

IDSJ Working Paper 166

Migration and Punjab : Some Perceptions

Surjit Singh

March 2013

The purpose of the Working Paper is to provide an opportunity to IDSJ faculty, visiting faculty, and research staff to sound out their ideas and research work before publication and to get feedback and comments. They can be cited or quoted only with full acknowledgment and bearing in mind that they are being circulated in preliminary form to encourage discussion and comments before publication.

March 2013

Institute of Development Studies

8-B, Jhalana Institutional Area

Jaipur-302 004 (India)

Phone : 91-141-2705726 / 2706457 / 2705348

Fax : : 91-141-2705348

E-Mail : idsj@dataone.in

visit us at : www.idsj.org

Printed at : Kumar & Company, Jaipur

Ph. : 2375909

Migration and Punjab : Some Perceptions

Surjit Singh

This paper looks at the internal migration issues in the context of Punjab. Migration issues in the context of Punjab are straightforward and linked to its history, adventurous peoples and risk taking population especially the Sikh. Its productive land has attracted lakhs of people to eke out their livelihood, some settled here and others returned home. Many poor households across the country have not only eaten the food grains produced on the fertile lands of Punjab, but also have removed their poverty and moved out of indebtedness. Migration has been a powerful mechanism in Bihar's agrarian society giving the poor a collective voice against exploitation and Punjab has contributed to this voice. Many have undergone upward social and economic mobility. The major senders of migrants to Punjab are Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Assam. Over the years there have been changes in inflows of migrants to Punjab. The major reason for migration for males is employment and for females it is marriage or the movement of the family/ earner. There are not many differences between census and NSSO patterns. There are gender differentials in movement by source state and reasons too. Rural-rural migration dominates in Punjab and that too within the state. Migration both into and outside to other states and international has contributed vitally to Punjab's economy and society.

Punjab is a state in the northwest India, bordering Pakistan in the west, J&K in the north, Himachal Pradesh in the northeast, Haryana in the south and southeast and Rajasthan in the southwest. Punjab occupies merely 1.6 percent of the total land area of the country, only 0.33 percent of the world area (50362 sq. km). Punjab is the most prosperous state of India with one of the highest per capita income and has the distinction of having one of the lowest proportions of population living below the poverty line. Punjab is basically an agrarian economy. Punjab is endowed with abundant resources and an enthusiastic farming community. It has country's 2.6 percent cropped area. It lies between the great systems of the rivers Indus and Ganges. Most of the state is an alluvial plain, irrigated by canals. It has more than 4 million hectares of well-irrigated land, with cropping intensity of 186 percent. Over 95 percent of food grains that are moved interstate to feed deficit areas through the public distribution system are the stocks produced from this state. The gross state domestic product (GSDP) of Punjab during the last few years has grown over 6.0 percent¹. Uneven development across states, whether in terms of economy or culture, creates movements of people. Uneven development is the main reason for migration² along with factors like poverty, landholding system, and fragmentation of holdings, lack of employment opportunities, large family-size and natural calamities. The high-land man ratio, caste system, lawlessness and exploitation at native place speed up the breakdown of traditional socio-economic relations in the rural economy and people decide to migrate to relatively prosperous regions in search of better employment and income. Besides, diversification

of economy and increased land productivity in certain areas, rapid improvement in transport and communication means, improvement in education, increase in population pressure and zeal for improving living add momentum to the mobility of population. In this regard, Bihar and Punjab are two extremes of socio-economic index; Punjab stands at the top and Bihar touches the bottom. Primarily because of this Punjab supplies agricultural produce to the rest of the country and Bihar supplies labour. The Marxist calls this 'enclave hinterland relation' that is not merely economic, but social too³. This paper looks at the internal migration issues in the context of Punjab.

1. Demographic Changes In Punjab

Table 1 presents decadal changes in population of Punjab. In the recent past, the population has been growing a rate of more than 2 percent per annum, highest growth was observed during 1971-81 and the lowest during 1991-2001. However, rural population growth has been below 2 percent since 1961-71 and stood at 1.23 percent during 1991-2001. On the other hand, urban growth has been high, ranging between 4.45 percent during 1971-81 and 2.53 percent during 1961-71. The urban population growth throughout has been higher than the rural population growth indicating increasing urbanisation.

Table 1: Decadal Change in Population: Punjab (%)

Periods	Total	Rural	Urban
1901-11	-10.78	-10.46	-13.00
1911-21	6.26	6.17	6.92
1921-31	12.02	8.92	34.37
1931-41	19.82	16.06	41.85
1941-51	4.58	-9.71	20.02
1951-61	21.56	19.47	29.06
1961-71	21.70	20.63	25.27
1971-81	23.89	17.48	44.51
1981-91	20.81	17.69	28.95
1991-01	19.76	12.28	37.58

Source : Population Censuses of India.

2. Why do People Move

Migration is not new to the human race. Individuals driven by adventure, hope, desperation, searching for the ideal place to work and live have always travelled the world over (Singh 2000). The main driving force behind migration is a better standard of living away from home. The decisions to move is complex, it is not simple rational choice by individuals seeking to maximize incomes. It is a decision rooted in social relations and influenced by history, culture and policy regimes as researches have shown amply. The push-and pull analyses is too simple way to explain new pushes and pulls that are facing people living in marginal areas of India today. Surplus labour arising from the scarcity of cultivated land, inequitable land distribution, low agricultural productivity, high population density, and the concentration of the rural economy almost exclusively on agriculture has contributed to a continuous increase in out-migration. In agrarian society having little access to land leaves the landless and marginal farmers with few alternatives but to migration. We have more than 80 percent of holdings that are small and marginal and per capita net sown area is below 0.2 hectare. Droughts, poor mountain and forest economics are other push factors. The dry areas of Bihar, ecological fragile lands of Uttarakhand with little

diversification and deteriorating access to common property resources lead to out-migration. There is a positive relation between degradation and out-migration. Migration is also due to distress phenomenon (Reddy 1990). Singh and Karan (2001) for Bihar find that remittances accounted for one-third of the average annual income of landless and marginal households sending migrants. Migration worsens poverty because migrant households are often in debt. However, this relation is not straightforward. Debt is also incurred due to high transit cost at the destination, but migration also improves creditworthiness of the households and they are able to borrow more because of that. The Human Development Report of Punjab notes that many migrants are Dalits and tribal.

Punjab has historically been associated with tremendous population movements both national and international. Punjab became pioneer in Green revolution in the 1960's and with it the scope for the industrial development increased and created the need for strengthening infrastructure facilities. With the dominant pattern of rural to urban migration within Punjab and inflow of migrant labour from other backward states, there was a simultaneous increase in out-migration of Punjabi workers to other developed countries for still better economic prospects. A major proportion of the migrant labour force working in the industrial sector of Punjab hails from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. These migrants are attracted to Punjab because of better employment opportunities, higher wages, lower economic and social exploitation and the near absence of caste oppression. Migrants are not only employed in agricultural and the industrial sector, but also in other occupations such as building and road construction, brick making and rickshaw pulling etc.

Economic history of the world, however, shows that the human migration is the natural manifestation of socio-economic and technological growth/ development. The normal course of migration is that it takes place from relatively less developed to high-developed regions/ countries. The in-migration to Punjab, from other states of India, especially, from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar should be viewed in this context. The incidence of rural poverty in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in 1993-94 was 58.2 and 42.3 percent, respectively, which is higher than the national average (37.3%). The corresponding poverty incidence was 42.1 and 33.4 percent in 2004-05 in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively. In Punjab, the proportion of rural people living below the poverty line was 9.1 percent during 2004-05. Thus, Punjab is economically better-off state than Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. And it is, thus, the obvious reason for the migration of these poor rural migrants to Punjab (Gol, 2008).

Table 2: Some Features

Items	Uttar Pradesh	Bihar	Punjab
Gross irrigated area as % to GCA (2007-08)	76.17	60.56	97.70
Urbanisation (2001)	20.80	18.80	33.90
% of agricultural labour to total working force (2001)	25.10	48.20	16.40
% of cultivators/agricultural labour to total working force (2001)	66.00	77.40	39.40
Statutory minimum wages of agricultural labourers (2008-09)	115.90	89.00	104.30
% of population below poverty line (1993-94) Rural	42.30	58.20	12.00
% of population below poverty line (2004-05) Rural	42.10	33.40	9.10

Source : CMIE.

3. Migration Status

Punjab is one of the agriculturally most advanced states of India. Since mid-1960s, with the evolution of HYVs of crops and the adoption of modern and improved farm practices, the agriculture in the state witnessed an unprecedented growth. With the increase in cropping intensity and farm output along with shift of cropping pattern towards labour intensive crops like paddy during the late 1970s, the state witnessed manifold increase in demand for farm labour. As sufficient local labour was not available, farmers of the state had to depend on the migratory labour for various agricultural operations, especially during peak seasons (Sidhu, Rangi and Singh, 1997). There were other factors too that compelled labour movement from eastern India into Punjab like incidence of floods, droughts, non-availability of jobs, poverty and indebtedness back home (Gupta 1991; Gupta and Bhakoo 1980). Punjab, thus, has been a favourite destination for a long time, first for jobs in agriculture and recently for industrial jobs. The Human Development Report of Punjab identifies migration streams into the state from the poor areas of all northwestern states as well as eastern and central states. Wage rates are double that in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Agriculture attracted 700000 (mainly seasonal) migrants each year in the 1990s but other sectors attracted a further 14 lakh migrant workers. In the early 1980s, 40 percent of the workers in the unorganised hosiery sector were migrants. Numbers have increased steadily since the 1970s. Migrant workers also formed a large proportion of the workers in the 22 sugar mills in the state. The transport sector like rickshaw pulling is now largely the domain of this labour in all the cities.

