhi, and about 15 km. from Meerut. Sardhana is well connected by road. The nearest railway station Daurala is at a distance of 11 km.

Both in 1961 and 1971 the area occupied by Sardhana town was only 0.34 sq.km. The municipal limits expanded tremendously to become 14.05 sq.km. in 1981.

Sardhana is a class III town with a population of 30,138 in 1981. The population growth rate between 1961-71 was 33.33 per cent and between 1971-81 it was 36.48 per cent. The town's growth rate in the two decades is lower than both the national and the NCR's average urban growth. Interestingly enough, even a drastic increase in the town's area has not pushed up Sardhana's population growth. Perhaps



the land absorbed by the expansion of the boundaries is predominantly agricultural with a low population density. In 1981, Sardhana had a density of 2,145 persons per sq. km.

The number of main workers in Sardhana was 5,972 in 1971 and 8,100 in 1981. The percentage of workers to total population was 27.04 in 1971 and 26.88 in 1981.

In 1961, Sardhana was an industry and service town, and in 1971, industry, primary activities, and trade and commerce were major activities. The town does not appear to have experienced major changes in its economic structure. Industry, agriculture, trade and commerce and other services are the predominant functions of Sardhana at present.

Sardhana does not have any large or medium scale industries. There were 53 small scale units employing 478 workers in the town in 1983. Cotton textiles, non-metallic mineral products, food products, agricultural implements and parts are among its important industrial products.

The town's industrial base is likely to expand in the near future as Sardhana has been identified as one of the three growth centres for Meerut District.

#### Alwar

Alwar is located in Rajasthan. It lies at a straight line distance of about 130 km. from Delhi. By road the distance is 160 km. It is connected by bus and meter gauge railway line with Delhi. The

travelling time between Alwar and Delhi is about 5 hours, both by road and train, which rules out the possibility of commuting between Alwar and the metropolitan capital of Delhi.

Alwar had an area of about 40 sq.km. both in 1961 and 1971. the city's area nearly doubled to 80 sq.km. in 1981. Given the population size of the city, the area occupied by Alwar is much larger. Alwar's density of 1,822 persons per sq.km. is the lowest as compared to all the Class I cities located in the NCR.

Alwar's population in 1961 was 72,707 which increased to 100,378 in 1971 and in 1981 was 145,795. The city came into the Class I category only in 1971. Alwar's growth rate between 1961-71 was 38.06 per cent and between 1971-81 it was 45.25 per cent. Alwar's growth compares well with the national urban growth rate but is lower than the average urban growth in the NCR.

About 26 per cent of Alwar's population in 1981 was classified as main workers, which is one per cent higher than the work participation rate of 1971. The share of workers in agriculture and household industry shows a decrease in 1981, whereas the proportion of workers in other activities has increased from 85.37 per cent in 1971 to 91.75 per cent in 1981.

Alwar was predominantly a service town till 1971. Industrial activity became an important function in subsequent years. A number of large and medium industries were set up here, as it is a backward district and provides certain financial and infrastructural benefits, and also, it was not too far from Delhi. In fact, Alwar was encouraged to be developed as an industrial counter-magnet for Delhi.

In 1971, there were about 300 industrial units in Alwar employing about 4,660 workers. In 1981, the number of industrial units shot up to approximately 1,300, with more than 10,000 workers. In 1986, 38 large and medium scale units alone employed more than 8,400 workers. Both the number of industrial units and industrial workers indicate rapid expansion of industrial activity in Alwar within a short period.

Alwar is an agriculturally productive district, and most of the earlier industries were either agro-processing or textiles. The recent industrial structure has become very diverse, which includes automobiles, engineering and electrical goods, pharmaceuticals and chemicals, paper, industrial gases, iron and steel products, non-metallic mineral products, etc.

The old industrial area covering 120 acres of land was set up by the erstwhile rulers of Alwar in the thirties. The Rajasthan Industrial Investment Co-operation expanded the old industrial area and set up a new one. The new industrial area is eight km. away from the city, covering an area of about 1600 acres, of which only 900 acres were being used at the time of the survey.

New industrial units are not being located although 700 acres of developed land is still available in this industrial area. According to the District Collector, there are three reasons for this. First, the industrial area has reached the upper limit of fixed investment of Rs. 30 crores beyond which no central subsidy is given for location of new industries. Secondly, Alwar is about 60 km. away from the Delhi-Jaipur National Highway, which places it at a disadvantageous position. Finally, Bhiwadi, a large industrial township is being



developed at a distance of 3 km. from the National Highway. This is to follow Haryana's example of developing Dharuheda, a well developed industrial counter-magnet which has attracted all those industrial units which might have been located in Delhi. These units enjoy the subsidies given to industries located in a backward district and yet the fast mobility on the National Highway ensures access to various facilities in Delhi, including the location of their head offices. New industries, therefore, favour Dharuheda, or in future, will go to Bhiwadi rather than be located at Alwar.

#### Khairthal

Khairthal is located at a distance of about 110 km. from Delhi and 20 km. from Alwar, the district headquarters. The town has direct road and railway connections with Delhi. It is also connected by rail with Alwar. But the road connecting Khairthal and Alwar is quite circuitous and not very convenient for bus travel.

Khairthal, a small town in 1951, was declassified as non-urban in 1961, and reclassified as urban in 1971. The town's area was 21.09 sq.km. in 1971 and it increased marginally to 21.94 sq.km. in 1981. The area occupied by Khairthal town is quite large as compared to towns of comparable size. Khairthal's population density was as low as 727 persons per sq.km. in 1981.

The population of Khairthal in 1971 was 10,687, and it became 15,962 in 1981. This implies a growth of 49.36 per cent between 1971 and 1981. Since the area of Khairthal has increased only marginally and there has been a substantial increase in the population size, one



can infer that a large proportion of the town's growth was due to immigration.

Out of the six case study cities, Khairthal had the lowest participation rate of 24.84 per cent in 1981. The percentage share of workers to total population was only 23.49 per cent in 1971.

About 76 per cent of the total workers of Khairthal were engaged in activities other than agriculture in the year 1981. Both agriculture and household industries had a comparatively larger percentage share of the town's workforce at the previous Census.

Khairthal was predominantly a primary activity and trade and commerce town in 1971. It is a reputed mandi for mustard seeds, onions and potatoes. The town has a large number of oil presses and some leather goods and textile producing units. Most of these units are in the household sector.

Khairthal has been identified as one of the four industrial development centres (the other three being Bhiwadi, Behror and Shahjahanpur) in the district. The government is developing 39.70 acres of land for industrial use, which is supposed to have 85 plots. Thirty one plots are completed and new industrial units have been set up which employ 300 workers.

#### Panipat

Panipat is located on the Grand Trunk Road about 85 km. north of Delhi in Haryana. It is connected with Delhi and with other parts of the Country by rail as well as fast moving road transport. The travel

time by bus between Panipat and Delhi is less than two hours, which makes it very convenient for daily commuting.

The area of Panipat was 7.77 sq.km. both in 1961 and 1971, and it increased nearly three times by the year 1981 to be 20.82 sq.km. Panipat was a very congested town with a density of 8,626 persons per sq.km. in 1961 and 11,323 persons per sq.km. in 1971. The area expansion in 1981 brought down the average density to 6,625 persons per sq.km.

Panipat became a lakh plus city in 1981. The city's population in the year 1981 was 137,927. Panipat was a small town prior to the independence of the country and the rehabilitation of refugees from Pakistan in large numbers was responsible for its earlier growth. The growth rate of the city between 1961-71 was 31.26 per cent, which could not be considered high by any standard. The city's growth of 56.77 per cent in 1971-81 was the highest rate of growth recorded amongst all the six case study towns/cities, but it was still lower than the average urban growth rate of the NCR. Panipat's growth in the seventies was basically due to industrial expansion, and partly, due to extension of the municipal boundaries.

In 1971, 26.77 per cent of the city's population was in the workforce, which was lower than the national average. In 1981, Panipat had a participation rate of 30.37 per cent which is higher than the national average as well as all the other case study towns/cities.

The share of workers in agriculture was 5.14 per cent of the total workforce in 1981. The status of household industries has

remained more or less constant at over 7 per cent. The percentage of workers in all other activities has increased from 83.71 in 1971 to 87.08 in 1981.

Panipat which was predominantly an industrial town in 1961, became an industry cum trade and commerce town in 1971, and continues to be the same at present.

Panipat has a rich agricultural hinterland. It is also a reputed mandi for wool and other agricultural products. Earlier industries were basically of the household type involved in processing agricultural products and handloom textiles. At present, the factory industry sector, both at the large, medium and small scale, dominates the industrial scene of the city. At the time of the survey in the year 1986, there were eight large and medium scale factories located at Panipat, which employed over 5,000 workers. These factories were producing sugar and other food products, thermal power, fertilisers, steel tubes and other metal goods, and gases. It is estimated that there are about 900 small scale industrial units in Panipat which employ over 20,000 workers. Cotton and woollen yarn and textiles, carpets, leather goods, metal goods and machinery, pickles and other food products are important products of the small scale sector.

Efforts are being made to further enhance the industrial activities of the town. A large industrial area has been developed for the location of new industries. An oil refinery is also being set up which will attract more people to Panipat and will further accelerate the growth of the city.



Panipat lies in Karnal district which is considered to be an industrially developed district, and does not offer special financial incentives for the location of new industries in its urban areas. However, the location of Panipat on the G.T. road with an east-west connection and the fact that it is on the main north-south railway link gives it a tremendous advantage in terms of transport. Secondly, private capital, generated in agriculture and trade as well as capital brought by the in-migrants, is being invested in industry. The newly emerging socio-political situation in Punjab, and the consequent in-flow of people and capital will add to the rapid growth of Panipat. Large chunks of agricultural land just outside the municipal limits of Panipat, are being bought by people who do not belong to the city. This land is being used for industrial and residential purposes. Panipat's proximity and accessibility to Delhi is another factor which will affect faster growth of this city in the near future.

#### Samalkha

Samalkha is a new town located in the Haryana sub-sector of the NCR at a distance of about 70 km. from Delhi and 17 km. from Panipat. Samalkha has the same kind of access to transport facilities as Panipat being on the G.T. Road and on the main railway link.

In 1981, Samalkha had an area of 6.07 sq.km. and the population of the town was 13,532. The town had a density of 2,229 persons per sq.km. which is higher than the two other small towns chosen for this case study.

Samalkha's work participation rate was 28.15 per cent in 1981, which has the third highest ranking in the six case study



towns/cities, after Panipat and Meerut. The percentage of workers engaged in agriculture is only 8.37, which is quite small for a town of Samalkha's size. Household industry also has a small share of 2.94 per cent while other activities claim 88.69 per cent of the workforce.

Samalkha was classified as an urban centre for the first time in 1981 but it has been an important rural market centre for a long time. Agricultural products, mainly gur and paddy, were exported out of the region through the Samalkha Mandi located in the heart of the town. Recently, the government has set up a new mandi outside the centre of the town, exclusively for the sale of paddy.

Samalkha was not reputed for its industrial activities before it became a town. There were very few food processing, agricultural implements manufacturing and repairing activities located in the town which catered to the needs of the neighbouring villages. At present, however, Samalkha has a large concentration of iron foundries located all along the length of the G.T. Road passing through the town. The number of these small-scale units is estimated to be over fifty which together employ more than 1,000 workers.

Samalkha has all the pre-conditions for becoming a prosperous trade and industry centre and for developing into a larger urban centre due to the availability of adequate capital generated in trade,<sup>6</sup> its location on the main transport route, and its proximity to Delhi.

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6 All the area and population statistics referred to in this section have been taken from various census tables. The data on number and nature of industries located in the case study towns/cities was obtained from the respective District Industrial Centres.

As per urban development, some efforts are being made in the three Class I cities. Meerut has a Development Authority, Alwar an Urban Improvement Trust, and Panipat comes under the jurisdiction of the Haryana Urban Development Authority. These cities also have Housing Boards. These bodies are involved in land acquisition and development, construction of housing estates and commercial complexes, and maintenance of streets and public places. Some housing colonies are also being developed in the three small towns, although most of the urban land and housing is still controlled by the private sector.

The general impression of the two cities, Meerut and Panipat, is one of congestion. These cities also have large slums and squatter settlements. Alwar is quite different in this respect, where only the old city is crowded and the new development is quite spread out. Most of the slums have been upgraded to pucca and semi-pucca housing. The three small towns have congested commercial centres along narrow lanes in the middle of the town and new housing is spreading outwards. One does not come across large concentrations of slum dwellings in these towns. However, all the six case study towns/cities, irrespective of their size, location, or the income level of the localities, appear to have an appalling state of civic amenities concerning drainage, garbage disposal and maintenance of streets.

