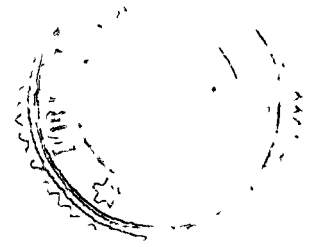


RURAL URBAN MIGRATION IN MEGHALAYA

ABSTRACT

DANNY DEXTER NENGNONG



Dissertation

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIRMENT
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

To



DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
SCHOOL OF ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY
SHILLONG (MEGHALAYA)

1990

Geography

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I. Statement of the Problem

The process of migration has been one of the most dynamic aspects of human activity since the beginning of the human civilization. Migration broadly denotes movement of people from one area to another involving changes in the spatial distribution of population. Geographers have been traditionally interested in the study of the patterns and processes involved in the migration of people.

Migration is not only important for its role in the redistribution of people in absolute numbers; it also has enormous impact on several attributes of the population, such as sex, family status, occupation, education, social and cultural attributes, language and religion. Thus, it lead to the redistribution of social, cultural, occupational, religious groups, as well as helping structural changes to take place in the economy.

It is, however, important to note that the type of structural changes brought about by migration are largely dependent upon the attributes of the migrants themselves, and such structural changes are dependent upon the volume of migration.

The migration process involves different types of mobility from region to region, state to state, country to country, continent to continent, rural to rural, urban to urban, rural to urban, seasonal, temporary, permanent, etc. Influenced by physical environment as well as socio-economic conditions of both the places, i.e. the place of origin and the place of destination of the migrants. In almost all the developing nations rural-urban migration stream is becoming very important due to industrialization and urbanisation taking place in a few select places and nodes.

The overall picture at the All-India level, however, is too generalized and does not reflect the situations at micro-level which are effected by regional and local forces. The proposed study makes an attempt to study the patterns of migration with special reference to the rural-to-urban stream in the State of Meghalaya. The study makes an attempt to examine the volume of migration in a predominantly tribal state and isolates the rural-to-urban stream to analyse its implications. The analysis takes into account the inter-district variations in the volume of migration and examine the variations in the sex-composition of the migrant population. An attempt has also been made to broadly identify the major causes affecting the decision to migrate.

II. Objectives

The present study aims at analysing the patterns and causes of migration in Meghalaya

The broad objectives are as follows:

- (i) To get an insight into the extent of migration
- (ii) To examine the nature of rural to urban stream of migration
- (iii) To analyse various underlying causes which influences the decision to migrate.

III. Methodology

The migration data has been classified into various streams, i.e Rural to rural, urban to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban, based on information on place of last residence. The information on rural to urban migration stream has further been classified on the basis of the distance, such as the inter state, an intra state migration. The intra state migration has two variance, the intra district and inter district. The inter state migration has three variance namely, migration from Assam, Bihar, and other states of India. The sex differentials and composition has also been separately analysed. An index of diversity of various streams has been computed using Green Bergs method of diversity.

The volume of migration has been analysed with the help of both place of last residence and place of birth as indices. Distance and direction of migration has been analysed with the help of inter-district, intra district and outside the state classification scheme of migration. Male female

differentials in the volume of migration have also been analysed. An attempt has also been made to study the differences in the volume based on the duration of stay, i.e recent migrants (below 5 years) and older migrants (above 5 years)

Depending on the 1981 census classification of the cause of migration the migrants are classified into five broad categories, i.e migration on account of Employment, Education, Family moved, Marriage, and others. The causes of migration have been analysed for males and females separately and also according to duration and distance.

IV. Some of the major findings of the study may be outlined as follows

1. The extent and volume of migration in Meghalaya seem to respond positively with the size of urban population in each district suggesting the importance of urbanization in accelerating the process. Another feature of migration in the state refers to the disproportionate share found only in one district, i.e the East Khasi Hills district where the capital of Shillong is located, and which undoubtedly is a fast growing large urban concentration not ~~only~~ of significance in the state but in the entire North Eastern Region.

2. The dominance of intra state migration in the total volume of migrants indicate a higher mobility among the local population largely consisting of Scheduled Tribe

belonging to Khasi and Garo tribes.

3. A very large proportion of the migrants coming from outside the state tends to get concentrated in the East Khasi Hills district, possibly in the capital city of Shillong. In fact, larger the distance greater is their concentration in this district. The capital city is flourishing with its educational trade and administrative functions, which attracts the long distance migrants to this district.

However, the Assamese migrants are distributed in almost all the areas of Meghalaya unlike other migrants from outside. This may be largely due to closer social and economic linkages between these two neighbouring states which were one administrative entity not very long back.

4. While the distribution of male migrants closely resemble the aggregative pattern, the females tend to show a slightly greater concentration in the East Khasi Hills district.

5. Considering the peculiarities of the regional economy, topographic conditions and recent history of urbanization in the state coupled with the subsistence level of agricultural economy, the extent of rural-to-urban stream of migration is significant and is comparable to advance region of the country. But it may be

added that only one or two districts are only experiencing such migration at a larger scale while in vast areas of the state the rural-to-urban stream continues to be feeble. This is understandable as urbanization in these districts too is poorly significant that with the emergence of a strong urban base in East Khasi Hills district and West Garo Hills district the stream is picking up momentum in these areas.

6. Much like the rest of the country the pattern of migration is dominated by Rural-to-Urban stream, characteristics of any economy dominated by agriculture and other primary methods of production.

7. Bulk of the rural to urban stream of migration consists of small distance migrants, i.e., inter-district or intra-district, the former being more dominant than the latter. Most of the rural migrants from outside the state get concentrated in East Khasi Hills district only.

8. Male rural-to-urban migrants are slightly more in inter-state category involving long distance migration. On the other hand, bulk of the female rural-to-urban migration involves short distance migration i.e., either inter- or intra-state type.

9. A very significant feature of the nature of rural to urban migration in the state refers to lack of large

scale sex selectivity in its composition. The preponderance of females in the Rural-to-Urban stream is in sharp contrast to the situation elsewhere in the country and brings it closer to experiences of the western developed economies. The females, particularly outnumber males or constitute a very large proportion in the intra-state category in most districts. But their share falls drastically in the category which involved inter-state movement. The numerical dominance of females in the shortest distance migration, i.e., intra-district movement is particularly revealing. The pattern brings out the sharp differences in the tribal and non-tribal response to Rural-to-Urban migration. The tribal ethos has probably withstood the sex selectivity in the Rural-Urban migration characteristics of non-tribal social order which permits a larger male migration only. The numerical superiority of females in Rural-Urban stream within the state indicates the continuance of the tribal ethos of lack of gender bias in migration.

10. Analysis of the reasons of migration provides indication of the effects that the push factors have not yet acquired menacing proportions causing large sections to migrate from their areas of living which is cited as a major cause elsewhere in the country. The cities probably continue to act as pull areas as evident from the

fact that movement of families is the single largest cause. The economic motive comes as the third important cause. Such a conclusion, however, should only be treated as tentative as the census categorisation of causes itself may be inadequate.

11. Economic reasons do not seem to be a major cause of migration among females. But it is substantial within the state.

12. The extent of sex-differential in each of the causes is substantially low in the case of intra-state migration. Unlike the rest of the country the marriage migrations are dominated by males. This is largely prevalence of matri-local system of marriage involving migration of males to in-laws place of residence.

The generalization and conclusions arrived at are by no means conclusive and carry all the limitations of census data. But even the generalizations throw up some basic questions as far as its implication are concerned.

It is important to note that the extent of rural-to-urban migration is taking place due to urbanization which is mostly administrative nature. There is no evidence to suggest that any structural changes are associated with urbanization and migrations. Secondly,

there is a need to understand the specific nature of such migrations as they affect the rural areas, its economy, and the social organisation. The impact of such a strong stream of rural-to-urban migration may have wide-ranging implications to a tribal economy which is characterized by subsistence agriculture and a social organisation based on egalitarian principles and matrilineal system. Third, the causes of migration may be rooted in the diversity of factors such as stagnation of the rural economy due to population growth and increasing awareness of people to the growing impulses of the towns. These questions need further insight into the problem. Fourthly, Shillong Urban concentration is of particular significance. It is growing fast in recent decades. It has a large share of the population of the state and this proportion is increasing. However, the city is not based on any large scale, organised manufacturing activity. Therefore, trade, commerce, administration and the 'informal sector' is becoming the key to pull operated on intra-state migration. On the other hand, the stagnation, even decay in the rural hinterland, though not conclusively proven, may act as the main push factor in this growing stream of migrants to Shillong and the adjoining towns. Without an adequate economic base, the quality of life in the city will go down, social conflict rise (in competition for limited resources) and

all that can be stemmed only by a purposeful reconstruction of the rural hinterland.

The dissertation started with a limited objective and concludes with even more questions than it planned to answer. It is proposed to carry on the work forward by an intensive fieldwork to find out possible answers to the questions raised by the work.

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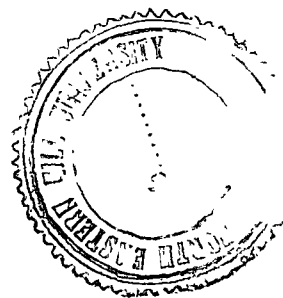
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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the dissertation submitted by Mr. Lanny Nengnong for the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) to the Department of Geography, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong, Meghalaya, entitled "Rural-Urban Migration in Meghalaya" is a bonafide study of the author to the best of my knowledge and belief.

It may be placed before the examiners for due evaluation.

Dated the
Shillong.

21st December, 1990


(A.C. Mahapatra)
Supervisor

A. C. Mahapatra

HEAD

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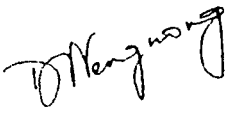
I am immensely grateful to Mr. Debendra Kumar Nayak, Lecturer, Department of Geography, NEHU for his ungrudging help and valuable suggestions during the writing of the dissertation. However, I am responsible for all the mistakes which might have crept into the work.

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(DANNY DEXTER HENGNONG)

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CHAPTER - IINTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the problem :

The process of migration has been one of the most dynamic aspects of human activity since the beginning of human civilization. Migration broadly denotes movement of people from one area to another involving changes in the spatial distribution of population. Geographers have been traditionally interested in the study of the patterns and processes involved in the migration of people.

Migration is not only important for its role in the redistribution of people in absolute numbers; it also has enormous impact on several attributes of the population, such as sex, family status, occupation, education, social and cultural attributes, language and religion. Thus, it may lead to the redistribution of social, cultural, occupational, religious groups, as well as helping structural changes to take place in the economy.

It is, however, important to note that the type of structural changes brought about by migration are largely dependent upon the attributes of the migrants themselves and such structural changes are dependent upon the volume of migration.

The migration process involves different types of mobility from region to region, state to state, country to country, continent to continent, rural to rural, urban to urban, rural to urban, seasonal, temporary, permanent etc influenced by physical environment as well as socio-economic conditions of both the places, i.e., the place of origin and the place of destination of the migrants. In almost all the developing nations rural-urban migration stream is becoming very important due to industrialization and urbanisation taking place in a few select places and nodes.

The overall picture at the All-India level, however, is too generalized and does not reflect the situations at micro-level which are effected by regional and local forces. The proposed study makes an attempt to study the patterns of migration with special reference to the rural-to-urban stream in the State of Meghalaya. The study makes an attempt to examine the volume of migration in a predominantly tribal state and isolates the rural-to-urban stream to analyse its implications. The analysis takes into account the inter-district variations in the volume of migration and examine the variations in the sex-composition of the migrant population. An attempt has also been made to broadly identify the major causes affecting the decision to migrate.

LOCATION (MEGHALAYA)



Fig 11

1.2 Study Area :

The present study confines itself to the state of Meghalaya , for an indepth study of the patterns and causes of migration with special reference to the rural - to - urban stream (the classic stream). Dominated by hills and valleys, the plateau state supports three major tribes - the Khasis, the Jaintias and the Garos.

Meghalaya came into existence as a full fledged state in 1972 (21st January) under the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act of 1971 (Act No. 81 of 1969). The state as a whole, particularly the Khasi and Jaintia hills is a picturesque landscape containing plateaus, ravines, brooks, rivulets, lakes, waterfalls, gorge, etc. and often, has inspired someone to call it the Scotland of the East.

