

Various Streams of Migration from Himachal Pradesh to other States of India, 1991-2001

Archana Sharma

Department of Geography, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh, India

archanasharma1886@gmail.com

Abstract:

A study of various streams of migration by rural-urban place of origin and destination is imperative to study the whole process of migration in totality. This research work is an attempt to analyze the various streams of migration from Himachal Pradesh to other states of India. Census data from census years 1991 and 2001 has been analyzed to carry out the study. It has been found that rural-to-urban out migration was the most prevalent. Reasons for out migration from Himachal Pradesh varied between males and females. Whereas males cited economic reasons as the primary cause for their movement, females, on the other hand, reported to have made a move mainly on social/ family grounds.

Keywords

Rural, Urban, Migration, Patterns

1. Introduction

A discussion of out-migration in general is imperative before discussing the streams of out-migration from Himachal Pradesh. In addition to physico-geographic factors, migration is an outcome of economic and political change. Economic growth creates disparities in wealth among countries and among areas within countries. These disparities stimulate movement from places of limited opportunities to areas with more and diversified opportunities. Given the diversity in the nature of migration in India, the causes are also bound to vary. Along with inter regional disparity, disparity between different socio-economic classes and the development policy adopted since independence has accelerated the process of migration. However differences in aspiration levels of people are also one of the causes of migration (Gaurav, 2008).

Various streams of out-migration can be studied under four categories based on the nature of the place of origin and destination. These are:

- i. Rural-to-Rural
- ii. Rural-to-Urban
- iii. Urban-to-Urban
- iv. Urban-to-Rural

Table 1 shows the proportion of migrants in four streams of out-migration from Himachal Pradesh during the census years 1991 and 2001. Largest proportion of migrants was reported in rural-to-urban stream of migration. Proportion of migrants in this stream increased from 34.94 percent to 41.80 percent during the intercensal decade 1991-2001. There was not a huge difference in proportion of migrants in rural-to-rural and urban-to-urban streams of migration. Smallest proportion of migrants was reported in urban-to-rural stream.

It is evident that the number of female out-migrants was higher than male out migrants during both the census years under study. Reason for higher number of female migrants was marriage. Movement from rural areas in Himachal Pradesh to other rural areas of other states/ union territories of the country was a characteristic feature of female out-migration. Almost every female in India makes at least one move in her lifetime which is the movement because of marriage. Indian population is otherwise considered to be the least mobile. As far as male out-migrants are concerned, largest proportion was enumerated in rural-to-urban stream of migration followed by urban-to-urban, rural-to-rural and urban-to-rural streams respectively.

During the census of 2001, rural-to-urban stream became more widespread in terms of proportion of the people involved. Flow of people was substantially higher in rural-to-urban stream as compared to other three streams of migration. Rural-to-rural and urban-to-urban streams were also important in terms of number of migrants as around twenty five percent people were reported in each of these two streams.

Table 1
Himachal Pradesh
Out-migrants by Various Streams, 1991-2001

	1991			2001		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
Total Migrants	340,901	155,523	185,378	410,809	186,837	223,972
Rural-to-Rural	28.01	16.47	38.01	27.69	16.62	36.94
Rural-to-Urban	34.94	42.81	28.12	41.80	50.67	34.41
Urban-to-Urban	31.59	35.54	28.17	26.78	28.97	24.96
Urban-to-Rural	5.46	5.19	5.71	3.72	3.75	3.70

Source: Computed from:-Census of India 1991 and 2001.

Patterns of migration of males and females were not similar owing to differences in socio-economic status of the two. Although highest number of females was reported in rural-to-rural stream, rural-to-urban migration was equally prevalent amongst females. Proportion of females in these streams of migration was 36.94 percent and 34.41 percent respectively. Twenty five percent females were urban-to-urban out migrants and a considerably low proportion was reported in urban-to-rural (3.70 percent) stream.

2. Rural-to-Rural Out-migration

Rural-to-rural out migration from Himachal Pradesh is quite an old form of migration. In the initial days of civilization, people must have been moving outwards from the mountainous state to nearby plains in Punjab and Haryana in search of agricultural land and pastures. Transhumance practised by Gaddi tribe of Bharmaur region in district Chamba is an instance of movement of people from upper reaches to lower parts in search of grazing lands and endurable weather. Although with the advent of technology and dissemination of information about remunerative horticultural practices of late, hill slopes have been brought under cultivation, yet want of easy life in plains, bigger farms and better infrastructure even in rural areas of plains thrust people of Himachal Pradesh to migrate to other states/ union territories of the country.

