



**BLOCK 3**

**DEVELOPMENT AND STATE POLITICS**

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THE PEOPLE'S  
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## **BLOCK 3 INTRODUCTION**

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Different states in India have introduced policies about the fulfillment of needs of society. Generally, these policies include the following issues – development of infrastructure and institutions, opportunities to develop capabilities in terms of getting education and health facilities, welfare schemes to help the people, affirmative action for the marginalised sections of society, etc. Besides, growth rate also indicates the level of development of a country or its governing units. Overall focus of development policies of a state or country indicates the nature of its development model. Two units in this block about are about development models in Indian states. Unit 7 deals with state development models, and unit 8 with migration.



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## **UNIT 7 STATE DEVELOPMENT MODELS\***

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### **Structure**

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Development in India: Explanations
- 7.3 Development at Sub-national Level: Issues and Challenges
- 7.4 The Individual States as Development Models
  - 7.4.1 Punjab Model
  - 7.4.2 Kerala Model
  - 7.4.3 Gujarat Model
  - 7.4.4 Tamil Nadu Model
  - 7.4.5 Other Development Models
- 7.5 References
- 7.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 7.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

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### **7.0 OBJECTIVES**

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This deals with state development models in Indian states. After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of the development model;
- Compare the patterns of development in Indian states;
- Trace the trajectory of development models in Indian states; and
- Relate the development models in the states with that of the development model in India.

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### **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The Development model denotes the policies of a state about the development in various aspects of society such as infrastructure, health and education, welfare policies including poverty alleviation, etc. These could be introduced by the state or by the market separately. These could also be introduced by the alliance of both the state and the market. In India, development models exist at two levels, i.e., all India levels and in different states. Development models at all India level are known as Indian development model, and in different states there can be development models in different states. In this unit, you will read about development models with examples of some states. These examples will help you to understand various patterns of development models in Indian states.

India's developmental trajectory has been a debatable issue amongst social scientists since Independence. On the eve of Independence, India was a society suffering from poverty, malnutrition, and hunger. The development of its people was the foremost challenge before the new Indian state. Over several years after

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\* Dr. Sudhir Kumar Suthar, Assistant Professor, Centre for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences, JNU, New Delhi-110067

Independence, India has seen development in all aspects – infrastructure, education, health, poverty alleviation, social welfare, etc. Indeed, by the second decade of this century, it has emerged as one of the world’s fastest-growing economies. India could achieve this despite having a huge population and scarce resources, including food. India’s development model has passed through largely two phases in terms of the relative roles of the state and the market. The first phase (roughly 1950s-1991) saw the predominant role of the state in development model of India. It was known as Nehruvian or Mahalanobis model. Since the state played a leading role in it, this model was also known as state-led development model. Especially, regarding industrialization, it was known as the state-led industrialization. The second phase, was marked by the increasing role of the market, and relative decline in that of the state. Some scholars view it as a withdrawal of the state. This phase began in 1991 with the introduction of economic reforms in India. The reforms were popularly known as liberalization, privatization, and globalization (LPG). The phases of development have been reflected in varying degrees in the development models in Indian states. The nature of the development model or levels of development can be viewed in two ways. One way views development in terms of growth rate, and another views it in terms of human development. The former takes into consideration the GDP at all India level, and the SGDP in states. The second gives priority to human dimension of development – human capabilities such as health, education, freedom along with several other indicators. A combination of several factors or indices to assess to a level of development is known as Human Development Index. The development model in India, and indeed in the states, have to operate under the several constraints. Some of the glaring among these are – reconciling pressure or politicization of conflicting interests, populism and electoral calculations, insurgency, and riots in several parts of the country, lack of resources, etc.

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## **7.2 DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA: EXPLANATIONS**

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India’s development model is marked by a paradox: there is poverty and prosperity at the same. Scholars have broadly provided three explanations for this paradox. The first explanation underlines that despite the changes which India has been facing, it is because of democratic institutions, federal structure, the constitution that India has been able to achieve its development goals. The second explanation suggests that continuity of reform agenda by different successive regimes from 1991 has enabled India to achieve its goals. It has been so despite political rhetoric and competition among different political parties that have controlled different regimes. The third explanation attributes the success of India’s democracy to the rise of a middle class in India, availability of resources, and condition for reforms. Besides, a business-oriented elite has contributed to the opening of economic opportunities and the rise of skilled power. These factors have created the development of an economy full of potential for investment, and consequently, growth and development in India. However, these explanations focus on the development of India as a singular nation-state unit. They tend to ignore the regional, sub-national level diversity that has contributed to India’s developmental success story. Indeed, India’s development presents an aggregate picture of development in different states. Consideration of patterns of development in different states thus can help us explain why some states do better than others in their development project or development models. You will read about development models in different states of India in section 7.4.

### 7.3 DEVELOPMENT AT SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

In the Nehruvian or Mahalanobis model of development, the state played a leading role. The state played such role in development within Indian states as well just as it did at the all India level. As stated earlier, development can be seen at two levels: One, at the all India level which presents aggregated form development of different states; and two, development within different states. Development within the states can be called as sub-national development. Moreover, there have not been uniform patterns of development in different states or in sub-national levels of development. Different states have different issues and challenges.