It is bounded in the north and the east by Assam, in the south by Bangladesh. Meghalaya (the abode of clouds) lies between 20°9'30" and 25°8'28" North-latitude, and between 85°49' - 92°51" East Longitude, with the total geographical area of 22,429 square Kilometres and a population of 13,35,819 as per census 1981 and population density of 59 per Sq.Km. The State is divided into 5 administrative districts viz. East Khasi Hills, West Khasi Hills, East Garo Hills, West Garo Hills and Jaintia Hills¹.

1. Barih Hamlet :(1974) Meghalaya North Eastern India News and Feature Service.

Physiographically the whole State of Meghalaya is said to represent a remnant of an ancient plateau of Precambrian Age of Indian Peninsula, uplifted to its present height of about 600 - 1800 feet above the main Sea Level. Shillong Peak is the highest point, towers over neighbouring plateau at a height of about 1951m above the Main Sea Level. The region has been variously described as an (irregular parallelogram) and a (table land) etc.²

Meghalaya is predominantly inhabited by the Khasis and the Garos. The tribal communities present a distinctive ethnicity (both racial and linguistic). The main occupation of the people is agriculture and the continuation of jhum in means pockets indicates the low level of development in the State. The pace of industrialization is very slow compared to the other States of the country. Nevertheless, there has been a steady growth of at least small scale units over some years. These units are mostly in the tiny sector, covering servicing industries, bakeries, furniture, iron and steel fabrication, motor vehicle repair works etc.

The pace of Urbanisation has been rather slow over the past years. East Khasi Hills District with Shillong as

2. Geological Survey of India (1974) Miscellaneous Publication, No. 30.

the capital has contributed a major share to the growth of urban population in the State, East Khasi Hills District alone claims to have 180,000 urban population out of the State total of 241,333 accounting for 74.92%. This shows that urbanisation is felt more in this district than any other district of the State. Looking at the figures in West Garo Hills District, one surprises to see the exorbitant increase from 15,489 in 1971 to 39,440 in 1981 accounting for about 150 per cent increase of over the decade. There is no record of increase or decrease in the West Garo Hills and East Garo Hills. As has been stated earlier, the new town of Nongstoin and Williamnagar came into being in 1981 with the creation of these two districts.³

Table - 1.1

Meghalaya : Progress of Urbanisation

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of town</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
1951	2	58,512
1961	6	1,17,483
1971	6	1,47,170
1981	12	2,91,333

Source : Census of India, Population Tables, 1981

It is to be noted that the constituents of the Shillong Urban Agglomeration are reckoned as a separate

3. Census of India, 1981, "Population Tables. Meghalaya"

towns and have been classified according to their own population and not according to the population of the agglomeration.

From the above statement, it can be seen that the number of towns remained 2 between 1901 to 1951. These towns were the Shillong Municipality and the Shillong Cantonment with the total population of 58,512. It is in the year 1961, another four towns have been added to the existing number of towns. They are Nongthymmai Town, Mawlai Town, Tura Town and Jowai Town with a total population of 1,17,483. In the year 1971 no new towns have been added to the existing towns but the population in these towns rose to 1,47,170. In 1981 6 more towns added to the existing six towns; they are Pynthorumkhrah Town, Madanryting Town, Cherrapunjee, Williamnagar, Baghmara Town and Nongstoin Town with the total population of 2,41,333. The town, Pynthorumkhrah and Madanryting were treated as towns because of the expansion of Shillong Urban Agglomeration, whereas places such as Nongstoin, Williamnagar are district headquarters and both do not satisfy the technical criteria of being notified as towns.

The growth of population shows that the percentage of the decadal variation of population from decades 1971 to 1981 shows a slight increase in the percentage variations and in terms of absolute number the increase in the population

during the decade was 3,24,120. The increase in the percentage variations is higher in the urban areas than in the rural areas throughout the decades.

Looking at the figure at the district we find that the pattern of change in the decadal variation is similar to that of the state. West Khasi Hills and East Garo Hills show cent per cent increase in the decade 1971, 1981 as the new towns cropped up only in 1981 census with the creation of these new districts.

The increasing in the population and density is pressing hard on the available natural resource base and the situation is getting accentuated with the continuation of the practice of shifting cultivation and the low level of agriculture development in the state.

The total literacy rates in Meghalaya was 27.70 per cent in 1971, which increased to around 34 per cent in the year 1981. The male literacy rate is a little higher than the average i.e., while the female literacy rates stands at 30.08 per cent. The literacy rates is higher among the urban population (61.12 per cent) than that among rural population (27.45 per cent). The urban areas have a better facilities for education than rural areas. This is so because the education programme have been handicapped for

Among these aspects, two causes of migration seems to be the most important. There are various causes of human movement. One of these, there is the population pressure which often forces people from the area in search of land, employment or any means of subsistence or pleasure. On the other hand, better job opportunities is relatively more industrially or economically developed areas attracts people from economical backward areas.

According to Jain⁵ the rapid urban growth is primarily due to rural - urban migration but its volume is not definitely known. Increasing literacy and better communication links in the rural areas also give rise to rural - urban migration with the help of " push " and " pull " theory. It will be easy to understand the migration process. According to this theory migration may occur as people move in search of better opportunities to improve the standard of living. Some of the push factors which operate at a place from where the people move are high rate of natural increase drought, flood, depletion of natural calamities and negative socio-political conditions.

5. S.P. Jain, Urbanisation and Migration in a status study on population research in India. Vol. II., Tata McGraw Hill, Delhi, p. 83.

Malhotra⁶ rightly point out " Migration does not arise of its own influences by a complex set of dissatisfaction and aspirations. Situation and opportunity, which are reflected in their histories and the characteristics of the migrants."

According to Raza and Chottopadhyaya⁷, " The Process of development leads to redistribution of sectoral relationship. The vertical changes in the sectoral structures of the economy determine the nature and magnitude of the flow of people in space."

According to Mitra⁸ " The enduring assumption is that the over crowding in agriculture and the consequences lack of subsistence in rural areas, pushes population into urban areas, to which they are inexorably push by an over increasing demand in tertiary activities and to a certain extend in secondary activities."

-
6. Malhotra, G.K., 1971 : " Birth places Migration in India" Census of India, 1971, Special Monograph: No. 1, New Delhi.
 7. Raza, M & Chottapadhyaya, B., 1975 : " Regional Development analytical Framework and Indicator " I.D.R.S., Vol.7 No. 1, 1975. p.26.
 8. Mitra, A. 1967 : Internal Migration and Urbanisation in India. Document prepared for UNICAFE Expert Working Group. Bangkok, Thailand, 1967.

Patterns, causes, consequences of migration in North East region which gives us the background of the Migration has also been attempted by some authors also.

Extracting some broad generalisation about migration from the works of these authors, present works throws the light on pattern characteristics, causes and consequences of migration in North East India.

According to P.Chittaranjan⁹ " large scale of migration are not taken place in recent times in this region. International and inter state migration may be said to have commenced in this region over since 1826.

The movement of Hindustani in migrants mainly from density populated area of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh was in search of employment as manual labourers in industries, construction of transport services, and also have small business and miscellaneous semi skilled work¹⁰.

About 64 per cent of the migrants to Meghalaya are from Assam upto 1971, but this position has changed because

9. P. Chittaranjan, 1978 : " Immigration in Urban Cities " Urbanisation in North Eastern Region of India. M.Phil Dissertation, Deptt. of Geography, N.E.H.U., Shillong.

10. M.C. Bhuyan, 1977 : " Immigrants population of Assam " An analytical synthetic study. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Deptt. of Geography, Gauhati University.

of the shift of Assam capital from Shillong to Dispur¹¹.

1.4 Objective of the Study :

The present study aims at analysing the patterns and causes of migration in Meghalaya.

The broad objectives are as follows :

- (i) to get an insight into the extent of migration,
- (ii) to examine the nature of rural to urban stream of migration,
- (iii) to analyse various underlying causes which influence the decision to migrate.

1.5 Research Questions :

The work depends largely on census information. Due to the limitation of data and its inadequacy, no straight forward hypothesis is proposed. Instead the dissertation tries to understand the broad pattern and causes of migration into Meghalaya with the following research questions:

- (1) Considering essentially tribal character of the economy in Meghalaya, what is the extent of internal migration and what are its causes ?

11. N.P.Goel, 1983 : Demographic Structure of North East India. Ph.D. Thesis. Deptt. of Geography, N.E.H.U.

(2) Do the streams of migration confirm to all India patterns with respect to their relative strength and sex composition as well as distance of migration ?

(3) What is the nature of rural to urban stream of migration in Meghalaya and how does it relate to the accepted patterns elsewhere in India ?

1.6 Sources of Data :

The study depends mainly on the secondary sources of data, particularly the census of India 1971 and 1981.

The following handbooks have been consulted :

- (i) Migration tables, Census of India, 1971, Meghalaya.
- (ii) Migration tables, Census of India, 1981, Meghalaya.
- (iii) Statistical Handbook, Meghalaya, 1987.
- (iv) Population tables, Census of India, 1981, Meghalaya.
- (v) Census Atlas, Census of India, 1971, 1981.

1.7 Methodology :

The migration data has been classified into various streams, i.e., rural to rural, urban to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban, based on information on place of last residence. The information on rural to urban migration stream has further been classified on the basis of the

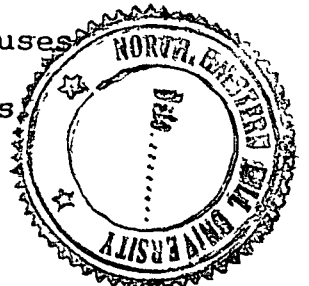
distance, such as inter state and intra state migration. The intra state migration has two variance, the intra district and inter district. The inter state migration has three variance namely, migration from Assam, Bihar and other states of India. The sex differentials and composition has also been separately analysed. An index of diversity of various streams has been computed using Green Bergs method of diversity.

The volume of migration has been analysed with the help of both place of last residence and place of birth as indices. Distance and direction of migration has been analysed with the help of inter-district, intra district and outside the state classification scheme of migration, male and female differentials in the volume of migration have also been analysed.

An attempt has been made to study the differences in the volume based on the duration of stay, i.e., recent migrants (below 5 years) and older migrants (above 5 years).

Depending on the 1981 census classification of the cause of migration the migrants are classified into five broad categories, i.e., a migration on account of employment education, family moved, marriage and others. The causes of migration have been analysed for males and females.

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separately and also according to duration and distance.

1.8 Chapter Organisation :

The first chapter deals with the statement of the problem, study area, sources of data, methodology, objective of the study, research questions and survey of literature etc.

The second chapter deals with the extent of migration in Meghalaya, the study makes an effort to examine the inter-district variations in the volume of migration and tries to identify the reasons for the differences.

The third chapter deals with the extent of inter district variations in various streams of migration, and then an indepth study is made to understand the nature of rural to urban stream of migration.

The fourth chapter deals with the reasons for migration classified into five groups, such as employment, education, family moved, marriage and others.

The final chapter provides a brief summary of the findings and includes a discussion on its implications as well as scope for further study in this area.

1.9 Significance of the Study :

The importance of migration in general and rural to urban migration in particular has been stressed time and again by social scientists particularly with reference to its implications for the developing economics. The significance of this study lies in the fact that the area under investigation has not experienced any major development of urbanization and industrialization and continues to be characterized dominantly by a tribal ethos. Against this background, the migration into this region has been substantial and its implications are far reaching to the economy, society and space. The dissertation attempts to examine these issues by a closer scrutiny of the migration data in Meghalaya.

CHAPTER - 2SPATIAL PATTERNS OF MIGRATION IN MEGHALAYA

2.1 Introductory Statement

One of the major effects of migration in any area refers to change in the total volume of population. The change is effected either by the differential in birth and death rates (natural growth) or by migration. Thus, an area gains or loses population through in-migration or out-migration. In other words, migration is a major factor in changing the size and structure of the population. The movement process affects the areas to which the migrants have moved and areas which they have left.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to measure the extent of migration in Meghalaya. The study makes an effort to examine the inter-district variations in the volume of migration and tries to identify the reasons for the differences. The analysis involves an understanding of the sex differentials in the volume of migration classified according to distances such as inter-state and intra-state (including inter - and intra-state) migration. The study depends exclusively on the information obtained from census data pertaining to the census enumeration years 1971 and 1981.

The census has classified migrants by their place of last residence and by their place of birth. Both these type

are considered in the analysis. The Census of India¹ defines the following terms as given below :

(i) Place of Birth : When a person born in the village or town where he or she is being enumerated.

Rural to Urban : For those born outside the village or town of enumeration ascertain if the place is the village or town at present. To enable a person to determine whether the place is a town or a village, he or she may be required to indicate the status of the place of birth in comparison with the known town in the neighbourhood of the place of enumeration. You may mention some important urban characteristics to enable the person to make out, if the place of his or her birth is rural or urban, e.g., existence of a local administrative body, industrial township declared as town, etc.

