

**Understanding benefits of internal migration in India at the destination and the role of relative deprivation among socio-economic groups in actualizing gains**

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**Abstract**

The study aims at highlighting the relevance of internal migration in India and the extent to which it becomes a rewarding phenomenon for all groups of migrants. In a geographical vast country like India, given the persistent economic inequality which exists across regions and socio-economic communities, migrants cannot be seen as homogenous groups. It is observed from the empirical analysis that internal migration in general is a rewarding phenomenon when compared between the individual migrants at the destination and the non-migrants at the origin for all groups of migrants. However, in this study economic gains are not seen in terms of economic variables such as employment or wage, but rather in terms of belonging or progressing in the economic ladder or wealth quintile. Also, using the 'Index of Relative Deprivation' (RDI) it is observed that though all the heterogeneous groups' gains from migration, these gains are not proportion across groups and the advantaged groups attains higher economic transition compared to the less advantaged groups. The advantaged and disadvantaged groups are broadly categorized on the basis of literacy (illiterate vs. literate), by origin (rural vs. urban), and social groups (scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, & other backward classes vs. others).

**Keywords:** Economic transition, deprivation, Index of relative deprivation (RDI), wealth quintiles, NELM.

## 1. Introduction:

In developing countries such as India, migration towards urban centres is always perceived as an income-enhancing opportunity which is presumed to better a migrant's economic condition. Thus mobility continues to be an economically rational choice for individuals originating from both rural and urban areas as also studied by Joe *et al.* (2011). It further translates into better economic wellbeing for both the individual migrants and the migrant household, and is seen as a livelihood strategy by various communities (de Haan, 1999; Skeldon, 2002; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2004). Such mobility is further viewed from alternative perspectives like reducing the risk of being unemployed also obtaining liquidity and financial gain in the face of imperfect factor, credit and insurance market in the backward regions. In this respect, it can be seen as a comparison between the extents of benefits reaped between residing at the place of origin (in case of natives) and the realization of expected benefits by migrating to a particular destination. It is also plausible that despite low expected benefits for certain group of migrants at the destination, an individual could still be better off by migrating since his expected benefits at origin are even lower.

In this paper, an attempt is made to evaluate the gains from internal migration in India in terms of the economic wellbeing experienced at the destination and also the extent of disadvantage or advantage faced by the individual migrants in realizing such gains given the differences in their socio-economic characteristics. In the current study, individual migrants can be categorized on the basis of education (Literate & Illiterate), social classes (Scheduled Castes *SC*, Scheduled Tribes *ST*, Other Backward Classes *OBC*, & Others), economic groups (in wealth distribution) and by origin (Rural & Urban). However, for understanding real economic gains, we have deliberately ignored the economic variables such as wage and employment. The reason behind excluding the variables such as wage and employment is that, as the cost of living differs across regions, a mere increase in income does not reflect real economic gain. Given this argument, we look into the real economic transition which takes place following migration such as moving from lower MPCE (Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure) groups to higher MECE groups or wealth quintiles. In doing so, we try to identify and measure the differential achievements in quantitative terms across the above mentioned different socio-economic

communities and groups, across specific Indian states. Then using the 'Index of relative deprivation' (RDI), the study also identifies for all the Indian states, the level of advantage or disadvantage faced within the migrant groups or sub-groups in achieving upper economic mobility in the wealth quintile (moving from lower to top two MPCE quintile groups).

## **2. Research objectives:**

The primary objective of this paper is to highlight two import issues:

***Firstly***, to measure the level of economic transition achieved by migrants across groups, through a comparison between migrant (at destination state) and non-migrant (at origin state).

*A. Group Dominance Analysis: A comparison between 'Advantaged' and 'Disadvantaged' groups.*

*B. Probability Analysis: Joint probability analysis is used to capture the possible economic mobility after migration and an eligible comparison between individual's probability/likelihood to belong to certain wealth quintile at destination conditioned by socio-economic characteristics.*

***Secondly***, evaluate the extent of group deprivation/ relative deprivation faced by migrants in belonging to top two quintile classes using 'Index of Relative Deprivation' (RDI).

## **3. Methodology and data:**

Given the stated objectives and proposed methods of analysis, this paper uses the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) 64<sup>th</sup> round 2007-08 data on migration, which is the latest available information on internal migration in India. The dated information is perhaps less consequential as the proposed exercise intends to offer a fresh understanding on the phenomenon of migration in terms of differential gain in economic terms conditional upon characteristic of migrants as well as origin-destination characteristics.

The net gain/loss in economic status of migrants is based on a comparison of the possible transition in the economic ladder between the origin and the destination. Such an observation is

made by tracing the likelihood of belonging to a specific consumption quintile for both migrants at the destination and non-migrants at the origin. We also compute a ‘joint probability’ in the form of a matrix to demonstrate the change/difference of the probability or likelihood of an individual belonging to a particular quintile group ( $Q_i$ ) at origin to belong to a different quintile groups ( $Q_j$ ) as a result of migration. This transition matrix of Joint probability derived from the two marginal distribution of migrant across consumption quintiles at the destination and the non-migrants across consumption quintiles of the origin. Undoubtedly these results are theoretical approximations but are indicative of the patterns that are likely to comment upon the share of gain and loss owing to migration. Further, when they are evaluated with characteristic conditions the findings are further enriching in terms of quantum gain/loss conditioned by characteristics of the migrants and pair of origin/destination.