Table 2 shows the pattern of rural-to-rural out migration from Himachal Pradesh to various states/ union territories of the country. This stream of migration was dominated by females with exceptionally large volume migrating to the neighbouring state Punjab. However, Punjab was the most favoured destination by males as well; but proportion of males enumerated in Punjab was not as high as their female counterparts. Reason for extraordinarily high proportion of

female migrants to the neighbouring state Punjab was obviously marriage.

Parts of districts Solan, Kangra and Una are culturally similar to the neighbouring areas of Punjab. So a high volume of female marriage migration takes place between this culturally similar zone lying in different administrative units. This is actually a zone of cultural transition from Punjabi culture to *Himachali/ Pahari* culture.

Apart from Punjab, rural-to-rural migrants from Himachal Pradesh were reported in considerable proportion in Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal. These three states are the ones from where migrants in Himachal Pradesh were enumerated. Thus it can be said that these were the counter streams of migration generated in response to streams of in-migration from these states to Himachal Pradesh.

3. Reasons of Rural-to-Rural Out-migration

Table 3 depicts the main reasons of interstate rural-to-rural out-migration from Himachal Pradesh. It is revealed that the chief reason for rural-to-rural out migration from Himachal Pradesh was marriage. So a large proportion of migrants was constituted by females who had migrated to their spouses' place post marriage.

Marriage as a reason for migration was not at all important in case of male migrants. Males migrated primarily for employment. On the other hand, employment was not a principal cause of migration for majority of females even on exclusion of marriage as a reason for migration.

When marriage as a reason for migration is excluded, overall picture of reasons of migration undergoes a significant change. An immense increase is observed in proportion of migrants citing employment and family moved as reasons of

migration. However, no considerable change took place in case of male migrants which was quite obvious as proportion of males citing marriage as a reason of migration was negligibly small. Proportion of females in various reasons of

migration changed significantly when analysed on exclusion of marriage induced migration. Family moved became the most important reason of migration. Employment was still not a prime controlling factor of movement of females.

Table 2
Himachal Pradesh
Rural-to-Rural Out-migration, 1991-2001

1991				2001			
DESTINATION	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	LAST RESIDENCE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
ALL STATES/ UTS	102,284	28,418	73,866	ALL STATES/ UTS	113,773	31,043	82,730
PUNJAB	53.81	42.09	58.32	PUNJAB	55.16	41.56	60.26
UTTAR PRADESH	12.32	14.71	11.40	HARYANA	14.22	13.66	14.43
HARYANA	11.63	9.92	12.29	UTTARANCHAL	9.13	11.29	8.32
ASSAM	4.67	7.04	3.75	UTTAR PRADESH	5.30	3.30	6.04
ORRISA	4.16	3.34	4.47	CHANDIGARH	3.83	9.34	1.77
CHANDIGARH	2.18	5.24	1.00	DELHI	1.87	4.02	1.07
REMAINING STATES/ UTS	11.23	17.66	8.77	REMAINING STATES/ UTS	10.49	16.83	8.11