- (a) For a person born in the village
- (b) For a person born in town or city
- (c) For a person born in a foreign country.

(ii) District :

Intra-District : For a person born outside the village or town of enumeration but within the district of enumeration.

Inter-District : For a person born in another district

1. Census of India : Meghalaya Migration Tables, 1971 & 1981.

of the state of enumeration of in a district in some other state or Union Territory in the country.

State and Country : For a person born outside the state of enumeration, but within the country, will have to name the state or Union Territory where born, i.e., Bihar, Assam and others.

(iii) Last Residence: The answer to this question will have to be filled in respect of every person, if he or she had another or normal residence irrespective of his or her place of birth, before he or she came to the present place where he or she is enumerated. Even if a person was born at the place of enumeration but because he or she works or studies, etc., he or she had shifted subsequently to another village or town and had come back again to the place of enumeration, he or she should be deemed to have had another place of residence prior to this or her enumeration here.

The immediate previous village or town of residence is relevant only if, he or she had been outside the village or town of enumeration and not simply in another house or locality in the same place. For example, if a person born in some part of Bombay city is found residing in another part of Bombay at the time of enumeration, the change of residence should not be treated as change of place of

residence because both these areas are within the same city of Bombay. Where a person had merely gone out to another place or had been shifting from place to place purely on tour or pilgrimage or for temporary business purposes, he or she should not be deemed to have had another residence different from place to place where he or she or his or her family normally resides. In the case of a person who is enumerated elsewhere than in his normal place of residence will be recorded as place of last residence. Similarly, if a person is enumerated at a place other than his place of birth and if he had no other place of normal residence before coming to the place of enumeration, the place of birth would be the place of last residence.

It would not be possible to specify the duration of stay which will qualify for reconing the last residence. The circumstances of each case would have to be taken into consideration, in deciding whether a person has had a last residence or not. For example, an officer who has been transferred for a short period must be considered as moving from his or her place of previous posting which would become his or her place of last residence, irrespective of his or her stay in the new posting. However, temporary movement like women moving into hospital for treatment, etc, at a place other than their usual residence, will be ignored

and these places will not be treated as place of last residence. In the case of child born in a hospital into which the mother has moved temporarily for delivery which is different from the usual place of residence of the mother, the place where the hospital is, will be treated as the place of last residence for the child, though the place where the hospital is, will not be the place for the mother.

2.2 Migration in Meghalaya & Historical Factors :

Meghalaya has been transformed by many changes which have taken place in the recent times. It started with annexation or the entry of the British to Khasi Hills (in 1833) and Jaintia Hills (in 1835) the annexation of Khasi Hills broke the age long isolation of the Khasis and Garos and brought about far reaching changes as far as their migration is concerned. Social change has been more phenomenal in the district of Khasi and Jaintia Hills for the first time this has come to a regular contacts with the British Government. The change gathered momentum from 1874 when Shillong became the capital of the erstwhile province of Assam. This factor led to a great deal of transformation of the region accompanied by the processes of urbanisation, accelerated rural-urban migration, movement of people from outside the state, spread of Christianity, literacy, emer-

gence of new trade structures, increase social contacts etc.²

The changes made remarkable impacts into various aspheres of life through the contacts from the migrants from outside.

Movement of people from newly established township - Shillong - started as it become the trade intrepot³. The causes of the development and the attraction of migrants from outside as well as from rural areas may be outlined as follows :⁴

(i) Establishment of Urban Centres : Cherrapunjee was the first headquarter of the British administration, but in 1864 it was transferred to Shillong. Later it become the regimental centre and in 1874 it was made the capital of Assam.

(ii) Western Education : Western Education was brought by the Welsh Calvinistic Presbyterian Mission which reduced the language to writing Roman alphabet, the Khasi took themselves to western education.⁵

2. Bareh, Hamlet, 1974 : Meghalaya : North Eastern India News and Feature Service, pp. 209 - 210.

3. Geological Survey of India, 1974, Miscellaneous Publication No. 30.

4. Pakem, B., 1978 : Shillong 1971-81, NEHU, Shillong : Indian Council of Social Science Research.

5. Dkhar, S.I., 1981, : "Shillong - Origin and Development 1866 - 1947", M.Phil dissertation, School of Social Sciences, NEHU, 1981. p.2.

The Shillong urban centres acted as a cofi for imparting modern education and concentration of large number of schools and colleges attracting migrants to the city to pursue education. This accelerated the process of rural to urban migration.

(iii) Transport Network : During the pre-independence period, transport played an important role in bringing about the movement of people from rural areas making contact with the city possible. The road connection between Sylhet to Guwahati through Shillong connected the Brahmaputra and Surma Valley. The improved connectivity through roads played a vital role in increasing the pace of rural-to-urban migration hitherto managed with great difficulty⁶.

2.2 Generalities

It is interesting to note that the proportion of migrant population of Meghalaya (according to the place of last residence) registered a decline in the year 1981 compared to the previous decade. The share of migrants in the total population of Meghalaya was a little less than one third (31.92 per cent) in the year 1971. In 1981 however, the proportion is less than a quarter (24.07 per cent) of the total population. The decline in migrant's share may partly be attributed to the redistribution of population following creation of Meghalaya as a state in

The year 1972. The inter-ethnic clash in Shillong during the year 1979, may also have contributed to the decline in the share of migrants in 1981.

Nevertheless, the distribution of migrant population at the district level shows remarkable variation (table 2.1). The share is as high as 28.34 per cent in the East Khasi Hills district. The percentage of migrant population is close to the state average in West Garo Hills. The proportion of migrant population is very low in the district of West Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills district.

In terms of concentration too, East Khasi Hills district alone accounts for nearly 44 per cent (10.85 per cent out of the total of 24.07 per cent) of all migrants. While the share in West Garo Hills district is over 28 per cent, these two districts taken together accounts for nearly three fourth of all migrants, the remaining three districts claiming only a very small proportion of all migrants.

Table 2.1
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY DISTRICTS

	% of the total migrant to the total population	% distribution of migrants
Meghalaya	24.07	24.07
Jaintia Hills	17.68	2.07
East Khasi Hills	28.24	10.85
West Khasi Hills	16.41	1.98
East Garo Hills	22.26	2.27
West Garo Hills	24.91	6.89

Source : Census of India : Meghalaya, Migration Tables, 1981.

Inter-district variation in the share of migrant population seems closely related to the level of urbanisation. For example, East Khasi Hills district has the highest share of urban population, i.e., 35.85 per cent 1981 followed by West Garo Hills with an urban porportion of 10.66 per cent. The remaining three districts are largely rural in character. It may therefore, be safely assumed that the migration is closely linked with the level of urbanisation in the state.

Acursory examination of the Table 2.2 reveals that a very large proportion accounting for nearly 78 per cent total migrants is of intra-state origin in both the census periods of 1971 and 1981. Only as little as a fifth of all migrants are from outside the state. In 1971, the intra-state migrants are largely composed of short distance migration i.e., intra-district in nature. However, inter-district migration seem to be picking up momentum by 1981 from a meagre 4.72 per cent of all migrants within the state; the inter-district migration claimed 13.71 per cent of all intra-state migration, with a corresponding decrease in the share of intradistrict migration.

Table 2.2

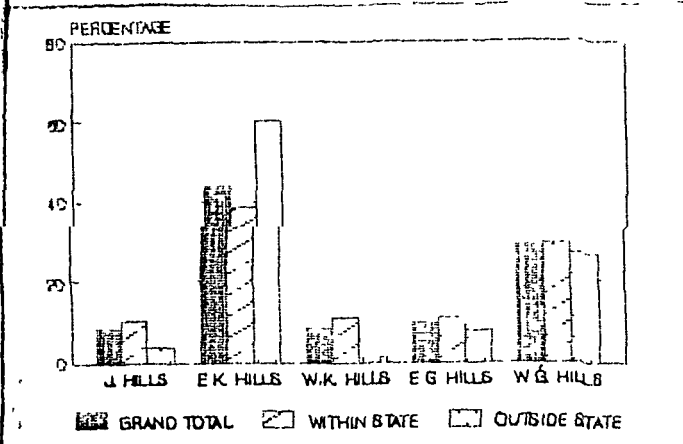
PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE

Migrant Category	Percentage	
	1971	1981
Grand total	100.00	100.00
Within the state	78.71	78.04
Intra district	95.28	96.29
Inter district	4.72	13.71
Outside the state	21.29	21.96
Bihar	59.00	80.33
Assam	12.40	16.74
Others	27.71	2.93

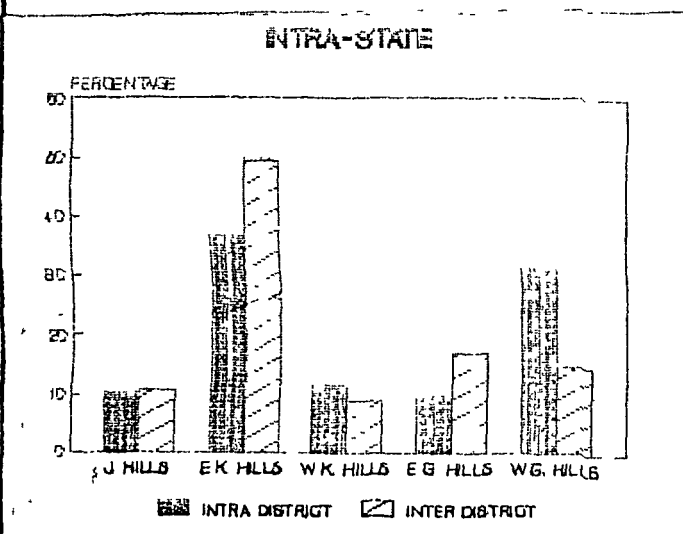
Sources : Census of India, Population Tables, 1971-1981.

Out of all migration from outside the state, the bulk of it is from Bihar and the share is on the rise. This is evident from the fact that the percentage of migrants from Bihar recorded a phenomenal increase from 59.00 per cent to over 80 per cent of all migration from outside the state. Migration from Assam, too, is increasing. From an earlier 12.4 per cent in 1971, the migrants from Assam accounted for nearly 17 per cent of all migration from outside the state. The increase in the migration from Assam is probably national, as the separation of Meghalaya from Assam in 1972 might have pushed the share of Assamese migrants. Interestingly enough, there has been a remarkable decline in the proportion of migrants from outside Meghalaya excluding Assam and Bihar.

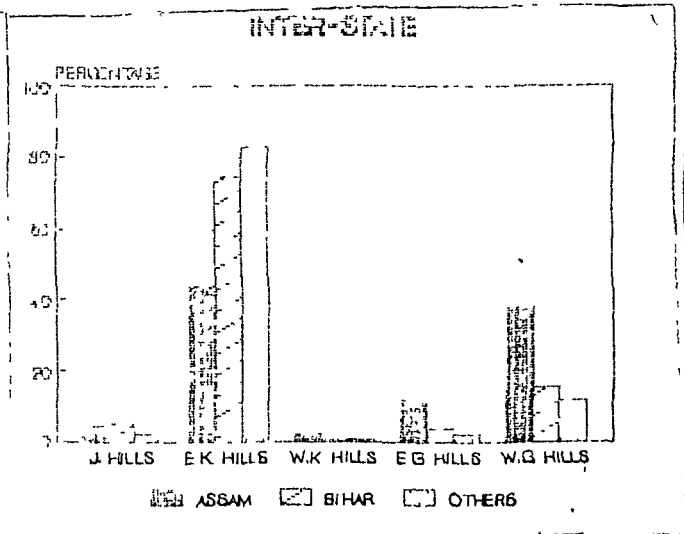
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE (1981)



(a)



(b)



(c)

(fig 21)

2.4 District Level Patterns

Migration by place of last residence : Movement of people from the place of last residence for a short distance play an important feature in the study of migration patterns of Meghalaya. In the case of intra-state migration, the district of East Khasi Hills tops the list with about 38.34 per cent of all migrants that took place within the state. It is followed by West Garo Hills with a share of 29.18 per cent, followed by West Khasi Hills, East Garo Hills, and Jaintia Hills with 11.32 per cent, 10.90 per cent, 10.26 per cent respectively. In the case of migration involving movement within the district, East Khasi Hills accounted for the highest share with 36.58 per cent followed by West Garo Hills with 31.50 per cent, Table 2.4 and figure 2.1.