3.1 Migration Inflow in Punjab

The dramatic improvement in agricultural productivity, with the advent of green revolution resulted into increase in per capita income. The successful and sustained agricultural transformation widened the gap in per capita income between Punjab and other states, especially in the eastern and western India (Ghuman, Brar and Singh, 2007). This created a route of migration for poor people from rural areas of these regions into Punjab. The total migrants reported in 1981 were of the order of 822377 persons. This increased to 1126149 persons in 1991 and then to 1752718 in 2001 (table 3). The annual growth of migrants in Punjab during the period 1981 to 1991 was of the order of 2.59 percent. The inflow of migrants increased sharply during the decade of 1991 to 2001. The total number of migrants increased from 1126149 in 1991 to 1752718 persons in 2001. The rise in flows of migrants in Punjab during the period 1991-2001 was quite sharp. The annual rate of growth comes out to be 4.52 percent, which is higher than the previous decade. The compound growth rate of migrant inflows to Punjab was 3.55 percent per annum during the period 1981 to 2001. The overall growth rate is higher than the first decade that is 1981 to 1991 compared with the 1991 to 2001. This implies that the migrant flow to Punjab was higher in the decade of 1991 to 2001 than that of the 1981 to 1991. However, the similar trends occurred so far as the growth rates of migrants coming from other important states are concerned.

Table 3: Trend in Migration in Punjab (No.)

State/ Year	Census years						Growth rate (%/ annum)		
	1981	%	1991	%	2001	%	1981-91	1991-01	1981-01
Bihar	50235	6.43	90732	9.20	267409	17.01	6.09	11.42	8.72
Haryana	248043	31.74	298192	30.41	361766	23.02	1.85	1.95	1.90
Himachal Pradesh	112289	14.37	136134	13.80	165158	10.51	1.94	1.95	1.94
Rajasthan	91879	11.76	110853	11.24	136168	8.66	1.90	2.08	1.99
Uttar Pradesh	220216	28.18	280350	28.42	517351	32.92	2.44	6.32	4.36
Madhya Pradesh	15556	1.99	15717	1.58	30559	1.95	0.10	6.87	3.43
West Bengal	12970	1.66	18635	1.89	45902	2.92	3.69	9.43	6.52
Jammu & Kashmir	30223	3.87	36108	3.66	47349	3.01	1.80	2.75	2.27
Total	781411	95.02	986621	87.61	1571662	89.67	2.36	4.77	3.56
Total	822377	100.00	1126149	100.00	1752718	100.00	2.59	4.52	3.55

Source : Government of India, Population Census various years.

Table 3 shows an important fact that the growth rate of migrant inflows from Bihar was the highest compared to other major states. There was a sharp rise in the migrant inflows from Bihar to Punjab. Comparing the structure of migrant inflows, Haryana tops in 1981 sending 31.74 percent of migrants to Punjab. Uttar Pradesh with 28.2 percent followed it. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, the two other neighbouring states, sent in 14.4 and 11.8 percent migrants respectively into Punjab. Bihar ranked 5th so far as migrant inflow to Punjab was concerned in 1981. The eight major sending states accounted for 95.02 percent of migrant inflows to Punjab. In 1991, Haryana tops in sending 30.41 percent of migrants to Punjab. Uttar Pradesh with 28.42 percent followed it. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, sent in 13.8 and 11.24 percent migrants respectively into Punjab. In 1991, Bihar ranked 5th so far as migrant inflow to Punjab was concerned. The eight major sending states accounted for 87.61 percent of migrant inflows to Punjab. In 2001, Uttar Pradesh tops in sending 32.92 percent of migrants to Punjab. Haryana with 23.02 percent followed it. Bihar ranked 3rd so far as migrant inflow to Punjab was concerned in 2001 with 17.01 percent migrants. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, sent in 10.51 and 8.66 percent migrants respectively into Punjab. The eight major sending states accounted for 89.67 percent of migrant inflows to Punjab. Thus, Bihar enhanced its stakes in migrants to Punjab and Haryana, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh reduced their contribution as these states developed and also the nature of employment changed too.

Urban Migration: Table 4 shows an important fact that the growth rate of urban migrant inflows from Bihar was the highest compared to other major states. There was a sharp rise in the migrant inflows from Bihar to Punjab. Comparing the structure of urban migrant inflows, Uttar Pradesh tops in 1981 sending 38.02 percent of migrants to urban Punjab. Haryana with 25 percent followed it. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, sent in 14.44 and 9.37 percent migrants respectively into urban Punjab. Bihar ranked 5th so far as migrant inflow to urban Punjab was concerned in 1981. In 1991, Uttar Pradesh tops in sending 38.49 percent of migrants to urban Punjab. Haryana with 21.92 percent followed it. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, sent in 13.2 and 8.5 percent migrants respectively into urban Punjab. Bihar ranked 4th so far as migrant

inflow to Punjab was concerned in 1991. In 2001, Uttar Pradesh tops in sending 40.1 percent of migrants to urban Punjab. Haryana with 17.1 percent followed it. Bihar ranked 3rd so far as migrant inflow to urban Punjab was concerned in 2001 with 19.42 percent migrants. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, the two other neighbouring states, sent in 9.77 and 6.26 percent migrants respectively into urban Punjab. Thus, Bihar also enhanced its stakes in migrants to urban Punjab and Haryana, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh reduced their contribution. Bihar observed growth of 8.40, 12.23 and 10.3 percent respectively during 1981-91, 1991-01 and 1981-01. West Bengal has emerged as another source of migration for Punjab like other states, and most migrants are coming from Cooch Bihar district.

Table 4: Trend in Urban Migration in Punjab (No.)

State	Census years						Growth rate (%/ annum)		
	1981	%	1991	%	2001	%	1981-91	1991-01	1981-01
Bihar	26039	6.41	58348	10.88	184992	19.42	8.40	12.23	10.30
Haryana	101607	24.99	117582	21.92	162931	17.10	1.47	3.32	2.39
Himachal Pradesh	58719	14.44	70812	13.20	93063	9.77	1.89	2.77	2.33
Rajasthan	38092	9.37	45603	8.50	59632	6.26	1.82	2.72	2.27
Uttar Pradesh	154568	38.02	206480	38.49	381625	40.05	2.94	6.39	4.62
Madhya Pradesh	6125	1.51	9537	1.78	16749	1.76	4.53	5.79	5.16
West Bengal	6297	1.55	10255	1.91	30553	3.21	5.00	11.53	8.22
Jammu & Kashmir	15092	3.71	17822	3.32	23265	2.44	1.68	2.70	2.19
Total	406539		536439		952810		2.81	5.91	4.35

Source : Government of India, Population Census various years.

Rural Migration: Table 5 shows that the growth rate of rural migrant inflows from Bihar was the highest compared to other major states. There was a sharp rise in the migrant inflows from Bihar to rural Punjab. Comparing the structure of rural migrant inflows, Haryana tops in 1981 sending 39.1 percent of migrants to rural Punjab. Uttar Pradesh with 17.51 percent followed it. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, sent in 14.29 and 14.35 percent migrants respectively into rural Punjab. Bihar ranked 5th so far as migrant inflow to rural Punjab was concerned in 1981. In 1991, Haryana tops in sending 40.1 percent of migrants to rural Punjab. Uttar Pradesh with 16.41 percent followed it. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, sent in 14.51 and 14.5 percent migrants respectively into rural Punjab. Bihar ranked 5th so far as migrant inflow to Punjab was concerned in 1991. In 2001, Haryana tops in sending 32.15 percent of migrants to rural Punjab. Uttar Pradesh with 21.93 percent followed it. Bihar ranked 3rd so far as migrant inflow to rural Punjab was concerned in 2001 with 13.32 percent migrants. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, sent in 11.65 and 12.37 percent migrants respectively into rural Punjab. Thus, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh enhanced their stakes in migrants to rural Punjab and Haryana, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh reduced their contribution. Bihar observed growth of 2.95, 9.79 and 6.53 percent respectively during 1981-91, 1991-01 and 1981-01. West Bengal gained in growth during 1991-2001 (6.24% from 2.3%). The gainer is Madhya Pradesh during the nineties compared to the eighties significantly. Thus, sources of rural in-migration to Punjab have been changing during the last two decades (till 2001).

Table 5: Trend in Rural Migration in Punjab (No.)