Source: Computed from: Census of India 1991 and 2001

Table 3
Himachal Pradesh
Reasons for Rural-to-Rural Out-migration, 1991-2001

ALL REASONS							
1991				2001			
REASON	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	REASON	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
ALL REASONS	102,284	28,418	73,866	ALL REASONS	164,582	59,552	105,030
EMPLOYMENT	10.59	32.45	2.18	WORK/ EMPLOYMENT	24.23	60.59	3.62
BUSINESS	1.76	5.31	0.40	BUSINESS	0.58	1.43	0.10
EDUCATION	1.11	2.73	0.48	EDUCATION	0.68	1.40	0.27
FAMILY MOVED	17.63	30.83	12.56	MARRIAGE	47.74	1.23	74.11
MARRIAGE	56.50	2.44	77.30	MOVED AFTER BIRTH	2.14	3.40	1.43
NATURAL CALAMITIES	0.59	1.58	0.21	MOVED WITH HOUSEHOLD	16.26	17.89	15.34
OTHERS	11.82	24.65	6.88	OTHERS	8.36	14.06	5.14
REASONS EXCLUDING MARRIAGE							
ALL REASONS	44,493	27,724	16,769	ALL REASONS	86,011	58,817	27,194
EMPLOYMENT	24.34	33.26	9.59	EMPLOYMENT	46.37	61.34	13.98
BUSINESS	4.05	5.44	1.75	BUSINESS	1.11	1.45	0.38
EDUCATION	2.55	2.80	2.13	EDUCATION	1.29	1.41	1.03
FAMILY MOVED	40.54	31.60	55.30	MOVED AFTER BIRTH	4.10	3.44	5.52
NATURAL CALAMITIES	1.36	1.62	0.92	MOVED WITH HOUSEHOLD	31.12	18.11	59.24
OTHERS	27.17	25.27	30.30	OTHERS	16.01	14.23	19.84

Source: Computed from:-Census of India 1991 and 2001

Hence, economic forces were the fundamental cause behind the migration of males and familial/ social causes were the prime factor controlling the movement of females. This is because of low level of participation of women in economic activities in Indian society.

4. Rural-to-Urban Out-migration

Rural-to-urban migration is a response to disparity in opportunities of employment and growth between rural and urban areas. This stream of migration is gaining importance in developing countries both in terms of volume of people involved and its effects on both the place of origin and the destination. Since economic factors are the prime force behind movement of people from rural to urban areas, this stream of migration is male dominated (Table 4).

Punjab, Delhi and Chandigarh were the most favoured destinations of rural-to-urban out migrants from Himachal Pradesh. Punjab being the neighbouring state was obvious to attract people from Himachal Pradesh on account of physical proximity and historical association of the two states. Himachal Pradesh used to be a part of Punjab till 1966 when Haryana and Himachal Pradesh were bifurcated out of Punjab.

Apart from Punjab, a significant proportion of rural-to-urban migrants went to Delhi and Chandigarh. Around forty percent rural-to-urban migrants from Himachal Pradesh were reported collectively in Delhi and Chandigarh despite small geographical extent of each of the two.

Table 4
Himachal Pradesh
Rural-to-Urban Out-migration, 1991-2001

1991				2001			
DESTINATION	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	LAST RESIDENCE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
ALL STATES/ UTS	117,117	65,642	51,475	ALL STATES/ UTS	171,732	94,674	77,058
PUNJAB	31.31	29.22	33.99	PUNJAB	32.17	30.52	34.19
DELHI	25.54	27.26	23.34	DELHI	26.48	27.93	24.71
CHANDIGARH	14.29	15.68	12.52	CHANDIGARH	16.20	17.65	14.42
HARYANA	7.59	7.00	8.34	HARYANA	8.19	7.58	8.94
UTTAR PRADESH	5.55	4.39	7.03	MAHARASHTRA	3.83	4.29	3.26
REMAINING STATES/ UTS	15.72	16.45	14.78	REMAINING STATES/ UTS	13.13	12.03	14.48

Source: Computed from: Census of India 1991 and 2001

This was because of high level of urbanization in these two destinations which makes them a preferred choice of job seekers.

5. Reasons of Rural-to-Urban Out-migration

Table 5 illustrates the various reasons cited by rural-to-urban out migrants and the proportion of migrants therein. It is quite clear that employment was the main reason of migration. This was obvious as this stream of migration is caused by disparities in employability of rural and urban areas. People move from a rural area to an urban one in want of more opportunities and easy & convenient life.