In the case of inter-district migration half of it took place in East Khasi Hills accounting for 49.13 per cent of all inter-district migration in Meghalaya. The percentage of inter-district migration in East Garo Hills is 16.82 per cent followed by West Garo Hills with 14.72 per cent, Jaintia Hills with 10.50 per cent and West Khasi Hills with 8.81 per cent.

It is evident from the fact that, in the case of intra-state migration only a single district, i.e., East

Khasi Hills district dominates as for the inter-district migration is concerned. But this dominant position is somewhat diluted as for the intra-district migration is concerned. West Garo Hills district emerges a powerful competitor to East Khasi Hills with regard to a very small distance, intra-district migration streams.

Migration from outside the state seem to have a clear preference for the East Khasi Hills district. A little over 60 per cent of all migrants coming from outside Meghalaya have East Khasi Hills district as their destination. Nearly three fourth of all migrants from Bihar and over 80 per cent from states other than Bihar and Assam too are recorded in East Khasi Hills. However, such exclusivity is not apparent among migrants from Assam who have a greater spatial diversity in their distribution. About 43.72 per cent of them are found in East Khasi Hills, but their share in West Garo Hills is not insignificant i.e., 37.73 per cent. Even East Garo Hills district accounts for nearly 12 per cent of Assamese migrants.

The pattern at district level shows a very high proportion of migrants of all types concentrated in East Khasi Hills district. This is understandable, for the major urban centre. Shillong is located in this district. However, two important observations can be made from the above analysis.

(1) The dominance of East Khasi Hills district in attracting

migrants is positively related with distance, and (ii) Assamese migrants show a greater diversity of their presence in various parts of the state.

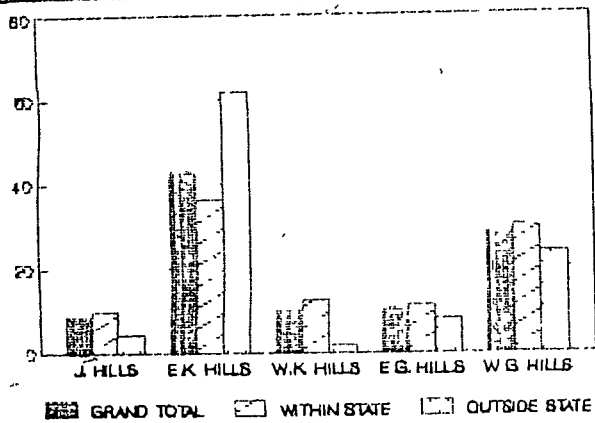
Table 2.3
MIGRATION BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE (DISTRICTWISE), 1981

Districts	Within the State			Outside the state			Total	Grand Total
	Total migrants	Intra	Inter	Assam	Bihar	Others		
Jaintia Hills	10.26%	10.22%	10.50%	4.33%	5.41%	2.16%	3.80%	8.57%
East Khasi Hills	38.34%	36.58%	49.13%	43.72%	74.90%	83.16%	60.06%	44.03%
West Khasi Hills	11.32%	11.72%	8.81%	2.27%	0.74%	0.60%	1.55%	8.77%
East Garo Hills	10.90%	9.96%	16.82%	11.98%	3.25%	2.04%	7.74%	10.67%
West Garo Hills	29.18%	31.50%	14.72%	37.33%	15.69%	12.02%	26.84%	28.56%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

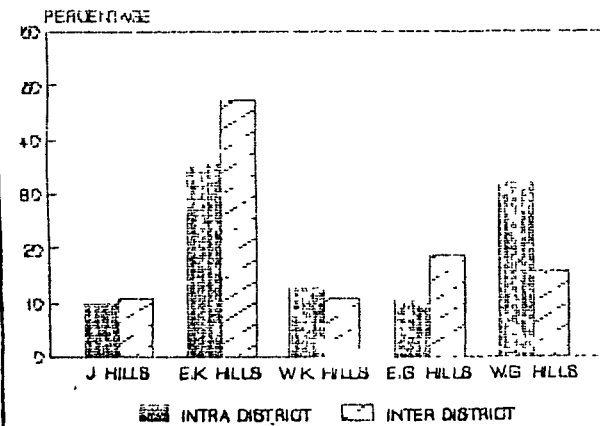
Source : Census of India : Migration Tables, 1981 (Meghalaya).

Male Migrants : In the case of male migrants, 43.13 per cent is found in East Khasi Hills while above 30 per cent is found in West Garo Hills, the remaining one third of all migrants are almost equally shared by other districts. East Khasi Hills receives a greater proportion of long distance male migrants as indicated by such migrants outside the state of Meghalaya. Table 2.4 and figure 2.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE (MALE) (1981)



INTRA-STATE MALES, 1981



INTER-STATE

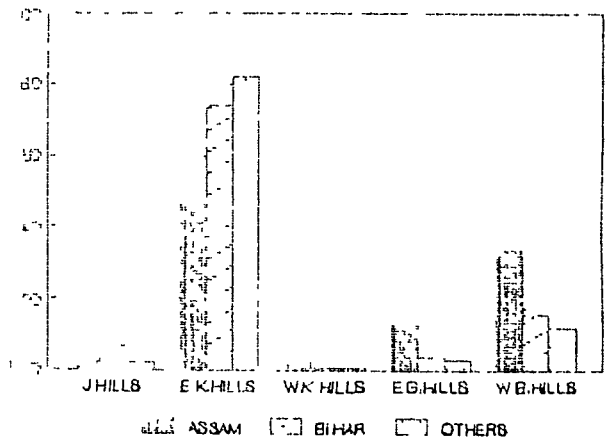


FIG:2.2

Table 2.4
PERCENTAGE OF MALE MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE
(DISTRICTWISE)

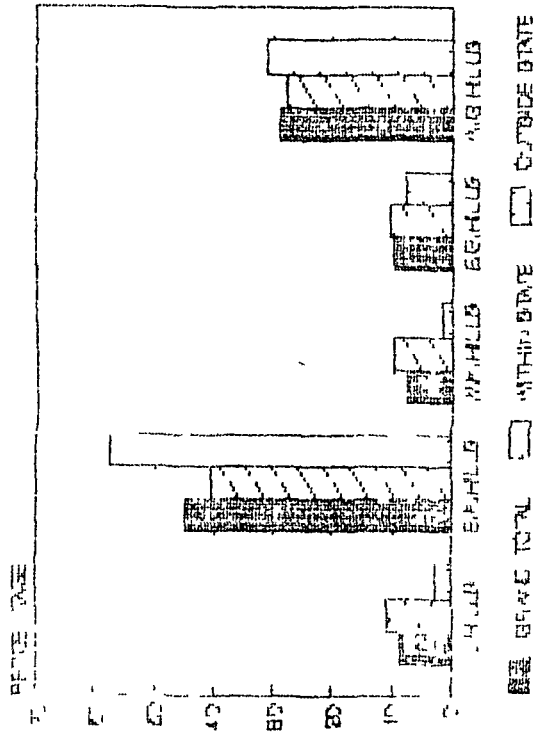
Districts	Within the state			Outside the state			Total	Grand Total
	Total migrants	Intra District	Inter District	Assam	Bihar	Others		
Jantia Hills	9.83	9.60	10.56	5.11	6.51	2.42	4.52	8.35
East Khasi Hills	36.26	35.22	47.37	46.02	73.95	82.55	62.09	43.13
West Khasi Hills	12.54	12.79	10.90	2.65	0.87	0.71	1.74	9.67
East Garo Hills	11.29	10.19	18.43	12.69	3.37	2.65	7.99	10.41
West Garo Hills	29.29	32.38	15.79	33.50	15.28	11.67	23.64	28.42
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source : Census of India: Meghalaya Migration Table, 1981.

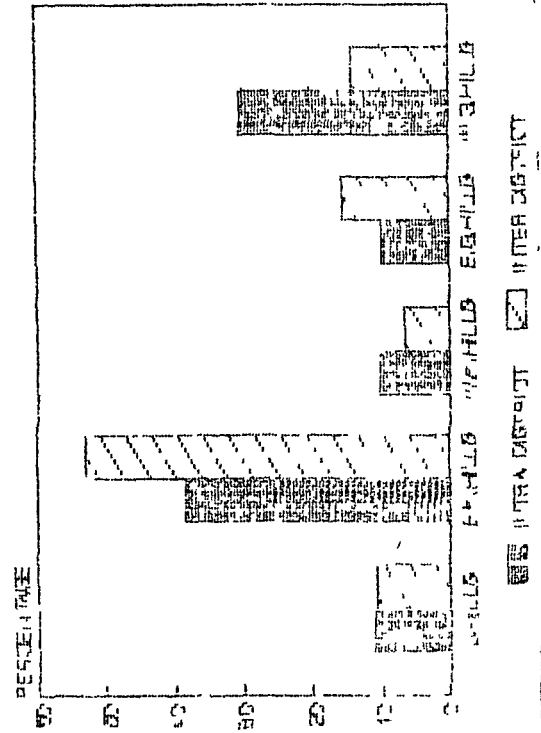
Those male migrants who come from Assam, Bihar and other states, nearly all of them came to East Khasi Hills (the share is 46.02 per cent Assam, 73.95 per cent Bihar, 82.55 per cent others). In the case of West Garo Hills, the intra-state migration seems to be a little higher as all the districts they are intra in nature.

The overall pattern of male migration into Meghalaya remains by and large identical to the aggregate picture.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE (FEMALE) 1981



INTRA-STATE



INTER-STATE

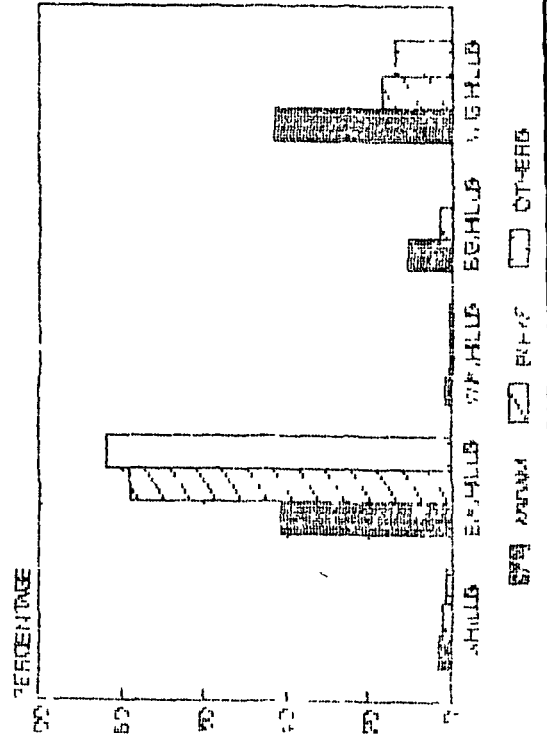


FIG-23

Female Migrants : Broadly speaking, the pattern of female migration is identical with that of male migration. However, there are a few notable exceptions. For example, a greater proportion of female migrants (both intra- and inter-district) are found in East Khasi Hills district compared to their male counterparts. It is particularly evident in the case of inter-district migration type with more than 53 per cent of female migrants being represented in East Khasi Hills district alone. The share for males in this type in the district is only 47.37 per cent. Table 2.5 and figure 2.3.

Table 2.5

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE
(DISTRICTWISE)

Districts	Within the State			Outside the state			Total Grand Total	
	Total migrants	Intra District	Inter District	Assam	Bihar	Others		
Jaintia Hills	11.00	11.03	10.81	3.36	2.00	1.80	2.80	8.90
East Khasi Hills	40.71	38.65	53.15	40.98	77.78	83.97	57.27	44.97
West Khasi Hills	9.77	10.30	6.55	1.82	0.32	0.46	1.28	7.59
East Garo Hills	10.49	9.66	15.48	11.13	2.88	0.12	7.39	9.67
West Garo Hills	28.03	30.36	14.01	42.71	17.02	13.65	39.35	28.87
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source : Census of India, Meghalaya Migration Tables, 1981 .

Similarly, female migrants from Assam largely are concentrated in East Garo Hills (42.65 per cent), unlike their male counterpart. Partly this may be due to a significant concentration of Rabhas, Bodos and Hajongs in this district in continuation with bordering Assam. Marriages within these communities involves females migrating from Assam to Meghalaya.