Table 1.4 - Area and Population, Case Study Towns/Cities

Town/City	Population			% Decadal growth rate		Area in sq.km.			Persons per sq.km (1981)
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	
1. Meerut U.A. (M.Corp.)	294,853	383,106	536,615	29.93	40.07	59.13	57.27	80.82	6,640
2. Alwar (M)	72,707	100,378	145,795	38.06	45.25	40.76	40.47	80.00	1,822
3. Panipat (M.C.)	67,026	87,981	137,927	31.26	56.77	7.77	7.77	20.82	6,625
4. Sardhana (M.B.)	16,563	22,083	30,138	33.33	36.48	0.34	0.34	14.05	2,145
5. Khairthal (M)	N.U.	10,687	15,962	-	49.36	-	21.09	21.94	727
6. Samalkha	N.U.	N.U.	13,532	-	-	-	-	6.07	2,229
Delhi U.A.	-	-	-	54.57	57.09	-	-	-	10,595
NCR	-	-	-	50.37	64.50	-	-	-	6,070
India	-	-	-	38.22	46.41	-	-	-	3,002

Source: Tables of the CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

Abbreviations: U.A.= Urban Agglomeration M.B.= Municipal Board  
M.Corp.= Municipal Corporation M.= Municipality  
M.C.= Municipal Council/Committee C.T.= Census Town  
N.U.= Non Urban.

Table 1.5 - Work Participation Rate

Town/ City	Main workers		Participation rate		Marginal workers 1981
	1971	1981	1971	1981	
1. Meerut	105,147	151,655	27.44	28.26	384
2. Alwar	25,119	38,970	25.02	26.73	630
3. Panipat	23,555	41,892	26.77	30.87	292
4. Sardhana	5,972	8,100	27.04	26.88	14
5. Khairthal	2,511	3,966	23.49	24.84	145
6. Samalkha	-	3,810	-	28.15	52
India	-	-	29.32	29.23	-

Table 1.6 - Distribution of Workers

Town/City	Distribution of workers					
	Agriculture		Household Ind.		Others	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
1. Meerut	2,984 (2.84)	6,344 (4.18)	5,757 (5.47)	14,136 (9.32)	96,406 (91.67)	131,175 (86.50)
2. Alwar	1,758 (7.00)	2,008 (5.15)	1,917 (7.63)	1,206 (3.09)	21,444 (85.37)	35,757 (91.75)
3. Panipat	2,141 (9.09)	2,153 (5.14)	1,695 (7.19)	3,257 (7.77)	19,719 (83.71)	36,482 (87.08)
4. Sardhana	1,153 (19.31)	1,490 (18.39)	809 (13.55)	1,119 (13.81)	4,010 (67.14)	5,491 (67.79)
5. Khairthal	922 (36.72)	905 (22.82)	253 (10.07)	239 (6.03)	1,335 (53.20)	2,822 (71.15)
6. Samalkha	-	319 (8.37)	-	112 (2.94)	-	3,379 (88.69)

Source: Tables of the CENSUS OF INDIA, 1971 and 1981.



## II ANALYSIS OF THE PAST MIGRATION PATTERNS

The NCR is a contiguous area of constant interaction around the metropolitan capital of Delhi, within a radius of approximately 100 km. It extends over an area of 30,242 sq. km. and includes the whole of the Union Territory of Delhi and parts of the three neighbouring states - Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

The population of the NCR at the 1981 Census was 19.19 million, of which 10.09 million persons were rural based and 9.10 million were urban. The NCR's urban population accounted for 47.40 per cent of the total population which was twice the national average of 23.31 per cent. In 1971, 39.31 per cent of the NCR's population was urban as against 20.05 per cent in the case of the country. The NCR is evidently not only a significantly more urbanised region but is also a fast urbanising part of India.

The NCR has a fast expanding urban base. The number of urban centres increased from 53 in 1971 to 94 in 1981. The region has one metropolitan and city, ten lakh-plus cities while the remaining 83 urban centres are of a comparatively smaller size. In fact the largest number of urban centres fall in the population size category of 5,000-9,999, most of them being new towns in 1981. Three of the sampled towns/cities are in the size category 100,000-999,999 and the population size of the other three is between 10,000 and 50,000 (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 - Urban Centres by Size Categories

Size Category	Number of urban centres	
	NCR	Sample
1. 1,000,000 +	1	-
2. 100,000-999,999	10	3
3. 50,000-99,999	3	-
4. 20,000-49,999	16	1
5. 10,000-19,999	28	2
6. 5,000-9,999	33	-
7. Less than 5,000	3	-
Total	94	6

Source: CENSUS OF INDIA, 1981.

During 1971-81, the NCR's population grew by 33.80 per cent, in comparison with the average national growth rate of 25.04 per cent. The urban population also increased at a comparatively higher rate of 64.50 per cent while the national average was only 46.41 per cent. These growth rates clearly indicate that the NCR is receiving migrants from the rest of the country.

The NCR's urban population increased at the annual rate of 4.16 per cent between 1961-71 and 5.10 per cent between 1971-81. During these two decades, the annual rural growth rate was 2.13 per cent and 1.69 per cent respectively. The rural-urban growth differential can be explained largely by rural to urban migration. Some of the rural population also became urban by way of upgradation of some of the

1 The percentage annual growth rate has been estimated at a compound rate of growth.

villages to towns as also by absorption due to expansion of the urban limits of the existing urban centres. Accelerating urban growth rate and declining rural growth rate point towards increasing intra-regional rural to urban migration.

However, all towns and cities of the NCR are not growing at an equally high rate. A wide variation is observed in the growth rate of urban centres located in the NCR, ranging from a low 9.35 per cent to a high 350.27 per cent. In fact out of 53 urban centres, excluding 41 new towns, 12 are stagnating or slow growing with a growth rate of 25 per cent and less, 22 have an average growth rate of 26-45 per cent, 10 have a reasonably high growth rate of 46-65 per cent, while 9 urban centres are growing at a faster rate of over 66 per cent, or over the average urban growth rate of the NCR. All five of the sampled case-study cities, excluding one new town, fall in the average and reasonably high growth rate of 26-65 per cent (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 - Decadal Growth Rate of Urban Centres 1971-81

% Decadal growth	Number of urban centres	
	NCR	Sample
New towns in 1981	41	1
Below 25	12	-
26-45	22	3
46-65	10	2
66-85	3	-
86 and above	6	-
Total	94	6

Source: CENSUS OF INDIA, 1981.

A basic question that can be raised in this context is, what factors pull migrants to other towns and cities within the NCR when they have the choice of a metropolitan city available to them? Distance certainly could not have been a major determining factor as Delhi is located in the centre and is easily accessible from all parts of the region.

An attempt has been made in this chapter to address this major question. In so doing, we have attempted to examine the following sub-question:

- i. What was the share of migration in population growth? How does it compare with other components of urban growth?
- ii. Where did the migrants come from? How does intra-regional migration (short-distance) compare with inter-regional migration (long-distance)? Was rural-urban migration more predominant than urban-urban migration?
- iii. What type of migration was predominant, permanent or temporary?
- iv. Is it the first move for all the migrants to these towns/cities?
- v. Why did people migrate? What factors pulled people to cities and towns in the NCR? Was the pull factor stronger than the push factor in determining their decision to move?
- vi. Who were these migrants? What characteristics did they possess in terms of age, sex, marital status, activity status, occupation, income, and so forth.
- vii. How does migration take place in the context of the family?
- viii. Did they fulfil their aspirations upon moving into these towns/cities? How long did it take them to do so?



- ix. Do migrants maintain links with their native place? What proportion of migrants in the case study towns/cities intend going back to their native place and under what circumstances?
- x. Does answering the above stated questions lead to broad conclusions/generalisations which can help in adopting strategies suitable for encouraging a particular type of distribution of urban population in the NCR?

### THE ROLE OF MIGRATION IN URBAN GROWTH

City growth has three components, namely, natural increase of the existing population, immigration, and expansion of the municipal boundaries. The relative contribution of these components varies from city to city. All the five case study towns/cities, excluding Samalkha which is a new town, have experienced growth rates higher than the estimated rate of natural growth of 20 per cent. It can be inferred, therefore, that immigration and area expansion have contributed to their growth, besides natural growth.

Unfortunately, the Census of India does not provide data pertaining to the number of immigrants and increase in the population due to area expansion for urban centres of all sizes. Therefore, the role of migration in city growth has been estimated by using the residual method.

During the period in 1961-71, natural growth at the rate of 20 per cent accounted for 66.82 per cent of the total population increase in Meerut, 52.55 per cent in Alwar, 63.97 per cent in Panipat and 60.02 per cent in Sardhana. The area of these cities has remained more or less constant between 1961 and 1971, therefore, the residual

of the growth can be attributed to immigration. The share of immigration in the city growth was 33.18 per cent in Meerut, 47.45 per cent in Alwar, 36.03 per cent in Panipat and 39.98 per cent in Sardhana (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 - Components of Urban Growth

Town/ City	1961-71			1971-81		
	Total Popu- lation Increase	Natural Increase	Migration + Area Expansion	Total Popu- lation Increase	Natural Increase	Migration + Area Expansion
Meerut	88,253	58,971 (66.82)	29,282 (33.18)	1,53,509	76,621 (49.91)	76,888 (50.09)
Alwar	27,671	14,541 (52.55)	13,130 (47.45)	45,417	20,076 (44.20)	25,341 (55.80)
Panipat	20,955	13,405 (63.97)	7,550 (36.03)	49,946	17,596 (35.23)	32,350 (64.77)
Sardhana	5,520	3,313 (60.02)	2,207 (39.98)	8,055	4,417 (54.84)	3,638 (45.16)
Khairthal	-	-	-	5,275	2,137 (40.51)	3,138 (59.49)
Samalkha	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Based on Census Data.

During 1971-81, the area of all the five case study towns/cities has increased by two or three times, except in the case of Khairthal where the area has increased only marginally (Table 1.6). Consequently, the role of natural increase in city growth has decreased in comparison to the previous decade. The contribution of natural increase varies between 35 per cent and about 55 per cent. Almost 60 per cent of the total growth of Khairthal is due to

immigration. Immigration and area expansion together account for 50.09 per cent of Meerut's growth, 64.77 per cent of Panipat's growth, and 45.16 per cent of the growth of Sardhana (Table 2.3).

Migration seems to play an important role in the growth of the case study towns/cities. This implies, therefore, that all the migrants moving within the NCR or coming from outside the region do not migrate to Delhi; some of them also choose to go to other towns and cities of relatively smaller sizes.

#### SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS AND POPULATION

An attempt has been made to understand the past migration patterns to the six case study towns/cities with the help of primary data collected by conducting household level sample surveys. The survey has covered 5,059 households which is just over 3 per cent of the total number of households (1981).

Table 2.4 - The Household Survey Sample, 1986

Town/ City	Number of Sampled Households	% of Sample Households to the Total Households of 1981	Sample Population	% of Sample Population to the Total Population of 1981
Meerut	2,800	2.8	16,334	3.04
Alwar	793	3.1	5,288	3.63
Panipat	800	3.2	4,478	3.25
Sardhana	299	7.3	1,961	6.51
Khairthal	191	7.7	1,297	8.12
Samalkha	176	7.8	1,257	9.29
Total	5,059	3.1	30,615	3.48

The total number of members belonging to these sampled households is 30,615, which happens to be 3.48 per cent of the total population of all the case study towns/cities (Table 2.4).

Migrants and Non-migrants

Out of the total sample 2,746 were migrant households, where the present head of the household had migrated into the case study town/city at some point of time. All the members of the migrant households, however, are not necessarily migrants. Out of the total population of the migrant households only half of the persons had migrant status. The remaining non-migrant members were added by subsequent births, or local marriages. On the other hand, non-migrant households had 2,276 migrant members which works out to 16.04 per cent of the total number of members belonging to these households. Both types of households together had 10,596 migrants, which is 34.61 per cent of the total sample population (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5 - Migrants and Non-Migrants

Households	Population		
	Migrant Population	Non-Migrant Population	Total Sample Population
Migrant Households (2,746)	8,320	8,111	16,431
Non-Migrant Households (2,313)	2,276	11,908	14,184
Total Sample Households (5,059)	10,596	20,019	30,615

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.



The proportion of migrants is not the same in all the case study towns/cities. Sardhana with 28.56 per cent has the lowest proportion of migrants whereas Panipat has the highest with 45.82 per cent of the sample population. There seems to be no relationship between city-size and the percentage share of migrant population (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6 - Migrants and Non-Migrants by Towns/Cities

Town/ City	Migrants			Total Sample Popu- lation	% of Migrants to Total Sample Population
	in the Migrant Households	in the Non- Migrant Households	Total		
Meerut	4,245	1,211	5,456	16,334	33.40
Alwar	1,193	477	1,670	5,288	31.58
Panipat	1,919	133	2,052	4,478	45.82
Sardhana	325	235	560	1,961	28.56
Khairthal	300	147	447	1,297	34.46
Samalkha	338	73	411	1,257	32.70
Total	8,320	2,276	10,596	30,615	34.61

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANTS

Who are the persons migrating to towns and cities of the NCR? What are their age, sex, educational and occupational characteristics? Are they unemployed and poor? Have they migrated in search of better opportunities? It is very important for urban planners to know for whom they are planning and what are the expectations of the people who have migrated to the towns and cities in a particular region.