Table 5
Himachal Pradesh
Reasons for Rural-to-Urban Out-migration, 1991-2001

ALL REASONS							
1991				2001			
REASON	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	REASON	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
ALL REASONS	117,117	65,642	51,475	ALL REASONS	171,732	94,674	77,058
EMPLOYMENT	33.26	56.04	4.22	WORK/ EMPLOYMENT	35.79	61.69	3.96
BUSINESS	3.47	5.69	0.63	BUSINESS	0.89	1.36	0.31
EDUCATION	3.32	4.40	1.96	EDUCATION	2.31	3.31	1.09
FAMILY MOVED	28.86	21.45	38.30	MARRIAGE	18.82	0.40	41.45
MARRIAGE	18.68	0.65	41.66	MOVED AFTER BIRTH	3.81	4.08	3.48
NATURAL CALAMITIES	0.10	0.08	0.11	MOVED WITH HOUSEHOLD	29.16	19.34	41.24
OTHERS	12.32	11.69	13.11	OTHERS	9.21	9.81	8.47
REASONS EXCLUDING MARRIAGE							
ALL REASONS	95,242	65,214	30,028	ALL REASONS	139,407	94,291	45,116
EMPLOYMENT	42.54	57.36	7.90	EMPLOYMENT	44.08	61.94	6.77
BUSINESS	4.43	5.82	1.18	BUSINESS	1.10	1.37	0.53
EDUCATION	4.25	4.50	3.67	EDUCATION	2.85	3.33	1.86
FAMILY MOVED	36.90	21.95	71.82	MOVED AFTER BIRTH	4.69	4.10	5.94
NATURAL CALAMITIES	0.12	0.08	0.21	MOVED WITH HOUSEHOLD	35.93	19.42	70.43
OTHERS	11.76	10.28	15.21	OTHERS	11.35	9.85	14.47

Source: Computed from:-Census of India 1991 and 2001

Family moved and marriage were other important reasons of migration.

A gender wise analysis of reasons of migration brings forth some interesting facts. Males and females had different reasons for relocation from a rural settlement to an urban one. Whereas employment was the cause of migration for a vast majority of males; it was not the leading cause of female migration even in rural-to-urban stream of migration. Most of the males moved from a rural area in Himachal Pradesh to an urban one in other state/ union territory of the country for better employment perspectives, whereas only a little proportion of females moved towards urban areas to pursue employment.

Moved with household and marriage were the main reasons of female migration in rural-to-urban stream of migration. This is a strong indication of inactivity of females in economic sphere. Females were passive migrants who migrated when family made a move or in response to marriage. Female migration was barely an independent and rational decision. Movement of females was regulated by

family. This shows a subservient position granted to women in family and social life.

6. Urban-to-Urban Out-migration

Urban-to-urban migration which carries people from small urban centers to larger ones in want of better and diversified economic opportunities and infrastructure, was the second and third largest stream of migration during the census years 1991 and 2001 respectively. In terms of absolute numbers, only 5,967 migrants (5.60 percent) were added to this stream during the period 1991-2001 (from 104,060 in 1991 to 110,027 in 2001). In case of males, this increase was even smaller. Only 143 males were added to urban-to-urban migration during the intercensal decade 1991-2001 (Table 6). This small increase is attributable to low level of urbanization in Himachal Pradesh. Proportion of urban population in total population of the state is quite low which means fewer potential urban migrants. Moreover whatever urban centres are there, are neither over populated nor is there the problem of underemployment. People from these urban centres don't get required quantum of push to move to other urban settlements in the country.

Table 6
Himachal Pradesh
Urban-to-Urban Out-migration, 1991-2001

DESTINATION	1991			LAST RESIDENCE	2001		
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE		TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
ALL STATES/ UTS	104,060	53,977	50,083	ALL STATES/ UTS	110,027	54,120	55,907
PUNJAB	29.49	27.36	31.79	PUNJAB	24.74	23.07	26.37
DELHI	23.58	24.64	22.45	DELHI	22.35	23.51	21.22
CHANDIGARH	20.10	22.09	17.96	CHANDIGARH	16.97	18.86	15.15
HARYANA	9.39	8.80	10.03	HARYANA	12.17	10.88	13.42
UTTAR PRADESH	6.36	5.71	7.07	MAHARASHTRA	4.76	5.32	4.22
MAHARASHTRA	2.76	2.98	2.52	UTTAR PRADESH	4.45	3.96	4.93
REMAINING STATES/ UTS	8.32	8.42	8.18	REMAINING STATES/ UTS	14.56	14.4	14.69

Source: Computed from: Census of India 1991 and 2001

Punjab, Delhi, Chandigarh and Haryana were the main destination states of urban-to-urban migrants. Punjab and Haryana apart from being neighbouring states are more urbanized than Himachal Pradesh. These two states have some metropolitan cities like Ludhiana, Jalandhar & Amritsar in Punjab; and Gurgaon, Faridabad & Panipat in Haryana, which attract migrants from small towns of Himachal Pradesh. So apart from locational factor, higher level of urban development acted as catalyst for people from small urban centers of Himachal Pradesh to big cities of these

neighbouring states. Urban-to-urban migrants were mainly professionally or technically qualified personnel who were unable to find a job as per their acquired skills in small towns of Himachal Pradesh.