2.4 Population Classified by Place of Birth :

In 1981, total migrants have been classified by place of birth and enumeration. An attempt has been made in this section to analyse inter-district variations in the share of migrants by using their place of birth as an indicator to examine if there is substantial modifications to the earlier patterns. As the analysis will show the pattern remains unchanged as evident from the fact that East Khasi Hills district alone accounts for 44.67 per cent of all migrations which is followed by the West Garo Hills district with a share of 27.08 per cent. Jointly these two districts claim more than 3/4 of the total migrants, and the rest of the percentages have been share by Jaintia Hills district, West Khasi Hills and East Garo Hills districts (8.97 per cent, 9.05 per cent and 10.23, respectively).

In the case of total migrants (within the state) a very high proportion of migrants are distributed in East

Khasi Hills district with 38.44 per cent followed by West Garo Hills district with about 27.51 per cent. The proportion of migrants to the total migrants varies between 11.0 per cent in Jaintia Hills district and 11.99 per cent in West Khasi Hills district.

Proportion of migrants in district (within the state) varies from 10.26 per cent in East Khasi Hills. It can be seen that only in two districts, i.e., East Khasi Hills and West Garo Hills the percentage of migrants is more than 65 per cent and the rest are shared by other districts. While the share in East Khasi Hills remains the same as enumeration based on place of last residence, there is a marginal decline in the case of West Garo Hills district.

In the case of inter-district migration (within the state), East Khasi Hills alone accounts for nearly half of all inter-district migrants. The proportion to total migrants (inter-district) varies from 15.45 per cent in East Garo Hills, 14.07 per cent in West Garo Hills, 11.37 per cent in Jaintia Hills and 8.50 per cent in West Khasi Hills. In this case, we can see that the percentage of Intra-district migrants is more in East Garo Hills compared to West Garo Hills which received more migrants in the case of inter-district and total migrants.

It is evident from the table that the proportion of migrants in the case of outside the state, i.e., Assam, Bihar and Other states of Indian Union. The percentages vary from one district to another. In fact, the distance between the place of birth and destination of migrants to the different districts have been found to exercise an important influence on migration.

A very large proportion of migrants from outside the state has been claimed by East Khasi Hills 60.08 per cent and West Garo Hills 26.02 per cent which together accounts for 86.1 per cent. The rest are shared by other districts.

East Khasi Hills has received the bulk of migrants from Bihar and other states of India except Assam; the Assamese migrants are, however, less compared to migrants from other states. The district accounts for 43.46 per cent Assamese migrants, 73.35 per cent Bihari migrants and about 82 per cent migrants from other states.

Next comes West Garo Hills with 37.04 per cent (for Assam), 16.35 (Bihar), 11.62 per cent others. Other districts the percentages vary from 0.77 per cent to 12.60 per cent.

One of the significant reasons for the high percentage of migration in the case of East Khasi Hills and

West Garo Hills districts is due to the presence of two important urban centres in these two districts, i.e., Shillong which is considered to be a city and Tura the district headquarter of Garo Hills districts. Both the two act as the place of attraction and induce migration of different socio-cultural diversity.

Table 2.6

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF BIRTH
AND ENUMERATION (DISTRICTWISE)

Districts	Within the State			Outside the state			Total	Grand Total
	Total migrants	Intra district	Inter district	Assam	Bihar	Others		
Jaintia Hills	11.0	10.94	11.31	4.38	5.04	2.63	3.93	8.97
East Khasi Hills	38.44	36.28	50.60	43.46	73.35	82.44	60.08	44.67
West Khasi Hills	11.99	12.61	8.50	2.51	1.13	0.77	1.76	9.05
East Garo Hills	11.04	10.26	15.46	12.60	4.13	2.54	8.20	10.22
West Garo Hills	27.51	29.89	14.07	37.04	16.35	11.62	26.02	27.08
Total	100	100	100	100	1000	100	100	100

Source : Census of India :(1981) Migration Tables, Meghalaya.

ii) In the case of male migrants, nearly 50 per cent (48.94) are found in East Khasi Hills. A little over a quarter of all male migrants comes to West Garo Hills. The remaining

one third of all migrants are almost equally shared by the rest of the three districts. However, East Khasi Hills district receives a quarter proportion of the long distance male migrants as indicated by the male enumerated as having been elsewhere in India. This district alone claims 61.79 per cent of all male coming from outside Meghalaya. Those male migrants who came from other than Assam and Bihar, nearly all of them come to East Khasi Hills (the share is 81.33 per cent). In the case of West Garo Hills, the inter-state male migration seems to be relatively higher (i.e., 28.92%) but much of it are intra-district in nature.

Table 2.7

PERCENTAGE MALE MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH (DISTRICTWISE)

Districts	Within the State			Outside the State			Total	Grand Total
	Total migrants	Intra dist.	Inter dist.	Assam	Bihar	Others		
Jaintia Hills	10.38	10.23	11.26	5.34	6.04	2.94	4.73	7.55
East Khasi Hills	36.07	34.25	46.65	45.57	72.41	81.33	61.79	48.94
West Khasi Hills	13.24	13.74	10.32	2.98	1.31	0.91	2.04	7.64
East Garo Hills	11.38	10.46	16.87	13.56	4.33	3.21	8.59	9.99
West Garo Hills	28.92	31.31	15.14	32.54	15.91	11.56	22.85	25.88
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source : Migration Tables, Meghalaya (Census of India, 1981).

iii) In the case of female migrants, the patterns close by resembles to that of the males. However, it is interesting to note that, there share is a little less in East Khasi Hills district. Both West Khasi Hills district and Jaintia Hills district improve their position in terms of female migrants as indicated by proportion of 27.01 per cent and 9.31 per cent respectively. In the case of males, the share was 25.88 per cent and 7.55 per cent respectively.

Table 2.8

PERCENTAGE FEMALE MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH (DISTRICTWISE)

Districts	Within the State			Outside the State			Total	Grand Total
	Total migrants	Intra dist.	Inter dist.	Assam	Bihar	Others		
Jaintia Hills	11.81	11.87	11.48	3.26	1.90	2.21	2.81	9.31
East Khasi Hills	41.52	38.94	55.39	40.88	76.28	83.94	57.65	46.01
West Khasi Hills	10.38	11.13	6.29	1.96	0.56	0.51	1.38	7.88
East Garo Hills	10.62	10.01	13.89	11.49	3.54	1.61	7.66	9.79
West Garo Hills	28.92	31.31	15.14	32.54	15.91	11.46	22.85	27.01
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source : Census of India, 1981 : Migration Tables, Meghalaya.

2.5 Summary and Findings

The chapter made a modest attempts to understand the volume of migration in different districts of Meghalaya, and by sex and the distance. The analysis leads to the following generalisations which may be outlined as follows :-

1) A very high proportion of migrants into Meghalaya is concentrated in only one district, in which the capital town of Shillong is located.

2) Inter-district variation in the share of migrants seems to be closely related with the size of urban segment of the population in the districts. There exists a positive association between the size of migrants and that of the urban population.

3) the intra-state outmigration accounts for a very high share of the total migrants.

4) the migrants from outside the state are almost exclusively concentrated in East Khasi Hills. In fact, ;arger the distance, the greater is the concentration of migrants in the district.

5) Out of the total migrants from outside the state, the Assamese have a greater diversity in their distribution compared to the Biharis and migrants from other states who tends to concentrate only in East Khasi Hills district.

6) The male migration closely resembles the aggregate pattern,

7) A relative larger proportion of female migrants is found in East Khasi Hills district compared to their male counterparts.

CHAPTER - IIIRURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION IN MEGHALAYA

3.1 Introductory Statement

It has been pointed out earlier that at the all-India level the rural-to-rural streams dominates in terms of share of migrants in all the four streams. This is understandable considering the largely rural character of the country which has a recent experience of urbanization. The case is no different in the North-East in general and Meghalaya in particular. The level of urbanization in this part is abysmally low and whatever migration taking place is largely across rural areas. Thus in terms of quantity rural to rural stream is expected to dominate migration scene in this part of the country too. The rural-to-urban stream may be small in terms of quantity, but very significant in terms of quality as it reflects a departure from the traditional organisation of migration behaviour. This also means a shift from agricultural economy. This qualitative aspects of migration in the underdeveloped hilly and tribal dominated state of India provides the basis for an indepth study of rural-to-urban stream of migration.

In this chapter, an attempt is made first to analyse extent of migration and then an indepth understanding of only rural-to-urban migration.

DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS IN VARIOUS STREAMS
(TOTAL) 1981

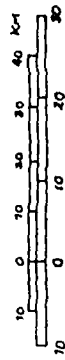
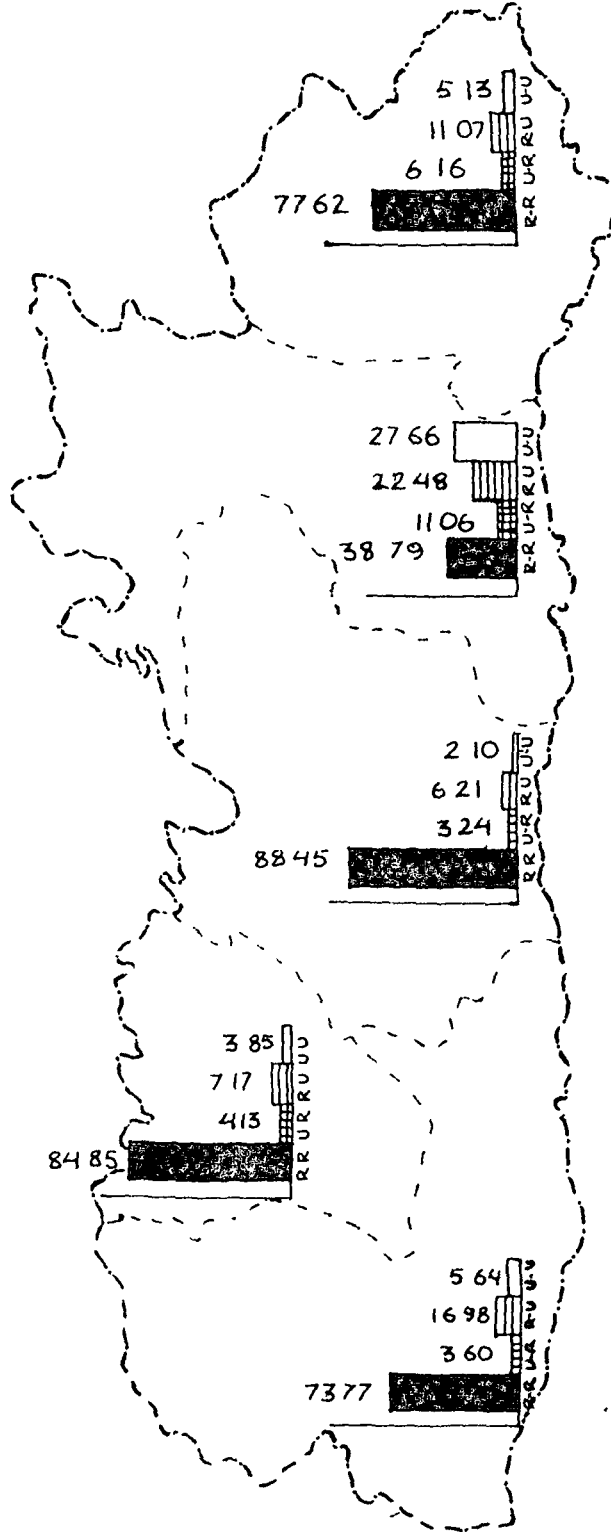


FIG: 3.1

3.2 Generalities

The rural-urban migration takes place due to various factors commonly known as "push" and "pull" factors. Push factors operating in rural areas include rural poverty, unemployment, low irregular wages, uneconomic holdings, depletion of natural resources, and often, poor facilities in terms of education, health and other services. Besides, life in urban areas tends to become attractive for various amenities concentrated there. Similarly, certain instances allow the less privileged to escape from the oppressions inbuilt in the tribe/caste system. Social organisation may be more rigid in rural areas, and urban areas tend to be less rigid and more secular.