State/Year	Census years						Growth rate (%/ annum)		
	1981	%	1991	%	2001	%	1981-91	1991-01	1981-01
Bihar	24196	6.45	32375	7.19	82417	13.32	2.95	9.79	6.52
Haryana	146436	39.06	180519	40.10	198935	32.15	2.11	0.97	1.54
Himachal Pradesh	53570	14.29	65322	14.51	72095	11.65	2.00	0.99	1.50
Rajasthan	53787	14.35	65250	14.49	76536	12.37	1.95	1.61	1.78
Uttar Pradesh	65648	17.51	738701	16.41	135726	21.93	1.19	6.62	3.70
Madhya Pradesh	9431	2.52	6181	1.37	13810	2.23	-4.14	8.37	1.92
West Bengal	6673	1.78	8380	1.86	15349	2.48	2.30	6.24	4.25
Jammu & Kashmir	15131	4.04	18286	4.07	24084	3.87	19.91	2.79	2.35
Total	374872	92.64	450182	90.52	618852	93.13	1.85	3.23	2.54
Total	404657	100.00	497312	100.00	664468	100.00	2.08	2.94	2.51

Source: Government of India, Population Census various years.

It may be pointed out here that Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, though important sources for rural in-migration, do not send migrants for agricultural purposes. Himachal Pradesh migrants are in service sector as cooks and guards mainly and in lower jobs in irrigation department and such related activities. Rajasthan is famous for sending labour for brick kilns and West Bengal migrants are mainly for urban areas for domestic work and rickshaw/ cycle carts pulling in cities. Thus, who works where is also determined by what they do back home. It is culturally determined too.

Table 6 presents the major internal migration streams, especially of duration 0-9 years. If we consider rural-rural stream of internal migration, it is dominated by Bihar and West Bengal is at the bottom of top 10 states. Considering rural-urban stream, Mizoram tops with 39.1 percent and at the bottom is J&K with 21.1 percent. In case of urban-rural migration stream, Goa tops with 26.7 percent of intra-state migrants (could be due to various reasons as retirement, illness, or returning to the parental home and other factors could be better communication to commuters from adjacent areas to urban centres for work) and Karnataka is at the bottom with 7.4 percent among the top 10 states. As regards the urban to urban internal migration, Tamil nadu tops with 27.4 percent and Manipur is at the bottom with 12.5 percent. In all these streams of internal migration Punjab figures in urban to urban stream only with 15.5 percent figure and ranks 6th amongst top 10 states.

Table 6: Migration Streams for Top 10 States for Intra State Migration by last Residence (Duration 0-9 years) – India 2001

Rank	Rural-rural	Rural-urban	Urban-rural	Urban-Urban
1	Bihar (79.9%)	Mizoram (39.1%)	Goa (26.7%)	Tamil nadu (27.4%)
2	Jharkhand (75.8%)	Meghalaya (27.4%)	Kerala (13.3%)	Mizoram (25.5%)
3	Assam (73.0%)	Nagaland (26.8%)	Nagaland (13.2%)	Goa (21.9%)
4	Himachal Pradesh (71.8%)	Arunachal Pradesh (25.9%)	Sikkim (11.8%)	Nagaland (20.3%)
5	Sikkim (70.8%)	Gujarat (25.9%)	Tamil Nadu (11.5%)	Maharashtra (19.2%)
6	Uttar Pradesh (69.8%)	Tamil nadu (23.3%)	Meghalaya (11.0%)	Punjab (15.5%)
7	Rajasthan (69.7%)	Haryana (21.9%)	Mizoram (8.5%)	Karnataka (15.3%)
8	Chhattisgarh (69.2%)	Maharashtra (21.2%)	Andhra Pradesh (8.4%)	Gujarat (14.6%)
9	Orissa (67.5%)	Karnataka (21.2%)	Maharashtra (8.2%)	Arunachal Pradesh (12.9%)
10	West Bengal (66.5%)	J&K (21.1%)	Karnataka (7.4%)	Manipur (12.5%)

Note: (%) Percentage share.

Source : Census of India, 2001.

The migration by workers is mostly a well-considered economic decision and not a random one, a rational and not a rash move. The process of migration being a selective process, it often results from imbalances of economic change and chances. Punjab had total population of 20281969 in 1991 and in-migrants from other states stood at 811060 while the out-migrants were 501285. This gave a figure of 336636 of net in-migrants in 2001. The migration rate (per 100) during 1991-2001 was 1.7. In contrast, in case of Bihar, the corresponding figures were 460782, 2241413 and -1722907.

Punjab is a state with interesting migration profile (table 7). Though the total number of migrants from outside the state and outside the country is 8.1 lakh and 26861 respectively, there is significant out-migration from the state (5 lakh). The number of male out-migrants is less than female out-migrants. As a result, the net migrant into Punjab is only 3.37 lakh, the sex ratio is stacked heavily in favour of males (313 females per 1000 males). States from where sizeable number of in-migrants came to Punjab are: Uttar Pradesh (2.42 lakh-28.9%), Bihar (1.49 lakh-17.83%) and Haryana (1.14 lakh- 13.61%).

The two other neighbouring states viz., Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan had sent in 6.66 and 6.17 percent migrants to Punjab in 2001, while 3.21 percent came from other countries. In case of male in-migrants Uttar Pradesh had sent in 33.68 percent, Bihar sent in 25.0 percent and Haryana sent in 6.84 percent. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan had sent in 4.95 and 4.15 percent migrants to Punjab in 2001, while 3.87 percent came from other countries. As regards the female in-migrants, Uttar Pradesh had sent in 23.02 percent, Haryana sent in 21.87 percent and Bihar sent in 9.08 percent. Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan had sent in 8.74 and 8.64 percent migrants to Punjab in 2001, while 2.39 percent came from other countries. Thus, there are gender differentials in in-migration from same source state.

Reasons for Migration: Census also enquires about why people migrate, but list only six reasons. Table 8 shows that the reasons for migration in case of males and females vary significantly (migration duration 0-9 years). At aggregate level, 40 percent of migrants moved into Punjab because of employment/ work, 65.7 percent males did so compared to mere 8.9 percent females. Amongst males migrants, the second most important reason is moved with the household (27.7%) followed by marriage (19.8%) while in case of female migrants, marriage is the most important reason (42.9%) followed by moved with the household (37.1%). For male in-migrants from Uttar Pradesh, employment/ work is the most important reason (72.1%) compared to 82.2 percent male in-migrants from Bihar cited work/ employment as the main reason for migration. These proportions are 70.8 percent males from West Bengal, 39.6 percent from Haryana and 39.2 percent from Assam. In case of Bihar, 9.4 percent male migrants moved with the household compared to 17.1 percent in case of West Bengal migrants, 44.4 percent from Assam and 30.6 percent from Haryana. There are 10 percent migrants from Haryana who migrated because they moved after birth.

Table 7: Migration Profile (0-9 years) Punjab, 2001 (No.)

<i>Migrants</i>	Persons	Total		Persons	Rural		Persons	Urban	
		Males	Females		Males	Females		Males	Females
Total Population	24358999	12985045	11373954	16096488	8516596	7579892	8262511	4468449	3794062
From within the state	1712627	397678	1314949	1134471	180486	953985	578156	217192	360964
Total in-migrants from outside	837921	460497	377424	309791	146412	163379	528130	314085	214045
From other states- Total	811060	442664	368396	300208	140002	160206	510852	302662	208190
Rural	571036	331376	239660	247152	116775	130377	323884	214601	109283
Urban	221768	101328	120440	46647	19967	26680	175121	81361	93760
Uttar Pradesh	241987	155103	86884	72777	43607	29170	169210	111496	57714
Haryana	114031	31482	82549	60167	11542	48625	53864	11940	33924
Bihar	149375	115102	34273	46317	36039	10278	103058	79063	23995
Himachal Pradesh	55795	22808	32987	24756	7248	17508	31039	15560	15479
Rajasthan	51710	19092	32618	29850	9874	19976	21860	9218	12642
From other countries	26861	17833	9028	9583	6410	3173	17278	11423	5855
Total out migrants	501285	204152	297133	262476	98509	163967	224644	99087	125557
Net migrants	336636	256345	80291	47315	47903	-588	303486	214998	88488
Distribution of In-Migrants (%)									
Total in-migrants from outside	837921	460497	377424	309791	146412	163379	528130	314085	214045
From other states- Total	96.79	96.13	97.61	96.91	95.62	98.06	96.73	96.36	97.26
Rural	68.15	71.96	63.50	79.78	79.76	79.80	61.33	68.33	51.06
Urban	26.47	22.00	31.91	15.06	13.64	16.33	33.16	25.90	43.80
Uttar Pradesh	28.88	33.68	23.02	23.49	29.78	17.85	32.04	35.50	26.96
Haryana	13.61	6.84	21.87	19.42	7.88	29.76	10.20	3.80	15.85
Bihar	17.83	25.00	9.08	14.95	24.61	6.29	19.51	25.17	11.21
Himachal Pradesh	6.66	4.95	8.74	7.99	4.95	10.72	5.88	4.95	7.23
Rajasthan	6.17	4.15	8.64	9.64	6.74	12.23	4.14	2.93	5.91
From other countries	3.21	3.87	2.39	3.09	4.38	1.94	3.27	3.64	2.74

Source : Census of India, Migration Tables, 2001.

In case of female in-migrants across states, marriage dominates with Haryana females (71.5%), followed by West Bengal (30.2%), Uttar Pradesh (25%), Bihar (24% and Assam (20.7%). The other reason why female in-migrants moved into Punjab is moving with the household: Assam- 65.2 percent, West Bengal- 51.0 percent, Bihar- 49.8 percent, Uttar Pradesh- 48.0 percent and Haryana- 17.0 percent. As regards the in-migration of females into Punjab due to work/ employment is concerned the percentages are: Uttar Pradesh- 15.5 percent, Bihar- 14.6 percent, West Bengal- 8.2 percent, Assam 3.9 percent and Haryana- 2.8 percent. Thus, the reasons why females moved into Punjab are largely different from male migrants.