In the following paragraphs, the demographic, economic and social characteristics of the migrants have been examined. These migrants are all time migrants, which means that they may have migrated to the case study towns/cities at some point of time in the past. The following data refers to their present status and covers all the migrants, that is, heads of the migrant households, other migrants in the migrant households, and migrants in the non-migrant households.

#### Age and Sex Composition

In the year 1986, out of the total migrants, 7.20 per cent were children, 82.08 per cent were in the working age-group of 15 to 59 years and 10.72 per cent of the migrants were above the age of 60 years. The age distribution of migrants does not compare well with the age-composition of the total sample population. Out of the total sample population, 31.74 were children, 62.73 were in the working age group and 5.53 per cent were over the age of 60 years (Tables 2.7 and 2.8).

The share of children in the migrant population is below 10 per cent in all categories of migrants, classified by duration of residence in the case study towns/cities. There can be two possible explanations for a comparatively lower percentage share of children amongst the migrants: (a) all the children born in the city, irrespective of the migrant status of their parents, are considered non-migrants, and (b) migrants who were below the age of 14 years at the time of migration now fall in higher age-groups.

Table 2.7 - Age of the Migrants by Duration of Residence

Duration of Residence in the Case Study Town/City	Age-Group				All Ages
	0-14	15-29	30-59	60+	
< 1 years	33 (6.08)	81 (14.92)	373 (68.69)	56 (10.31)	543 (100.00)
1 - 5 years	183 (10.00)	268 (14.64)	1,182 (64.59)	197 (10.76)	1,830 (100.00)
6 - 10 years	150 (7.54)	658 (33.07)	930 (46.73)	252 (12.66)	1,990 (100.00)
> 10 years	397 (6.37)	2,042 (32.76)	3,163 (50.75)	631 (10.12)	6,233 (100.00)
Total	763 (7.20)	3,049 (28.78)	5,648 (53.30)	1,136 (10.72)	10,596 (100.00)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Table 2.8 - Age and Sex Composition of the Total Sample Population

Age-groups	Total Sample Population			% of Persons in Each Age-group	% of Males to the Total Sample Population
	Male	Female	Total		
0-14	5,375	4,343	9,718	31.74	55.31
15-29	5,563	4,415	9,978	32.59	55.75
30-59	4,941	4,286	9,227	30.14	53.55
60+	1,037	655	1,692	5.53	61.29
Total	16,916	13,699	30,615	100.00	55.25

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

On an average, about 40 per cent of the migrants are males and 60 per cent migrants are females. Male migrants have a share of more

than 50 per cent only in the age group 0-14 years. In all the other age-groups female migrants outnumber male migrants. On the other hand, more than 55 per cent of the total sample population of these towns/cities are males, and males are more than females in all the age-groups (Tables 2.8 and 2.9). The predominance of females in the migrant population can be attributed to large-scale marriage migration.

Table 2.9 - Percentage of Male Migrants by Age and Duration of Residence

Duration of Residence in the Case-study Town/City	Age-group				All Ages
	0-14	15-29	30-59	60+	
< 1 year	51.51	28.39	43.97	39.28	41.62
1 - 5 years	51.37	32.06	33.50	45.68	36.39
6 - 10 years	38.00	36.32	46.13	47.22	42.41
> 10 years	61.46	33.69	41.29	41.04	41.11
Total	54.00	33.98	40.69	43.13	39.98

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Literacy and Education

According to the sample survey, over 76 per cent of the migrants in the six case study towns/cities are literate while the average literacy rate for these cities is only about 52 per cent (1981). There seems to be no plausible explanation for a much higher literacy rate amongst the migrants other than a difference in the method of estimation. All school going children have been included, even those below the age of 5 years, in the literate category while the census



identifies them as illiterate. Also, between 1981 and 1986 more persons may have become literates.

Out of the total migrants, about 22 per cent have either passed class V or are studying in any class between I and V. Another 26 per cent fall in the category of class VI and XII. About 13 per cent of the migrants are graduates and 7 per cent have post-graduate degrees. A small segment of about 2 per cent of the migrants have even higher educational qualification or have acquired technical or professional skills, such as a doctorate, or degrees, diplomas in medicine engineering, law, accountancy, and such like (Table 2.10).

Table 2.10 - Educational Level of the Migrants

Educational Level	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants
Illiterate	2,462	23.23
Literate	710	6.70
Class I - V	2,314	21.84
Class VI - XII	2,747	25.92
Graduate	1,407	13.28
Post-graduate	743	7.01
Others	213	2.01
Total	10,596	100.0

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Activity Status

Out of 10,596 migrants in the case study cities 4,117, or 38.83 per cent are workers. Male migrants have a very high participation

rate of 69.67 per cent while only 16.12 per cent female migrants are engaged in economic activities.

Table 2.11 - Activity Status of the Migrants

Activity Status	Number of Migrants			% of Migrants
	Male	Female	Total	
Self-employed	1,479	105	1,584	38.47
Employed in Govt. Service	1,044	428	1,472	35.75
Employed in Private Service	414	244	658	15.98
Employer	116	45	161	3.91
Family Worker	81	161	242	5.88
<b>Total Worker</b>	<b>3,134</b>	<b>983</b>	<b>4,117</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Unemployed	223	97	320	4.94
Student	626	501	1,127	17.39
Housewife	-	3,938	3,938	60.78
Infant/child	98	180	278	4.29
Old, Retired, Disabled	417	399	816	12.59
<b>Total Non-Workers</b>	<b>1,364</b>	<b>5,115</b>	<b>6,479</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Total Migrants</b>	<b>4,498</b>	<b>6,098</b>	<b>10,596</b>	

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Amongst the total workers, the self-employed category has the largest percentage share of 38.47 per cent workers. About 36 per cent of the workers are employed in government service and about 16 per cent workers are in the private sector. Family workers, engaged in the household's economic activities without any wages, account for 5.88 per cent of the total workers. This is the only activity in which female workers outnumber male workers. A small percentage of workers are also employers or owners of economic establishments with wage labour.

Out of the non-workers, housewives account for 60.78 per cent, students for 17.39 per cent, and about 5 per cent are unemployed. Although the number of female migrants is more than the male migrants the number of female migrants recorded as students, or those seeking employment is less than the male migrants (Table 2.11).

#### Occupation

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Most of the migrant workers in the six case study towns/cities are engaged in tertiary activities. Over 30 per cent of the migrant workers are employed in administration, education and the health sectors, followed by 18.58 per cent in trade and commerce, 5.97 per cent in personal and social service, and 5.66 per cent in transport, storage and communication. The secondary activities account for just over 22 per cent of the workforce. Household industry and non-household industry have almost an equal share of workers in the secondary sector. A small percentage of 6.58 per cent of the migrant workers is also engaged in primary activities, such as, agriculture, poultry keeping and dairy farming (Table 2.12).

The occupational distribution of the migrant workers conforms to the general patterns of the structure of the urban workforce in India.

#### Income

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All the sample households in the six case study towns/cities have been classified into three broad income groups. About one-third of the total migrant households are in the low income group, with a per capita per month income of Rs.200 or less. This estimate is quite close to the percentage of people below the poverty line in the urban

areas of the country, which was about 28 per cent for the year 1983-<sup>2</sup> 84. About half of the migrant households fall in the middle income group having per capita per month income between Rs.201 and Rs.500. Approximately 17 per cent of the migrant households are in the high income bracket with a monthly per capita income of more than Rs.500.

Table 2.12 - Occupations of the Migrants

Occupations	Number of Migrants			% of Total Migrants
	Male	Female	Total	
Primary Activities	220	51	271	6.58
Household Industry	361	122	483	11.73
Non-household Industry	395	65	460	11.13
Construction	246	33	279	6.78
Trade & Commerce	659	106	765	18.58
Transport, Storage & Communication	234	2	233	5.66
Administraion, Education & Health	818	445	1,263	30.68
Personal & Social Services	142	104	246	5.97
Others	62	55	117	2.84
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,134</b>	<b>983</b>	<b>4,117</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

In comparison, a larger percentage of non-migrant households are in the low income group and a much smaller proportion of these households have a per capita income of more than Rs.500 per month.

- 2 i. The standard for drawing the poverty line for urban areas, at current prices, is an income of less than Rs.181 per capita per month.
- ii. The average per capita per month income for urban areas is estimated to be Rs.383 for the year 1984-85.



The migrant households appear to be better off in terms of income status, which is contrary to the popular notion that migrants generally get absorbed the residual low wage sector (Table 2.13).

Table 2.13 - Household Income (Rupees Per Capita Per Month)

Income Group	Migrant Households	Non-migrant Households
Less than 200 Low Income	898 (32.70)	1,242 (53.70)
201 - 500 Middle Income	1,371 (49.93)	935 (40.42)
More than 500 High Income	477 (17.37)	136 (5.88)
Total	2,746 (100.00)	2,313 (100.00)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Size of the Migrant Households

Almost half of the migrant households have one to five members. Another 42 per cent households have 6 to 10 members, and 8.52 per cent households have more than 10 members (Table 2.14). The size structure of migrant households compares well with that of the non-migrant households.

Table 2.14 - Size of the Migrant Households

Household size	Number of Households	% of Households
1 - 5	1,358	49.45
6 - 10	1,154	42.02
11 - 15	181	6.59
16 - 20	41	1.49
More than 20	12	0.44
Total	2,746	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Single migrant households are not very common. Male workers often move into these towns/cities alone and stay with their relatives. A large number of young males, and sometimes females also, come to the town/city to study and stay with their relatives. These educated youth rarely go back to their native places. In due course, the migrants set up their own households. Very large households, consisting of more than 10 members are generally joint or extended families.

#### Migrant Households and Locality Attributes

One-fourth of the total migrant households were reported to be living in the older part or the core of the city, and most of them came into the city at least twenty years ago. About 36 per cent of the migrant households are in the intermediate areas, which were developed between 1951 and 1970, and another 34 per cent of these households are located in the newly developing areas, that is, post 1970 (Table 2.15).

Table 2.15 - Types of Localities Where Migrant Households Reside

Type of Locality	Number of Households	% of Households
Old/Core City	688	25.05
Intermediate Development	984	35.83
Newly Developed	946	34.45
Not Specified	128	4.66
Total	2,746	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

There is a certain degree of correlation between the phase of a locality's development and the duration of residence of the migrant households in that part of the town/city. But migrant households living in rented dwellings can be found in all parts of the town/city. In all the case study towns/cities, large slum and squatter settlements are found on the outskirts of the settlement or in the newly developing areas.

#### Type of Houses and Tenure

A surprisingly large number of houses, even in the low income group, were permanent brick and cement dwellings. Out of the total of 2,746 migrant households, 2,344 or 85 per cent were residing in pucca houses, 305 in semi-pucca and only 97 were living in kutchha houses made of mud, wood, tin, jute or plastic sheets.

About 73 per cent of the migrant households own the house they live in, while the remaining 27 per cent live in rented dwellings. The non-migrant households appear to have an even better position with 91.31 per cent households living in pucca houses and 92.61 per cent households being the owners of their houses (Table 2.16). One point worth mentioning here is that squatters do not pay rent, and therefore, they can easily claim the ownership of their dwellings. This raises the percentage of households owning their houses. However, there is no doubt about the fact that acquiring housing is quite high in the list of priorities of both migrant and non-migrant households.

Table 2.16 - Type of Houses and Tenure

Type of Houses	Tenure					
	Migrant Households			Non-migrant Households		
	Own	Rented	Total	Own	Rented	Total
Pucca	1,771	573	2,344 (85.36)	1,957	155	2,112 (91.31)
Semi-Pucca	173	132	305 (11.11)	127	14	141 (6.09)
Kutchra	71	26	97 (3.53)	58	2	60 (2.59)
Total	2,015 (73.38)	731 (26.62)	2,746 (100.00)	2,142 (92.61)	171 (7.39)	2,313 (100.00)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Social Background

The sampled migrant population in all the six case study towns/cities is predominantly Hindu. Out of 9,225 Hindus, only about 12 per cent belong to the scheduled castes and tribes. Muslims are the second largest community with a 6.30 per cent population, followed by Jain with 3.08 per cent and Sikhs with 2.66 per cent share of the migrant population (Table 2.17). This pattern is quite similar to the overall social structure of the country.

Table 2.17 - Social Background of the Migrants

Social Background	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants
Hindu	9,225	87.06
(a) SC/ST	1,093	-
(b) Others	8,132	-
Muslim	668	6.30
Sikh	282	2.66
Jain	326	3.08
Christian	77	0.73
Others	18	0.17
Total	10,596	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.



The social background of migrants in these towns/ cities does not conform to the popular notion that the minority community and the deprived classes or the low caste groups are more inclined to migrate from the closed rural society to more cosmopolitan urban environment.