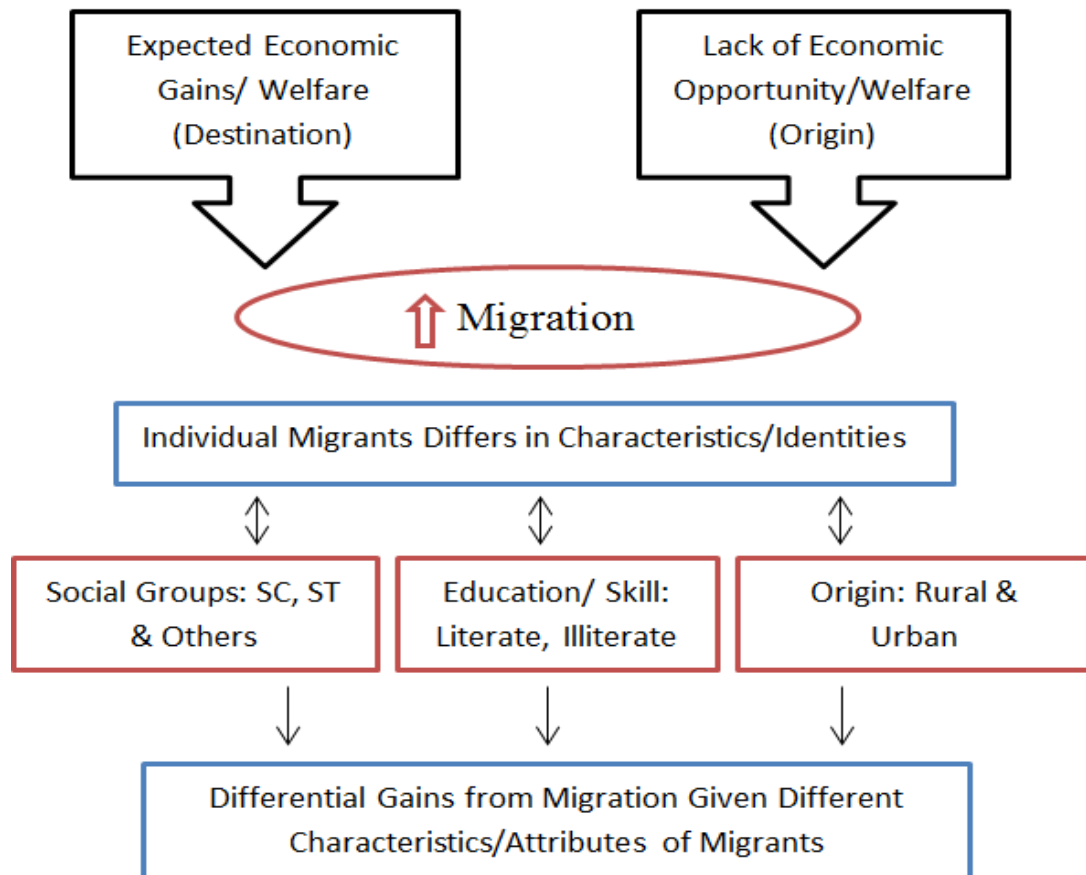
Following the above analysis, we engage with computation of the ‘Index of Relative Deprivation’ (RDI), to comprehend the extent of advantage or disadvantage across various migrant groups in terms of the gain from migration. RDI finds an easy and interesting interpretation in the sense that a group is said to be relatively disadvantaged whenever RDI value is positive and vice versa. For analysis, a binary classification of population can be made according to the following criteria: first, by place of origin of migrants (Rural and Urban); second, by education (Illiterate & Literate); and third, by caste (SC & ST, and Others).

Most of the analyses in this paper are based on the broad classification of socio-economic characteristics of migrant groups such as:

- a) Distance. Gains vary across ‘*inter-state*’ and ‘*intra-state*’ migrants.
- b) Origin. Classification of migrants based on origin such as ‘*urban*’ and ‘*rural*’.
- c) Social Group. Comparison between: the backward classes, ‘*Scheduled tribe*’ (ST), ‘*Scheduled Caste*’ (SC) and ‘*Other Backward Classes*’ (OBC) against ‘*Others*’.
- d) Education. A comparison between: ‘*Illiterate*’ against ‘*Literate*’, ‘*Higher Secondary (HS) & above*’ against ‘*All literate*’, ‘*Graduate & above*’ against ‘*All HS & above*’, and ‘*Technical*’ against ‘*Non-Technical*’.

#### 4. Analytical framework:

Graph-1: Analytical Framework



Source: Author's own compilation.

Decision to migrate and the context and circumstance in which such a decision is made can never be limited to the economic motive of migration which is overstated in general. Nonetheless, its consequence in economic terms becomes more comprehensible than others that make the engagement with economic returns to migration more popular.

One priority concern behind migration decision is undoubtedly the choice of destination and its relative comparison with the origin in terms of possible advantages/adversities. Such a comparison considers income and economic well-being on the top of the list irrespective of the motive of migration. As an individual decision, the decision to migrate in the first place and the

choice of destination is always influenced by associated expectations of better life such as high income and economic wellbeing at a particular place. This can be viewed as a reflection of “Pull factors” i.e., developed regions attracts migrants from the underdeveloped regions because of better employment options, high per capita income, development and infrastructural progress etc., which acts as ‘Pull’<sup>1</sup> factors. On the otherhand, the regions lacking such opportunities generate ‘Push’ factors and becomes major senders of migrants. Therefore, migration as a phenomenon is largely conditioned by the disparities in development across regions, the works of Ravenstein, (1885), and McDowell & de Haan, (1997) are phenomenal in describing migration as a development-induced process. Such observation is reiterated by Dholakia (2006) in the context of India, where it is suggested that the geographically vast countries like India are more likely to face regional imbalances in economic development which prompts migration. This is because of the differences in the level of natural endowments, climate and physical conditions which results in unequal economic development and opportunities across regions.

At a micro level, income differences and level of poverty undoubtedly push and pull potential migrants. However, migration can be seen as a household decision, where the household chooses to send one or more members off as migrants. Thus, a person’s individual/ personal decision to migrate can also be related to his or her household decision towards enhancing expected economic gains and relative income for the household. The available literature suggests that a household’s relative position with respect to a specific reference group in addition to the household’s absolute income serves as a strong motivation for migration (Stark, 1980; Stark & Bloom, 1985; Stark & Taylor, 1991; Massey *et al.*, 1994).

This is the ‘New Economics of Labor Migration’ (NELM) developed by Oded Stark, in co-operation with others<sup>2</sup> during the 1980s. The NELM is probably the only migration theory that explicitly links migration decision to the impacts of migration, with remittances being this link at the origin. However, this does not exclude having individual members benefiting from the migration decision, which can be interpreted as the gains achieved at the destination by the individual migrant. Though, remittances are a very positive attribute which is usually associated with migration, in this study, we particularly emphasize on the gains reaped by the migrants at

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<sup>1</sup>Push-Pull Framework first formulated by Lee (1966).

<sup>2</sup>David Bloom, Eliakim Katz, David Levhari, Robert Lucas, Mark Rosenzweig, and J. Edward Taylor.

the destination. Given that perspective, we try to focus on the individual characteristics of migrants to measure the variation in gains from migration across groups. As each individual migrant and migrant household differs in terms of education, skill, socio-economic background and place of origin (rural/urban), the returns from migration also will be conditioned by these attributes at the destination.

## **5. Migration as a rewarding phenomenon at destination:**

Here we intend to illustrate the differential pattern of returns to migration as all migration in general is not equally rewarding for all, and gains from migration are conditional upon not only migrant's characteristics but also the combination of origin and destination. For such an illustration, we assess the real economic transition experienced by a migrant at destination in contrast with the origin. The possible economic transition is based on comparison of position of a non-migrant in the economic ladder at the origin as against position of a migrant in the economic ladder at the destination. Such an analogy is relative in its connotation in the sense that the gain is realistic and can vary across characteristic groups.