Table 8: Reasons for Migration- Punjab: 2001 (No.)

Reasons	Migrants (duration 0-9 years)			Percent Migrants		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All States	811060	442664	368396	100.0	100.0	100.0
Work/employment	323688	290938	32750	39.9	65.7	8.9
Business	5306	3769	1537	0.7	0.9	0.4
Education	8933	5874	3059	1.1	1.3	0.8
Marriage	160193	2264	157929	19.8	0.5	42.9
Moved after birth	21405	11866	9539	2.6	2.7	2.6
Moved with HHs	225057	88499	136558	27.7	20.0	37.1
Others	66478	39454	27024	8.2	8.9	7.3
Uttar Pradesh	241987	155103	86884	100.0	100.0	100.0
Work/employment	125309	111873	13436	51.8	72.1	15.5
Business	1479	1125	354	0.6	0.7	0.4
Education	1364	955	409	0.6	0.6	0.5
Marriage	22043	451	21592	9.1	0.3	24.9
Moved after birth	3803	2093	1710	1.6	1.3	2.0
Moved with HHs	68251	26526	41725	28.2	17.1	48.0
Others	19738	12080	7658	8.2	7.8	8.8
Haryana	114031	31482	82549	100.0	100.0	100.0
Work/employment	14757	12458	2299	12.9	39.6	2.8
Business	662	406	256	0.6	1.3	0.3
Education	1509	937	572	1.3	3.0	0.7
Marriage	59651	649	59002	52.3	2.1	71.5
Moved after birth	5658	3186	2472	5.0	10.1	3.0
Moved with HHs	23662	9645	14017	20.8	30.6	17.0
Others	8132	4201	3931	7.1	13.3	4.8
Bihar	149375	115102	34273	100.0	100.0	100.0
Work/employment	99642	94631	5011	66.7	82.2	14.6
Business	771	627	144	0.5	0.5	0.4
Education	580	468	112	0.4	0.4	0.3
Marriage	8476	291	8185	5.7	0.3	23.9
Moved after birth	1486	803	683	1.0	0.7	2.0
Moved with HHs	27835	10772	17063	18.6	9.4	49.8
Others	10585	7510	3075	7.1	6.5	9.0
West Bengal	25484	15847	9637	100.0	100.0	100.0
Work/employment	12018	11227	791	47.2	70.8	8.2
Business	174	133	41	0.7	0.8	0.4
Education	313	255	58	1.2	1.6	0.6
Marriage	2961	52	2909	11.6	0.3	30.2
Moved after birth	382	209	173	1.5	1.3	1.8
Moved with HHs	7622	2706	4916	29.9	17.1	51.0
Others	2014	1265	749	7.9	8.0	7.8
Assam	5774	2660	3114	100.0	100.0	100.0
Work/employment	1165	1043	122	20.2	39.2	3.9
Business	32	19	13	0.6	0.7	0.4
Education	112	64	48	1.9	2.4	1.5
Marriage	656	12	644	11.4	0.5	20.7
Moved after birth	77	35	42	1.3	1.3	1.3
Moved with HHs	3211	1181	2030	55.6	44.4	65.2
Others	521	306	215	9.0	11.5	6.9

Source : Tables D1, D2 and D3, Census of India 2001.

4. Recent Evidence on Migration

In India as per the NSSO survey of 2007-08, in case of Punjab 33.4 percent of the persons were migrants compared to 28.5 percent in case of India (table 9). The estimated number of migrants was 79.73 lakh persons in Punjab. Further, 31.2 percent of the persons were rural migrants in case of Punjab compared to 37.9 percent of the persons who were urban migrants. A higher percentage of urban males were migrants compared to rural male migrants in Punjab, though a slightly higher percentage of rural female were migrants compared to urban female migrants. Finally, a higher percentage of female were migrants compared to male migrants. An estimated 80.34 percent migrants in Punjab were females while this proportion was marginally higher at 80.43 percent in India. Also 62.42 percent migrants are from rural areas in Punjab, which is lower than the national proportion of 67.33 percent. Thus, there are significant rural-urban and male-female differentials in migrants.

Table 9: Proportion of Migrants (per 1000)

Migrants type	Proportion of migrants (per 1000) Punjab	Proportion of migrants (per 1000) India	Punjab migrants (00)	India migrants (00)	% share in total migrants-Punjab	% share in total migrants-India
Rural Male	74	54	6104	206186	7.66	7.16
Rural Female	571	477	43658	1731934	54.76	60.17
Rural male + female	312	261	49762	1938120	62.42	67.33
Urban Male	223	259	9571	357044	12.00	12.40
Urban Female	565	456	20393	583225	25.58	20.26
Urban male+ female	379	354	29964	940269	37.58	32.67
Rural +urban male	124	109	15675	563229	19.66	19.57
Rural + urban female	569	472	64051	2315160	80.34	80.43
All	334	285	79726	2878389	100	100

Source : NSSO Migration in India: 2007-08 64th round (July 2007- June 2008), NSS report No.533 (64/10.2/2).

Educational Base of Migrants: It is found that 39.0 percent migrants were not literates in Punjab while in India this proportion was 44.8 percent (table 10). About 7.6 percent migrants were literate but below primary pass, 24 percent were primary or middle class educated, 21 percent were secondary/ higher secondary pass and only 7.5 percent migrants were with educational level 'graduate and above'. Thus, in Punjab, a much greater proportion of migrants were with educational level of secondary/ higher secondary or below and about 47 percent were below primary educated. In case of male migrants in Punjab, 23.0 percent migrants were not literates while in India this proportion was 16.0 percent. About 15.6 percent migrants were literate but below primary pass, 22.8 percent were primary or middle class educated, 26.4 percent were secondary/ higher secondary pass and only 10.4 percent migrants were with educational level 'graduate and above'. Thus, in Punjab, a much greater proportion of male migrants were with educational level of secondary/ higher secondary or below and about 39 percent had below primary level education.

Table 10: Distribution (per 1000) of Migrants by Educational Level

Educational level	Punjab		India		Punjab		India	
	Rural Male		Rural Female		Rural Persons			
Not Literate	258	233	502	592	472	554		
Literate but below primary	120	156	61	95	68	102		
Primary or middle	200	333	253	225	246	236		
Secondary/HS	344	187	157	71	180	84		
Diploma/certificate	23	24	4	3	6	5		
Graduate +	55	66	24	13	28	19		
All	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000		
Estimated migrants (00)	6104	206186	43658	1731934	49762	1938120		
	Urban Male		Urban Female		Urban Persons			
Not Literate	211	117	274	298	254	230		
Literate but below primary	179	100	48	89	90	93		
Primary or middle	246	289	221	279	229	283		
Secondary/HS	213	265	283	211	261	231		
Diploma/certificate	12	39	12	12	12	22		
Graduate +	136	189	162	110	154	140		
All	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000		
Estimated migrants (00)	9571	357044	20393	583225	29964	940269		
All	All Male		All Female		All Rural+Urban			
Not Literate	230	160	429	518	390	448		
Literate but below primary	156	121	57	94	76	99		
Primary or middle	228	305	243	238	240	251		
Secondary/HS	264	236	197	107	210	132		
Diploma/certificate	16	33	6	6	8	11		
Graduate +	104	144	68	37	75	58		
All	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000		
Estimated migrants (00)	15675	563229	64051	2315160	79726	2878389		

Source : NSSO Migration in India: 2007-08 64th round (July 2007- June 2008), NSS report No.533 (64/10.2/2).

In case of female migrants in Punjab, 42.9 percent migrants were not literates while in India this proportion was 51.8 percent. About 5.7 percent migrants were literate but below primary pass, 24.3 percent were primary or middle class educated, 19.7 percent were secondary/ higher secondary pass and only 6.8 percent migrants were with educational level 'graduate and above'. Thus, in Punjab, a much greater proportion of male migrants were with educational level of secondary/ higher secondary or below and about 48 percent had below primary level education.

47.2 percent of rural Punjab migrants were not literate and 6.8 percent were literate but below primary pass. However, one fourth of the rural migrants were primary/ middle pass with another 18 percent having educational level 'secondary/ higher secondary. Just 2.8 percent have educational level 'graduate or above'. It is further observed that a greater percentage of rural female migrants were not literates; almost double the proportion. However, rural female migrants have lower higher level of educational qualifications. It is also found that a higher

proportion of urban female migrants have higher educational qualification compare to urban male counterparts.

Migration rate: The migration rate (proportion of migrants in the population) in the urban areas (35.4%) was higher than the migration rate in the rural areas (26.1%) in India while the corresponding rates were 37.9 and 31.2 percent in case of Punjab (table 11). At the aggregate level the migration rate in Punjab was 33.4 percent compared to national migration rate of 28.5 percent. Magnitude of male migration rate was far lower than female migration rate, in both rural and urban areas in India and Punjab. However, rural male female migration rate difference in Punjab is much greater compared to urban differential.