Delhi and Chandigarh are although not the immediate neighbours of Himachal Pradesh yet are well connected to main towns of Himachal Pradesh via road or rail networks. High level of urbanization and resultant employment potential of Delhi and Chandigarh attract young job seekers from small

towns of Himachal Pradesh which often lack in diversified economic opportunities.

Considerable proportion of urban-to-urban migrants was enumerated in far off state Maharashtra as well. Maharashtra has big cities like Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur etc. which are destinations for job seekers from all over India. Mumbai, being the economic capital of India, has always been attracting migrants, both skilled and unskilled, from all over the country. Flow of people from Himachal Pradesh to this far flung state has been on increase because of increasing affordability of people to migrate over larger distances. Moreover job opportunities and better infrastructure continue to draw migrants from smaller urban centres to larger ones.

This was the only stream of migration in which there was no significant difference in the proportion of male and female migrants. Neighbouring states namely Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh (part of Uttar Pradesh, present day Uttarakhand, shared boundary with Himachal Pradesh at the time of census of 1991) had a little higher proportion of females whereas farther destinations like Chandigarh, Delhi and Maharashtra had dominance of males from Himachal Pradesh. This is explicable in terms of reasons of male and female migration.

Female migration was primarily marriage migration spreading over shorter distances. Male migration, on the other hand, was mainly for the purpose of employment which may spread over longer distances as well depending on the availability of employment opportunities and net monetary gains. So males outnumbered their female counterparts when the destinations were farther like Delhi, Chandigarh and Maharashtra. On the other hand, when the destinations were nearby states like Punjab and Haryana, females were reported in higher numbers.

Destination states of urban-to-urban migrants were largely the same during the census of 2001. No significant change was observed during the intercensal decade 1991-2001.

7. Reasons of Urban-to-Urban Out-migration

Various reasons for urban-to-urban out migration from Himachal Pradesh to other states/ union territories have been depicted in Table 7. During the census of 1991, employment was the main cause of urban-to-urban out migration followed by family moved and marriage. Urban-to-urban migration takes place between cities/ towns for economic gains and professional growth.

Table 7
Himachal Pradesh
Reasons for Urban-to-Urban Out-migration, 1991-2001

ALL REASONS							
1991				2001			
REASON	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	REASON	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
ALL REASONS	104,060	53,977	50,083	ALL REASONS	110,027	54,120	55,907
EMPLOYMENT	36.63	55.26	16.56	WORK/ EMPLOYMENT	25.82	47.93	4.43
BUSINESS	2.74	4.78	0.55	BUSINESS	1.64	2.78	0.54
EDUCATION	3.40	4.52	2.18	EDUCATION	4.13	5.72	2.59
FAMILY MOVED	28.35	22.71	34.43	MARRIAGE	21.41	0.58	41.58
MARRIAGE	19.00	1.24	38.14	MOVED AFTER BIRTH	3.83	4.64	3.05
NATURAL CALAMITIES	0.11	0.16	0.05	MOVED WITH HOUSEHOLD	32.26	25.95	38.38
OTHERS	9.76	11.33	8.08	OTHERS	10.90	12.41	9.44
REASONS EXCLUDING MARRIAGE							
ALL REASONS	84,288	53,308	30,980	ALL REASONS	86,467	53,807	32,660
EMPLOYMENT	45.23	55.95	26.78	EMPLOYMENT	32.86	48.21	7.58
BUSINESS	3.39	4.84	0.89	BUSINESS	2.09	2.80	0.92
EDUCATION	4.19	4.58	3.53	EDUCATION	5.25	5.75	4.44
FAMILY MOVED	35.00	23.00	55.66	MOVED AFTER BIRTH	4.87	4.67	5.21
NATURAL CALAMITIES	0.14	0.17	0.09	MOVED WITH HOUSEHOLD	41.05	26.10	65.69
OTHERS	12.06	11.47	13.06	OTHERS	13.87	12.48	16.15

Source: Computed from:- Census of India 1991 and 2001

So majority of the urban-to-urban migrants were economic migrants moving from one urban center to another to pursue jobs. Family moved was cited by the second largest proportion of migrants. Urban-to-urban migrants are generally

qualified personnel engaged in skilled jobs. Prime reason for their movement from one urban center to another is that they are unable to find a job in town/ city of origin as per the acquired skill. They are well paid professionals who can

afford to bring their families after some time, generally spreading over a couple of months, once they get settled at the place of destination.