3.3 Distribution of Migrants by Streams of Migration :

Table 3.1 indicates the size of migration in each of the four streams and by different districts. It is evident from the table and figure 3.1 that the Rural-to-Rural stream dominates among all the streams. At the state level nearly 61 per cent of all migrants (by place of last residence) have moved from one rural area to another. On the other hand, only 16.95 per cent have reported to have moved from rural to urban areas. The proportion of migrants in Urban-to-Urban is relatively more significant with nearly 15 per cent having changed residence from one urban area

Table 3.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY STRATA, 1981 (DISTRIBUTION)

	Migrants					Diversity Index
	Total	Rural-Rural	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban	Urban-Urban	
Meghalaya	291543	61.14	7.12	16.95	14.77	0.57
Jaintia Hills	25019	19421 (77.62)	1542 (6.16)	2772 (11.07)	1284 (5.13)	0.37
East Khasi Hills	128047	49676 (38.79)	14167 (11.06)	28786 (22.48)	35418 (27.66)	0.71
West Khasi Hills	16079	22635 (88.45)	830 (3.24)	1588 (6.21)	537 (2.10)	0.21
East Garo Hills	29464	25001 (88.85)	1216 (4.13)	2113 (7.17)	1134 (3.85)	0.27
West Garo Hills	83423	61544 (73.77)	3007 (3.60)	14168 (16.98)	4704 (5.64)	0.42

Source : Computed by Researcher.

to another. Urban-to-Rural stream is insignificant with only 7.12 per cent of all migrants in this category.

The pattern at the different level, however, is quite different. For example, Rural-to-Rural stream accounts for a share which ranges between 38.79 per cent and 88.45 per cent at the district level. East Khasi Hills district has the lowest proportion of Rural-to-Rural migrant population while the migration in West Khasi Hills district takes place largely across the rural areas.

In the sphere of Rural-to-Urban migration, a little over a fifth (22.39%) of all migrants of East Khasi Hills district is from rural areas. The proportion is about one sixth (16.96%) in West Garo Hills district. Interestingly, Jaintia Hills district has a very significant stream of rural to urban migrations, which is about 11.07 per cent. The Rural-to-Urban stream is insignificant in the remaining two districts.

As much as 27.66 per cent of all migrants in East Khasi Hills district has moved from one urban area to another. In the remaining districts inter-urban migration constitutes only a small proportion of the total volume of migration.

The Urban-to-Rural migration in India is yet to record its significance. The case in Meghalaya is no different. However, East Khasi Hills district contains a relatively high proportion of Urban-to-Rural stream of migration which accounts for 11.06 per cent of all migrants.

In terms of Rural-Urban stream of migration, it seems to be very well developed in East Khasi Hills district and fairly well developed in East Garo Hills district. It is a significant stream in Jaintia Hills district, too.

In terms of overall composition, East Khasi Hills district shows a highly diversified composition of various streams of migration. The diversity index after Greenberg's method¹ being as high as 0.71. This is the only district which shows a higher diversity index of all the four streams obtained at the aggregate level, i.e., 0.57. The stream composition is relatively more diverse in West Garo Hills district (0.42) followed by Jaintia Hills district (0.37). In the remaining two district the composition of various streams of migration is marked by the dominance

1. The measure of diversity used here is the one proposed by Joseph. H. Greenberg (see David. E. Sopher, 1980, An Exploration of India Cornell, Ithaka, New York, pp.235-238) The index is as follows :

$$D(\text{ Diversity }) = 1 - \sum x_i^2$$

Where x_i is the proportion of total migrants represented by each of the four streams of migration.

of a single stream (Table 3.1), i.e., the Rural to Rural stream.

Studies on migration behaviour points out sex differentials in the streams of migration for all migrations tend to be selective. It is proposed now to examine the distribution of males and females migrants in various streams of migration into Meghalaya both at aggregate and district levels.

3.3/ Male and Female differentials

A cursory examination of the table 3.2 reveals that the distribution of male migrants in the four streams closely resembles the aggregate pattern both the state level and at the district level. A few notable features of difference may be outlined. Relatively less proportion of males in Jaintia Hills district is represented in Rural-Rural stream with a corresponding rise in the Urban-Rural and Urban-Urban streams. On the other hand, there is a slight rise in the proportion of male migrants in the Rural-Rural stream in East Khasi Hills district with a corresponding decline in Rural-Urban stream. Similarly, male representation in the Rural-Urban stream is marginally less compared to the aggregate picture in West Khasi Hills district.

Table 3.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY STREAM, 1981 (Males)

	Total migrants	Rural-Rural	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban	Urban-Urban
Meghalaya	164063	101726 (62.00)	12099 (7.37)	26469 (16.13)	23969 (14.60)
Jaintia Hills	11886	8725 (73.40)	1027 (8.64)	1369 (11.52)	765 (6.44)
East Khasi Hills	71653	28766 (40.14)	7950 (11.09)	15394 (21.48)	19593 (27.34)
West Khasi Hills	16079	14286 (88.84)	526 (3.27)	897 (5.58)	370 (2.30)
East Garo Hills	17319	14619 (84.41)	797 (4.60)	1192 (6.88)	711 (4.11)
West Garo Hills	47276	35330 (74.73)	1799 (3.81)	7617 (16.11)	2530 (5.35)

Source : Computed by Researcher.

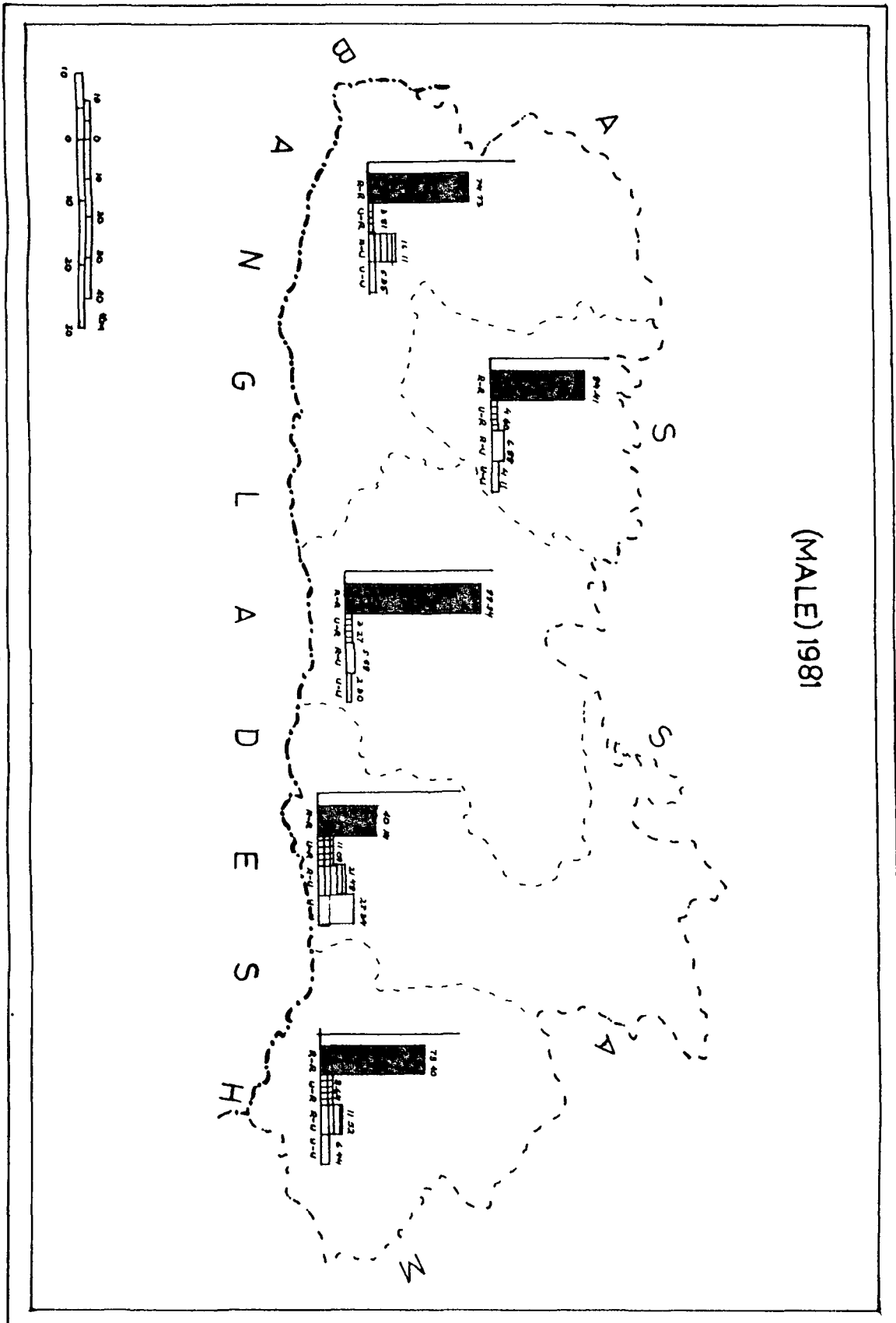


FIG: 32

On the other hand, the distribution of female migrants (table 3.3) shows a relatively larger proportion in the Rural-to-Urban stream. At the aggregate level only 16.95 per cent of all migrants had changed their residence from rural to urban areas. In the case of males the share was 16.13 per cent. But in the case of female the share rises to 18.00 per cent.

At the district level however, Jaintia Hills district shows a relatively low representation of female migrants in Rural-Urban stream. The share is only 10.68 per cent compared to 11.52 per cent for males and 11.07 per cent for aggregate level. A large proportion of female migrants is found in Rural-Urban stream in East Khasi Hills district, their proportion is nearly a quarter (23.77 per cent) of all female migrants in the district compared to 21.48 per cent in the case of males. West Garo Hills district too present a similar picture.

In the case of Rural to Rural stream, the females show a larger representation in Jaintia Hills district and East Garo Hills district in comparison to the aggregate picture. Their share, however, shows a marginal decline in East and West Khasi Hills district. There is a general decline in the distribution of females in the Urban to Rural stream in the state as well as in the

Table 3.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY STREAM, 1981 (FEMLES)

	Total migrants	Rural-Rural	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban	Urban-Urban
Meghalaya	127280	76511 (60.11)	8663 (6.81)	22958 (18.00)	19108 (15.01)
Jaintia Hills	13133	10696 (81.44)	515 (3.92)	1403 (10.68)	519 (3.95)
East Khasi Hills	56344	20910 (37.11)	6217 (11.03)	13392 (23.77)	15825 (28.09)
West Khasi Hills	9511	8349 (87.78)	304 (3.20)	691 (6.77)	167 (1.64)
East Garo Hills	12145	10382 (85.48)	419 (3.45)	921 (7.58)	423 (3.48)
West Garo Hills	36147	26214 (72.52)	1208 (3.34)	6551 (18.12)	2174 (6.01)

Source : Computed by Researcher .

districts. But in the case of Urban-Urban stream, the female representation is more at the state level, and in East Khasi Hills district and West Garo Hills district. In the remaining districts, there is an overall decline.

3.3.2 Sex Composition of Migrants

In terms of sex composition, the females account for a very significant proportion in all the streams. At the state level, males outnumber females in all the four streams of migration, but interestingly in the Rural to Urban stream, the females are far more numerous compared to other three streams. As much as 46.5 per cent of all the Rural - to - Urban migrants consist of females. Generally, it is this stream which tends to be male selective. But in Meghalaya, the intensity of male selective Rural-Urban migration stream seems less conspicuous. The deviation from the overall all India pattern in this respect provides significant indication towards a higher status, women enjoyed in this region partly as a result of the matrilineal social structure practiced here. (Table 3.4).

In the Rural-Rural, Urban-Urban and Urban-Rural streams, the females accounts for 42.04 per cent, 44.40 per cent and 41.70 per cent of all migrants, respectively.

Table 3.4

SEX COMPOSITION OF MIGRANTS IN VARIOUS STREAMS (IN % AGE)

	Rural - to -Rural		Urban -to -Rural		Rural-to-Urban		Urban-to-Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Meghalaya	57.06	42.04	58.30	41.70	53.50	46.5	55.60	44.40
Jaintia Hills	44.9	55.1	66.6	33.40	49.40	50.6	59.5	40.5
East Khasi Hills	57.9	42.1	56.1	43.9	53.5	46.5	55.3	44.7
West Khasi Hills	63.10	36.9	63.4	36.6	56.5	43.5	68.9	31.1
East Garo Hills	58.5	41.5	65.5	34.5	56.4	43.6	62.7	37.3
West Garo Hills	57.4	42.6	59.8	40.2	53.8	46.2	53.8	46.2

Source : Computed by Researcher.

It is significant to note that in no case, the share drops below 40 per cent at the state level.

Significantly, males and females are found in equal numbers in the Rural-Urban stream of migrants in Jaintia Hills district. In the West Khasi Hills district and East Garo Hills districts, the female continue a relatively smaller proportion, accounting for about 43.5 per cent of all migrants. The remaining two districts show a share close to the state average. In the case of urban to urban migration the composition is largely of males in West Khasi Hills and East Khasi Hills districts. In the remaining districts the females account for over 40 per cent of all migrants.