There exists regional inequality within states and between states in India. While on the one hand, there are developed states such as Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab, or Haryana, there are states which were addressed by acronym BIMARU (laggard or literally sick). The latter stood for Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. The uneven development resulted in a growing resentment in some areas against such structural inequalities. It led to the feeling of discrimination in the less developed areas by the developed regions or the state or central governments. Consequently, the backward regions demanded creation of the separate states for them out of the existing state or states. The latest example of such states are the creation of Telangana out of Andhra Pradesh, and of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh out of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh respectively; though Uttarakhand also is also an example of a new state, reasons for this were more political than economic than regional backwardness. Three of the new states – Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Uttarakhand were created from the states which came to be known as the BIMARU states.

Economic reforms introduced in 1991 gave the states in India to play a relatively less constrained role than earlier in their initial development agenda. However, they have to do so with the permission/concurrence of the centre. Lawrence Saez in the book *Federalism without Centre: The Impact of Political and Economic Reform in India* (2002) argues that the intergovernmental competition between government and in Indian states has been transformed into inter-jurisdictional cooperation between states. Consequently, the states no longer depend on the centre for their economic and industrial development. The economic reforms promoted states to use this opportunity and invite private firms (national and global) to invest in their states. Before the reforms, industrialization in a state was contingent upon the union government's financial support and the relationship between the union and the state government. With the reforms coming into place, various state governments started exercising autonomy to invite private players and encourage industrialization. States such as Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, took the initiative to introduce reforms. The states especially ruled by non-Congress governments were proactive in this. They wanted to reduce their dependence for financial and industrial development on the union government. Consequently, regional parties and individual leaders played a critical leadership role in this process of development. Here are some relevant examples. In Andhra Pradesh, Chandrababu Naidu, the Chief Minister of state, promoted the IT sector in and around the city of Hyderabad. Jayalalitha, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, played a significant role in promoting private sector manufacturing units near Chennai. In the case of Gujarat, Narendra Modi played a major role in

fostering the private sector's role and faster industrial development. Apart from these states, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand, and Himachal Pradesh also took steps for their industrialization. These states have developed their industrial plans and policies to invite Indian and global investors to establish industries. Besides, some of the states have also become hubs of new experiments in the field of agriculture. Punjab promoted faster agricultural modernization with individual farmer specific incentives. Unlike other Indian states, Kerala focused on the development of education, especially skill development, apart from agricultural development.

The reforms also gave incentive to the private sector in collaboration with the governments for setting up Special Economic Zones (SEZs). Acquisition of land became necessary for setting up industries in the states. Such industries aimed to provide employment to the people in the respective states. They also were expected to develop infrastructure. The acquisition of land for setting up SEZs generated politics around the land acquisition. The attempts to acquire land for setting up SEZ was opposed by farmers in several states. This led to the politicization of development agenda. Opposition parties and farmers opposed the land acquisition, resulting in violence in some instances. This also adversely affected the development of SEZ in some cases. There were several instances of protest in the first decade of this century against land acquisition in India. For instance, violence took place in Nandigram and Singur in West Bengal, and in Bhatta-Parsaul in western Uttar Pradesh against the land acquisition. This derailed the development agenda of the respective governments in these states.

**Check Your Progress 1**

- Note:** i) Use the Space given below for your answer.  
ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Define a Development Model.

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2) What are the issues and challenges at sub-national-level development?

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## 7.4 THE INDIVIDUAL STATES AND MODELS OF DEVELOPMENT

We can categorise states in India on the basis of development followed by them. As in the meaning of development model, features of the development model in a state can be identified according to the roles played by leadership, parties ruling the state, priorities of policies – development of infrastructure such as roads, educational and health institutions, poverty alleviation programmes and other social welfare measures, and status of human rights of, etc. Mostly, scholars have used the rate of growth in a state to measure the level of its development. However, some scholars do not see growth in isolation from social welfare, development of human capabilities, etc., i.e., human development. The states such as Kerala, Gujarat, Punjab, Goa, Karnataka, and Maharashtra have shown higher economic growth and modest human development. The BIMARU states, along with Odisha and Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh, which were part of BIMARU states (Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, respectively) continue to grapple with the development crisis. Scholars like Atul Kohli, Subrata Mitra focused more on the governance question in various states of India. Atul Kohli, in the book *Poverty Amid Plenty in New India* (2012) attributes patronage-based politics in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh as primary reasons for their poor governance. He observes that during the era of reforms, growth in these states got patronalized. It is also time when the Indian state has become “pro-business” from having supported the socialist agenda in the pre-reform period. West Bengal could reduce the level of poverty due to its successful land reforms program implemented after independence. Gujarat attracted higher foreign direct investment, industrial-growth and industrial modernization by implementing an industry-friendly policy environment. You read in the sub-sections below about the features of development models in some select states.