During the census of 2001 moved with household was cited by the largest number of urban-to-urban migrants followed by work/ employment and marriage respectively (Table 7). With an arithmetic increase in number of urban-to-urban migrants migrating for jobs, there is an exponential increase in number of people citing moved with household as a reason for migration. This is because along with one earning member of the family, whole family consisting of three to four members moves. As stated in the preceding paragraph, urban-to-urban migrants are generally skilled personnel and are second generation urbanites. So migration for this class of people is not a survival strategy as in case of rural-to-rural and rural-to-urban migrants. Migration for them is an opportunity for economic and professional growth.

Marriage was also cited by a considerable proportion of urban-to-urban migrants. But marriage as a reason for movement was significant only in case of females. Males scarcely moved because of marriage. This has its roots in traditional marriage practices in India in which a female has to shift to the place of her in-laws after marriage. Moved with household was the second important reason for migration of females. These two reasons were cited by more than fifty percent female migrants. Even on exclusion of marriage as a reason for migration, employment did not find a significant place in reasons of female migration (Table 7). More than fifty percent females reported to have moved with the household even on excluding marriage as a reason for migration. Males, however, remained unaffected on excluding marriage from the reasons of migration. This is because only a negligibly small proportion of males had reported to migrate in response to marriage. Thus it is clear that male migration was economically motivated and female migration was determined to a large degree by familial/ social factors.

8. Urban-to-Rural Out-migration

Urban-to-rural stream of out migration was the least followed of all the streams during both the census years under study because of obvious reasons. In a developing country like India, there are wide disparities in level of development and infrastructure of rural and urban areas. Urban areas are endowed with better healthcare services, educational facilities, quality of housing and other amenities. So a person living in an urban area is least likely to relocate to a rural area. No doubt urban-to-rural stream of migration is there, but in case of developing countries it is not that important in terms of proportion of people involved.

Majority of urban-to-rural migrants from Himachal Pradesh went to Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Delhi and Chandigarh (Table 8).

Punjab and Haryana on account of physical proximity to Himachal Pradesh, by default, attracted migrants from Himachal Pradesh in all the four streams of migration. Distance is an important determinant in the choice of place of destination. It assumes more significance when females are involved. Female migration, which is largely marriage migration, takes place over shorter distances. An analysis of figures in Table 8 shows that females outnumbered their male counterparts when the destination states were Punjab and Haryana. Males, on the other hand, were reported in higher numbers in far-off states.

Migrants to Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka were most likely the return migrants who had come to earn money in Himachal Pradesh from the poorer states. They returned back to their native villages after having crossed the productive years of their lives. They reported their place of last residence in Himachal Pradesh.

Table 8
Himachal Pradesh
Urban-to-Rural Out-migration, 1991-2001

1991				2001			
DESTINATION	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	LAST RESIDENCE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
ALL STATES/ UTS	17,440	7,486	9,954	ALL STATES/ UTS	15,277	7,000	8,277
PUNJAB	45.70	39.81	50.13	PUNJAB	30.76	22.66	37.61
HARYANA	12.96	11.22	14.27	HARYANA	19.48	17.49	21.17
UTTAR PRADESH	11.12	12.42	10.15	KARNATAKA	12.04	16.17	8.55
KARNATAKA	7.80	9.75	6.33	UTTARANCHAL	6.91	7.64	6.29
DELHI	3.26	4.30	2.47	DELHI	5.28	5.97	4.70
CHANDIGARH	3.09	4.69	1.89	UTTAR PRADESH	3.89	3.04	4.62
REMAINING STATES/ UTS	16.07	17.81	14.76	REMAINING STATES/ UTS	21.64	27.03	17.06

Source: Computed from: Census of India 1991 and 2001

Considerable proportion of migrants from Himachal Pradesh was enumerated in rural Delhi and Chandigarh. Delhi and Chandigarh, although are highly urbanized, host a number of people in their rural peripheries. This was because of high cost of living in urban parts of such highly urbanized states/ union territories. In the initial years, a migrant prefers to live in rural periphery/ suburbs and commutes to his place of work which is usually in the city. This cuts down his expenses of living in the city. Gradually the affordability of the migrant increases and he brings his family from the native place and shifts to the main city. This shift from rural to urban part of the same city ensures improved standard of living, better social atmosphere, good healthcare infrastructure and educational facilities. So a number of people in rural Delhi and Chandigarh reported their place of last residence in urban Himachal Pradesh.