The dominance of males in the Urban-to-Rural stream is found in all the districts except East Khasi Hills and West Garo Hills district where the females constitute over 40 per cent of all migrants.

3.4 Rural - to - Urban Stream

After having examined the distribution of migrants and sex-composition in various streams, it is imperative at this state to examine a little more closely the rural-urban stream specifically. In this section an attempt is made to analyse the distribution of Rural to Urban migrants with reference to distance and their sex composition.

At the aggregate level, bulk of the Rural-Urban migration consist of intra-state origin. This type account for about 64.8% of all rural to urban migration in Meghalaya, the remaining having come from other states in India. At the district level however, nearly all of the Rural-Urban migrants (92.63%) in West Khasi Hills district are of intra-state origin (Table 3.5). The share of intra-state rural-to-urban migrants is also high (86.44%) in Jaintia Hills too. Except for East Khasi Hills district where a very significant proportion (nearly 42%) of rural-to-urban migrants is from outside Meghalaya, all the districts show a dominance of rural-to-urban migration of intra-state origin.

The Rural-Urban migration involving intra-district movement accounts for very large share i.e., nearly half of all Rural-Urban migration. The share however, goes upto 76% in West Khasi Hills district and upto 74% in Jaintia Hills. It is about 60% in West Garo Hills district. Significantly, inter-district rural-urban migration stream accounts for over 31% of all Rural-Urban migration in East Garo Hills district. In East and West Khasi Hills districts the inter-district Rural-Urban migration accounts for about a sixth of all Rural-Urban migration in these districts.

In terms of inter-state migration, about 14% of all migrants from rural areas coming to urban centres in Meghalaya are from Assam, the Assamese Rural-Urban

Table 3.5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE, 1981.

	Intra	Inter	Total	Assam	Bihar	Others	Total	Grand Total
Meghalaya	24595 (49.76)	7424 (15.02)	32019 (64.75)	6843 (13.84)	4570 (9.25)	5998 (12.13)	17411 (35.22)	49430 (100)
Jaintia Hills	2056 (74.17)	340 (12.27)	2396 (86.44)	164 (5.92)	136 (4.91)	76 (2.74)	376 (13.56)	2772 (100)
East Khasi Hills	11850 (41.16)	4880 (16.96)	16730 (58.12)	3655 (12.70)	3549 (12.32)	4853 (16.86)	12057 (41.88)	28787 (100)
West Khasi Hills	1207 (76.06)	263 (16.57)	1470 (92.63)	71 (4.47)	32 (2.02)	14 (0.88)	117 (7.37)	1587 (100)
East Garo Hills	981 (46.43)	658 (31.14)	1639 (77.57)	418 (19.78)	38 (1.80)	18 (0.85)	474 (22.43)	2113 (100)
West Garo Hills	8500 (59.99)	1285 (9.07)	9785 (69.06)	2533 (17.88)	815 (5.75)	1036 (7.31)	4384 (30.94)	14169 (100)

Source : Computed by Researcher .

DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL TO URBAN MIGRANTS (TOTAL) 1981

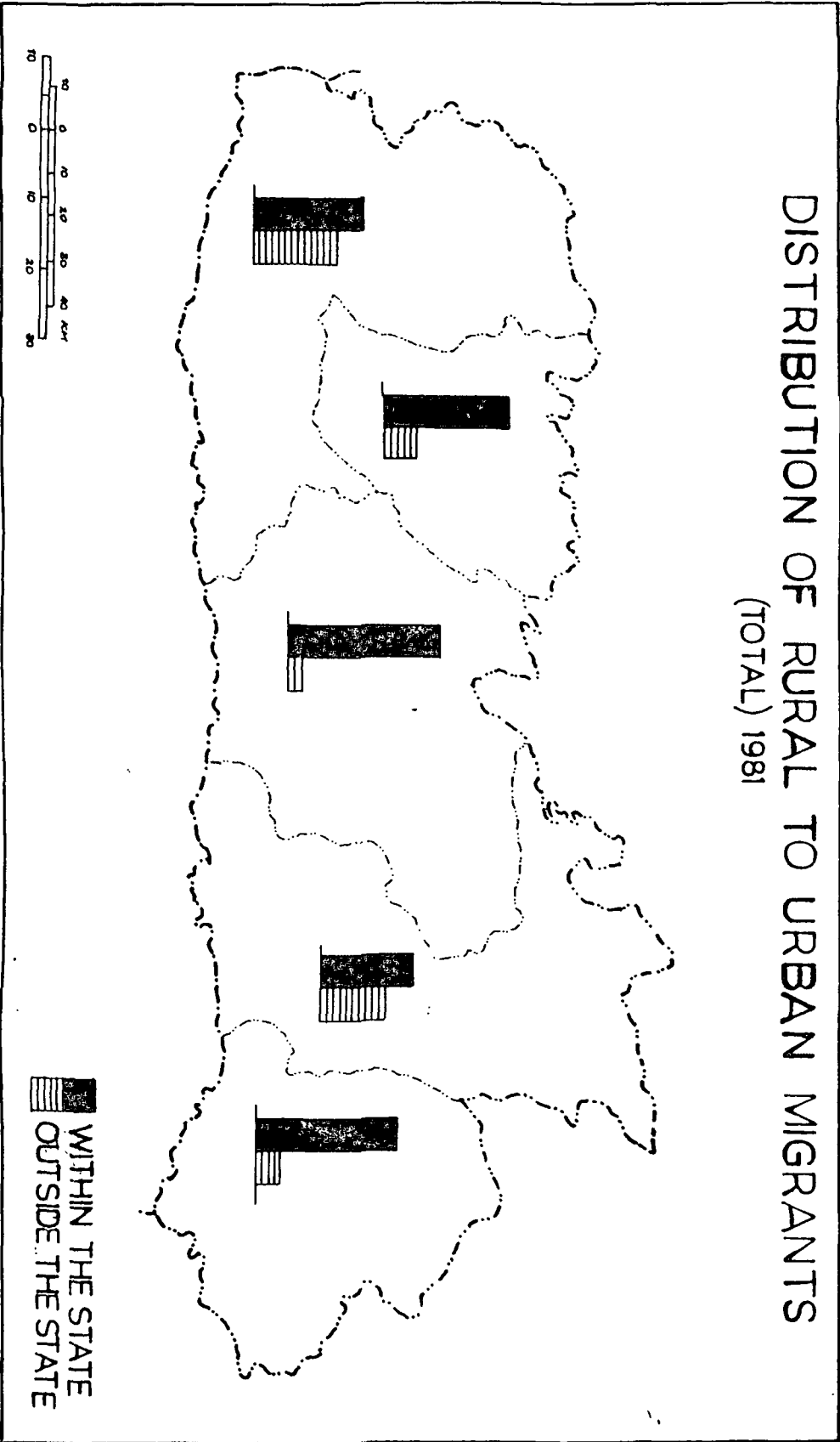


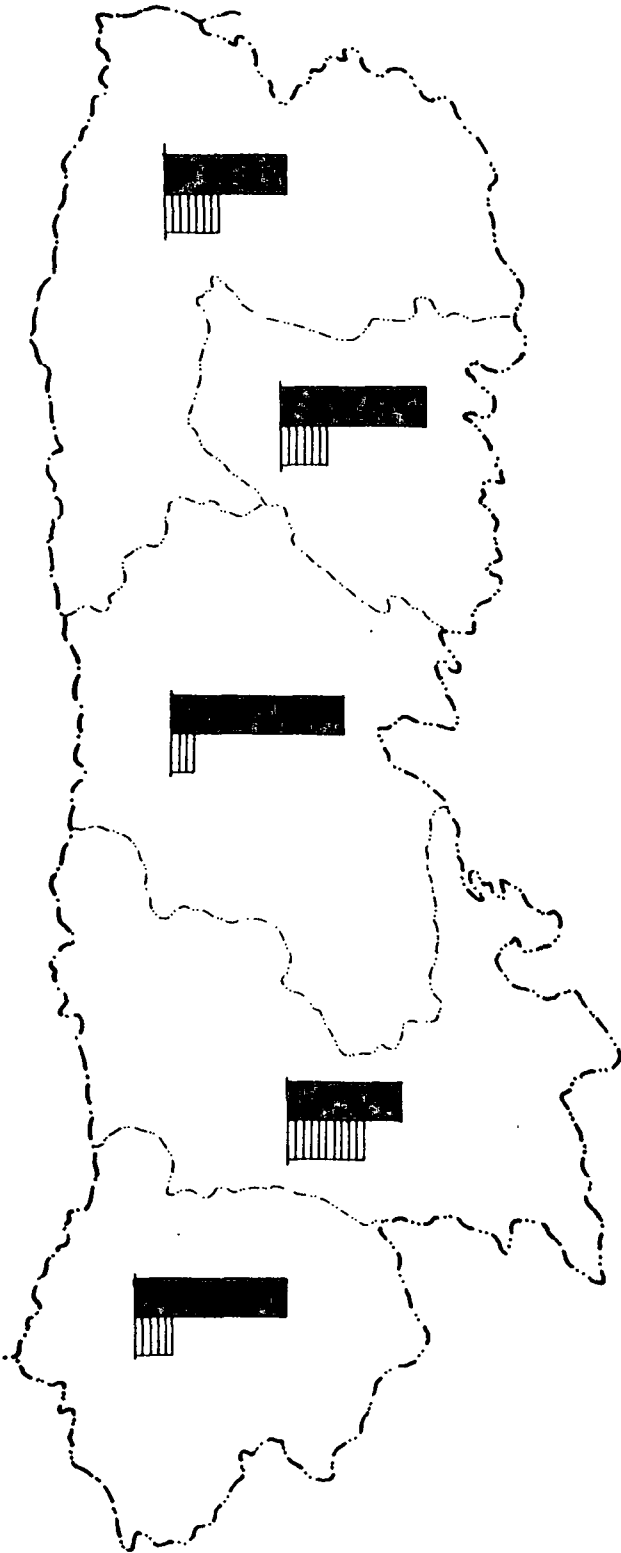
FIG:34

migrants account for nearly a fifth of all Rural-Urban migrants in East Garo Hills district and their share is a little less (i.e., 17.88 per cent) in West Garo Hills district the percentage of Bihari migrants and migrants from the rest of India is very high (12.32% and 16.86% respectively) in East Khasi Hills district only,

3.4.1 Distribution of Male and Female Rural-Urban Migrants

The proportion of male rural-to-urban migrants inter-state origin is relatively larger at the state level accounting for about 42.2 per cent of all male migrants from rural areas. But this is largely due to a very large concentration (51.6 per cent) of male migrants from outside the state in only one district, i.e., East Khasi Hills district (Table 3.6). However, compared to the aggregate picture males from rural origin from outside the state are more in all the districts with a comparable decline in the intra-state Rural-Urban male migration. For example, the intra-state male migration in Rural-Urban stream comes down to 80.5 per cent in Jaintia Hills district. However, the difference is most marked in East Khasi Hills district wherein only 48.41 per cent of all Rural-Urban migrants among males are of intra-state origin.

(MALE) 1981



■ WITHIN THE STATE
▨ OUTSIDE THE STATE

FIG:35

Table 3.6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE, 1981

(MALES)

	Intra	Inter	Total	Assam	Bihar	Others	Total	Grand Total
Meghalaya	11716 (44.26)	3589 (13.56)	15305 (57.81)	3942 (14.89)	3537 (13.36)	3688 (13.95)	11167 (42.18)	26472 (100)
Jaintia Hills	938 (68.51)	164 (11.98)	1102 (80.50)	110 (8.03)	108 (7.89)	49 (3.58)	267 (19.50)	1369 (100)
East Khasi Hills	5255 (34.13)	2198 (14.28)	7483 (48.41)	2132 (13.85)	2748 (17.85)	3062 (19.89)	7942 (51.59)	15395 (100)
West Khasi Hills	618 (68.89)	192 (21.40)	810 (90.30)	47 (5.23)	30 (3.34)	10 (1.11)	87 (9.70)	897 (100)
East Garo Hills	528 (44.30)	370 (31.04)	898 (75.33)	256 (21.48)	25 (2.10)	13 (1.09)	294 (24.66)	1192 (100)
West Garo Hills	4377 (57.46)	666 (8.74)	5043 (66.20)	1396 (18.33)	626 (8.22)	553 (7.26)	2575 (33.80)	7618 (100)

Source : Computed by Researcher.