For the sake of empirical illustration we are considering two sets of migrant sender and migrant receiving states. The first set, comprises Uttar-Pradesh and Bihar which are the major migrant sender states in India (Highest negative net migration in absolute numbers, Graph-2); and the second set, comprises Maharashtra, Delhi and Gujarat, which are among the major migrant receiving states (Among highest positive net migration in absolute numbers, Graph-2).

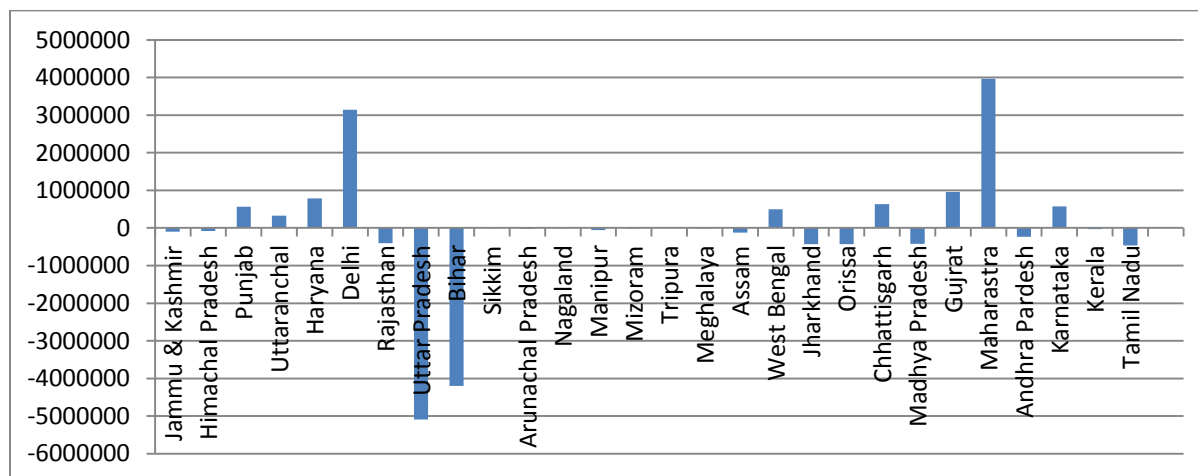
Also in terms of population adjusted net-migration, the out-migration flow from these two sender states shows highest population adjusted negative net migration<sup>3</sup> in India. These also happens to be the states with lowest per capita income, viz. Uttar-Pradesh (-30 per'000 population) and Bihar (-56 per'000 population). On the other hand, the three destination states considered are also the states with highest per capita income which experiences high positive

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<sup>3</sup> Negative net arises when in-migration is less than out-migration, and when it is adjusted with the population it gives the number of persons reduced per'000 population. It is calculated by taking the difference between in-migration and out-migration, and the difference is then adjusted for population.

net migration<sup>4</sup>, viz. Delhi (+239 per'000 population), Maharashtra (+42 per'000 population) and Gujarat (+19 per'000 population).

Graph-2: Absolute net-migration across Indian states



Source: Compiled from NSSO 64<sup>th</sup> round, 2007-08.

The empirical exercise is spread under two sections (section-5.1 & section-5.2). Initially, we observe the differential pattern of being positioned in a consumption quintile structure for non-migrants at the origin and the migrants at the destination. Such an observation is made between advantaged characteristic group and the disadvantage counterparts. The characteristics describing advantage/disadvantage comprise of residence (rural/urban), caste (SC, ST and OBC) and education (literate, illiterate). Later, we trace the change/ variations in probability of an individual migrant to belong to certain quintile classes (wealth quintile) against a non-migrant at a particular origin. However, in this section we will consider all the socio-economic characteristics separately.

## 5.1. On contrasting migrants' vs. non-migrants in the consumption quintile structure: Comparison between the Advantaged and the disadvantaged groups.

<sup>4</sup> Positive net arises when in-migration is more than out-migration, and when it is adjusted with the population it gives the extra number of persons added to per'000 population.



To make an effective assessment of the gain from migration, we make a contrast between the distributional pattern of non-migrant in the origin and the migrant at the destination along the consumption quintile structure. This essentially informs the positioning of an individual in the general consumption hierarchy to infer on the consequence of migration. In fact, here we not only refer to those individuals who migrate, but also refer to those who do not migrate. Their comparison is made on destination specificity along with attributes. Destination specificity is necessary to situate the migrant in the consumption hierarchy and attributes are required to differentiate advantage and disadvantaged in terms of benefitting from migration. Here, we have considered two groups, the disadvantaged group and the advantaged group. The disadvantaged group constitute of the combination of backward social groups such as Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), & Other Backward Classes (OBC); illiterates and the migrants originating from rural areas. Whereas, the advantaged/privileged group comprise of a combination of non-SC, ST, & OBC groups, literates and the migrants originating from urban areas. This disadvantage/advantage group characterization is made with an intent to not to dilute the influence of characteristic endowment which has a bearing on their position in consumption hierarchy whether it be at origin or at the destination. Further, The reason behind calling and classifying some as privileged/ advantaged or disadvantaged group is that, the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes always belonged to the lowest strata of the society where they face day to day inequality and discrimination in society as a result they remain backward and lack endowments as capital, assets, education etc. Illiterates are also mostly the underprivileged and poor people who cannot attain education and thus lack information and knowledge and remains backward, most of them belong to the backward classes such as SC, ST and OBC. Similarly migrants from the rural areas are not as privileged as the migrants from the urban areas. Migrants from urban areas comprise both the literate and illiterate, the literates constitute various educational and skill levels along with added advantage such as information and social network. On the other hand, migrants from rural areas are mostly illiterate, who lack information and social capital, and as a result they are more prone to face discrimination at the destination. Because of these above mentioned contrasting differences in attributes among various migrant groups, it becomes imperative to study group dominance of migrants and non-migrants on the basis of advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

For analysis we are considering two origin (migrant sending) states Uttar-Pradesh and Bihar, as they are among the poorest and highest out-migration states in India (Graph-2). Also we have considered three destination states of urban Maharashtra, urban Delhi and urban Gujarat; however, for simplicity we have merged these three states as destination and called it urban MDG. As discussed in the previous section, these are also the states which receive very high in-migrants and are also among the higher income states in India (Graph-2).

#### **5.1.1. Migration from Uttar-Pradesh to urban Maharashtra, urban Delhi & urban Gujarat combined (urban MDG):**

Table-1 shows that the dominance of the disadvantaged group for the non-migrant at Uttar-Pradesh along the MPCE wealth quintile is mostly well distributed with little higher dominance among the middle wealth quintiles. But for the migrants who have migrated to urban MDG (Maharashtra, Delhi and Gujarat), the dominance is mostly concentrated in the top two quintile classes. This shows that, migration to higher income or more developed states have helped the disadvantaged group from Uttar-Pradesh to attain higher economic mobility in the wealth quintile of urban MDG. The gain and loss column also shows very interesting results, negative results in the first three lower quintile classes -7.54 per cent, -15.75 per cent and -10.22 per cent reveals that migration has helped to reduced dominance from the lower three quintiles, which also means adding to the dominance of the top two quintile classes in percentage terms. This shows that the disadvantaged group have gained 33.51 per cent (8.53+24.98) per cent in the top two quintile classes.