Table 11: Migration Rate (per 1000 persons)

Sex	Rural		Urban		Rural + Urban	
	Punjab	India	Punjab	India	Punjab	India
Male	74	54	223	259	124	109
Female	571	477	565	456	569	472
Both	312	261	379	354	334	285

Source : NSSO Migration in India: 2007-08.

Migration rate is found to be lowest for bottom MPCE two deciles in both rural and urban Punjab (26.1% and 31.6% respectively). There is an increasing trend in rate of migration with the increase in level of living, with the migration rate-attaining peak in the top two deciles class in both rural and urban areas (table 12). Further, migration rate for rural male for bottom two deciles was 4 percent while it was 16.8 percent in case of urban males. In case of rural females, migration rate was high at 46.6 percent when it was even higher for urban females at 50 percent. On the other side, the migration rate for rural males for top two deciles was almost half the urban male migrants (13.5% and 26.7% respectively). Even at the aggregate level, the migration rate of rural males was three time slower than the urban males (7.4% and 22.3% respectively). On the other hand, migration rate for rural females was slightly higher than urban females' migration rate. Thus, migration rates of females in both rural and urban areas are much higher than male migration rates across the MPCE deciles, which mean more women, migrate than men. This is primarily because of two causes, marriage and movement because of parents/ earning member moving from usual place of residence.

Further, equal percentages of rural and urban migrants come from lowest MPCE two deciles (17% each). There are not much differentials in percentages of migrants from various MPCE deciles, though for the top two deciles rural migrants out-score the urban migrants. It is also found that there were 10.3 percent rural male migrants from lowest two deciles as against 37.8 percent from top two deciles while these percentages are 15.5 and 23.5 percent urban male migrants. Similarly, these percentages are 17.8 and 21.8 percent respectively for rural female migrants and 17.5 and 23.0 percent for urban female migrants.

Table 12: Migration Rate (per 1000 persons) in Different MPCE Quintile Classes: Punjab

MPCE quintile class	Migration rate					
	Rural male	Rural female	Rural all	Urban male	Urban female	Urban all
0-20	40	466	261	168	499	316
20-40	61	570	296	172	561	346
40-60	41	580	292	250	553	387
60-80	87	606	340	260	577	408
80-100	135	644	371	267	634	439
All	74	571	312	223	565	379
Distribution of migrants (per 1000)						
0-20	103	178	169	155	175	169
20-40	170	190	188	158	195	183
40-60	115	198	188	226	194	204
60-80	233	215	217	226	206	213
80-100	378	218	238	235	229	231
All	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Source : NSSO Migration in India: 2007-08.

Nature of Movements: Table 13 shows that permanent migrants constitute a major proportion of migrants from Punjab (90.9%) while another 8.9 percent are temporary movements for 12 months or more. Percentage of permanent migrants (64.4%) is much higher compared to percentage of urban migrants (85.1%). However, percentage of rural male and urban male permanent migrants is almost equal (68.9% and 68.1% respectively). But, percentage of rural female permanent migrants is much higher compared and percentage of urban female permanent migrants (98% and 93% respectively). Finally, percentage of female permanent migrants is much higher compared and percentage of male permanent migrants (96.4% and 68.4% respectively). In case of temporary migrants, percentage male migrant (30.6%) is significantly higher than the percentage of female temporary migrants (3.6%) in the 12 months or more. The wide differentials exist in rural and urban areas too. And the percentage of female migrants is insignificant in case of less than 12-month temporary migrants' category. This shows that females do not move as temporary migrants and remain behind at the place of residence to look after the families. The major movement of females is because of marriage or moving of the family.

Table 13: Distribution (per 1000) of Migrants by Nature of Movements: Punjab

Regions	Temporary with duration of stay		Permanent	All
	< 12 months	12 months or more		
Rural male	10	301	689	1000
Rural female	0	20	980	1000
Rural all	1	55	944	1000
Urban male	10	309	681	1000
Urban female	0	69	931	1000
Urban all	3	146	851	1000
Rural-urban male	10	306	684	1000
Rural-urban female	0	36	964	1000
Rural-urban all	2	89	909	1000

Source : NSSO Migration in India: 2007-08.

Migration Streams: About 62 percent migrants are from rural to rural areas at the national level and this percentage is much lower at 55 percent in case of Punjab (table 14). Also a significantly higher percentage of rural female migrants move within rural areas compared to rural male migrants (61% and 27% respectively). The migration stream of significance is rural to urban areas wherein 19 percent of all migrants move in Punjab and this percentage is slightly lower than the national figure of 19.5 percent. Further, a higher percentage of male migrants are rural to urban migrants (41.7%) compared to female migrants (14%). It is also observed that 18.4 percent migrants are urban to urban areas and this percentage is again higher among male migrants (20.8%) than the female migrants (17.8%). Finally, urban to rural migration is minimal in Punjab (7.7% migrants only). The percentage male migrants is higher at 10.6 percent than the female migrants (7.1%). This shows that in Punjab rural to rural migration dominates and more males than females are involved in migration movements other than rural to rural. A similar pattern is observed in case of national migration streams too.

Table 14: Distribution (per 1000) of Internal Migrants by Four Types of Rural-Urban Migration Streams

Migration streams	Male		Female		All	
	Punjab	India	Punjab	India	Punjab	India
Rural-rural	269	272	611	700	547	617
Urban-rural	106	89	71	49	77	57
Rural-urban	417	390	140	148	192	195
Urban-urban	208	248	178	103	184	131
All	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Source: same as Table 13.

Table 15 reveals that in case of rural male migrants, basic movement is towards the rural areas (75%) be it the same district (23.6%), the other districts (13.6%) and the other states (28%) while in case of rural female migrants, the movement is greater within the rural areas (89%) be it the same district (50.1%), the other districts (31.8%) and the other states (7.4%). Rural male migrants also move to urban areas but major proportion is urban area of other districts (10.6%), though 9.2 percent migrated to other countries and 7.8 percent to other states. However, only 11 percent rural female migrant moved into urban areas but largely within Punjab and only 0.3 percent migrated abroad. Finally, rural migration is rural to rural within Punjab (76.5%) and only 14 percent towards urban areas with 1.4 percent going abroad.

In case of urban male migrants, main movement is towards the rural areas (64%) with major move being towards rural areas of other states (52%) while in case of urban female migrants, the movement is largely within the urban areas (66%) be it the same district (16.4%), the other districts (25.5%) and the other states (13.8%). Urban male migrants also move to urban areas but major proportion is towards urban area of other districts (13.7%) and other states (14.4%), though 3.5 percent migrated to other countries. However, 18.1 percent urban female migrate into rural areas of the same district and another 15.4 percent move to urban areas of other districts with 10.3 percent into other states. Only 0.5 percent migrated abroad. Finally, urban migration is towards rural areas in Punjab (50%) and with only 1.5 percent going abroad. It is a pointer towards better rural infrastructure and rural urban continuum being created.

Table 15: Per 1000 Distribution of Migrants by Location of Last Usual Place of Residence

	Punjab	India		Punjab	India		Punjab	India
<i>Rural male</i>			<i>Rural female</i>			<i>Rural person</i>		
<i>Rural areas of</i>			<i>Rural areas of</i>			<i>Rural areas of</i>		
Same State			Same State			Same State		
Same District	236	462	Same District	501	683	Same District	469	639
Other District	136	180	Other District	318	214	Other District	296	211
Other States	280	86	Other States	74	35	Other States	99	40
<i>Urban areas of</i>			<i>Urban areas of</i>			<i>Urban areas of</i>		
Same State			Same State			Same State		
Same District	72	77	Same District	40	36	Same District	44	41
Other District	106	91	Other District	46	21	Other District	53	28
Other States	78	72	Other States	17	8	Other States	25	15
Other countries	92	32	Other Countries	3	2	Other Countries	14	6
All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000
Urban Male	Punjab	India	Urban Female	Punjab	India	Urban Person	Punjab	India
<i>Rural areas of</i>			<i>Rural areas of</i>			<i>Rural areas of</i>		
Same State			Same State			Same State		
Same District	71	197	Same District	181	272	Same District	146	244
Other District	54	188	Other District	154	206	Other District	122	199
Other States	519	218	Other States	103	107	Other States	236	149
<i>Urban areas of</i>			<i>Urban areas of</i>			<i>Urban areas of</i>		
Same State			Same State			Same State		
Same District	40	79	Same District	164	132	Same District	124	112
Other District	137	197	Other District	255	196	Other District	218	196
Other States	144	109	Other States	138	81	Other States	140	91
Other Countries	35	12	Other Countries	5	5	Other Countries	15	8
All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000

Source : NSSO (2001) *Migration in India: 1990-2000*, 55th Round (July 1999- June 2000), September.

Reasons for Migration: The most prominent reason for migration in Punjab for rural male migrant is employment related followed by movement of parents/ earning member (20.7%) and other reasons (18.6%) while for rural females it is marriage- 92.8 percent followed movement of parents/ earning member (4.5%)- table 16. Rural migrants mainly move for marriage (82.3%). The other reasons of some significance are movement of parents/ earning member (6.5%) and employment related reasons (5%). The migration of urban male migrants was dominated by employment related reasons (67.8%) followed by movement of parents/ earning member (18.6%) and 4.6 percent were forced to migrate. In case of urban female migrants, marriage dominates as a reason (76.3%) followed by movement of parents/ earning member (16.2%). Urban migrants primarily move because of marriage (52.4%) and employment related reasons (22.8%) and movement of parents/ earning member (17.0%). Overall, migrants in Punjab move because of marriage (71%), employment related reasons (11.8%) and movement of parents/ earning member (10.4%). Thus, there are gendered reasons for migration in both rural and urban areas. It is observed that male migrants do move because they are forced, due to economic distress in the family. Most male migrants must be the first member of the household migrating for better living and livelihood for the family and this is also entrenched in social structure of Punjab. It is surprising that females do not largely use employment opportunities for migration

and this is again because they are not allowed to go out because of social consideration. This though is slowly changing.