## TYOLOGY OF MIGRATION

Migration can be classified into several types according to spatial, temporal, demographic, economic and social mobility patterns. We have restricted the scope of analysing migration patterns in the context of a few salient features of migration to the case study towns/cities in the NCR. These are, for example, distance and migration, streams of migration, step-wise migration vs. one time migration, migration in the context of the family, and permanent vs. temporary migration.

### Place of Birth

All those persons who were not born in the case study towns/cities are given migrant status. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the place of their birth in order to discern the source area of migration to the towns/cities in the NCR.

The largest number of migrants were born in a town outside the NCR, which constitutes 23.43 per cent of the total number of migrants. About 16 per cent of the migrants were born outside the country, mostly in Pakistan. Villages outside the NCR account for 13.80 per cent of the total migrants, followed by villages within the NCR which

have a share of 12.63 per cent. The remaining source regions had a comparatively smaller percentage share of sending out-migrants to their credit (Table 2.18).

Table 2.18 - Place of Birth of the Migrants Presently Residing in the Case Study Towns/Cities

Place of Birth	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants
Delhi	675	6.37
A Village within the Tehsil	426	4.02
Another Town in the Tehsil	350	3.30
A Village in the District	834	7.87
Another Town in the District	361	3.41
A Village in the NCR	1,338	12.63
Another Town in the NCR	977	9.22
A Village outside the NCR	1,462	13.80
Another Town outside the NCR	2,483	23.43
Another Country	1,690	15.95
Total Migrants	10,596	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Duration of Residence

Out of the total all-time migrants residing in the six case study towns/cities at the time of the survey more than half had migrated over ten years ago. The percentage of migrants residing in these cities for more than ten years is 58.82. Another 18.78 per cent migrants have a duration of residence of between 6 and 10 years, 17.27

per cent between one and five years, and 5.12 per cent have migrated during the past one year (Table 2.19).

Table 2.19 - Duration of Residence in the Case Study Towns/Cities

Duration	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants
< 1 year	543	5.12
1 - 5 years	1,830	17.27
6 - 10 years	1,990	18.78
> 10 years	6,233	58.82
Total	10,596	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Distance and Migration

It is often stated that migration to smaller urban centres is short distance migration while large urban centres attract migrants from far away places as well. However, several empirical studies have attempted to prove that in general distance and volume of migration are inversely related in the case of all sizes of urban centres.

In the case of towns/cities in the NCR, more than 44 per cent of the migrants have come from outside the region. Their source regions vary from districts adjacent to the NCR boundary to distant states of India. About 33.57 per cent of the migrants have their origins within the NCR implying inter-district migration and another 22.33 per cent have moved within the district. If within the region migration can be equated with short distance migration then it can be inferred that towns and cities located in the NCR receive more short distance migrants.

Table 2.20 - Distance and Migration  
(Within the Country Migration)

Present Residence	Place of Birth			Total
	Within the District	Within the NCR but Outside the District	Outside NCR	
Meerut	1,426 (29.28)	1,644 (33.76)	1,800 (36.96)	4,870 (100.00)
Alwar	100* (6.65)	576 (38.27)	829 (55.08)	1,505 (100.00)
Panipat	187* (14.52)	277 (21.51)	824 (63.97)	1,288 (100.00)
Sardhana	193 (35.28)	178 (32.54)	176 (32.17)	547 (100.00)
Khairthal	12 (3.25)	219 (59.35)	138 (37.40)	369 (100.00)
Samalkha	53 (16.21)	96 (29.36)	178 (54.43)	327 (100.00)
Total	1,971 (22.13)	2,990 (33.57)	3,945 (44.30)	8,906 (100.00)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Note \*: Within only those parts of the district which are included in NCR.

However, the relationship between distance and volume of migration in the case of each individual town/city varies so much that no clear cut inferences can be drawn pertaining to the city size, distance and the magnitude of migration. Within the region migration varies from about 36 per cent in the case of Panipat to 67.82 per cent in the case of Sardhana (Table 2.20).



Rural-Urban vs. Urban-Urban Migration

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This study examines migration to towns/cities located in the NCR, which can illustrate two streams of migration, that is rural-urban and urban-urban.

The urban-urban stream constitutes over 54.41 per cent of migration to the six towns/cities while the rural-urban stream accounts for about 45 per cent of the migration.

Urban-urban migration is more predominant in the case of cities with more than one lakh population. Meerut, the largest case study city, has more than 56 per cent migrants coming from urban areas, located within the region and outside the NCR. In the case of Panipat, the urban-urban migration is about 64 per cent. Both streams have more or less an equal share in the case of Alwar. The three small towns receive more than 50 per cent migrants from the rural areas (Table 2.21).

Table 2.21 - Streams of Migration  
(Within the Country Migration)

Present Residence	Rural to Urban	Urban to Urban	Total
Meerut	2,110 (43.33)	2,760 (56.67)	4,870 (100.00)
Alwar	757 (50.30)	748 (49.70)	1,505 (100.00)
Panipat	460 (35.71)	828 (64.29)	1,288 (100.00)
Sardhana	318 (58.14)	229 (41.86)	547 (100.00)
Khairthal	229 (62.06)	140 (37.94)	369 (100.00)
Samalkha	186 (56.89)	141 (43.11)	327 (100.00)
Total	4,060 (45.59)	4,846 (54.41)	8,906 (100.00)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Step-wise vs. One Time Migration

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Some people move from one place of residence to another only once in a lifetime while others make many moves before settling down. It is believed that people who migrate more than once tend to move in progressive steps, that is, from rural areas to a small town, from small to a larger urban centre, and eventually to a metropolitan city.

Table 2.22 - One Time vs. Multiple Move Migration

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Type	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants
One Time Migration	7,884	74.40
Multiple Move Migration	2,712	25.60
Total	10,596	100.00

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Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

In the NCR, for about 75 per cent of the migrants coming to the case study town/city it is their first migration. The remaining 25 per cent migrants have changed their places of residence at least once before. A majority of migrants who have made multiple moves have invariably given one of two reasons, namely, association with the parents' mobility or their own transferable jobs. None of them have stated comparative assessment of opportunities being the guiding factor for their step-wise migration (Table 2.22).

The five case study towns/cities have received more than 80 per cent of the migrants who have migrated for the first time from their place of birth. Meerut, the largest city is an exception where only about 66 per cent of the migrants are one time migrants. This does

support the hypothesis to some extent that people tend to migrate to a larger cities in steps.

#### Migration and Family

It has been mentioned earlier that single migrant households are not very common in all the case study towns/cities. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that 76.80 per cent of the migrant heads were accompanied by their family members at the time of their arrival. The remaining 23.20 per cent had moved alone and most likely their families joined them at a later date (Table 2.23).

Table 2.23 - Migration and Family

Status	Number of Heads of the Migrant Households	% of Heads of the Migrant Households
Moved Alone	637	23.20
Moved with Family	2,109	76.80
Total	2,746	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

The proportion of family accompanied migration was between 80 to 90 per cent in four of the case-study towns/cities. Family accompanied migration, however, was comparatively lower in the case of Meerut (68.94 per cent) and Khairthal (63.15 per cent).

#### Permanent Vs. Temporary Migration

Not all the migrants who come to the cities intend to stay there permanently. Some of them may be inclined to go back to their native

place after a specified period. But the duration of their temporary stay in the city varies from a few months to twenty or thirty years. Invariably, migrants who intend to return to their native place maintain some links with the place of their birth. For this purpose, we have examined the nature of links with the native place as well as their intention of going back there.

About 60 per cent of the migrant households appear to have no links with the native place which implies that they intend to settle in the town/city of present residence permanently, or alternatively, move to a place other than the native place.

The remaining migrant households have some sort of link with the native place. About 35 per cent of the households have some property as well as family members/relatives staying there, 3.31 per cent have only family/relatives and 1.17 per cent have property ownership. All the migrant households who have any of these types of links also periodically visit the native place (Table 2.24).

Table 2.24 - Links with the Native Place, 1986

Links	Number of Migrant Households	% of Migrant Households
Family/Relatives	91	3.31
Property	32	1.17
Family/Relatives and Property	970	35.32
No Links	1,653	60.20
Total	2,746	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.



However, having links is only one of the probable reasons for return migration. About 90 per cent of the migrant households (some of them even have property at the native place) do not want to return for settling there permanently. The migrants who do want to return to their native place constitute 9.76 per cent of the total migrant households (Table 2.25). In most cases, the migrants expressed their desire to return to their native place after retirement from their present employment.

It can be inferred, therefore, that permanent migration is predominant in the case of towns and cities of the NCR. However, some of the migrants who do not wish to return to their native place may prefer to migrate to a new place of residence. This aspect of migration may emerge while analysing potential out-migration from these towns/cities.

Table 2.25 - Intentions of Returning to the Native Place for Permanent Settlement

Response	Number of Migrant Households	% of Migrant Households
Yes	268	9.76
No	2,472	90.02
Uncertain	6	0.22
Total	2,746	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

## REASONS FOR MIGRATION

The head of the household is the one who takes the decision to migrate and chooses the destination, and therefore, is the principal migrant. The rest of the migrants who are moving in association with the head of the household are dependent migrants who have not taken a conscious decision to move. It is quite logical therefore, to analyse the factors which have prompted the head of the households to decide to migrate.

Table 2.26 - Reasons for Migration  
(Heads of the Migrant Households Only)

Reasons	Duration of Residence in the Town/City		
	Past 10 Years	More than 10 Years	Total
Employment	176 (24.07)	303 (15.04)	479 (17.44)
Better Paid Job	154 (21.07)	348 (17.27)	502 (18.28)
Education	43 (5.88)	76 (3.77)	119 (4.33)
Accompany Family	30 (4.10)	105 (5.21)	135 (4.92)
Marriage	29 (3.97)	78 (3.87)	107 (3.90)
Transfer	202 (27.63)	253 (12.55)	455 (16.57)
Others	97 (13.27)	852 (42.28)	949 (34.56)
<b>Total</b>	<b>731</b>	<b>2,015</b>	<b>2,746</b>

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Out of the total all time migrants, the largest number of migrants have indicated economic reasons for their migration to the case study town/city. Employment and better paid employment together accounted for 35.72 per cent of the migration. The second important factor 'other reasons' consists predominantly of refugee migration from Pakistan, especially in relation to those persons who migrated more than 10 years ago. Official transfer was a determining factor for 16.57 per cent of the migrant heads. About 5 per cent of the migrants accompanied their families and are at present the heads of the migrant households. Another 4.33 per cent came to these cities for education, and subsequently found employment and settled down. Marriage was the determining factor for 3.90 per cent of the migrants, which includes some widowed housewives who are presently heads of their households.

Economic reason emerges as an even stronger motivation for migration during the past 10 years as about 45 per cent of the migrant heads migrated for employment or better paid employment. Involuntary migration due to transfers played the second most important role with 27.63 per cent of the migrant heads stating this reason for their migration. All other reasons appear to be relatively less significant (Table 2.26).

Given these reasons for migration it is not possible to discern whether the pull factor is more important or the push factor in explaining people's decision to migrate to these towns/cities. Often, it is a combination of both which determines migration patterns, though one of them may have a relatively stronger influence. Migration of refugee population can certainly be identified as a result of the push factor. Migration in search of employment also

signifies more of push than pull. However, migration for seeking better paid employment is often guided by the pull factor. Employment status of the heads of the migrant households, in addition to the main reason for their migration given in the earlier table, at the time of their arrival in the town/city can help in understanding this facet of migration.

The fact that 52 per cent of the migrant heads were unemployed and were seeking jobs when they had just arrived clearly indicates the relatively stronger influence of the pull factor. Out of 1,138 persons with a job in hand, 455 or about 40 per cent, had migrated on account of official transfer and the remaining 60 per cent had acquired jobs prior to making the final move. About 6 per cent of the migrant heads who were not seeking employment were either students or housewives at the time of their arrival (Table 2.27).

Table 2.27 - Employment Status of the Heads of the Migrant Households at Arrival in the Town/City

Employment Status	Number of Heads of the Migrant Households	% of Heads of the Migrant Households
Had a Job in Hand	1,138	41.44
Unemployed	1,428	52.00
Not Seeking Employment	180	6.55
Total	2,746	100.00

Source: Urban Household Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

The fact that migrants seeking employment choose to wait for a duration of less than one month to more than two years rather than go



back to their native place further strengthens the argument that the push factor has been stronger. About 33 per cent of the migrants found employment in the first six months, 17.30 per cent in six months to one year and another 16.32 per cent between one to two years. The migrants who took more than two years to find jobs were most likely studying in this duration. A small percentage of 2.45 migrants are still unemployed who may have arrived recently (Table 2.28).