In the case of migration for the advantaged group from Uttar-Pradesh to urban MDG, it is observed that unlike the disadvantaged, the non-migrant group already have higher dominance in the upper quintiles, which is further enhanced for those who migrated to urban MDG. The top most quintile (80-100) per cent, shows that for the advantaged group the dominance achieved for migrants is 49.03 % as compared the non-migrants in Uttar-Pradesh at 22.67 per cent, with a positive gain of 26.36 per cent.

The empirical result shows that migration to the urban higher income states, in this case Maharashtra, Delhi and Gujarat in general is a rewarding phenomenon for the migrants from Uttar-Pradesh. Migration has helped both the advantaged and the disadvantaged group to find

higher economic mobility in the wealth quintile. It is observed that the achievement or gain from migration in terms of acquiring higher dominance in the top quintile classes are much higher for the advantaged group as against the disadvantaged group. On the whole, it is found that both the groups have gained higher dominance at the top quintile classes or higher economic mobility due to migration which is absent for the non-migrants in Uttar-Pradesh.

Table-1: Migration from Uttar-Pradesh to three higher income states of India combined: Maharashtra, Delhi & Gujarat (MDG)

Wealth Quintiles (MPCE)	Dominance of Disadvantaged Group (Combined SC/ST/OBC, Illiterate, Rural Origin)			Dominance of Advantages Group (Combined Non-SC/ST/OBC, Literate, Urban Origin)		
	Migration to urban MDG (in per cent)	Non-Migrant in Uttar-Pradesh (in per cent)	Gain/ Loss (in per cent)	Migration to urban MDG (in per cent)	Non-Migrant in Uttar-Pradesh (in per cent)	Gain/ Loss (in per cent)
(0-20) percent	8.23	15.77	-7.54	7.06	8.55	-1.49
(20-40) percent	8.32	24.08	-15.75	4.88	16.59	-11.70
(40-60) percent	15.37	25.59	-10.22	13.02	23.87	-10.85
(60-80) percent	30.48	21.94	8.53	26.01	28.32	-2.31
(80-100) per cent	37.60	12.63	24.98	49.03	22.67	26.36
Total	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00

Source: Compiled by Author from NSSO 64<sup>th</sup> round 2007-08 data on migration.

### 5.1.2. Migration from Bihar to urban Maharashtra, urban Delhi & urban Gujarat combined (MGD):

In the case of out migration from Bihar, it is found that for the non-migrant disadvantaged group, the population dominance is highest in the lowest two wealth quintiles unlike Uttar-Pradesh, where it is well distributed. This reflects the poor economic conditions and miserable stay for the disadvantaged (SC, ST, & OBC, Illiterate, Rural origin) natives in Bihar. However, migration has proved to be rewarding for the disadvantaged groups, as it has helped migrants to attain some upward mobility in the wealth quintile. The gain/loss column shows that the disadvantaged migrant population in urban MDG have witnessed economic mobility as it witnessed negative results in the first three lower quintile classes -15.86 %, -11.25% and -2.64%

reveals that migration has helped to reduced dominance from the lower three quintiles, and adding to the dominance of the fourth quintile class (60-80 per cent) where the dominance has improved by 24.27 per cent.

In the case of advantaged group non-migrants in Bihar, it is observed that unlike the advanced group from Uttar-Pradesh where the dominance was observed in the higher quintiles, in case of Bihar the dominance is witnessed in the lower quintiles, i.e., Q2 (24.34 per cent) and Q3 (25.35 per cent). But migration to urban MDG has helped the advantaged group to find dominance in the upper quintiles, Q4 (35.36 per cent) and Q5 (22.06 per cent). However, an interesting observation about migration from Bihar is that, the lowest quintile Q1 has witnessed increase in dominance by 0.15 per cent which means absence of improvement, which would have been observed if the value was negative. This shows that migration in general is a rewarding phenomenon; it has helped both the advantaged and the disadvantaged group to find higher economic mobility in the wealth quintile. Although, the achievement in terms of acquiring higher dominance in the top quintile classes are much higher for the advantaged group as against the disadvantaged group; on the whole, both the groups have gained upward economic mobility due to migration compared to the non-migrants in Bihar.

Table-2: Migration from Bihar to three higher income states of India combined: urban Maharashtra, urban Delhi & urban Gujarat (urban MDG)

Wealth Quintiles (MPCE)	Dominance of Disadvantaged Group (Combined SC/ST/OBC, Illiterate, Rural Origin)			Dominance of Advantages Group (Combined Non-SC/ST/OBC, Literate, Urban Origin)		
	Migration to urban MDG (in per cent)	Non-Migrant in Bihar (in per cent)	Gain/ Loss (in per cent)	Migration to urban MDG (in per cent)	Non-Migrant in Bihar (in per cent)	Gain/ Loss (in per cent)
(0-20) percent	15.95	31.81	-15.86	18.80	18.65	0.15
(20-40) percent	16.88	28.13	-11.25	7.33	24.34	-17.01
(40-60) percent	19.67	22.32	-2.64	16.45	25.35	-8.90
(60-80) percent	37.17	12.90	24.27	35.36	19.48	15.88
(80-100) percent	10.33	4.85	5.48	22.06	12.18	9.88
Total	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00

Source: Compiled by Author from NSSO 64<sup>th</sup> round 2007-08 data on migration.

## 5.2. Probabilistic approach towards measuring economic transition achieved by migrants at destination vs. non-migrants at the origin:

In the previous section, the focus was to contrast the economic transition of two groups: advantaged and disadvantaged group, in terms of their distribution in the wealth quintile structure of the origin and the destination. Taking the same exercise further in this section, we make an attempt at gauging the achieved economic transition through probabilistic approach. We term it as probabilistic approach as we consider gains from migration as probability or chance of an arbitrarily selected arbitrarily person to have achieved upward mobility ( $Q_i$  to some higher  $Q_j$ ) in the wealth quintile.

This is realised in two different ways: A) Joint probability for possible economic transition, and B) probability of belonging to different quintiles between migrants and non-migrants.

Unlike the previous section, here, we will analyse the economic transition separately for all the migrant characteristics such as '*Illiterate & Literate migrants*', '*Rural & Urban origin*', '*SC, ST, OBC & others (non-SC, ST, OBC)*'. As more detailed analysis is needed in this section, we therefore choose to consider only urban area of the state of Maharashtra as the destination and Uttar-Pradesh as the origin state.