Table 16: Distribution (per 1000) of Migrants by Reason for Migration: Punjab

Items	Employment related reasons	Studies	Forced migration	Marriage	Movement of parents/earning member	Others	All
Rural male	380	69	74	71	207	186	1000
Rural female	4	0	3	928	45	15	1000
Rural all	50	8	12	823	65	35	1000
Urban male	678	10	46	14	186	61	1000
Urban female	19	14	10	763	162	25	1000
Urban all	228	13	21	524	170	36	1000
Rural-urban male	561	33	57	37	194	109	1000
Rural-urban female	9	5	5	875	82	18	1000
Rural-urban all	118	10	16	710	104	35	1000

Source : NSSO (2001) *Migration in India: 1990-2000*, 55th Round (July 1999- June 2000), September.

Economic Activities: The 2007-08 NSSO survey on migration collected information on usual principal activity status of the migrant before and after migration. It is observed that in case of Punjab, across area and gender, the percentage of migrants not in labour has reduced after migration but this percentage is still very high except in case of urban male migrants and to some extent rural male migrants.

In case of rural male migrants, prior to migration 47.8 were in engaged in economic activities and their percentage went up to 68.8 percent after migration while in case of rural female migrants the corresponding change was from 4.1 percent to 7.3 percent (table 17). In case of male migrants, it is interesting to observe that self-employment increased marginally but casual labour went up from 9.6 percent to 16.5 percent when regular wage/ salaried employed increased from 16.0 percent to 26.8 percent. This means quality of employment declined after migration for rural males in quite a large number. However, unemployment reduced for them. It could be that unemployed migrants got into casual jobs after migration. In case of female rural migrants, self-employment reduced while regular wage/ salaried jobs percent increased and so did the casual labour.

In case of urban male migrants, unemployment drastically went down after migration (27.9% to 1.9%) while employment improved in case of 78.7 percent migrants from 41.3 percent after migration. Here, a significant decline in percentage of urban male migrants going into casual labour after migration is observed (13% to 8.6%), though percentage of urban male migrants increased to 50.2 percent from 15.2 percent in regular wage/ salaried activities after migration. Urban male migrants in self-employment increased though.

Now in case of urban female migrants, percentage of employed migrants increased from 3.5 to 10.6 percent and regular wage/ salaried improved from 2.8 to 7.8 percent after migration. Self-employment also increased in case of urban female migrants (0.5% to 2.0%). However, even in urban locations, female migrants are mainly not in labour force, though the proportion of urban female migrants reduced from 96.3 percent to 89.4 percent after migration. This female labour

force participation is such because most moved because of marriage and for economic activities per se. Finally, in case of urban migrants, regular wage/ salaried based economic activities participation after migration increased from 6.9 percent to 21.3 percent, though self-employment too improved from 4.3 percent to 7.7 percent. This shows that there is no doubt that after migration greater percentage of migrants are engaged in economic activities, it is more prominent in case of urban migrants and male migrants.

Table 17: Distribution (per 1000) of Migrants by Their Usual Principal Activity Status Before and After Migration: Punjab

Items	Self employed	Regular wage/ salaried	Casual labour	Total employed	Unemployed	Not in labour force	All
Rural male-Before	221	160	96	478	38	485	1000
Rural male-After	225	268	165	658	16	326	1000
Rural female-Before	34	5	2	41	0	958	1000
Rural female-After	31	21	22	73	1	925	1000
Rural all-Before	57	24	14	95	5	900	1000
Rural all-After	54	52	40	146	3	851	1000
Urban male-Before	126	157	130	413	279	308	1000
Urban male-After	199	502	86	787	19	194	1000
Urban female-Before	5	28	3	35	2	963	1000
Urban female-After	20	78	8	106	1	894	1000
Urban all-Before	43	69	43	156	90	753	1000
Urban all-After	77	213	33	324	6	670	1000
Rural urban male-Before	163	158	117	438	185	377	1000
Rural urban male-After	210	411	117	736	18	246	1000
Rural urban female-Before	25	12	2	40	1	960	1000
Rural urban female-After	27	39	17	84	1	915	1000
Rural urban all-Before	52	41	25	118	37	845	1000
Rural urban all-After	63	112	37	212	4	783	1000

Source : NSSO (2001) *Migration in India: 1990-2000*, 55th Round (July1999- June 2000), September.

Return Migrants: Rate of return migration (proportion of return migrants in the population)⁴ for males in rural areas is significantly higher than females: 14.1 percent for males and 3.6 percent for females (table 18). The corresponding figures for India are 23.7 percent and 10.6 percent. In urban areas, the rate of return migration did not differ much for males and females: 7.1 percent for males and 6.0 percent for females. Overall, male return migration is more than double the female return migration: 9.8 percent for males and 4.4 percent for females. This is mainly because single men come back and married women do not return unless the family returns. Besides, rate of return migration in urban areas is higher than the rate in rural areas In Punjab while it is reverse in case of India.

Table 18: Number of Return Migrants per 1000 Migrants

Out-migrants	Male		Female		All	
	Punjab	India	Punjab	India	Punjab	India
Rural	141	237	36	106	49	120
Urban	71	117	60	104	64	109
All	98	161	44	106	55	116

Source : NSSO (2001) *Migration in India: 1990-2000*, 55th Round (July1999- June 2000), September.

Out-Migrants: Out-migrant is defined as any former member of a household who left the household, any time in the past, for stay outside the village/ town provided he/ she was alive on the date of survey. Out-migration rate (proportion of out-migration in the population) for males was 9.2 percent from rural areas and 5.1 percent from urban areas at the national level while the corresponding percentages are 6.1 percent and 3.4 percent for Punjab respectively (table 19). In case of females, out-migration rate was 16.6 percent from rural areas and 11.0 percent from urban areas at the national level while the corresponding percentages are 17.0 percent and 10.9 percent for Punjab respectively. At the aggregate level, out-migration rate for rural areas is higher (11.4%) compared to urban Punjab (6.8%). This means that migrants who once enter Punjab would not like to leave as prosperity of the region holds them back and most might also have made investment in fixed assets⁵.

Table 19: Number of Out-migrants per 1000 Persons

Sex	Punjab	India	Punjab	India	Punjab	India
Male	141	237	71	117	98	161
Female	36	106	60	104	44	106
All	49	120	64	109	55	116
Number of out-migrants per 1000 persons	Rural Punjab	Rural India	Urban Punjab	Urban India	All Punjab	All India
Male	62	92	34	51	52	81
Female	170	166	109	110	151	152
Both	114	128	68	79	99	115

Source : NSSO (2001) *Migration in India: 1990-2000*, 55th Round (July 1999- June 2000), September.

A relatively higher percentage of female out-migrants from both rural and urban areas, took up residence within the state: nearly 89 percent for rural female out-migrants and 80 percent urban female out-migrants had residence within the state at the national level (table 20). In Punjab, too a relatively higher percentage of female out-migrants from both rural and urban areas, took up residence within the state: nearly 87.5 percent for rural female out-migrants and 69.6 percent urban female out-migrants had residence within the state. Further, 95 percent of rural female out-migrants in Punjab took up residence within the country compared to 94 percent urban female out-migrants. A slightly higher percentage of urban female out-migrants took up residence outside the country compared to rural female out-migrants.

A lower percentage of male out-migrants from both rural and urban areas, took up residence within the state: nearly 26.5 percent for rural male out-migrants and 38.7 percent urban male out-migrants had residence within the state in Punjab. Further, 51.5 percent of rural male out-migrants in Punjab took up residence within the country compared to 64.2 percent urban male out-migrants. A slightly higher percentage of rural male out-migrants took up residence outside the country compared to urban male out-migrants.

Further, a lower percentage of male out-migrants took up residence within the state compared to female out-migrants: 29.0 percent for male out-migrants and 83.3 percent female out-migrants had residence within the state in Punjab. Further, 54.3 percent of male out-migrants in Punjab

took up residence within the country compared to 94.7 percent female out-migrants. A significantly higher percentage of male out-migrants took up residence outside the country compared to female out-migrants: 45.3 percent for male out-migrants and 5.2 percent female out-migrants.