### 7.4.1 Punjab Model

The development model of Punjab showcases development patterns in the states or regions in India where agriculture is a major contributor to growth and development. Punjab, along with some other regions such as Haryana and western region of Uttar Pradesh is credited with making India self-sufficient in food requirement on the country. Punjab was a major saviour of country which suffered due to food shortage in the 1960s. The food crisis was compounded by war with China and Monsoon failure. The food shortage could be met, and India became self-sufficient in food production by Green Revolution. Green Revolution meant the use of high yielding varieties (HYV) of seeds, chemicals and fertilizers, and usage of machinery in agriculture in certain regions of the country. And Punjab was such a region. The main purpose of introducing the Green Revolution was to produce enough food and make India self-sufficient in meeting its needs. With a developed irrigation system and usage of inputs, tractors, and associated tools

Punjab has achieved a rapid agricultural transformation. It witnessed a major jump in wheat and rice production since these were the two crops that benefitted immensely from the green revolution. The introduction of a Minimum Support Price for both these crops and the state procurement program aiming at the production of both these crops also ensured a minimum level of income for the state’s farmers. Green Revolution also impacted class formation in Punjab and

employment patterns. The former was indicated by the emergence of commercial farmers in the state. The latter was reflected in employment generation for migrant agriculture labourers from backward regions of the country, especially from eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Punjab's per capita income surpassed the Indian average and became the fastest growing state within a decade. The Punjab model of agricultural development became one of the most successful development stories in post-independent India.

Although the success of Green-Revolution-based development model contributed to the prosperity of the country, in the long term it resulted in economic and social crises in the state. Overemphasis on agriculture resulted into multiple problems. Soon Punjab witnessed a gradual decline of the industrial sector. Above all, its agricultural focus resulted in serious environmental concerns, especially the decline in soil quality due to the overuse of chemicals and fertilizers. Its agriculture became heavily state-dependent as the Food Corporation of India emerged as the biggest procurement agency. The state government was also giving massive farm subsidies in the form of water, electricity, subsidies. A cumulative impact of this was that soon the state started witnessing a fall in its growth rate. The rise of the problem of insurgency made it further worst for the state. The decline in the agricultural production, and lack of industrialization resulted into declining per-capital income in the state. This led to increasing cases of suicides amongst farmers and agricultural labourers. Problem of sustainability was one of the major challenges of Punjab kind of growth model. Some scholars explain the violence in Punjab that occurred in the 1980s as a consequence of crises created by the Green Revolution.

#### **7.4.2 The Kerala Model**

Kerala Model is generally known for its emphasis on human development, especially education and health. Kerala has been credited with achieving a higher human development index for several years. In 1975 a report of the United Nations regarded Kerala's development as a role model. In their several writings Amartya Sen and Jean have underlined the achievement of Kerala with reference to indicators of human development. Kerala's development indicators are quite close to the developed countries in terms of education, health, and women, welfarism. Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze attribute this success to the welfare-oriented state policies. Kerala has focused on human development by introducing welfare policies aiming at enhancing people's incomes. Besides, Kerala also focused upon development of cooperatives and tourism development. Both these policies were aimed at achieving an equitable growth of rural areas as well as urban areas. The left-front government played a major role in implementing this model of government. Contrary to the West Bengal's development model of the left-front government, where the focus was more on urbanization and industrialization, Kerala's development model proved to be rural-centric and more efficient. Besides, Kerala's development model was an outcome of bottom-up planning. Local self-government institutions played a crucial role in effective functioning of various state led welfare programs. Women's participation has been one of the most remarkable achievements of the Kerala's development initiatives. Kerala's bi-polar coalition politics that involved the left front governments and the Indian National Congress and other religious groups, especially Muslims and Christian minorities, has also been a major driver of this more inclusive kind of development. By implementing these policies, Kerala could reduce its dependence on industrial development led by foreign direct investment. Despite not having



such a dependence Kerala's rural and agriculture centric model helped achieving a more inclusive form of development. Kerala is different from the general picture in the country so regarding indicators of human development. About general picture of human development in their book *An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions* (2013) Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen argue essential needs of people, especially poor and women have often been neglected in India. Resources have not been used for the public good to enhance people's living conditions.

However, by the early decades of the twenty first century, Kerala had also started witnessing stagnation in its development. Kerala recorded higher levels of unemployment and a rising number of suicides in its urban areas. the Tourism-centric model is gradually showing serious environmental implications and extraction of local resources. Besides, cooperatives have also been witnessing inefficient systems because people are looking upto open markets to purchase more customer-friendly products. Its economy also relies heavily upon the remittances received from the labour class working in the Gulf countries. In this context, the view that Kerala has performed well in human development index has not gone uncontested. Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya in the book *India's Tryst with Destiny: Debunking the Myth that Underline Progress and Addressing New Issues* (2012) do not agree with the argument that Kerala is an example of a successful development model.