**Illustration for A:** we first calculate the 'joint probability' in the form of a matrix which shows change/difference of the probability or likelihood of an individual belonging to a particular quintile group (Q) to fall in different quintile groups (Q1, Q2, Q3 etc.) when he/she decided to migrate.

Joint probability is defined as the probability of both events to occur. For example: Probability that both A and B taking place, and is denoted by  $P(AB)$ , in simple terms, it shows the chances of both the events happening (A and B). For example, if a person belongs to Q2 before migration, then what is the probability that he/she will be able to achieve higher economic transition after migration at the place of destination? i.e., whether that person will continue in the same quintile call Q2 or move to higher quintile classes Q3, Q4, Q5 or even move backward to Q1.

**Illustration for B:** here we calculate the probability of an individual migrant to belong to different quintile classes for both migrants at destination and non-migrants at origin. This will show the improvement/increase in likelihood to belong to higher quintile classes especially for Q4 and Q5 after migration compared to non-migrants.

### 5.2.1. Economic transition for (illiterate vs. literate migrants) from Uttar-Pradesh to urban Maharashtra

The joint probability values in this section, represents the probability of a person belonging to a particular quintile class say Q3, to belong to different quintile classes after migration. For example, if a person belongs to Q3 before migration, then it calculates the various possibilities or probability for that person to belong to other Q's after migration. If that person continues to belong to Q3, it means retaining in the same economic class after migration. If he/she moves up to Q4 or Q5 it represents positive economic transition and if Q2 or Q1 it represents negative economic transition.

Table-3: Possible economic transition for Illiterate and literate migrants originating from Uttar-Pradesh

Illiterate and Literate Migrant from Uttar-Pradesh to Urban Maharashtra							
Illiterate	A. Joint Probability values					B. Probability values	
Wealth Quintile	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	NM Uttar-Pradesh	M Urban Maharashtra
Q1	0.02	0.01*	0.01*	0.09*	0.05*	0.19	0.12
Q2	0.03	0.02*	0.02*	0.12*	0.07*	0.25	0.07
Q3	0.03	0.02	0.02*	0.11*	0.07*	0.24	0.07
Q4	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.09*	0.06*	0.20	0.46
Q5	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.03*	0.12	0.28
Joint Probability → 1.00	Prob. Upward Transition→0.76			Prob.Retaining→0.18		1.00	1.00
Literate	A. Joint Probability values					B. Probability values	
Wealth Quintile	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	NM Uttar-Pradesh	M Urban Maharashtra

Q1	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.10	0.09
Q2	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.11	0.19	0.04
Q3	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.05	0.15	0.26	0.09
Q4	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.05	0.16	0.27	0.19
Q5	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.11	0.19	0.59
Joint Probability → 1.00	Prob. Upward Transition→0.81			Prob. Retaining→0.20		1.00	1.00

Source: Authors' calculation using unit-level NSSO 64<sup>th</sup> round 2007-08 data on migration.

Note: NM represents Non-Migrant/natives and M represents migrants.

*(Probability of Upward Transition is the summation of all the probability values above the coloured diagonal line and also the diagonal line except Q1, i.e., all the probability values with the \* mark. The probability of retaining in the same economic class in the wealth quintile is the summation of all the probability values in the diagonal line).*

In table-3, the coloured diagonal line shows the probability of retaining in the same quintile class after migration. Even retaining in the same quintile after migration can be seen as positive economic gain, except for Q1 which represents no improvement. If an individual migrant has been able to retain his/her position in a particular Q, it means that that person has gained economic wellbeing because for example, a Q3 in Uttar-Pradesh (a very poor state) is not equal to Q3 in Urban Maharashtra (a very rich state). This is also the logic behind calculating the probability of upward economic transition, in which we have taken the summation of all the probability values above the diagonal and also the values on the diagonal except for Q1 which represents no improvement. It is seen that the joint probability value for the upward economic transition is much higher for the literate migrants (0.81) compared to the illiterate migrants (0.76) from Uttar-Pradesh to Urban Maharashtra. Also the literate migrants have higher tendency to retain its position in the wealth quintile, i.e., in the diagonal line (0.20) compared to the illiterate migrants (0.18).

The second part of the table-3, i.e., probability value in B, gives a comparative picture of the likelihood of belonging to different quintile classes for a migrant compared to a non-migrant. This section shows that the likelihood of an illiterate resident/ native of Uttar-Pradesh to belong to bottom two MPCE quintiles is 0.44 (0.19 + 0.25), the resident if migrates to Maharashtra has lesser probability/likelihood of 0.19 (0.12 + 0.07) to belong to bottom two quintiles. This decline in likelihood or probability values in belonging to lower quintiles between migrants at

destination and the non-migrant/native at origin can be termed as gain from migration. The other way of interpreting this phenomenon is that, an illiterate migrant who move to the urban areas of Maharashtra, improves his/her likelihood of belonging to top two quintile classes. Similarly for the literate migrants, the likelihood of belonging to the top two quintile classes also increases with migration but more than the illiterate counterpart. The obvious reason for such as outcome is that literate migrants are likely to possess much more skill, expertise, information, educational qualification, training etc. This is something which is very much lacked by the illiterate migrants who are mostly vulnerable at the place of migration/destination.

### **5.2.2. Economic transition for (rural vs. urban origin migrants) from Uttar-Pradesh to urban Maharashtra:**

In this section we comparison the migrants in terms of origin, i.e., rural and origin. It is observed from table-4 that the joint probability value for the upward economic transition is much higher for the urban originating migrants (0.89) compared to the rural originating migrants (0.79) from Uttar-Pradesh to Urban Maharashtra. Also it is observed that the urban originating migrants have higher tendency to retain its position in the wealth quintile, i.e., in the diagonal line (0.28) compared to the rural origin migrants (0.17).

The second part of the table-4, i.e., probability value in B, gives a comparative picture of the likelihood of belonging to different quintile classes for a migrant compared to a non-migrant. This section shows that the likelihood of a rural resident/ native of Uttar-Pradesh to belong to bottom two MPCE quintiles which is 0.37 (0.15 + 0.22), the resident if migrates to Maharashtra has lesser probability/likelihood of 0.17 (0.11 + 0.06) to belong to bottom two quintiles. This decline in likelihood or probability values in belonging to lower quintiles between migrants at destination and the non-migrant/native at origin can be termed as gain from migration. The other way of interpreting this phenomenon is that, a rural originating migrant who move to the urban areas of Maharashtra, improves his/her likelihood of belonging to top two quintile classes (0.27+0.47=0.74). Similarly for the urban originating migrants, the likelihood of belonging to



the top two quintile classes also increases with migration ( $0.12+0.79=0.91$ ) which is definitely more than its counterpart belonging to rural areas.