Table 20: Per 1000 Distribution of Out- Migrants by Present Place of Residence

	Punjab	India		Punjab	India		Punjab	India
<i>Rural Male</i>			<i>Rural Female</i>			<i>Rural Person</i>		
Same state	265	466	Same state	875	890	Same state	703	734
Within same District	116	173	Within same District	562	614	Within same District	436	452
Another District	149	293	Another District	313	276	Another District	267	282
Outside the state	249	458	Outside the state	74	102	Outside the state	123	233
Within the country	515	924	Within the country	949	992	Within the country	826	967
Another country	485	72	Another country	49	7	Another country	173	31
All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000
<i>Urban Male</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Urban Female</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Urban Person</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>India</i>
Same state	377	499	Same state	696	797	Same state	609	699
Within same District	120	143	Within same District	405	425	Within same District	327	332
Another District	257	356	Another District	291	372	Another District	282	367
Outside the state	265	333	Outside the state	245	176	Outside the state	251	228
Within the country	642	832	Within the country	941	973	Within the country	860	926
Another country	339	159	Another country	59	27	Another country	135	71
All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000
<i>Rural+Urban Male</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Rural+Urban Female</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Rural+Urban Person</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>India</i>
Same state	290	471	Same state	833	873	Same state	681	728
Within same District	117	168	Within same District	525	578	Within same District	411	430
Another District	173	303	Another District	308	294	Another District	270	298
Outside the state	253	438	Outside the state	114	116	Outside the state	153	232
Within the country	543	909	Within the country	947	988	Within the country	834	960
Another country	453	86	Another country	52	11	Another country	164	38
All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000	All	1000	1000

Source : NSSO (2001) *Migration in India: 1990-2000*, 55th Round (July 1999- June 2000), September.

Finally, in Punjab a relatively lower percentage of urban out-migrants (60.9%) took up residence within the state compared to rural out-migrants (70.3%). Further, 12.3 percent of rural out-migrants in Punjab took up residence outside Punjab compared to 25.1 percent urban out-migrants. A significantly higher percentage of urban out-migrants took up residence within the country compared to rural out-migrants: 82.6 percent for rural out-migrants and 86.0 percent urban out-migrants. Also a higher percentage of rural out-migrants took up residence outside the country compared to urban out-migrants: 17.3 percent for rural out-migrants and 13.5 percent urban out-migrants. Finally, table shows that 68.1 percent of out-migrants took up residence within Punjab, with another 15.3 percent going to other states and 16.4 percent took up residence outside the country. Thus, out-migration is largely within the country and within the state of Punjab too.

Reasons for Out-migration: Looking at all out-migrants, table 21 shows that 65.2 percent out-migrants migrated out because of marriage followed by employment related reasons (22.9%). However, in case of rural out-migrants, 66.1 percent out-migrants migrated out because of marriage followed by employment related reasons (24.4%) while in case of urban out-migrants, 62.3 percent out-migrants migrated out because of marriage followed by employment related reasons (17.6%). Urban out-migration is also due to studies (8.9%) and movement of parents/earning member (8.1%) while these factors have much lower influence for rural out-migrants. Forced out-migration is relatively higher in case of urban areas compared to rural areas. Further, employment related reasons dominates significantly in case of rural male compared to rural female out-migrants (83.1% and 1.6%) while marriage is significant factors for rural female compared to male out-migrants (91.3% and 2.0%). Rural males out-migrate in greater proportion than rural females. In urban areas, 59.8 percent male out-migrate due to employment related reasons than female out-migrate while 19.3 percent male do so because of studies compared to just 5.1 percent female. Similarly, 12.3 percent male do so because of movement of parents/earning member compared to just 6.5 percent female. Thus, reasons for female out-migration are varied compared to male out-migrants.

Table 21: Distribution (per 1000) of Out-migrants by Reason for Out-migration : Punjab

Reasons	Rural male	Rural female	Rural all	Urban male	Urban female	Urban all	Rural urban male	Rural urban female	Rural urban all
Employment related	831	16	244	598	17	176	779	16	229
Studies	59	11	25	193	51	89	89	20	40
Forced migration	0	8	6	46	9	19	11	8	9
Marriage	20	913	661	16	849	623	19	899	652
Movement of parents/earning member	48	39	41	123	65	81	64	45	50
Others	39	12	20	23	8	12	36	12	18
All	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Source : NSSO (2001) *Migration in India: 1990-2000*, 55th Round (July 1999- June 2000), September.

It is further found that (table 22) rural male out-migrants, residing abroad, 91.7 percent are economically active compared to 75.6 percent residing within the country when of urban male out-migrants, residing abroad, 92.7 percent are economically active compared to much lower percentage of 55.0 percent residing within the country. In case of all male out-migrants, residing abroad, 91.9 percent are economically active compared to 70.2 percent residing within the country. This means that one cannot stay abroad without a job as costs involved in migration are much higher than movement within the country for a rural resident. Many such migrants even sell assets to move abroad. Thus rural male out-migrants in Punjab are more economically active within the country compared to another country, but overall rural male out-migrants are more economically active compared to urban male out-migrants. Now coming to female rural out-migrants, residing abroad, 47.9 percent are economically active compared to just 1.5 percent residing within the country when of urban female out-migrants, residing abroad, 60.4 percent are economically active compared to much lower percentage of 17.4 percent residing within the country. In case of all female out-migrants, residing abroad, 51.2

percent are economically active compared to 5.2 percent residing within the country. Thus, urban female out-migrants in Punjab are more economically active in both another country and within the country.

Table 22: Number of Economically Active (per 1000 out-migrants) Out-migrants

	Rural Punjab	Urban Punjab	All Punjab
<i>Male</i>			
India	756	550	702
Another country	917	927	919
All	834	668	797
<i>Female</i>			
India	15	174	52
Another country	479	604	512
All	38	199	76
<i>Both</i>			
India	146	250	170
Another country	827	824	827
All	263	326	278

Source: NSSO (2001) Migration in India: 1990-2000, 55th Round (July 1999- June 2000), September.

Out-migrant Remittances: A higher percentage of male out-migrants from another country remit money compared to those within the country: 69.2 percent from another country and 45.4 percent from India (table 23). A similar pattern is observed in case of both rural male and urban male out-migrants, but a greater percentage of rural male out-migrants remit money home compared to urban out-migrants. In case of female out-migrants, a very low percentage remits money home, though urban female out-migrants out do their rural counterparts. Finally, in case of both rural and urban out-migrants from Punjab, a much higher percentage of those residing abroad sent money home.

Table 23: Number of Remitter Out-Migrants (per 1000 out-migrants)

Remitter	Rural Punjab	Urban Punjab	All Punjab
<i>Male</i>			
India	521	266	454
Another country	712	595	692
All	614	373	560
<i>Female</i>			
India	3	5	3
Another country	62	108	74
All	6	11	7
<i>Both</i>			
India	94	58	86
Another country	578	440	552
All	177	109	162

Source: NSSO (2001) Migration in India: 1990-2000, 55th Round (July 1999- June 2000), September.

5. Migrant Labourers in Punjab: Local Level Concerns

Movement of living beings in search of better environments is a natural phenomenon and man is no exception to it. Migration of human beings is a complex phenomenon. In the present era of globalisation and liberalisation, the study of migration has become one of the most dynamic aspects of human beings. The World Development Report 1999/2000 estimates that more than 13.0 crore people now live outside the countries of their birth. India as a nation has seen a high migration rate in recent years. Over 9.8 crore people migrated from one place to another in 1990's, the highest for any decade since independence (Gol, 2008). While freedom to migrate within the country is an enshrined right, the uneven development, levels of desperation and other factors have created friction points. Most people migrate because of a combination of push and pull factors. Lack of rural employment, fragmentation of land holdings and declining public investment in agriculture create a crisis for rural Indians. Urban areas and some rural areas with industrial development or high agricultural production offer better prospects for jobs or self-employment (Deshingkar 2009).

The large-scale in-migration to Punjab by labourers/ workers is more seasonal than permanent and it is a matter of concern for policy makers and academia. The pros and cons of this migration, situation of these migrant labourers, influence of this in-migration on state economy and also on local labour and their interest all are issues of concern. There are quite a few studies related to this. For instance Ghosh and Sharma (1990) revealed that feudal exploitation and acute poverty are the main factors for distressed migration from Bihar. It is a survival strategy for people of landless households. Though, a new trend of migration is observed in Bihar where people/ some members of families belonging to upper castes with small landholdings from rural Bihar are migrating to supplement their family incomes for better socio-economic condition (Kumar *et al.* 1998). A few studies also have indicated attitude of local employer who generally prefer migrant workers for their tolerant attitude towards low wage, more/ difficult task as well as for non- unionisation practices. Various other studies have looked at problems faced by such workers, social tensions, unionisation issues; changing status of local agricultural labour, casualisation of labour in Punjab's agriculture, seasonality issues and so on. Some have even tried to address the issue of slow process of peasantisation of small and medium farmers in Punjab, issue concerning present of migrant labour and huge surplus workforce in Punjab- a paradox. The Human Development Report (2004) of Punjab devoted a chapter on migration. Migrants are looked more as a problems and a threat to locals. At the same time, various studies state that Punjab need outside workers for various reasons like green revolution thereafter the agricultural boost created peak season labour requirements, which were difficult to fill with local labour. Simultaneously, small manufacturing in urban centres generated demand. Along with service activities that required in the growing and crowded industrial belt too required additional labour. The influx also started as Punjab agriculture offered higher wages to migrant labour. Additional labour was required for brick kilns, rickshaw pulling, contract workers, workers in grain markets, textile factories etc. Ludhiana alone is estimated to have more than 2.0 lakh migrant workers⁶. Long terms studies conducted by Institute of Human Development in 18 villages of Bihar show that problems of caste hierarchies, flood proneness and risky agriculture