### 7.4.3 The Gujarat Model

Gujarat model has also been presented as another success story of Indian states. Unlike Kerala, which has been regarded as a model based upon welfarism, the Gujarat model is seen as a success of industrialization and market-oriented reforms. During the first two decades of this century Gujarat was one of the highest growing state economies in India. Its growth caused by major reforms. The reforms constituted: Opening of its economy for the corporate sector; easing regulations for doing business in Gujarat; and liberalizing its land and environmental regulations. Gujarat's connectivity to the port and a good communication network helped in the promotion of its industrialization. Besides, the government of Gujarat promised 24 hours power supply to the industrial units and offered various subsidies to industrial units to establish units in Gujarat and produce more. The subsidies were of various kinds, including the capital, interest, infrastructure or subsidies on land, water and usage of other natural resources. The government also created industrial parks and special economic zones (SEZs) to give special incentives to various industrial export-oriented units. Gujarat has attracted maximum Foreign Direct Investment between the 1990s and the 2010s amongst states of India. Some of the state government's initiatives like promoting the Non-Resident Indians for investing in the state has helped the state achieve this. Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya are staunch supporters of the Gujarat model of development. They argue that an economy such as Gujarat's could develop only after achieving higher growth rates. And it could be possible by promoting industrialization and market led growth. Development of Gujarat is also based upon the trickle-down theory of growth. The existence of a strong entrepreneurial class also helped achieve Gujarat a higher growth rate. Historically, Gujarati's have been involved in diverse business activities within and outside India. When Gujarat government opened up its economy for industrialization, this entrepreneurial class positively responded to these initiatives and invested heavily in Gujarat.

However, Gujarat's development model has received criticisms from many quarters. Apart from its lack of sensitivity towards marginalized sections, especially those dependent upon natural resources for livelihood, the development was achieved through a highly centralized political system. The local self-government institutions hardly had any role in the planning or implementing various development programs as the focus was on industries. Gujarat has also ignored the health and education sectors in its excessive emphasis on industrialization. Gujarat's labour force lacks social security net and education. The majority of its workforce is part of informal sector without any social and income security. Gujarat has also seen higher rates of unemployment in the past one decade.

#### 7.4.4 Tamil Nadu Model

Tamil Nadu's development strategy has been qualitatively different from the above mentioned two examples – Kerala and Gujarat. Unlike these two states, Tamil Nadu does not have a legacy history of industrial development and infrastructural development. It was in the 1980s, that development became a major issue in the governance of Tamil Nadu: it witnessed ethnic and regional movement in the first two decades after Independence. Tamil Nadu adopted two-pronged strategy: One one hand it focussed on the development of service sector; two, it focused on the reduction of poverty (especially urban poverty) as part of state's welfare programs.

Tamil Nadu also had a history of better education facilities. This provided a social base for industrial development of the state. These factors, along with Dalit movement, women's education and availability of ports have cumulatively created suitable social environment necessary for the development of the market and attraction of Foreign Direct Investment. In addition, the state also focused on the development of industrial corridors. Consequently, Tamil Nadu became a hub of the automobile sector.

Tamil Nadu also focused on providing food to the urban poor through state led welfare programs. Its universal midday meal program also received high appreciation. Tamil Nadu government also invested heavily in distributing other benefits to the poor (especially girls). Some of its schemes, such as televisions or cycles, received criticism from various corners, but other states also emulated similar schemes in different ways. Above all, the state also developed an improved health infrastructure by investing in public health and promoting the private sector in the health sector. This resulted in state's improved performance on the human development index. Tamil Nadu's health indicators are quite close to Kerala despite having lower per capita consumption levels.

Social welfare schemes formed a significant part of the human development agenda in Tamil Nadu. The public distribution system in the state with its modernized supply chains reduced of poverty levels and provided food security in the state. The welfare of children has been ensured by the availability of food through *Anganwadis*, consequently improving the child health profile. Though most state-run public programs were initially criticized as populist, in due course of time, other states also introduced public welfare programs on similar lines.

#### 7.4.5 Other Development Models

Since the 1990s, the question of development became an important political issue in India. Leaders, governments, and political parties controlling these governments

vied with each other to attract FDI, introduce welfare and populist schemes and get grants from the centre, private investment from Indian corporate groups. This race of presenting one's development initiatives as a new model has become an integral part of India's political discourse. The states of Odisha under Naveen Patnaik's leadership, Bihar under Nitish Kumar's leadership, West Bengal under Mamata Banerjee's leadership Uttar Pradesh Mayawati's, Mulayam Singh's or Yogi Aadiyanath (like other chief ministers belonging to the BJP) have sought introduce in the 1990s development agendas with a varying emphasis of infrastructure development, welfare schemes, etc.

### Check Your Progress 1

**Note:** i) Use the Space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the features of a development in a state?

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2) What are the negative consequences of Punjab Model of development?

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## 7.6 LET US SUM UP

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In this unit, you read about development models in different states in India. Development model is about the development strategies of state government about development of infrastructure, policies for welfare of people, and the development of capabilities among the people. It is also about relative roles of the state and market sector. In the immediate aftermath of independence Punjab emerged as a model of development with agricultural modernization. During the 1970s and 80s Kerala's development became an emerging model with rural development, agricultural development led by a welfare state. By the beginning of the twenty first century Gujarat and Tamil Nadu emerged as two distinct models. Gujarat focused on market led industrialization, whereas Tamil Nadu focused on industrialization along with a proactive welfare state. Overall, the emergence of these models indicates a more federal character of India's developmental political economy. These different models have also produced a different kinds of electoral politics.