Table-4: Possible economic transition for rural and urban originating migrants from Uttar-Pradesh

Rural and Urban originated migrants from Uttar-Pradesh to Urban Maharashtra							
Rural Origin	A. Joint Probability values					B. Probability Values	
Wealth Quintile	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	NM Uttar-Pradesh	M Urban Maharashtra
Q1	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.07	0.15	0.11
Q2	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.11	0.24	0.06
Q3	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.07	0.12	0.26	0.09
Q4	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.10	0.22	0.27
Q5	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.06	0.13	0.47
Joint Probability → 1.00	Upward Transition→0.79			Retaining→0.17		1.00	1.00
Urban Origin	A. Joint Probability values					B. Probability Values	
Wealth Quintile	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	NM Uttar-Pradesh	M Urban Maharashtra
Q1	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.05	0.04
Q2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.09	0.12	0.01
Q3	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.17	0.22	0.04
Q4	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.25	0.32	0.12
Q5	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.23	0.29	0.79
Joint Probability → 1.00	Upward Transition→0.89			Retaining→0.28		1.00	1.00

It is therefore, observed from the empirical analysis that both the rural and urban originated migrants have gained from inter-state migration in terms of economic transition/upward economic mobility. However, the gains achieved are not proportional to both the groups, the achievement in terms of improved probability or likelihood for a migrant to belong to higher quintile classes are much higher for the urban originated migrants compared to the migrants belonging to rural areas.

The obvious reason for such as outcome is that urban originated migrants are likely to possess much more information, social capital, skill, expertise, information, education, knowledge, training etc. This is something which is very much lacked by the migrants originated from rural areas; they mostly migrate to take up blue collared job in cities and work in factories and lower grade jobs and are mostly vulnerable at the place of destination.

### 5.2.3. Economic transition for (SC, ST, OBC vs. non-SC,ST,OBC migrants) from Uttar-Pradesh to urban Maharashtra:

Here we comparison the migrants in terms of social-groups such as ‘SC, ST, OBC’ and ‘Non-SC, ST, OBC’. Table-5 shows that unlike the previous compared categories, i.e., ‘illiterate vs. literate’ and rural vs. urban origin’; the joint probability value for the upward economic transition is slightly higher for the deprived group, i.e., SC, ST, OBC which is (0.79) compared to the non-SC,ST,OBC migrants (0.76). But when it comes to retaining, it is observed that the non-SC, ST, OBC (advantaged group) migrants have higher tendency to retain its position in the wealth quintile, i.e., in the diagonal line (0.25) compared to the SC, ST, OBC migrants (0.17).

Table-5: Possible economic transition SC, ST, OBC and non-SC,ST,OBC migrants originating from Uttar-Pradesh

SC, ST, OBC and Non-SC,ST,OBC migrants from Uttar-Pradesh to Urban Maharashtra							
SC, ST, OBC	A. Joint Probability Values					B. Probability Values	
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	NM Uttar-Pradesh	M Urban Maharashtra
Q1	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.07	0.15	0.10
Q2	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.11	0.24	0.06
Q3	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.07	0.12	0.26	0.09
Q4	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.10	0.22	0.27
Q5	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.06	0.13	0.47
Joint Probability → 1.00	Upward Transition→0.79			Retaining→0.17		1.00	1.00
Non-SC/ST/OBC	A. Joint Probability Values					B. Probability Values	
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	NM Uttar-Pradesh	M Urban Maharashtra

Q1	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.07	0.09
Q2	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.13	0.04
Q3	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.05	0.12	0.21	0.08
Q4	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.07	0.17	0.30	0.22
Q5	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.16	0.28	0.57
Joint Probability → 1.00	Upward Transition→0.76			Retaining→0.25		1.00	1.00

The second part of the table-5, i.e., probability value in B, gives a comparative picture of the likelihood of belonging to different quintile classes for a migrant compared to a non-migrant. This section shows that the likelihood of a SC, ST, OBC resident/ native of Uttar-Pradesh to belong to bottom two MPCE quintiles class is 0.39 (0.15 + 0.24), the resident if migrates to Maharashtra has lesser probability/likelihood of 0.16 (0.10 + 0.06) to belong to bottom two quintiles. This decline in likelihood or probability values in belonging to lower quintiles between migrants at destination and the non-migrant/native at origin can be termed as gain from migration. The other way of interpreting this phenomenon is that, a SC, ST, OBC migrant who move to the urban areas of Maharashtra, improves his/her likelihood of belonging to top two quintile classes (0.27+0.47=0.74). Similarly for the non-SC, ST, OBC migrants, the likelihood of belonging to the top two quintile classes also increases with migration (0.22+0.57=0.77) which is definitely more than its counterpart belonging to disadvantaged social groups. This is because of the fact that the individuals belonging to the backward classes such as SC, ST, OBC mostly belong to the lowest economic strata of any given community and are mostly illiterate who generally face discriminates in the social structure of the society and are likely to remain backward against those belong to higher castes and classes.

## 6. Quantifying the level of advantage or disadvantage faced by various migrant groups using 'Index of Relative Deprivation' (RDI):

As already discussed, migration is mostly associated with some kind of positive gains and expectation at the destination which are mostly economic in nature. These gains could be in terms of better employment opportunities and choices, higher wage, better standard of living,

education (quality education attained at certain places and cities promises better economic reward) etc., which ultimately results in realising an upward economic mobility. This upward economic mobility in this context is referred to as belonging to the top two quintile classes (60-80 per cent & 80-100 per cent) of the wealth distribution at the destination. However, such an achievement, i.e., belonging to the top two quintile classes in the wealth distribution is not easy, where some migrant groups enjoy an edge above the others. This is because of the fact that all migrants, say, individuals or communities are not homogeneous and usually differs across the larger migrant population in a destination. Migrants differ in characteristics in terms of capability, educational attainment (literate/Illiterate), skill and training, socio-economic attributes such as social classes (SC, ST, OBC, & others), origin (rural/urban), distance (inter-state/intra-state) which also reflects economic endowments, social capital, network etc. As a migrant may or may not be endowed with these attributes, their likelihood of making it to the top wealth quintiles at the destination will be conditioned by such attributes.

On the said premise, this particular section illustrates a relevant technique to gauge the extent of advantage/disadvantage owing to certain specific migrant characteristics in making it to the higher MPCE (Monthly Per Capita Expenditure) groups at destination. For the empirical exercise, we consider the top two quintile classes; quintile-4 (60-80 per cent) and quintile-5 (80-100 per cent) are considered. This illustration is based on the formulation suggested by Jayraj and Subramanian (2002) for measuring group disparities in the form of an index of relative disadvantage (RDI).