9. Reasons of Urban-to-Rural Out-migration

An analysis of reasons of urban-to-rural out migration from Himachal Pradesh has been made in Table 9. During the census of 1991, marriage was cited by the largest proportion of urban-to-rural migrants followed by family moved and employment. There was a little change in proportion of people

in various reasons of migration during the census of 2001. Moved with household was reported by a majority of migrants followed by marriage and employment. 'Others' as a reason of migration was also reported by a sizeable proportion of urban-to-rural migrants. It included all those reasons which were not mentioned in the major categories of reasons listed by the census of India. Hence, marriage, moved with household, employment and others were the four main reasons of urban-to-rural migration.

Marriage as a reason of migration was important in case of female migrants only. It was insignificant in case of male migrants. Family moved was equally important for both male and female migrants. A significant proportion of both male and female migrants reported to have moved because their families moved. This is because one earning member is followed by whole family which consists of almost equal number of males and females in form of wife, daughter, son, mother and father of the migrant.

Table 9
Himachal Pradesh
Reasons for Urban-to-Rural Out-migration, 1991-2001

ALL REASONS							
REASON	1991			2001			
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	REASON	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
ALL REASONS	17,440	7,486	9,954	ALL REASONS	15,277	7,000	8,277
EMPLOYMENT	18.17	37.11	3.92	WORK/ EMPLOYMENT	17.58	33.91	3.76
BUSINESS	1.87	3.93	0.32	BUSINESS	0.87	1.49	0.35
EDUCATION	3.53	6.91	0.98	EDUCATION	3.95	6.89	1.46
FAMILY MOVED	26.70	25.58	27.54	MARRIAGE	25.61	0.91	46.50
MARRIAGE	32.80	2.00	55.97	MOVED AFTER BIRTH	3.49	4.54	2.60
NATURAL CALAMITIES	0.18	0.28	0.11	MOVED WITH HOUSEHOLD	30.56	27.76	32.92
OTHERS	16.75	24.19	11.16	OTHERS	17.95	24.50	12.41
REASONS EXCLUDING MARRIAGE							
ALL REASONS	11,719	7,336	4,383	ALL REASONS	11,364	6,936	4,428
EMPLOYMENT	27.03	37.87	8.90	EMPLOYMENT	23.63	34.23	7.02
BUSINESS	2.78	4.01	0.73	BUSINESS	1.17	1.50	0.65
EDUCATION	5.25	7.05	2.24	EDUCATION	5.31	6.95	2.73
FAMILY MOVED	39.73	26.10	62.54	MOVED AFTER BIRTH	4.69	4.58	4.86
NATURAL CALAMITIES	0.27	0.29	0.25	MOVED WITH HOUSEHOLD	41.08	28.01	61.54
OTHERS	24.93	24.69	25.35	OTHERS	24.13	24.73	23.19

Source: Computed from:-Census of India 1991 and 2001

This is equally true for return migration in which all dependent members of family migrate back to the native village along with the earning member of the household.

'Others' as a reason of migration gained significance in urban-to-rural stream of migration. Urban-to-rural stream of migration, in case of a developing country like India, is largely constituted by return migrants and unsuccessful

migrants, both of which have not been enlisted in the broad categorization of reasons of migration by the census of India.

What comes out of the above discussion on urban-to-rural migration from Himachal Pradesh is that like in all other streams of migration, male migration was primarily for the economic purposes and female migration was largely

marriage migration. Females were passive and non-rational migrants. This shows the subsidiary role played by women in family/ social lives.

10. Conclusions

As far as streams of out migration from Himachal Pradesh are concerned, rural-to-urban out migration was the most prevalent. Reasons for out migration from Himachal Pradesh varied between males and females. Whereas males cited economic reasons as the primary cause for their movement, females, on the other hand, reported to have made a move mainly on social/ family grounds.

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