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## 7.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) A development model is about the policies of the state about the development of infrastructure, institutions, human capabilities (education and health), welfare policies, poverty alleviation, etc. This can be carried out by the state or by the market independently or by them jointly.
- 2) Major challenges in the development at the sub-national level exist in terms of inequality of opportunities of employment, availability of resources and constraints to utilize them. Challenges arise due to disagreement on roles of the state and market, and politicization of development issues, which often derail the development agenda.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) A state development model can be viewed according to in a state can be identified according to the priorities of its strategies and policies development of infrastructure such as roads, educational and health institutions, poverty alleviation programmes and other social welfare measures, and status of human rights, etc. It can also be identified on the basis of relative role of state and market, and of nature of its leadership.
- 2) The negative consequences of the Punjab model of development included decline in fertility of land, depleting water table, decline in rate of growth, the increase health-related problems and social and economic crises.

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## UNIT 8    MIGRATION

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### Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 What is Migration?
- 8.3 Push and Pull Factors of Migration
- 8.4 Globalization and Migration
- 8.5 Patterns of Internal Migration in India
  - 8.5.1 Seasonal Migration
  - 8.5.2 State Response and Legal Developments
  - 8.5.3 Lockdown and Migration
- 8.6 References
- 8.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 8.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

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### 8.0    OBJECTIVES

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After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning and significance of migration;
- Interpret theory, patterns and causes of migration;
- Connect relationship between migration and globalization;
- And discuss patterns and causes of migration in the Indian states.

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### 8.1    INTRODUCTION

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People move from one place to another in search of jobs, for doing business or for any other purpose. Such movement of people is an important part of their economic activities. It also affects their social relations and politics. As you will read below movement of people from one place to another is called migration. Migration is also an indicator of levels of development in a country. Sometimes, it has led to conflict between migrants from another region and people who are not migrants in that place. Migration also becomes a centre of political contestation, especially during elections. In this unit, you will read about migration.

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### 8.2    WHAT IS MIGRATION?

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Migration means the movement of people from one geographical location to the other for permanent or partially permanent settlement. Migration can be both internal and external. Internal migration refers to movement from one state to another within a country. External migration is relocation to some other country. Internal migration is inter-state when migration takes place from one state to the

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\* Dr. Siddharth Mukerjee, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Babasaheb Bhim Rao Ambedkar University, Lucknow.

other, and intra-state when the movement is from one place to the other within the state. The term migration is often used interchangeably with a refugee. But there is a difference between a migrant and a refugee. Refugees are people who settle in some other country out of fear of persecution in their native place. They move from conflict-ridden areas to safer zones where they can rehabilitate themselves. The cause of movement here is therefore escapism from conflict zones. The refugees are recognized and protected by international law. On the other hand, migrants are not clearly defined under international law. It still remains an obscure category. But the traditional concept of migration as envisaged by UNHCR, is a movement out of choice for reasons of marriage, livelihood or reuniting with family abroad. Most significantly, growing employment opportunities in urban areas and metropolis have caused large-scale inter-state and intra-state migration in recent times. Migration from rural and semi-urban to urban areas a predominant form of migration.

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### **8.3 PUSH AND PULL FACTORS OF MIGRATION**

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There can be multiple factors – social, cultural, economic, political or personal, of migration for people from the place of origin of migration to the place of destination or vice-versa. Everett Spurgeon Lee is one of the scholars who has propounded the theory of migration. According to Lee, the reasons for migration can be divided into two kinds of factors. These are the push factors and pull factors. Push factors are factors that cause migration of people from the place of origin of migration to the destination of migration, and pull factors are the factors that attract migration to the destination. Push factors may include lack of employment, education, health services and adequate means of livelihood at the point of origin. In India, social variables like, caste, gender, region, religion or displacement due to natural disasters, ethnic violence may also serve as push factors for migration from a place. Pull factors include better employment opportunities, higher income, education, health care or even the social environment that is more inclusive. Migration in India generally takes from the less developed states and regions to the developed, and from the villages to the cities. The cities which attract larger proportion of migration are cosmopolitan cities such as Delhi, Mumbai, Gurugram and Bangalore, among such states are Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra, and Gujarat, and states of origin of migration are Uttar Pradesh, Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh and Rajasthan. Arguably, these areas are open for settlement for people coming from diverse social structures. During the lockdown (2020) caused due to the Covid-19 pandemic, reverse migration took place in India. Thousands of migrant workers were forced to migrate to their native places from the places of destination.