This measure of deprivation employs the concept of deviation from an ideal situation, which says that the share of the population sub-groups should be equal to the share in a particular outcome. In this case, achievement or gains from migration is understood as belonging to the top two MPCE groups. From an analytical viewpoint, these sub-groups could be conceived of in terms of aggregation of individual socio-economic status or any other grouping criterion.

This unique methodology 'Index of Relative Deprivation' (RDI) can alternatively be interpreted as 'Index of Relative Advantage' for our analysis. It is used to comprehend the extent of advantage or disadvantage across various migrant groups in terms of the gain from migration (belonging to top two quintile classes). RDI finds an easy and interesting interpretation in the sense that a group is said to be relatively disadvantaged whenever RDI value is positive and

vice versa. For analysis, a binary classification of population can be made according to the following criteria: first, by place of origin of migrants (Rural and Urban); second, by education (Illiterate & Literate) and also sub groups (H.S<sup>5</sup> and above & Non-H.S), (Graduation and Above & Non-Graduate) (Technical Qualification & Non-Technical Qualification); and third, by caste (SC & ST, and Others). These categories are however, analysed separately for ‘inter-state’ and ‘intra-state’ migration, which can be used as a proxy to ‘distance’. The usual argument is that ‘inter-state’ migration can generally be seen as long distance migration which usually requires some capital and cost of migration is usually high. On the other hand, ‘intra-state’ migration is generally attributed with short distance within the state boundary and thus requires less capital and cost of migration is usually low.

The technical formulation of Index of Relative Deprivation (RDI) is given below:

$$RDI = \frac{(C_i - S_i)}{(C_i \max - S_i)}$$

*(Where  $i=1 \dots n$ ;  $C_i \max = S_i / AD$  if  $S_i < AD$  and  $C_i \max = 1$  if  $S_i > AD$ ; Where,  $AD = \sum S_i / DC_i$ . Here,  $DC_i$  is the  $i$ th group of a specific characteristic (incidence) and  $C_i$  is the share of  $i$ th group in total migrants of same characteristics.  $S_i$  is the share of  $i$ th group of migrant in total migrant population.  $C_i \max$  is the maximum contribution that  $i$ th group can make;  $AD$  is the average incidence).*

### **6.1.Extent/ Degree of advantage or disadvantage faced by migrants for being Illiterate vs. Literate, Urban origin vs. Rural origin and being SC, ST, & OBC vs. Others.**

To understand the extent or degree of advantage or disadvantage faced by migrants for being illiterate vs. literate, urban origin vs. rural origin and being SC, ST, & OBC vs. others, we interpret the RDI values. The RDI values are calculated for both the inter-state and intra-state

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<sup>5</sup>H.S. refers to higher secondary school education.

migrants separately, followed by the RDI for combined migration flow. As already discussed RDI finds an easy and interesting way of interpreting the results in the sense that a group is said to be relatively disadvantaged whenever RDI value is positive and relatively advantaged when the RDI value is negative.

### **Disadvantage of being Illiterate vs. Literate:**

Migration to urban areas of any state can be considered as more rewarding than migration to rural areas. This is because of the fact that urban destinations provides a diverse range of employment opportunities which are missing in the rural areas. Though the urban destinations such as cities and towns offers employability to both literates and illiterates, the literates always enjoys higher opportunities to earn higher income. Therefore, it is more likely that a higher proportion of literate migrants will attain higher economic mobility, i.e., belonging to the top two quintile classes Q4 (60-80 per cent) and Q5 (80-100 per cent) compared to the illiterate migrants. Table-9 shows positive RDI value which implies disadvantage of being illiterate against literate in the urban areas of all the Indian states, for both the migrants originated from within the state (intra) and out-side the state (inter).

Table-9: RDI values for being illiterate/literate, Urban origin/rural origin and SC, ST, & OBC/others for both intra and interstate in-migrants to urban destination of Indian states.

Urban Areas of Indian States	RDI Disadvantage of being Illiterate			RDI Advantage for Urban Origin migrants			RDI Disadvantage of being SC, ST & OBC/ Others		
	Intra	Inter	Total	Intra	Inter	Total	Intra	Inter	Total
Jammu & Kashmir	1.04	1.01	1.03	-0.08	-0.37	-0.13	0.04	0.60	0.12
Himachal Pradesh	1.10	1.04	1.07	-0.12	-0.39	-0.18	-0.01	0.17	0.06
Punjab	1.04	1.03	1.03	-0.04	-0.60	-0.20	0.13	0.26	0.16
Uttaranchal	1.04	1.03	1.03	-0.01	-0.05	-0.03	0.06	0.25	0.17
Haryana	1.03	1.03	1.03	0.00	-0.12	-0.06	0.13	0.32	0.21
Delhi	1.07	1.04	1.04	-0.02	-0.21	-0.20	0.12	0.13	0.15
Rajasthan	1.02	1.04	1.02	-0.15	-0.14	-0.15	0.05	0.18	0.06
Uttar-Pradesh	1.02	1.03	1.02	-0.15	-0.21	-0.16	0.18	0.26	0.19
Bihar	1.03	1.17	1.03	-0.24	0.01	-0.22	0.18	0.09	0.18
West-Bengal	1.05	1.03	1.05	-0.15	-0.50	-0.19	0.23	0.28	0.24

Jharkhand	1.04	1.05	1.04	-0.35	0.08	-0.21	0.17	-0.06	0.13
Orissa	1.04	1.05	1.05	-0.25	-0.40	-0.28	0.17	0.46	0.20
Chhattisgarh	1.03	1.03	1.03	-0.11	-0.20	-0.11	0.08	0.15	0.11
Madhya-Pradesh	1.03	1.04	1.03	-0.21	-0.02	-0.18	0.14	0.20	0.14
Gujarat	1.04	1.06	1.05	-0.06	-0.49	-0.15	0.06	-0.15	0.00
Maharashtra	1.06	1.05	1.06	-0.09	-0.17	-0.11	0.08	0.09	0.09
Andhra-Pradesh	1.03	1.04	1.03	-0.39	-0.19	-0.38	0.21	0.32	0.22
Karnataka	1.04	1.07	1.05	-0.04	-0.11	-0.07	0.05	0.05	0.06
Kerala	1.25	1.15	1.23	-0.09	-0.10	-0.10	0.00	0.16	0.01
Tamil-Nadu	1.07	1.09	1.07	-0.18	-0.10	-0.18	0.04	0.23	0.06
India	1.04	1.04	1.04	-0.15	-0.20	-0.16	0.13	0.15	0.13

### **Disadvantage/ advantage of urban origin vs. rural origin:**

Migrants' belonging to urban areas (natives) always enjoys an advantage over the migrants belonging from rural areas. Migration from rural areas are mostly agricultural labourers and poor migrants who migrate to urban areas to work in low skill jobs mostly blue collar jobs with very less education, mostly illiterate. On the other hand migrants from urban areas are more likely to be literate with different levels of education and skills levels, and will have more information and social capital. Therefore, it is more likely that a higher proportion of urban originated migrants will attain higher economic mobility, i.e., belonging to the top two quintile classes Q4 (60-80 per cent) and Q5 (80-100 per cent) compared to the migrants from rural areas. Table-9 shows negative RDI values for most of the Indian states which implies advantage of being a native of urban area against rural area to attain higher economic returns at the destination. And this is true for both the migrants originated from within the state (intra) and out-side the state (inter).