Table 2.28 - Time Gap Between Arrival in the Town/City and Finding Employment

Duration	Number of Migrants Seeking Employment	% of Migrants Seeking Employment
Less than One Month	178	12.46
One to Six Months	294	20.59
Six to Twelve Months	247	17.30
1 to 2 Years	233	16.32
More than 2 Years	417	29.20
Presently Unemployed	35	2.45
No. Response	24	1.68
Total	1,428	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### ASPIRATIONS OF THE MIGRANTS

Migration does not imply change in residence only. It also indicates people's assessment that their aspirations can be fulfilled by migrating to a particular place. It has been discussed in the previous section that economic reason is the predominant motivation

for migration to the case study towns/cities. In the past 10 years, about one-fourth of the total migrants have come to these towns/cities in search of employment while another 21 per cent have migrated with the aspiration of finding better paid jobs. Therefore, it is pertinent to raise a few questions pertaining to the fulfillment of their aspirations. For instance, has there been a change in their activity status, that is, from the past unemployment to present employment? Has migration meant transition from one occupational category to another? To what extent have they enhanced their income status? The answers to these questions will indicate the capacity of secondary and towns/cities to further absorb immigrants, and also to play a more positive role in the development of the NCR.

Prior to migrating to the case study towns/cities 1,682 migrant heads were workers which is 61.25 per cent of the total heads of the migrant households. At the time of the survey, almost 80 per cent of the migrant heads were classified as workers. Apparently, 294 migrant heads who were workers prior to migration became old/retired after staying in the city for some time. On the other hand, 803 non-workers who were previously unemployed, students, housewives or infants/children moved up in the working group after coming to the town/city (Table 2.29).

The percentage distribution of workers has undergone some changes. The significance of the self employed has declined from 50.11 per cent to 46.10. Prior to migration persons falling in the family worker category were 3.57 per cent of the total workers while at the time of the survey only 0.18 per cent were family workers. Employment in government as well as in private service and employer

categories have gained a comparatively higher percentage share of workers (Table 2.29).

Table 2.29 - Present and Prior to Migration Activity Status of the Heads of the Migrant Households

Activity Status	Present		Prior to Migration	
	Number	%	Number	%
Self Employed	1,010	46.10	843	50.11
Employed in Govt. Service	861	39.30	573	34.07
Employed in Private Service	260	11.87	171	10.17
Employer	56	2.55	35	2.08
Family Workers	4	0.18	60	3.57
<b>Total Workers</b>	<b>2,191</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>1,682</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Unemployed	35		84	
Student	12		536	
Housewife	212		239	
Infant/Child	-		193	
Old, Retired/Disabled	296		2	
<b>Total Non-Workers</b>	<b>555</b>		<b>1,064</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,746</b>		<b>2,746</b>	

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

A comparative analysis of distribution of migrant heads into various occupation categories at present and prior to migration will indicate whether migration is followed by occupational transition or not. Primary activities have recorded a major decline from 18.61 per cent to 5.70 per cent, which is understandable in the case of rural-urban migration. Personal and social services have also recorded a lower percentage of workers. Participation of workers has remained more or less the same in construction activity. Household industry, non-household industry, trade and commerce, transport, storage and communication, and administration, education and health had a

comparatively larger percentage share of workers at the time of the survey. On the whole, it is quite clear that migrants are getting absorbed in larger proportion in occupations which are predominantly urban based (Table 2.30).

Table 2.30 - Present and Prior to Migration Occupations of the Heads of the Migrant Households

Occupation	Present		Past	
	Number	% to Total Workers	Number	% to Total Workers
Primary Activities	125	5.70	313	18.61
Household Industry	187	8.53	70	4.16
Non-household Industry	245	11.18	143	8.50
Construction	167	7.62	130	7.73
Trade & Commerce	557	25.42	373	22.17
Transport, Storage & Communication	141	6.43	85	5.05
Administration Education & Health	627	28.62	435	25.86
Personal & Social Service	107	4.88	88	5.23
Others	35	1.60	45	2.67
Total Workers	2,191	100.00	1,682	100.00
Non-Workers	555	-	1,064	-
Total	2,746		2,746	

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Finally, an assessment of the past and present income of the heads of the migrant households is supposed to reveal whether or not they have improved their income status upon migration to towns and cities in the NCR.



Table 2.31 - Income of the Heads of the Migrant Household

Past	Present					No. Income	Total Income
	< 250	250-500	501-1000	1001-2000	> 2000		
< 250	41	157	113	49	20	61	441
250-500	13	109	260	114	27	33	556
501-1000	15	18	152	210	45	25	465
1001-2000	1	14	23	161	71	11	281
> 2000	0	0	6	4	29	15	54
No Income	43	70	244	255	50	287	949
Total	113	368	798	793	182	432	2,746

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

The distribution of heads of the migrant households into various income groups clearly indicates that 1,066 of them have moved from lower to higher income categories. In general, the number of migrants has declined in the lower income groups of up to Rs.500 p.m., and has increased in the higher income categories of Rs.501 to Rs.2000 and above. But, 94 migrants appear to have relatively lower income at present. Most of these are retired migrants on pension. The number of migrants who have remained in the same income group is 492, and another 287 migrants have no income either in the past or at present.

The number of persons with no income has declined from 944 in the past to 432 at present. Therefore, we can state that migration has brought

3 The number of persons with no income in the past is less than the number of non-workers because their last income has been taken into account even if they were not employed just before migrating to the city. Also, the number of no income persons at present is less than the number of non-workers because it excluded 123 non-working pensioners, whose pension was considered income.

about elevation in the income status of 38.82 per cent migrants, and another 18.83 per cent migrants have moved from no income to some income status (Table 2.31).

### III ASSESSMENT OF POTENTIAL MIGRATION TO DELHI

The urban population in the NCR has been growing at a rate of about 5 per cent per annum while the annual rural growth rate is only 1.69 per cent (1971-81). Delhi has grown by 54.57 per cent during 1971-81. Although Delhi's growth is not as high as the average urban growth in the NCR (64.67 per cent), and it is also lower than the growth rate of several of the towns and cities located in the NCR, it can not be denied that Delhi's growth is a cause of concern for urban planners. If Delhi continues to grow at roughly the same pace, its population may be over 12 million by the turn of the century, which will be more than double the 1981 population of 5.7 million.

In this context, the following questions pertaining to the potential migration to Delhi from urban areas of the NCR were specifically examined as a part of this study:

- i. What is the role of migration in the growth of Delhi? Where have the migrants to Delhi come from and why?
- ii. Are people of the case study towns/cities intending to outmigrate in the course of the next few years? If yes, what proportion of the sample population? How many of those who are intending to migrate consider Delhi as the destination point?
- iii. Who are the potential migrants to Delhi? What are their characteristics in terms of age, sex, marital status, education, activity status, occupation, income, previous migration status, social background, economic status, size of the household, housing conditions, and so on?
- iv. What proportion of the potential migrants to Delhi intend to stay there permanently? What is the duration of intended residence in case of temporary settlement?

- v. How will migration take place in the context of the family? What is the ratio of principal migrants to dependant migrants?
- vi. Is there any relationship between potential migrants to Delhi and prior commuting to Delhi?
- vii. Why are they intending to migrate to Delhi? What features of Delhi do they find most attractive?
- viii. Can we check potential migration to Delhi by providing certain employment opportunities and other amenities in various towns and cities in the NCR from where the outmigration to Delhi is likely to take place? Also, is it possible to redirect the flow of migrants from small towns and rural areas to other large cities in the NCR?

#### DELHI'S GROWTH AND MIGRATION : THE PAST EXPERIENCE

Like other urban centres, Delhi's growth is caused by three factors, namely, natural increase, immigration, and expansion of the urban area. During 1971-81, gross immigration of 1,227,448 accounted for 58.95 per cent of the total growth of the metropolitan city of Delhi.

Table 3.1 - Components of Urban Growth, Delhi U.A, 1971-81

Causes	Population added	% of the total increase in population
Natural increase	729,404	35.03
Area expansion	486,847	23.38
Net immigration (Residual)	866,009	41.59
Total increase	2,082,260	100.00

Source: Based on CENSUS OF INDIA, 1971 and 1981.



According to the Sample Registration of the Census, the natural growth rate of Delhi during 1971-81 is about 20 per cent, which accounts for 35.03 per cent of the total increase in population. Population added due to area expansion, from 446.3 km. in 1971 to 540.75 sq.km. in 1981, explains 23.38 per cent of the total growth. The contribution of net immigration of 41.59 per cent appears to be the most important factor in the growth of Delhi in this period, though the role of natural increase is also quite significant (Table 3.1).

During 1961-71, the urban areas of the Union Territory of Delhi<sup>1</sup> received 868,481 migrants, of which 56,582 were from within the state of enumeration ( 6.51 per cent), 750,126 came from other states in India (86.37 per cent), and 61,773 persons were earlier residing in countries other than India (7.11 per cent).

The absolute number of migrants to urban areas of the Delhi Union Territory increased from 868,481 in 1961-71 to 1,444,509 in 1971-81, which means an increase of about 66 per cent between the two decades. During 1971-81, a comparatively larger number and proportion of migrants came from within the state of enumeration, that is, 228,614 or 15.83 per cent of the total migrants.

Migrants who were previously residing in other states in India were 1,154,882 (79.95 per cent), while 61,020 (4.22 per cent) migrants came from other countries (Table 3.2).

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1 Up to 1971 the Union Territory of Delhi had only one urban centre, Delhi U.A. Five new towns emerged in 1981, namely, Bawana, Alipur, Pooth Kurd, Pahladpur Banga and Bijwasan.

Table 3.2 - Migrants by Place of Last Residence, 1961-71 and 1971-81.

Last residence	Migrants to Delhi Union Territory (Urban)	
	1961-71	1971-81
Total Migrants	868,481	1,444,509
A. Last residence elsewhere in India	806,708	1,383,495
i) Within the state of enumeration but outside the place of enumeration	56,582	228,614
ii) States in India beyond the state of enumeration	750,126	1,154,882
B. Countries other than India	61,773	61,020
Total migrants excluding the intra-state migrants	811,899	1,215,895

Source: CENSUS OF INDIA, 1971 and 1981, Delhi, Migration Tables.

During 1971-81, about 50 per cent of the migrants to urban areas of Delhi Union Territory came from one state, namely, Uttar Pradesh. The three neighbouring states, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, and Rajasthan, together account for almost 70 per cent of the total migration to Delhi (Table 3.3). This data does not, however, indicate what proportion of the migrants were from the NCR segment of these states. One can presume that a significant number of migrants must be coming from within the NCR, considering the distance factor. The other states which sent out substantial number of migrants to Delhi are Punjab (6.66 per cent), Bihar (5.86 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (3.13 per cent), West Bengal (2.84 per cent), and Maharashtra (2.11 per cent).

Table 3.3 - Migration to Delhi Union Territory (Urban) from States and Union Territories, 1971-81.

Last residence	1971-81	
	Number	Percentage
I. States:		
1. Andhra Pradesh	9,239	0.80
2. Assam	4,721	0.41
3. Bihar	67,661	5.86
4. Gujarat	7,111	0.61
5. Haryana	133,232	11.54
6. Himachal Pradesh	23,072	1.80
7. Jammu & Kashmir	9,978	0.86
8. Karnataka	7,669	0.66
9. Kerala	17,871	1.55
10. Madhya Pradesh	36,186	3.13
11. Maharashtra	24,408	2.11
12. Manipur	616	0.05
13. Meghalaya	1,161	0.10
14. Nagaland	391	0.03
15. Orissa	4,595	0.40
16. Punjab	76,897	6.66
17. Rajasthan	85,653	7.42
18. Sikkim	308	0.03
19. Tamil Nadu	20,383	1.76
20. Tripura	355	0.03
21. Uttar Pradesh	583,963	50.56
22. West Bengal	32,819	2.84
II. Union Territories	6,600	0.57
Total Migrants	1,154,882	100.00

Source: CENSUS OF INDIA, 1981, Delhi, Migration Tables.

The two streams of migration, rural-urban and urban-urban, have almost an equal share in the context of migration to Delhi. During the sixties the rural-urban migration was 47.08 per cent and urban-urban migration accounted for 51.45 per cent of the total migration. In the seventies 54.59 per cent of the migrants came from rural areas and 44.90 per cent had their last residence in other urban areas of the country (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 - Rural-Urban Origin of the Migrants to Delhi Union Territory (Urban), 1961-71 and 1971-81.

Last residence	Number and percentage of migrants	
	1961-71	1971-81
Rural	353,154 (47.08)	630,440 (54.59)
Urban	385,923 (51.45)	518,509 (44.90)
Unspecified	11,049 (1.47)	5,933 (0.51)
Total migrants from the Indian states excluding the intra-state migrants	750,126 (100.00)	1,154,882 (100.00)

Source: CENSUS OF INDIA, 1971 and 1981, Delhi, Migration Tables.

#### Reasons for Migration

Urban areas of Delhi received 1,154,882 migrants from other states in India in the seventies, of which about 57 per cent were male migrants. Over 55 per cent of the male migrants came for employment, 29.39 per cent moved along with their families with no particular motivation of their own, 4.11 per cent came for education, and the rest of the migrants stated other factors for their migration. In comparison, the 53.82 per cent female migrants migrated in association with the family and another 27.52 per cent females migrated because of marriage. In the case of reasons for migration of the total population, males plus females, family moved ranked first, followed by employment, marriage, and education.