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### **8.4 GLOBALIZATION AND MIGRATION**

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Opportunities created by globalization in India in worked as a push factor to boost migration. Economic reforms introduced in India in 1991 were part of the globalization process. The reforms were introduced to overcome the Balance of Payment (BOP) crisis, which India had faced in 1991. Globalization opened the economy the for Foreign Direct Investment, and relaxed control of state regulation for getting licenses to run business. It gave more freedom to the market forces to run economy. It consequently created more opportunities for employment and encouraged migration of skilled middle classes from all over the country, and of

labourers from backward regions to some cities which became centres of new opportunities. Globalization also encouraged international migration. The opening of opportunities in Silicon Valley in USA and several other western countries the resulted in international migration of several Indians for jobs and education.

The structural transformation that was brought about by the globalization of the Indian economy was centred on the agenda of rapid growth. It was largely a market-driven phenomenon that involved a rapid expansion of the private sector. Under economic globalization, special incentives were extended for FDI, FII, external trade, special economic zones, software technology parks and rapid expansion of industry and private commerce in general. Expansion of technology and communication facilitated industrialization by creating avenues for the growth of service industry which subsequently became the mainstay of the Indian economy. With the growth of the service industry, migration in both skilled and semi-skilled rose to a significant extent. As the requirement of skilled professionals in IT-BPO/KPO industry propelled migration to IT hubs like Bangalore, New Delhi, Hyderabad, Noida and Gurugram, it also raised the demand for better housing facilities in these cities. This further led to the rise of the real estate industry and the concomitant demand for labour as construction workers. So while globalization directly raised the demand for skilled labour in the service industry largely catering to the international market and the multinational companies that had a growing presence in India, indirectly it also attracted construction labour for the rapidly expanding real estate industry to cater to the housing requirements of the skilled migrants. Big construction companies sprang up to start mega ventures of real estate business in India. These companies mainly include DLF, Lodha Group, Embassy Group, Omaxe Limited, Ansal API, Brigade Enterprise Limited and India Bulls Real Estate Limited. Large and medium-level housing projects were also taken up by the development authorities in the cities. The accompanying infrastructure development under public-private joint ventures has also created a special wave of migration in this sector. From these developments, it can clearly be inferred that globalization has both directly and indirectly propelled migration. Global capitalism has created a new working class that migrates from rural and semi-urban regions in search of better livelihood.

Although globalization has created new opportunities of employment to migrant workers, it has also generated risks and uncertainties for them. A French sociologist, Guy Standing has conceptualized such risks and uncertainties as precarity, which is known as Standing's theory of global precarity. According to this theory, migrant workers face various types of distress which can be labelled as four A's- anger, anomie, anxiety and alienation. The distress and anxiety arise from labour market flexibility under global capitalism. They face various insecurities such as lack of income-earning opportunity, job insecurity that is vulnerability to hiring and firing, lack of upward mobility, work insecurities like hazardous working conditions and long working hours causing fatigue, absence of opportunity for training and skill development, income insecurity, and lack of political representation. The migrant workers in the unskilled segment mostly constitute unorganized labour that lacks these basic rights of industrial citizenship.

Globalization has therefore come with a mixed baggage of opportunities and challenges for migrant labourers. The pull factors of the point of destination have indeed propelled migration from small towns and villages. The construction industry today serves as the basic site of migration as also infrastructure and

service sectors. But the challenges and precarities of migration in the new economy are even more hard-pressing as indicated by Guy Standing. The workers get entrapped in a complex web of insecurities and due to lack of political representation at the point of destination. They fail to get their problems addressed at the governmental level. The collective voice for grievance redressal for the migrant migrants is generally missing.

**Check Your Progress 1**

- Note:** i) Use the Space given below for your answer.  
ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Define Migration.

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2) What are push and pull factors of migration?

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3) Explain the relationship between globalization and migration.

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## 8.5 PATTERNS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION IN INDIA

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The censuses of 2001 and 2011 offer a detailed description of migration patterns in the new millennium. As per the 2001 census, the total number of migrants stood at 307.1 million, of which 90.4 million were males and 216.7 million were females. The total number of inter-district, and intra-district migrants was 76.8 million and 181.7 million, respectively and those migrating from other states stood at 42.3 million. Region-wise, Maharashtra topped the list on in-migration with 7.9 million migrants. It was followed by Delhi and West Bengal, receiving



5.6 million and 5.5 million migrants, respectively. The census also noted that the number of migrants increased by nearly 32.9% between 1991 and 2001.

The 2011 Census reported a total 45,57,87,621 migrants, of which 14,61,45,967 were males and 30,96,41,654 were females. This means that as in the 2001 census, in the 2011 census also females still outnumbered males as migrants. Higher relocation amongst women is possibly due to marriage. The total number of rural migrants and urban migrants were 27,82,03,361 and 17,75,84,260 respectively. The intra-state and inter-state migrants were 39,56,52,669 and 5,42,64,749 respectively. While relocation for marriage still predominates in intra-state migration, work/employment is the main cause of migration of those coming from other states. During the 1990s and the 2000s, migration has risen significantly. But the overall pattern of migration has remained more or less the same. But some exceptions are noteworthy. Firstly, region-wise, West Bengal has dropped down in the list of in-migrants. Out-migration was highest from the states of U.P and Bihar. Together the two states constituted 37% of the total inter-state migrants and adding Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, the total goes up to 50%. The regions/states receiving the highest number of migrants were Maharashtra, Delhi, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Interestingly, Uttar Pradesh figures prominently in both the lists of in-migrants and out-migrants. Also, inter-state migration has fallen to 33% between 2001 and 2011, while inter-district migration increased to 58% in the same period.