### **Disadvantage of being SC, ST & OBC against Others (Non-SC, ST & OBC):**

Migrants' belonging to the backward classes such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, mostly belong to the lowest economic strata of any given community and are mostly illiterate who generally face discriminates in the social structure of the society and are likely to remain backward against those belong to higher castes and classes. Therefore,

it is more likely that a very less proportion of ‘SC, ST & OBC’ migrants will attain higher economic mobility, i.e., belonging to the top two quintile classes Q4 (60-80 per cent) and Q5 (80-100 per cent) compared to the others. Table-9 shows positive RDI values for most of the Indian states which implies disadvantage for ‘SC, ST, & OBC’ migrants as they are more likely to face discrimination and will find it very difficult to attain higher economic mobility at the destination. And this is true for both the migrants originated from within the state (intra) and out-side the state (inter).

## **6.2.Extent/ Degree of advantage or disadvantage faced within the literate groups: H.S. and above vs. Non-H.S., Graduate and above vs. Non-Graduate, Technical vs. Non-Technical.**

In this section, an attempt is made to further disaggregate the literate migrants according to various education levels. Literate migrant is not a homogenous group; they belong to a wide array of educational levels and qualification. Therefore, the level of relative disadvantage should be further investigated in much disaggregation: H.S. (High Secondary School Education) and above vs. Non-H.S., Graduate and above vs. Non-Graduate, Technical vs. Non-Technical.

Table-10: RDI values for being H.S. and above / Non-H.S., Graduate and above/ Non-Graduate, Technical/ Non-Technical for both intra and interstate in-migration to urban destination.

Urban Areas of Indian States	RDI Advantage of being HS and Above/ Non HS			RDI Advantage of being Graduate and above/ Non-Graduate			RDI Advantage of having Tech/Non Tec Qualification		
	Intra	Inter	Total	Intra	Inter	Total	Intra	Inter	Total
Jammu & Kashmir	-0.05	-0.18	-0.07	-0.02	-0.19	-0.03	0.28	0.05	0.23
Himachal Pradesh	-0.01	-0.20	-0.04	-0.14	-0.04	-0.13	0.00	-0.19	-0.04
Punjab	-0.07	-0.64	-0.23	0.00	-0.02	0.00	-0.16	-1.13	-0.40
Uttaranchal	-0.08	-0.10	-0.09	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.15	-0.54	-0.29
Haryana	-0.06	-0.14	-0.10	-0.07	0.04	-0.01	-0.33	-0.51	-0.41
Delhi	-0.03	-0.27	-0.21	0.01	-0.04	-0.02	-0.06	-1.66	-0.64
Rajasthan	-0.09	-0.26	-0.12	-0.08	0.00	-0.06	-0.44	-1.18	-0.62
Uttar-Pradesh	-0.15	-0.26	-0.17	-0.04	-0.03	-0.04	-0.15	-0.59	-0.41
Bihar	-0.19	-0.14	-0.19	-0.04	-0.05	-0.04	-0.39	-0.24	-0.53



West-Bengal	-0.38	-0.59	-0.42	-0.04	0.01	-0.03	-0.78	-0.92	-0.81
Jharkhand	-0.05	-0.18	-0.08	-0.04	-0.05	-0.04	-0.84	-1.03	-0.82
Orissa	-0.17	-0.36	-0.20	-0.04	-0.07	-0.05	-0.25	-0.54	-0.29
Chhattisgarh	-0.26	-0.07	-0.20	-0.21	-0.13	-0.18	-1.11	-2.78	-1.36
Madhya-Pradesh	-0.19	-0.31	-0.21	-0.03	-0.05	-0.03	-0.56	-8.20	-0.60
Gujarat	-0.05	-0.44	-0.13	-0.07	0.04	-0.04	-0.09	-0.92	-0.27
Maharashtra	-0.10	-0.15	-0.11	-0.06	-0.04	-0.06	-0.17	-0.23	-0.18
Andhra-Pradesh	-0.24	-0.16	-0.23	-0.09	-0.19	-0.10	-0.83	0.32	-0.71
Karnataka	-0.12	-0.11	-0.12	-0.05	0.02	-0.03	-0.19	-0.22	-0.23
Kerala	-0.08	-0.12	-0.09	-0.12	0.02	-0.10	-0.15	0.16	-0.10
Tamil-Nadu	-0.34	-0.22	-0.34	-0.08	-0.10	-0.08	-0.25	-0.48	-0.12
India	-0.16	-0.24	-0.18	-0.06	-0.03	-0.05	-0.32	-0.43	-0.33

In table-10, it is observed that, as the educational level increases, i.e., a higher educational level/group is compared against a lesser education degree or group, RDI values shows negative. This helps to empirically confirm that higher education level groups have an advantage in attaining higher economic mobility, also that the proportion of highly educated migrant group will be much high compared to the lesser educate groups in belonging to the top two quintile classes Q4 (60-80 per cent) and Q5 (80-100 per cent). The analysis also shows that for most of the states for both inter and intra state migrants, H.S. (High Secondary School Education) and above migrant group have an advantage above the Non-H.S. group. Similarly graduate and above qualified migrants have more advantage than the Non-Graduate group, and the migrants with technical education and qualifications have an advantage over the non-technically qualified migrants to belong to the top two quintile classes in the overall wealth distribution.

## 7. Conclusion:

Given the vast geographical, socio-cultural and economic diversity in India, this paper highlights that migration is popular among all the communities and groups of people. Internal migration in India (out-migration) is more rampant in the case of lower income states where rich states are mainly receivers of migrants. Overall it is observed that internal migration is an important livelihood strategy as it helps the migrants to achieve economic transition or upward economic mobility in the wealth quintile when compared to the non-migrants. It is also found

that, though such a gain in terms of adding to one's economic wellbeing is experienced by all the groups, the gains are not at all equal or proportional across groups. The reason for such an outcome is that all migrants are not same; they vary in characteristics and the level of endowments. In this context, the 'Index of Relative Deprivation' is proved to be useful as it has shown the extent to which one groups is more advantaged or disadvantaged compared to the other groups in realizing migration related gains. Over all the study observed that the level of endowments such as education, skill, economic status, caste and place of origin plays a very important role in enhancing migration related economic wellbeing in India.

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