Table 3.5 - Reasons for Migration to Delhi Union Territory (Urban) from States in India beyond the State of Enumeration, 1971-81.

Reasons for migration	Number and percentage of migrants by sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Employment	365,776 (55.60)	32,538 (6.55)	398,314 (34.49)
Education	27,057 (4.11)	11,777 (2.37)	38,834 (3.36)
Family Moved	193,383 (29.39)	267,485 (53.82)	460,868 (39.91)
Marriage	2,233 (0.34)	136,793 (27.52)	139,026 (12.04)
Others	69,452 (10.56)	48,385 (9.73)	117,839 (10.20)
Total Migrants	657,902 (100.00)	496,980 (100.00)	1,154,882 (100.00)

Source: CENSUS OF INDIA, 1981, Delhi, Migration Tables.

#### POTENTIAL MIGRATION TO DELHI

Potential migration, or intentions of changing the place of residence from one administrative unit to another, includes those persons who have taken a decision to migrate as well as people with no definite plans of outmigrating but who might migrate in response to a suitable opportunity. However, this empirical investigation is restricted to only those potential migrants who have clearly expressed their intentions to migrate. The analysis of the magnitude and nature of likely future migration to Delhi is based on a survey of 5,059 households in the six case study towns/cities of the NCR.

Out of the total sample population, 1,269 persons or 4.15 per cent have intentions of changing the place of their residence in the near future (Table 3.6). Over 80 per cent of the potential outmigrants wish to migrate to Delhi, which is 3.33 per cent of the total sample population. Another 6.70 per cent intend to migrate to other towns and cities within the NCR and 12.84 per cent of the potential migrants prefer destinations outside the NCR (Table 3.7). This implies, therefore, that most of the urban outmigration in the NCR in the next decade or two will be Delhi bound.

Table 3.6 - Potential Out-migration

Present residence	Total sample population 1986	Total potential outmigration		Potential migrants to Delhi	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Meerut	16,334	619	3.79	536	3.28
Alwar	5,288	189	3.57	136	2.57
Panipat	4,478	253	5.65	186	4.15
Sardhana	1,961	69	3.52	34	1.73
Khairthal	1,297	32	2.47	23	1.77
Samalkha	1,257	107	8.51	106	8.43
<b>Total</b>	<b>30,615</b>	<b>1,269</b>	<b>4.15</b>	<b>1,021</b>	<b>3.33</b>

Source: Urban Households survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Over 70 per cent of the potential outmigrants from four of the case study cities - Meerut, Alwar, Panipat and Khairthal - intend to move to Delhi. Almost all the migrants from Samalkha are likely to migrate to Delhi. Sardhana is the only town from where only about

half of the potential migrants have shown preference for Delhi. A significantly large proportion of potential migrants from Khairthal and Sardhana would like to migrate to a city within the NCR, particularly to the respective district headquarters. No general picture emerges regarding city-size and the magnitude of potential migration to Delhi (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7 - Potential Out-migration to Delhi and Other Places

Present residence	Potential out-migration			Total
	Delhi	Other towns/ cities in the NCR	Towns/cities outside the NCR	
Meerut	536 (86.59)	14 (2.26)	69 (11.15)	619 (100)
Alwar	136 (71.96)	32 (16.93)	21 (11.11)	189 (100)
Panipat	186 (73.52)	5 (1.98)	62 (24.50)	253 (100)
Sardhana	34 (49.27)	26 (37.68)	9 (13.04)	69 (100)
Khairthal	23 (71.87)	8 (25.0)	1 (31.2)	32 (100)
Samalkha	106 (99.06)	-	1 (0.94)	107 (100)
Total	1,021 (80.46)	85 (6.70)	163 (12.84)	1,269 (100)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

The results of the household survey in the six case study towns/cities reveal that 3.33 per cent of the sample population of 30,615 would like to migrate to Delhi, and of these potential migrants about 88 per cent wish to migrate within the next ten years. Assuming that

this rate of outmigration is applicable to all the urban centres of the NCR, excluding Delhi, roughly 2.5 lakh persons are likely to be added to Delhi's population in the next ten years owing to migration from towns and cities located within the region.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POTENTIAL MIGRANTS TO DELHI

An assessment of the magnitude of potential migration as well as the characteristics of the potential migrants can help in having some idea of the quantum and nature of demand likely to be created at the destination point. For this purpose it is necessary to examine the characteristics of the potential migrants and what their aspirations may be upon migration. For example, if most of the potential migrants are unemployed young males they would certainly be job-seekers. Migrants accompanied by their families would have housing requirements of a particular type, and so on. Characteristics of the potential migrants to Delhi as well as the potential migrant households have been analysed in the following paragraphs.

#### Age and Sex

There are 1,021 persons who intend to migrate to Delhi from the six case study towns/cities located in the NCR. Out of the total potential migrants 468 or 46 per cent are principal migrants and the rest of them will move as dependent migrants.

Amongst the principal migrants 65.17 per cent are in the age-group 15-29 years, 30.55 per cent are in 30-59 years and only 4.27 per cent are above the age of 60 years. Nearly half of the dependent



migrants are children below the age of 15 years, 27.67 per cent are in the age group 15-29 years, 20.61 per cent in 30-59 years and 4.34 per cent are above the age of 60 years (Table 3.8).

On an average, about 67 per cent of the potential migrants to Delhi are males. The proportion of males is much higher (94 per cent) in the case of principal migrants. Also, about 66 per cent of the male principal migrants are young, between the age of 15 and 29 years. On the other hand, only about 44 per cent of the dependent migrants to Delhi are males and the proportion of males is higher than females only in the case of children below the age of 15 years. In all other age groups of dependent migrants females are more predominant, particularly in the age group 15-29 years which consists of over 80 per cent females (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8 - Age and Sex of the Potential Migrants

Age group	Potential migrants								
	Principal			Dependent			Total		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
0 -14	-	-	- (00.00)	169	93	262 (47.38)	169	93	262 (25.66)
15-29	293	12	305 (65.17)	30	123	153 (27.67)	323	135	458 (44.86)
30-59	130	13	143 (30.55)	36	78	114 (20.61)	166	91	257 (25.17)
60+	18	2	20	8	16	24	26	18	44
All ages	441	27	468 (100.00)	243	310	553 (100.00)	684	337	1,021 (100.00)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Of the total migrants who came to Delhi in the seventies 20.12 per cent were below the age of 15 years, 47.51 per cent were between 15-29 years, 20.00 per cent in the group 30-59 years, and 3.30 per cent were above the age of 60 years. About 57 per cent of the total migrants were males.<sup>2</sup> These data indicate that a comparatively larger proportion of children and males are likely to migrate to Delhi in the near future.

#### Marital Status

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There are two popular notions pertaining to marital status and migration to urban areas. First, that it is predominantly single males who migrate to cities, and second, that married migrants are generally accompanied by dependent migrants.

In the case of potential migration to Delhi, about 60 per cent of the total migrants are unmarried, including children and adults. More than half of the principal migrants are single, whereas over 65 per cent of the dependent migrants are not married. None of the principal potential migrants to Delhi is below the age of 15 years and out of 361 single dependent migrants 262 are children of 14 years or less. There are 206 male married principal migrants, and the number of female married dependent migrants is 143, which means that only 63 or 30 per cent married male potential migrants will not be accompanied by their families when they migrate to Delhi (Table 3.9).

It can be implied, therefore, that principal migrants to Delhi will include young single males as well as married migrants who may or

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2 CENSUS OF INDIA, 1981, Delhi, Migration Tables.

may not be accompanied by their families. However, in the Indian context, being single does not necessarily imply that they will not have any dependents, such as, parents, brothers and sisters. This aspect of migration will be examined in greater detail while analysing potential migration in the context of the family.

Table 3.9 - Marital Status by Sex

Marital status	Migrants					
	Principal		Dependent		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Unmarried	233	21	207	154	440	175
Married	206	5	33	143	239	148
Widowed	2	1	3	12	5	13
Divorced	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	441	27	243	310	684	337

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Literacy and Education

The literacy rate amongst the potential migrants to Delhi is 85.57 per cent as against 61.42 per cent in the case of the migrants who came to Delhi in the past ten years. The average literacy rate for Delhi is about 68 per cent<sup>3</sup>. This clearly indicates that a majority of potential migrants to Delhi who have an urban base are literate whereas larger number of rural base migrants who have come to Delhi in the past may have been illiterate.

<sup>3</sup> CENSUS OF INDIA, 1981, India, General Population Tables.

About 21 per cent of the potential migrants have studied, or are studying at present, in classes between class I and V, and 33.89 per cent are in the class VI to X category. Out of the total potential migrants to Delhi 15.67 per cent are graduates, 6.27 per cent are post-graduates, and another 1.76 per cent have higher educational qualifications or professional or technical skills (Table 3.10). Amongst the migrants who came to Delhi in the seventies, 9.28 per cent were graduates, 1.72 per cent post-graduate graduates and 0.72 per cent had technical or professional training<sup>4</sup>. As far as higher education and technical training is concerned, the potential migrants to Delhi seem to be better-off than the past migrants to Delhi.

Table 3.10 - Literacy and Educational Level of the Potential Migrants to Delhi.

Literacy/ education	Number of potential migrants	% of potential migrants
Illiterate	178	17.43
Literate	39	3.82
Class I to V	216	21.16
Class VI to X	346	33.89
Graduate	160	15.67
Post-graduate	64	6.27
Others	18	1.76
Total	1,021	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

4 CENSUS OF INDIA, 1981, Delhi, Migration Tables.



Present Activity Status

Not all the potential outmigration from the case study towns/cities are unemployed moving out in search of a livelihood. Almost 34 per cent of them are working at present. Only 74 persons, which is about 7 per cent of the total of 1,021 potential outmigrants, are unemployed and wish to migrate to Delhi in the hope of finding some kind of employment.

Amongst the 345 working potential outmigrants 54.49 per cent are self-employed, 18.55 per cent each are in government and private service, 4.35 per cent are employers and 4.06 per cent are unpaid family workers. The predominance of self-employed in the working potential migrants to Delhi indicates that these persons wish to improve their conditions by migrating to a metropolitan city.

Almost half of the non-working potential migrants to Delhi are students at present whose intention may be to get higher education, or alternatively, to find jobs in the city. About one-fourth of the non-working potential outmigrants are housewives, 11.39 per cent are infants and children, and the remaining 3.40 per cent are old, retired or disabled persons. All these are quite likely to be dependent potential migrants with no specific motive of their own (Table 3.11).

Table 3.11 - Present Activity Status of the Potential Migrants to Delhi.

Activity status	Number of potential migrants	% of potential migrants
Self employed	188	54.49
Employed in Govt. service	64	18.55
Employed in private service	64	18.55
Employer	15	4.35
Family worker	14	4.06
<b>Total workers</b>	<b>345</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Unemployed	74	10.95
Student	335	49.56
Housewife	167	24.70
Infant/child	77	11.39
Old/retired/disabled	23	3.40
<b>Total non-workers</b>	<b>676</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Present Occupation

More than one-third of the working potential migrants to Delhi are presently in trade and commerce. The second most important occupational category consists of administration, education and health. All other occupations have relatively less potential migrants to their credit (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12 - Present Occupation of the Working Potential Migrants to Delhi.

Occupation	Number of potential migrants	% of potential migrants
Primary activities	14	4.06
Household industry	29	8.41
Non-household industry	30	8.69
Construction	16	4.64
Transport, storage & communication	16	4.64
Trade & commerce	127	36.81
Administration, education & health	70	20.29
Personal & social services	33	9.56
Others	10	2.90
Total workers	345	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Income

The distribution of working potential migrants into broad income groups suggests that all the potential migrants to Delhi are not urban poor. Almost 60 per cent of the potential migrants fall in the middle income range of Rs. 251 to Rs.1,000 per month. Only a small proportion of 3.63 per cent migrants have a comparatively lower income of up to Rs.250 per month. About 28 per cent of the total potential migrants earn between Rs.1000 and Rs.2000 per month and 8.76 per cent have a gross income of more than Rs.2000 per month (Table 3.13).

These migrants appear to be inclined to improve their income status by migrating to Delhi.

Table 3.13 - Present Income of the Potential Migrants to Delhi  
(in Rupees)

Income group	No. of Potential Migrants	% of Potential Migrants
Less than 250	12	3.63
251 - 500	68	20.54
501 - 1000	130	39.27
1001 - 2000	92	27.80
More than 2000	29	8.76
Total	331	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Social Background

The survey results do not reveal predominance of any backward social group or minority community amongst the potential migrants to Delhi. About 88 per cent of the potential migrants to Delhi are Hindus, 4.51 per cent Muslims, 4.2 per cent Jains, 2.35 per cent Sikhs and 0.10 per cent of them are Christians (Table 3.14). Only about 20 per cent of the Hindus belong to the SC/ST category.