and low wages has led to an increase in long-term migration. Labour migration data for 1981-83 and 1999-2000 showed that increasing rural-urban migration to work in the non-farm sector was new trend. The traditional destinations of rural Punjab and Haryana are not as popular as they were 20 years ago because fewer jobs were available as agriculture became more mechanized (Dayal and Karan 2003). A study by Singh (1995) had shown that in 1980-81, in two districts of Punjab, namely Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur, there were two different streams of migrant labour flowing from Bihar to Punjab. From the districts of Monghyr, Saharasa, Dharbanga, Muzzafarpur and Samastipur in north Bihar seasonal migrant to work on peak agricultural operations. Their total number ranged between 4-5 lakh. These were not the poorest persons and 14 percent were scheduled caste, 84 percent were from backward castes and 2 percent were from upper castes. They mainly worked on three operations viz., wheat harvesting, paddy transplantation and paddy harvesting. The second stream hailed from tribal belt of Chhotanagpur; their number was small. They more or less worked as indenture labour in Hoshiarpur. Punjabi farmers went all the way to Chhotanagpur to get this labour and took care of all the transaction cost. A revisit to same village in 1990-91 by Singh showed that slowly the gap between the wage rates of local and migrant labour was being bridged, but there was a clear hierarchy in the direction of changes. The local labour completely withdrew from the labour-intensive agricultural operations and left the same for the migrant workforce⁷. It is observed that triangular intense competition took place between migrant labour, local labour and machinery. Migrant labour was displacing local labour and started working as attached labour too; on the other, were being displaced by combine harvesters in paddy harvesting cum threshing. However, the well-organized trade in tribal labour from Bihar vanished. A recent study on impact of migrant labour (Kaur *et al.* 2011) shows that migrant labour did compress wages/ cost for certain operations in Punjab (table 24).

Table 24 : Impact of Labour Migration on Wage Rate for Different Agricultural Operations in Punjab: 2011

Operation	Without migration	With migration	Amount Rs.	Percent
Harvesting of wheat (Rs/ha)	6710	5407	1303	19
Transplanting of paddy (Rs/ha)	6321	4426	1896	30
Rate of contract (Rs/annum)	61000	44286	16714	27

Source : Kaur *et al.* (2011).

One Kalyan Das, a landless agricultural worker of Rampur village in Araria district of Bihar, migrates to Punjab every year. "I saw my father leaving our home every year when I was a child, not once, but thrice in a year. That was back in the 1980s. He used to go to Punjab. When he grew old, he stopped and I started to go. A least two members of each family in this village go to Punjab at least twice every year. "We go in groups of 14 or 15 people and mostly around the time of sowing or harvesting. We do not get more than Rs.80 a day here for our work on the fields. But in Punjab, we are hired on contract by a farmer and get paid on the amount of work done and not on daily basis. For example, we get Rs.2200 for sowing one acre of land there. Around sowing and harvesting seasons, the farmers wait for us at every railway station in Punjab and Haryana and pick us up from there. They arrange for our stay and provide us one meal a day and tea. We work more than 12 hours a day, but at least we get the money. Usually, one season of sowing or harvesting lasts 25 days. By the end of the season, we come back with anything between Rs.10000 and Rs.15000 after expenses. And we are treated much better there. The landlord here exercises his upper caste rights a lot. We being scheduled caste are looked down upon. But there, if the landlord drinks teas,

he offers us tea too. The Sikh landlord treats us like his own son. Because of two sowing and two harvesting seasons in a year, we have the option of going four times in a year. But we usually go twice except when we are in dire need. The farmer gives all of us one hall like room to staying. Taking the family along is impractical (*Frontline* September 21, 2012: 25).

6. Conclusions

Migration issues in the context of Punjab are straightforward and linked to its history, adventurous peoples and risk taking population especially the Sikh. Its productive land has attracted lakhs of people to eke out their livelihood, some settle here and others returned home. Many poor households across the country have not only eaten the food grains produced on the fertile lands of Punjab, but also have removed their poverty, moved out of indebtedness. Migration has been a powerful mechanism in Bihar's agrarian society giving the poor a collective voice against exploitation and Punjab has contributed to this voice⁸. Many have undergone upward social and economic mobility. The major senders of migrants are Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Assam. Over the years there have been changes in inflows of migrants to Punjab. The major reason for migration for males is employment and for females it is marriage or the movement of the family/ earner. There are not many differences between census and NSSO patterns. There are gender differentials in movement by source state and reasons too. Rural-rural migration dominates in Punjab and that too within the state. However, in Punjab's case international migration is significant in the sense that it has history and Punjabis, especially Sikhs have been pioneers in migration abroad. Migration both into and outside to other states and international has contributed vitally to Punjab's economy and society.

Acknowledgement

This is an abridged version of the paper presented in a conference on "Internal Migration in India" organised by Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Contemporary Studies, New Delhi, March 22-23, 2013.

Notes

1. Growth was 5.9% in 2005-06, 10.18% in 2006-07, 9.05% in 2007-08, 5.85% in 2008-09, 6.29% in 2009-10, 6.81% in 2010-11 and 5.68% in 2011-12 (Government of Punjab).
2. It is also considered at the root of capitalist growth.
3. Singh (1997) argues that the success of green revolution enclave in the Punjab region is instrumental in reinforcing semi-feudalism in Bihar.
4. Those migrants who had reported that the present place of enumeration was UPR any time in the past was considered as return migrant.
5. Punjab is a state with interesting migration profile. Though the total number of migrants from outside the state and outside the country is 8.1 lakh and 20000 million respectively, there is significant out-migration from the state (5 lakh). The number of male out-migrants is less than female out-migrants. As a result, the net migration into Punjab is only 3.3 lakh, the sex ratio stacked highly in favour of males (313 females per 1000 males). States from where sizeable number of in-migrants came to Punjab are: Uttar Pradesh (2.4 lakh), Haryana (1.1 lakh) and Bihar (1.4 lakh). Male in migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar cited work/ employment as the main reason for migration (72.1% and 82.2% respectively).
6. In the late 1990s, the estimated migrant labour in Punjab stood at: Agriculture- 7 lakh; brick kilns- 2 lakh; manufacturing industries- 6.5 lakh; service industries- 1.5 lakh; rickshaw pulling- 1 lakh; domestic workers- 0.5 lakh; construction industry- 3.5 lakh (total 21.65 lakh) (Human Development Report 2004- Punjab).
7. Wage increase for local labour was 186% while it was 138% for migrant labour.
8. 26.36 percent of migrants from Bihar in 2001 came to Punjab. This is because Punjab's agricultural cycle begins one month after Bihar and this helps seasonal migrants to migrate from Bihar to Punjab

References

- Dayal, H and A.K. Karan (2003) *Labour Migration from Jharkhand* IHD, New Delhi.
- Deshingkar, Priya (2009) "Circular Internal Migration and Development" ODI, London (available at <http://essays.src.org/acrossborders/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/ch8.pdf>).
- Director of Census Operations, Punjab (2002) *Census of India Series 4 Punjab, Distribution of Workers and Non-Workers 2001*: p. 3.
- Ghosh, P.P. and A.N. Sharma (1990) "Seasonal Migration of Rural Labour in Bihar" *Labour and Development* 1(1) July-December.
- Ghuman, R.S, J.S. Brar and Inderjit Singh (2007) *Status of Local Agricultural Labour in Punjab: The Punjab State Farmers Commission* Government of Punjab.
- Government of India (2008) *Eleventh Five Year Plan: 3: 2007-2012*, Planning Commission.
- Gupta, A.K (1991) "Migration of Agricultural Labour from Eastern to North Western Region" *Social Change* 21 (6): 85-90.
- Gupta, A.K and A.K. Bhakoo (1980) "Rural to Rural Migration and Characteristics of Migration in Punjab" *Social Change* 10 (3-4): 18-22.
- Gupta, A. S (2008) "India's Common Man" *Economic and Political Weekly* 43 (11): 49-62.
- Kaur, Baljinder, J.M Singh, B.R Garg, Jasdev Singh and Satwinder Singh (2011) "Causes and Impact of Labour Migration: A Case Study of Punjab Agriculture" *Agricultural Economics Research Review* 24 (conference number): 459-466.
- Kumar, B., B.P. Singh and R. Singh (1998) "Out-migration from Rural Bihar : A Case Study" *Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 41 (4) : 656-68.
- Reddy, D.N. (1990) *Rural Migrant in Andhra Pradesh* report submitted to the National Commission of Rural Labour, Government of India, New Delhi.
- Sidhu, M.S., P.S. Ranghi and K. Singh (1997) *A Study on Migrant Agricultural Labourers in Punjab*, Department of Economics and Sociology, PAU, Ludhiana.
- Singh, M and A.K. Karan (2001) *Rural Labour Migration from Bihar* IHD, New Delhi.
- Singh, Manjit (1995) *Uneven Development in Agriculture and Labour Migration: A Case of Bihar and Punjab* IAS, Shimla.
- Singh, Manjit (1997) "Bonded Migrant Labour in Punjab Agriculture" *Economic and Political Weekly* 32 (11) March 15-21: 518-519.
- Singh, Surjit (2000) "Immigration Policies and Earning Behaviour of Immigrants in Canada" *IASSI Quarterly* 19(1) : 1-15.
- World Bank (2000) *World Development Report 1999/2000: Entering the 21st Century* Washington DC.