Studies and census reports show that India both men and women migrate from their native places to other places. But there is a difference in the reasons and destination of their migration. The migration of women mostly occurs within the same state and principal reason for such migration is marriage. Migration of men mostly occurs across states and principal reason for their migration is to seek employment. It is clear from the table below that marriage is the major behind migration. And it is mostly women who migrate to their husbands' places after marriage.

**The reasons for migration in India**

Reason	Total Number/Percentage
Work-employment	14.4 million (14.7%)
Business	1.1 million (1.2%)
Education	2.9 million (3.0%)
Marriage	43.1 million (43.8%)
Moved after birth	6.5 million (6.7%)
Moved with household	20.6 million (21.0%)
Other	9.5 million (9.7%)

**Source:** Census of India, 2001, p.3

However, there is some decline in India in the marriage as a reason for the migration of women and an increase in it for economic reasons. A study by Rao and Finoff (2015) reveals that while between 1983 and 2008, the proportion of women migrating for studies has increased slightly from 0.5% to 1%, those migrating for economic reasons has declined from 2.6% to 1.1% in the same period. The study also investigates the phenomenon of disguised economic

migration amongst women. It finds that most married women who would have also migrated with the intent of doing job at the point of destination, they reported to have stated marriage as prime cause of migration.

### 8.5.1 Seasonal Migration

Seasonal migration takes place in specific seasons in a year. During these periods, labour is needed to sow and harvest crops in the areas of destination of migration, and this period is also lean season for agriculture in the areas from where the migration takes place. Seasonal migrants migrate for employment during the specific seasons and return to their respective homes once the seasonal work is over. Again, they migrate in the next season, and return home after completing the season's work. And the season migration continues in a circular way. Seasonal migration has also been documented as a major form of labour mobility in India. Migration of women labourers from Bihar to Murshidabad, Bardhaman and Medinipur districts of West Bengal and tribals from Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan to work in sugar mills are two relevant examples. Seasonal migration was low until the 1980s and picked up significantly since the initiation of economic reforms in 1991. There is a noticeable regional pattern to temporary labour migration in India. A study by Keshari and Bhagat (2012) shows that between 1991 and 2000, U.P had the highest number of temporary migrants, followed by Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. It also shows that the mobility of men is much higher than women in states with high rates of seasonal migration like Bihar, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Odisha and Gujarat. The gender differentials are low in states like Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In addition, temporary migration is found to be much higher in the lower strata of society.

A study by UNESCO shows that seasonal migrants are mostly illiterates and is high amongst the SC/ST population in caste terms (Marina and Tankha, 2013, p.15). They do not possess caste certificates BPL cards, voters' card, and other identity proofs. Because of this, they lack of access to state's welfare benefits. Their children do not get education as the working sites do not provide such facilities, and they are not settled in a specific place. Apart from agriculture, seasonal labourers also migrate for specific times in a year to the cities, towns or mining areas to work in the construction industry, manufacturing, real estate industry, in brick-kilns, textiles, mines and quarries, sericulture, head loaders and coolies, rice mills, agro-processing salt pans, as rickshaw pullers, etc. In many cases, the entire family, including children and women of labourers, migrate as seasonal labourers.

Overall, seasonal migration has emerged as a common type of labour mobility across the length and breadth of the country. While agriculture remains the hotspot for seasonal migration, the numbers have gone up significantly in the industry and service sectors. Indirectly, the expansion of the service industry that has led to rapid migration of the service or professional class to big cities has given rise to the construction industry which further draws a large number of seasonal migrants.

### 8.5.2 State Response and Legal Developments

The state has responded with some welfare measures for the welfare of migrant workers. The first step in this direction was the advancement of the State Migrant

Workmen' Act 1979. The Act made the registration of those establishments mandatory that hired migrant labour. The labour contractors for such establishments were also required to get a license from the Labour department to recruit labour for the company. There was also a legal requirement to provide the identity details of the migrant workers and clear evidence on the wage payments made to them. The biggest benefit that the law brought to workers was to create uniform applicability of labour laws which provided for equivalent benefits for inter-state migrants and labour in the organized sector. The law mandated the contractors to provide displacement and travelling allowance to the labour and make necessary provisions for basic facilities at the working site like housing, safety kits, medical help during accidents at the worksite. A major limitation of the Act was that it was more regulatory than welfarist in nature. The stipulations of the Act were meant to define duties of the employer and the contractor rather than putting the welfare responsibility on the state. In 1996, a special law was passed to ensure the welfare and security of the building and other construction workers. The Act provided for the establishment of welfare boards and worker's welfare fund by the state governments. The law had two major dimensions- to offer civic amenities at the worksite and providing protective securities. The responsibilities were divided between welfare boards and employers. Civic amenities like clean drinking water, accommodation at the worksite, crèche facilities in case of more than 50 female of workers, latrine and urinals, and first aid facilities were to be provided by the employers. The welfare boards were meant to extend welfare benefits like accident benefits, old age benefits beyond the age of 60, group insurance, maternity benefits, and financial assistance for children's education and medical treatment. Welfare boards were also given to ensure fair payment and payment during emergency leaves by the employers. Another important provision of the Act was to constitute a Safety Committee by all employers who hired more than 500 migrant labourers. The Committee would be composed of builder's and worker's representatives. A chief inspector would be appointed in the labour departments of the respective states who would ensure the compliance of the guidelines by the employers. The chief inspector was also required to pay surprise visits to the working sites to monitor the working conditions for labourers and take corrective measures. The Act also included penal measures for non-compliance.