Table 3.14 - Social Background of the Potential Migrants to Delhi

Social Background	Number of Potential Migrants	% of Potential Migrants
Hindu	904	88.54
a) SC/ST	175	-
b) Other Castes	729	-
Muslim	46	4.51
Sikh	24	2.35
Jain	43	4.21
Christian	1	0.10
Others	3	0.29
Total	1,021	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### POTENTIAL MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

The potential migrants to Delhi belong to 415 sample households residing in the six case study towns/cities. Some of the characteristics of these households can give an insight into the economic and social background of the potential migrants to Delhi.

Half of the potential migrant households are migrant households in the case study town/city. We can state, therefore, that potential migration to Delhi is not determined by the migrant status of their households.

Size of the Households  
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The average size of all the sampled households in the case study towns/cities is six. The average size of the potential migrant households is also six.

A little over 47 per cent of the potential migrant households have one to five members, 44.82 per cent have six to ten members, 7.23 per cent have sixteen to twenty members and only two households have more than 20 members (Table 3.15). It can be inferred, therefore, that it is not the comparatively larger households which are inducing residents of these towns/cities to outmigrate.

Table 3.15 - Size of the Potential Migrant Households

Size of Households	No. of Households	% of Households
1 - 5	197	47.47
6 - 10	186	44.82
11 - 15	30	7.23
16 - 20	2	0.48
More than 20	-	-
Total	415	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Income  
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Per capita income of the potential migrant households is a better indicator of the economic status of the potential migrants to Delhi than the gross income of working potential migrants only.

The households below the poverty line, determined by per capita per month income of Rs. 200 or less, account for 37.59 per cent of the potential migrant households. About 48 per cent of the households have a per capita per month income between Rs.201 and 500 and the remaining 14.46 per cent of these households have a higher income of more than Rs.500 per month. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that mostly the poor migrate from smaller urban centres to metropolitan cities. In fact, the potential migrant households in the case study towns/cities appear to have better income status than the average income status of all the sample households (Table 3.16).

Table 3.16 - Income of the Potential Migrant Households  
(Rupees Per Capita Per Month)

Income Group	Potential Migrant Households	Total Sample Households
Less than 200 Low Income	156 (37.59)	2,140 (42.30)
201 - 500 Middle Income	199 (47.95)	2,306 (45.58)
More than 500 High Income	60 (14.46)	613 (12.12)
Total	415 (100.00)	5,059 (100.00)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Type of Houses and Tenure

The housing condition and ownership pattern can be taken as an indicator for propensity to migrate. It is generally presumed that people who live in poor housing tend to migrate to improve their

housing conditions. Also, people are less likely to migrate if they own immovable property, such as land or a house.

Table 3.17 - Type of Houses and Tenure of the Potential Migrant Households

Type of Houses	Tenure		Total
	Own	Rented	
Pucca	301	68	369 (88.92)
Semi-Pucca	30	3	33 (7.95)
Kutcha	11	2	13 (3.13)
Total	342 (82.41)	73 (17.59)	415 (100.00)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

About 89 per cent of the potential migrant households reside in permanent cement and brick structures, whatever be its size. Only 7.95 per cent households live in semi-pucca houses and another 3.13 per cent reside in kutcha hutments. As far as tenure of all kinds of dwellings are concerned, 342 or 82.41 per cent households own their houses while only 17.59 households live in rented dwellings (Table 3.17).

The housing conditions do not appear to be so poor as to induce people to migrate. Also, the high incidence of property ownership does not hold back these outmigrants. However, it is quite likely that the potential migrants may not dispose off their property if they



migrate, and leave it for use by the part-household who may stay back in the case study towns/cities.

Table 3.18 - Housing and Potential Migration

Intending to Move	Ownership		Total
	Own	Rented	
Part of the Households	233	44	277
Entire Households	109	29	138
Total	342	73	415

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Only parts of the households are likely to migrate to Delhi in the case of 277 potential migrant households, of which about 84 per cent are owners of their houses. On the other hand, 138 respondents intend to migrate with the entire household, and about 79 per cent of them are even owners of the property they live in (Table 3.18). These households may sell their houses or rent them out for a specified period. House ownership does not appear to be a major constraint in people's motivation to migrate to Delhi.

#### PATTERNS OF POTENTIAL MIGRATION

The pattern of migration has been analysed here in the context of a few major characteristics of the potential migration to Delhi. It includes the time when potential migrants actually plan to move to Delhi, intended duration of residence in Delhi, steps of migration,

potential migration in relation to the family, and prior links with Delhi.

The Time of Potential Migration  
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The time frame of intended migration to Delhi varies from one year to more than ten years. Some of the migrants are not even certain as to when they would really move to Delhi. About 88 per cent of the potential migrants have plans of migrating to Delhi within the course of the next ten years. Another 5.48 per cent of the potential migrants would like to outmigrate any time after a period of ten years and 6.86 per cent of the potential migrants to Delhi are not certain regarding the time when they would shift their residence to Delhi (Table 3.19).

Table 3.19 - The Time of Potential Migration to Delhi

The Time of Migration	No. of Potential Migrants	% of Potential Migrants
Within 1 year	366	35.85
1 to 5 years	501	49.07
6 to 10 years	28	2.74
After 10 years	56	5.48
Not Certain	70	6.86
Total	1,021	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

Duration of Residence

According to the duration of residence, there can be two broad types of potential migrants, those who intend to settle permanently in Delhi, and those who wish to stay there for a specified period.

In the case of outmigration from the case study towns/cities, 77.47 per cent of the potential migrants wish to settle permanently in Delhi, and 4.31 per cent are uncertain about their future plans. The remaining 18.22 per cent wish to live in Delhi for the duration of less than one year to over ten years. It was not possible to assess whether they will go back to their earlier place of residence or migrate to another place after the temporary stay in Delhi (Table 3.20).

Table 3.20 - Intended Duration of Residence in Delhi

Intended Duration	No. of Potential Migrants	% of Potential Migrants
Permanent	791	77.47
Temporary	186	18.22
a. < 1 year	5 (2.69)	
b. 1 to 5 years	65 (34.95)	
c. 6 to 10 years	44 (23.66)	
d. > 10 years	72 (38.70)	
Uncertain	44	4.31
Total	1,021	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

The fact that a majority of the potential migrants to Delhi wish to migrate for permanent settlement has serious implications in the context of the future demand for employment and for housing in Delhi.

Steps of Migration  
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It is a popular notion that people tend to migrate in progressive steps from lower order settlements to a metropolitan city. The present migrant status of the potential migrants to Delhi will help in understanding this aspect of migration.

Table 3.21 - Steps of Migration to Delhi

Migration Status (Present/Potential)	Number of Potential Migrants	% of Potential Migrants
Non-migrants/ First Migration to Delhi	663	64.93
First Move/ Second Move	291	28.50
Second or Third Migration/ Multiple Move	67	6.56
Total	1,021	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

For about 65 per cent of the potential migrants to Delhi, who were born in the case study towns/cities and are presently non-migrants, it will be the first step migration. About 28 per cent of the total potential migrants were one time migrants in the case study towns/cities and potential migration to Delhi will be their second move. The remaining 6.56 per cent potential migrants had made two or



more moves before arriving in the case study towns/cities and they will migrate to Delhi in multiple steps. Some of those migrants who are migrating to Delhi in two or more steps, had come from the rural areas to the nearest small town, then to the district headquarters and now they intend to migrate to the metropolitan capital of the country.

Twenty five persons presently residing in the case study towns/cities were born in Delhi and for them it will be return migration to Delhi (Table 3.21).

#### Potential Migration in the Context of the Family

There are three likely patterns of migration in the context of the family, that is, one person migrates alone and the rest of the family stays back; one person initially leaves alone and the family follows later; and a few members or the entire family migrates together. Generally principal migrants take the decision to migrate, and the dependent migrants simply accompany them.

Out of the total potential migrants to Delhi 468 are principal migrants and 553 are dependent migrants. Therefore, on an average the ratio of principal migrant to dependent migrants is 1:1.2. This means that roughly half of the total migrants to Delhi are likely to be seeking employment or better paid employment.

Amongst the principal migrants, 284 intend to move alone, 147 will be accompanied by 553 dependent migrants, and the remaining 37 potential migrants would like their family members to join them at a later date (Table 3.22). The ratio of a principal migrant and their own dependents works out to 1:3:7.

Table 3.22 - Potential Migration and the Family

Status	Potential Migrants to Delhi					
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Alone	265	38.74	19	5.64	284	27.82
With Family	140	20.47	7	2.07	147	14.40
Family to Follow	36	5.26	1	0.30	37	3.62
Accompanying Persons	243	35.53	310	91.99	553	54.10
Total	684	100.00	337	100.00	1,021	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

The relationship between marital status and migration alone or along with dependent members can also be of some interest at this point. Out of 284 potential migrants who wish to move alone 236 or 83 per cent are unmarried. Out of 147 migrants who intend to move with family 124 or 84 per cent are married. Amongst the 37 potential migrants whose family may follow later 34 are married.

#### Links with Delhi

Migrants tend to choose their destinations, to some extent, wherever they have some links, particularly family members or relatives. It is presumed that the presence of family members or relatives works as a major source of information as well as provides a place to stay, help in finding a job and in generally establishing oneself.

More than half of the potential migrant households have either family members or relatives staying in Delhi. Owning property has very little significance as only eight out of 415 of the potential migrant households have this incentive for migration to Delhi (Table 3.23).

Table 3.23 - Links with Delhi

Type of Links	No. of Potential Migrant households having Links	% to Total Potential Migrant Households
Family/Relatives	214	51.57
Property	8	1.93
Total	415	100.00

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### Commuting to Delhi and Potential Migration

There are two contradictory views pertaining to the relationship between commuting and migration. According to one viewpoint commuters are more likely to migrate so that the place of work and residence become the same, resulting in reduction of day to day strain. According to the second view, commuters would not like to migrate, particularly in the case of commuting between nearby villages or small towns to a metropolitan city, if they already have an established household, housing being quite expensive in the metropolitan city.

Out of 339 working potential outmigrants to Delhi 32 are commuters, and even out of those only 15 commute to Delhi (Table

3.24). Of the total commuters to Delhi eight come from Panipat and Samalkha, and seven come from Meerut. The towns located in Rajasthan are too far for daily commuting. The percentage of commuters to the working potential of migrants to Delhi is almost negligible, which indicates a negative correlation between commuting and potential migration to Delhi.

Table 3.24 - Commuting Status of the Potential Migrants to Delhi

Status	No. of Potential Migrants to Delhi
Number of Workers	339
Total Commuters	32
(a) to a Nearby Village	9
(b) to a Nearby Town	8
(c) to Delhi	15
Percentage of Commuters to Total Workers	9.44
Percentage of Commuters to Delhi to Total Workers	4.42
Percentage of Commuters to Delhi to the Total Potential Migrants to Delhi	1.47

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

#### REASONS FOR POTENTIAL MIGRATION

So far we have attempted to understand potential migration in relation to a number of factors. Now we will analyse the reasons for their migration to Delhi as stated by the potential migrants.



The number of potential migrants who will migrate to accompany their families when they move to Delhi is 494, whereas the total number of dependent migrants is 553. This means that 59 of the dependent migrants have some other aspiration, along with accompanying the family. About 29 per cent of the total potential migrants are moving in the hope of acquiring better paid employment, while 14.30 per cent of the potential migrants are planning to go to Delhi for the simple reason of search for employment. These two together account for approximately 43 per cent of the total potential migration to Delhi. All other reasons are relatively less significant. If, however, we exclude involuntary migrants merely accompanying the family, about 83 per cent of the potential migrants are likely to move for better paid employment or employment. It can be inferred, therefore, that economic motivation is the chief cause for migration to Delhi from urban areas of the NCR. However, the relative importance of economic reasons for potential migration to Delhi varies a great deal at the town/city level (Table 3.25).

The reasons for migration appear to be different for permanent migrants than the reasons stated by the temporary potential migrants. Out of those migrants who wish to settle in Delhi permanently, 57 per cent will be accompanying the family while 31.54 per cent will move for employment or better paid employment. On the other hand, more than 62 per cent of the temporary potential migrants are motivated by employment and better paid employment. A significant proportion of the temporary migrants are also going to Delhi for the reason of education (Table 3.26). Therefore, we can state that the reason for

Table 3.25 - Reasons for Potential Migration to Delhi

Present Residence	Employment	Better Paid Employment	Education	To Accompany Family	Marriage	Transfer	Others	Total
Meerut	62 (11.56)	126 (23.50)	4 (0.74)	323 (60.26)	4 (0.74)	2 (0.37)	15 (2.79)	536
Alwar	49 (36.02)	20 (14.71)	27 (19.85)	34 (25.00)	5 (3.67)	-	1 (0.74)	136
Panipat	16 (8.60)	108 (58.06)	6 (3.23)	42 (22.58)	1 (0.54)	-	13 (6.99)	186
Sardhana	1 (2.94)	8 (23.52)	-	24 (70.58)	-	1 (2.94)	-	34
Khairthal	10 (43.47)	8 (34.78)	3 (13.04)	2 (8.70)	-	-	-	23
Samalkha	8 (7.55)	23 (21.70)	-	69 (65.09)	-	3 (2.83)	3	106
<b>Total</b>	146 (14.30)	293 (28.69)	40 (3.93)	494 (48.39)	10 (0.98)	6 (0.58)	32 (3.13)	1,021 (100.00)
Excluding Those who are Accompanying the Family	146 (27.70)	293 (55.60)	40 (7.59)	-	10 (1.90)	6 (1.14)	32 (6.07)	527 (100.00)

Table 3.26 - Reasons for Migration and Intended Duration of Residence

Intended Duration of Residence	Reasons for Migration							Total
	Employment	Better paid Employment	Education	To Accompany Family	Marriage	Transfer	Others	
Permanent	91 (11.50)	206 (20.04)	5 (0.63)	450 (56.89)	9 (1.14)	4 (0.51)	26 (3.29)	791 (100.00)
Temporary	45 (24.19)	71 (38.17)	35 (18.82)	27 (14.52)	-	2 (1.08)	6 (3.22)	186 (100.00)
Uncertain	10 (22.73)	16 (36.36)	-	17 (38.64)	1 (2.27)	-	-	44 (100.00)
Total	145 (14.30)	293 (28.69)	40 (3.93)	494 (48.39)	10 (0.98)	6 (0.58)	32 (3.13)	1,021 (100.00)

Source: Urban Households Survey in the NCR, NIUA, 1986.

potential migration with the intention of temporary settlement in Delhi is predominantly economic while a larger proportion of permanent migration to Delhi is family associated involuntary migration. This pattern conforms to the general trend of temporary short term single migration vis-a-vis permanent family migration.



#### IV FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The NIUA has undertaken this study for assessing the nature, magnitude and motivations for potential migration to Delhi from towns and cities located in the NCR. The survey studies were conducted in six urban centres for analysing migration patterns, both past trends of migration to these towns/cities and potential outmigration from these towns/cities, particularly to Delhi. Past migration trends and motivations for migration to the case study towns and cities can be taken as indicators of attraction of these towns/cities. On the other hand, potential outmigration from the case study towns/cities can point towards negative aspects in their economy and the stronger magnetism of a destination point such as Delhi. The most important questions in this context are - why do people migrate to secondary towns and cities in the NCR on the one hand, and to Delhi, on the other, and what are their characteristics?

The results of the household-level survey are summarised in the following paragraphs.

##### SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

The study covered a sample of 5,059 households, which at the time of the field survey had a total population of 30,615 persons. In terms of the households, the sample covered 3.1 per cent of the total

number of households. In terms of population, the sample of 30,615 was 3.48 per cent of the total population.

Past Migration to the Case Study Towns and Cities  
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- i. Of the 5,059 households, 54.3 per cent were reported to be migrant households, that is, households whose heads migrated to the case study town/city at some point of time. However, only 34.6 per cent of the sample population belonged to the migrant category.
- ii. It is important to note that 55.7 per cent of the migrants had their roots within the National Capital Region. Others were born outside the Region. Larger cities such as Panipat, Alwar and Meerut tended to have higher proportions of migrants from outside the NCR.
- iii. Migrants from rural areas accounted for 45.6 per cent of the total migrant population, suggesting that urban-urban migration was relatively more important in the case study towns/cities. Urban-urban migration is even more important in larger cities with proportions as high as 64 per cent in the case of Panipat and 56.7 per cent in the case of Meerut.
- iv. About 90 per cent of the migrant households have come to these towns/cities with the intention of settling there permanently, some of them even have property at the native place.
- v. The case studies showed that during the past ten years 24.1 per cent of the migrant households (Heads of the households) moved in search of employment, and another 21.1 per cent in quest of

better paid employment. Besides economic reasons, 5.9 per cent of the total number of migrants came on account of better educational facilities (a long term investment for higher incomes). Others migrated either on account of transfers (27.6 per cent), marriage (4.0 per cent), or miscellaneous reasons (13.27 per cent).

- vi. Reasons for migration varied with the place of origin of the migrants. Rural-urban migrants came largely in search of employment. For them, the push factor (absence of a job in the rural areas) may have been important. On the other hand, urban-urban migrants moved in order to improve their economic prospects. Clearly, it was the pull that brought them to the case study towns/cities.
- vii. The age and sex composition of the migrant population was very different compared to that of the non-migrant population. The survey showed that only 7.2 per cent of the migrant population was less than 14 years of age, 82 per cent was in the age-group of 15-59 years, and 10.2 per cent was above the age of 60 years. The lower percentage of migrant population in the less than 14 years age-group is explained by the fact that those who were born in the city were counted as non-migrants. Likewise, the higher percentage of females in the migrant households was explained by marriage migrations.
- viii. The fact that migrants have better educational status clearly emerged from the surveys. Over 76 per cent of the migrants were literate as compared to the average literacy rate of 52 per cent

for the six case study towns/cities (1981).

- ix. The average per capita/month income for nearly one-third of the migrant households was less than Rs. 200. According to the prevailing norms, they would be the low-income, or urban poor, households. About 50 per cent of the migrant households reported their per capita income varying between Rs. 200-500. In comparison, over 53 per cent of the non-migrant households reported low-income. However, their income and social status can be better judged by the fact that 73.4 per cent of the migrant households owned houses, while 93.6 per cent of the non-migrant households were living in their own houses.
- x. The survey showed a noticeable shift in occupational categories. As compared to the pre-migration period, there was a substantially larger percentage of migrant workers in household industry, non-household industry, trade and commerce, transportation and communications, and in administration, education and health.
- xi. The survey showed that a significant percentage of migrant households moved from low to high income brackets, fulfilling at least one of their major aspirations. 1,066 household heads (38.82 per cent) moved up in income status. Another 18.83 per cent migrant heads moved from no income to some income status, implying that they found employment after migrating to the case study town/city.



### Potential Migration to Delhi

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As indicated, this study has probed into the intentions of people to migrate out of the case study towns/cities. The study recognises that this type of investigation falls within the realm of behavioural and predictive sciences and to a significant extent, is speculative in nature. Yet, we have ventured into this area as any population redistribution strategies for the National Capital Region will necessarily require some assumptions about the future. The data on future mobility will therefore, assist in the formulation of necessary assumptions.

- i. The 1981 Census data indicate that 41.6 per cent of the net increase in Delhi's population was caused by net immigration and 35.0 per cent was due to natural increase. Of the total migrants, a little over 50 per cent had a rural base prior to migrating to Delhi. The age-sex-education composition adhered to the generally held notions, a significant percentage of them were young male adults and some of them had high educational status.
- ii. Of the total sample population (30,615), only 1,269 persons (4.14 per cent) expressed an intention to outmigrate from the case study towns/cities in the course of the coming years. Out of these, 80 per cent indicated preference for Delhi as their destination. Thus, what is important is that if people move out of the case study towns/cities, a majority of them would move into Delhi.
- iii. Out of 1,021 potential migrants to Delhi 88 per cent intend to migrate within the course of the next ten years.

- iv. Those who indicated their intentions to move to Delhi were predominantly young (45 per cent), male (67 per cent), unmarried (60 per cent), and literate (82.6 per cent). About 71 per cent of the literate potential migrants were either literate or possessed educational qualifications up to the 10th standard, and 28.7 per cent of them had comparatively higher educational qualifications.
- v. Almost 34 per cent of the potential migrants to Delhi were workers, only about 7 per cent were unemployed intending to migrate in search of employment, and 32.8 per cent were students who may be migrating for higher education or employment.
- vi. It is important to note that 37.6 per cent of the potential migrant households have a present income of less than Rs. 200 per capita/month, and belong to what may be called the "urban poor households". About 48 per cent of the households have incomes ranging between Rs. 201-500 per capita per month, and 14.5 per cent migrants households have an income of more than Rs. 500 per capita/month.
- vii. For a majority of the potential migrants (64.9 per cent) the move to Delhi will be the first migration, 28.5 per cent of the potential migrants will move for the second time, while 6.56 per cent will reach Delhi in more than two steps of migration.
- viii. Out of the total potential migrants to Delhi 468 will be principal migrants and 553 dependent migrants. This means that roughly half of the potential migrants to Delhi, presently employed or unemployed, will enter Delhi's labour market.

- ix. Amongst the principal migrants, 284 (60.7 per cent) wish to migrate alone, 147 (31.4 per cent) will be accompanied by 553 dependent migrants, and 37 (7.9 per cent) would like their family members to follow them.
- x. Economic reasons underlie their intentions to move to Delhi. Excluding those who would merely accompany the heads of the potential migrant families, 27.7 per cent stated that they would move to Delhi in search of employment, and another 55.6 per cent would move in search of better paid employment. Comparatively higher costs of living in Delhi did not seem to be a negative factor in their intentions to move, nor did they appear to be attracted by better facilities or charm of living in a metropolitan city.
- xri. During the past ten years, 24 per cent of the heads of the migrant households have come to the case study towns/cities for employment, 21 per cent for better paid employment and about 28 per cent have come involuntarily due to official transfers. Therefore, it appears that migration to secondary towns and cities in the NCR is primarily guided by search for employment while the predominant motivation for potential migration to Delhi is better paid employment.

## CONCLUSIONS

A number of extremely important conclusions follow from the study which have implications for the planning of the National Capital Region.



- i. Though migration continues to be an important feature of the NCR's urban population growth, the contribution of "natural increase" is equally significant to take note of. It needs to be noted that between now and the year 2001, approximately 3 to 4 million people will be added to the existing urban areas of the NCR by natural increase alone.
- ii. Urban to urban migration has acquired an added significance in the distribution and redistribution of urban population in the National Capital Region. The National Capital Region is steadily becoming more urban, and with it, the role of the urban-urban migration will become even more important. This can be viewed as a manifestation of the dynamic factors in the transition towards growth, development and modernisation of the National Capital Region.
- iii. Even though growth is somewhat slow the towns and cities covered by the case study are not devoid of vitality or economic dynamism. They registered, during 1971-81, population growth rates ranging between 30 and 56 per cent. The main motive for people to migrate to these towns/cities was 'economic' (employment and better employment opportunities) and most of them fulfilled their motives and aspirations. The fact that almost 58 per cent migrant households have improved their income status and over 75 per cent of the migrant households were living, at the time of the survey, in "own house" further substantiates that their main motive to migrate was fulfilled. Other reasons such as better educational opportunities or improved public services were hardly important.



- iv. Assuming that the estimated rate of outmigration is applicable to all the urban centres of the NCR, excluding Delhi, roughly 2.5 lakh persons are likely to be added to Delhi's population in the next ten years' time due to urban-urban migration from within the Region.
- v. About 83 per cent of the principal migrants to Delhi will migrate in search of employment or better paid employment, indicating economic reasons as the principal motivation for migration.
- vi. These conclusions would seem to suggest that if population has to be redistributed over the NCR's space the key action would be to create employment opportunities in the smaller and secondary towns/cities. The study shows that migrants are unresponsive to other factors such as better facilities, and so on.

#### POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In the overall context of analysing the feasibility of redirecting migrants to such cities a few general recommendations can be made. If one looks at the myriad of policy approaches to population redistribution, one can clearly identify three distinct strategies

- (a) Restricting immigration to the nation's capital -  
(limiting new job creation, restricting access to cities, etc.)

- (b) Dispersion - (policies aimed at attracting potential migrants to, as well as containing existing population in the small and intermediate cities in the NCR).
  
- (c) Rural development - (policies focussed on improving rural condition sufficiently to keep people "on the land".)

Dispersion strategies are based on a more sophisticated understanding of migration motives and also on the assumption that the potential migrants will not be easily deterred from coming to the national capital unless other towns are made equally attractive as possible destinations. This entails creating attractive magnets of growth, featuring jobs in high wage modern industrial-service sector, and providing housing which appears to be second in the list of priorities of the migrants to the case study towns/cities, after employment or better paid employment.

Dispersion can be effective if it is in a direction parallel to the major prevailing economic and social forces at play in the country. In India, as in other developing countries, the record is fairly conclusive that re-distribution policies have hardly been effective. What is fortunate is that the NCR is endowed with a large urban base. At least 40 towns and cities show vibrancy on consideration of population growth. The NCR Board may consider further stepping up of efforts to augment the economies of some of these towns and cities.

One factor which should not be overlooked while formulating a regional plan for the NCR is the contribution of natural increase in

urban population growth. It is important to point out that by the year 2001 approximately 3 to 4 million people will be added to the urban population of the region as a result of natural increase, which will be almost one-third of the projected urban population growth. This would bring as much pressure on urban services as population increased through migration. Therefore, the NCR Board should stress the need for paying greater attention to family planning in urban areas as one of the policy measures.