The measures introduced by the state faced challenges in their implementation. The State Migrant Workmen' Act 1979 was more concerned with defining duties of the employer and the contractor than on fixing responsibility for the implementing the welfare measures, for migrant workers. There were gaps in implementation of these measures such as the gap between formulation of rules and their implementation (Roy and Naik 2017). However, some states like Delhi, Chattisgarh, and Tamil Nadu have done substantial registration. It is found that states with high registration have also spent substantially on labour welfare.

### **8.5.3 Lockdown and Migration**

Migration and migrants can get affected by contingent factors. The pandemic caused by Covid-19 is one such factor. As prevention of the spread of pandemic could possibly be done by maintaining social distancing, measures such as lockdown became inevitable. The Government of India announced lockdown in March 2020. The lockdown included closing all kinds of economic units and institutions, restriction of movement and social gathering in public spaces,

confinement to boundaries of houses. Even as such measures impacted every section of the society, the most adversely affected were migrant labourers. Many of them were engaged in informal economic activities, lived in rented houses. The lockdown closed avenues of their earning. Some even did not reside in rented houses; they in public places such as under flyovers, on pavements. Apart from the closure of employment avenues, many did not have places to live. This created a feeling of insecurity of livelihood. This led to reverse migration. In reverse migration, the migrants moved in the reverse direction from the places where they had initially migrated back to their native places. Many walked on foot, or whatever means could be available hundreds of kilometres back home.

### Check Your Progress 2

**Note:** i) Use the Space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What is seasonal Migration?

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2) What has been the state response to migrant workers?

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## 8.7 LET US SUM UP

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Inter and intra-state migration has been on the rise in India. It has been triggered by the process of globalization, urbanization and advancements in transport and communication technology. Labour mobility from rural and suburban regions to cities has become a common phenomenon. The pull factors at the point of destination are complemented by push factors at the point of origin. Relocation to cities comes with a mixed baggage of benefits and risks. The risks that go with are clearly discernible in the livelihood of the migrant labourers. More importantly, the seasonal migrant workers face alienation as they experience a new social and political life in their point of destination. They lack a collective voice that is needed to make genuine claims for welfare and securities at the workplace. As unorganized labour, they remain at the mercy of the contractors and the managers.

The Central government has taken relevant steps to redress the grievances of migrant labour. Special laws for the welfare of migrant labourers and those in the construction industry are in force. These laws, however offer broad guidelines and direction to state governments for implementation. Therefore, the task of putting the provisions for welfare in place and ensuring the outreach of welfare to the target groups is a principal task of the state government. Successful policy intervention will therefore require a high degree of interdependence and cooperation between Centre and states.

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## 8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Migration implies the movement of people from one place to another for permanent or semi-permanent settlement. Migration can be both within a state from one region to another, and between states from one state to another. The former is known as intra-state migration, and the latter as inter-state

migration. Migration generally occurs from backward regions to the developed regions, which provide opportunities to migrants.

- 2) Push and pull factors define reasons for migration. The concepts of push and pull factors were coined by Everett Spurgeon Lee. Push factors are those reasons that force people to migrate from the place of migration. These could be lack of employment, poverty, social factors, displacement, etc. Pull factors are the reasons that attract people to migrate to the place of destination of migration. The most common of these factors are the availability of employment opportunities in the place of destination of migration.
- 3) Initiated in 1991 with the purpose of meeting the challenge of Balance of Payment crisis, globalization relaxed the restrictions as doing business. Globalization resulted in creation of new job opportunities in all sectors of economy, especially in Information Technology industry. It created new centres of job opportunities, especially in metropolitan cities. It consequently encouraged migration to the new centres. But globalization also created uncertainties and risks for unskilled migrant labourers.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Seasonal migration denotes migration which takes place in specific seasons. In this kind of migration, people move from their native places to destination of their migration for employment in agriculture, manufacturing or any other sector not for whole year. They return to their native place after doing work the work in some months of a year and come back to place of destination of migration in the next season in the same year or same season in the next year. The back-and-forth movement of their migration continues in a circular way.
- 2) The state has responded to the grievances of the migrant workers by enacting some laws and policies. Through them, it has sought to provide them social security, legal protection and establishment of welfare boards and representation in them. However, these measures face challenges such as gap in enactment of laws and their implementation, and inability of migrants to avail of the policies and laws because of they are a mobile group.