Intra-district rural to urban male migrant's share varies between 34.13 per cent of all male rural to urban migration in East Khasi Hills district and 68.51 per cent in Jaintia Hills. Inter-district rural to urban male migrants accounts for a smaller share except in the case of East Garo Hills where it is as much as 31 per cent. Compared to the aggregate picture, male rural to urban migrants from other states accounts for a relatively larger share in all the districts.

The female rural-to-urban migrants, are far more numerous in intra-state category. Compared to an aggregate share of 64.78 per cent and male's share of only 57.81 per cent, the intra-state movement of females from rural to urban areas accounts for nearly 73 per cent at the state level. Nearly all of the rural to urban female migration takes place within the state (intra-state or inter-district) in West Khasi Hills district (95.65 per cent) and Jaintia Hills (92.23 per cent), most of which is intra-district in character involving short distance journey. Interestingly, West Garo Hills district has the largest share (27.61 per cent) of inter-state female migrants in the Rural-Urban stream which includes 7.4 per cent of female migrants from other states of India excluding Assam and Bihar. Even in East Khasi Hills, the females unlike the males, account for a very large proportion of

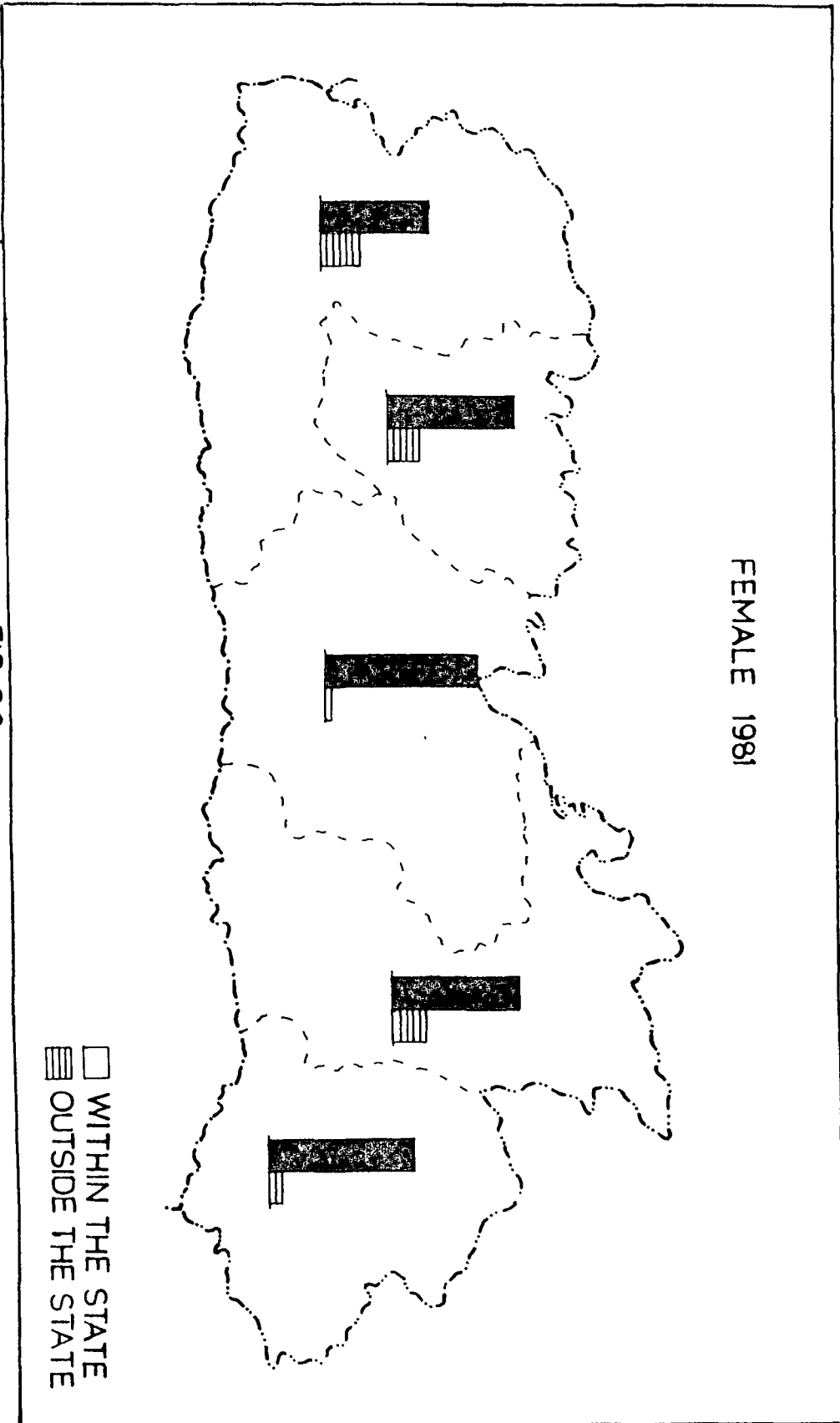


FIG: 36

Table 3.7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE, 1981

(FEMALES)

	Intra	Inter	Total	Assam	Bihar	Others	Total	Grand Total
Meghalaya	12879 (56.10)	3835 (16.70)	16714 (72.80)	2901 (13.01)	1033 (44.99)	2310 (10.06)	6244 (27.20)	22958 (100)
Jaintia Hills	1118 (79.69)	176 (12.54)	1294 (92.23)	54 (3.85)	28 (1.99)	27 (1.92)	109 (7.77)	1403 (100)
East Khasi Hills	9277 (46.41)	6595 (33.00)	15872 (79.41)	1523 (7.62)	801 (4.01)	1791 (8.96)	4115 (26.59)	19987 (100)
West Khasi Hills	589 (85.36)	71 (10.29)	660 (95.65)	24 (3.47)	2 (0.28)	4 (0.57)	30 (4.34)	690 (100)
East Garo Hills	453 (44.19)	288 (31.27)	741 (80.46)	162 (17.59)	13 (1.41)	5 (0.54)	180 (19.54)	921 (100)
West Garo Hills	4123 (62.94)	619 (9.45)	4742 (72.39)	1137 (17.36)	189 (2.89)	483 (7.37)	1809 (27.61)	6551 (100)

Source : Computed by Researcher.

their Rural-Urban migration in the intra state category. The share is as high as 79.41 per cent of all Rural-Urban female migration in the district. The only notable feature, however, is that the inter-district migration among females constitute a significant proportion in this district which is as much as one third of all Rural-Urban female migration into the district. In general the bulk of female Rural-Urban migration is confined within the state, the inter-state category accounting for only a small proportion of all Rural-Urban female migration. (Table 3.7).

3.4.2 Sex Composition

An interesting observation of the sex composition of the Rural-Urban migration relates to the dominance of women in the intra-state category. The opposite, however, is the case with the inter-state movement with males outnumbering females in large measure.

At aggregate level, however, there is an excess of males in the Rural-Urban migrant stream. (Table 3.8). But the differential is not very high. The males constitute 53.55 per cent of all Rural-Urban migrants in the state while the females account for the rest. This pattern is identical at the district level except Jaintia Hills where the Rural-Urban stream consists of nearly equal number of males and females.

Table 3.8

SEX COMPOSITION OF RURAL - URBAN MIGRANTS, 1981 (IN %AGE)

	Intra		Inter		Total		Assam		Bihar		Others		Total		G.Total	
	Male	Fem	Male	Fem	Male	Fem	Male	Fem	Male	Fem	Male	Fem	Male	Fem	Male	Fem
Meghalaya	4763	5237	4834	5166	4780	5220	5761	4229	7740	2260	6149	3851	6414	3586	5355	4645
Jaintia Hills	4660	5340	4823	5177	4600	5400	6707	3293	7941	2059	6447	3553	7101	2899	4939	5061
East Khasi Hills	4434	5566	4504	5496	4455	5545	5833	4167	7743	2257	6309	3691	6587	3413	5348	4652
West Khasi Hills	5120	4980	7300	2700	5510	4490	6620	3380	9375	625	7143	2857	7436	2564	5652	4348
East Garo Hills	5382	4618	5623	4377	5479	4521	6124	3876	6579	3421	7222	2778	6202	3798	5641	4359
West Garo Hills	5149	4851	5183	4817	5153	4847	5511	4489	7681	2319	5338	4662	5874	4126	5377	4623

Source : Computed by Researcher.

The females outnumber males in the Rural-Urban stream of migration within the state. The females account for nearly 52 per cent of all Rural-Urban migration taking place within Meghalaya. The pattern at the district level, however, is modified to some extent. In Jaintia Hills and East Khasi Hills, the females outnumber males in sex composition of Rural-Urban migrants of the intra state origin. The numerical dominance of females is particularly significant in East Khasi Hills district where the males contribute only 44.5 per cent of all Rural-Urban migrants of Intra-state origin. In the remaining three districts the males marginally outnumber females.

The pattern remains identical in the case of intra-district as well as inter-district migration from rural to urban areas. The notable exception is however, West Khasi Hills district which the males constitute an overwhelming dominance in the Rural-Urban stream of the inter district category, accounting for 73 per cent.

The Rural-Urban stream of migrants from outside Meghalaya largely consists of males. The females contribute a little over one third of all migration from outside Meghalaya. Their share is about one fourth in West Khasi Hills. However, West Garo Hills has a better sex-ratio among the Rural-Urban migrants into the district from outside the state.

The females account for 41.26 per cent of all Rural-Urban migrants from outside the state. The East Garo Hills too has a significant female component in the stream accounting for nearly 38 per cent.

Among the migrants from outside the state in the Rural-Urban stream, the Bihari migrants largely consists of males only, females accounting for a meagre 22.60 per cent at the district level.

3.5 Summary of Observations

Considering the difficulties of terrain conditions, the low level of urbanisation in an essentially tribal economy characterized by subsistence agriculture, the extent of rural-to-urban migration in Meghalaya may be considered as phenomenal. However, it is significant to note that only one or two districts have a very significant proportion of rural-to-urban migrants while in the majority of districts this stream continues to be weak, primarily because of lack of urban development in these districts. The former category includes East Khasi Hills district and West Garo Hills.

The analysis of the composition of various streams in the five districts showed a highly diversified pattern in these two districts while in the remaining three districts the Rural-to-Rural stream dominates the migration scenario.

A significant feature of the sex composition of various streams of migration in Meghalaya shows that unlike the situation in the rest of the country women constitute a very significant proportion of migrants in all the streams.

The analysis of the pattern of rural-to-urban migration leads to the following broad observations :

- (i) Bulk of the migration takes place within the state, the origin being either within the district or between the districts, the former being more dominant than the latter indicating small-distance migration into the urban areas.
- (ii) Most of the migrants coming from rural areas of the states outside Meghalaya is concentrated in East Khasi Hills district. This is possibly due to the location of the State Capital in the districts.
- (iii) Male Rural-to-Urban migrants are slightly more in the inter-state category with a corresponding fall in their share in the intra-state category. On the other hand, most female migrants from rural areas coming to urban centres have origin within the state.
- (iv) The sex-composition of the stream shows diverse patterns in intra-state and inter-state categories. The females outnumber males or constitute a very large proportion in the former, while the males predominate in the long distance Rural-Urban migration (Inter-state). The numerical dominance of females in the intra-district and inter-district migration involving short/medium distance migration is particularly revealing in the sense that the sex-selectivity of rural to urban migration is far less prevalent in the state.

CHAPTER - IVCAUSES OF MIGRATION

4.1 Generalities

Migration occurs as a results of decisions made by individuals in the light of what they perceived as the objective. Thus there are cases where migration may occur despite lack of a clear objective reason for it. Nevertheless, the reason for migration are many and varied. Broadly, the factors influencing migration can be classified into five groups:

- (a) Economic factors
- (b) Social and cultural factors
- (c) Demographic factors
- (d) Political and Institutional factors

(a) Economic factors: The most important factor in migration is the economic motive in which migration usually takes place from economically depressed region to economically prosperous areas. The motive obviously is to improved the economic condition of the migrants.

(b) Social and cultural factors: Social and cultural factors also play an important role in decision to migrate. The quest for independence, the desire to break away from traditional constraints of social organisation, conflicts among the family members, for one reasons or the other or the feeling of being isolated etc, may cause migration espicially in those of the younger generation. Improved communication such as transportation,

the modernising impact of the radio, television, cinema, urban oriented education, rural-urban interaction etc and resultant change in social values and attitudes are likely to promote rural to urban migration. Further the allurements of what is called "bright lights"¹ i.e., social facilities of the town may pull rural folks. However, migration is considerably influenced by factors such as the closeness of cultural contacts, cultural diversity etc.

(c) Demographic factors : The divergent rates of population increase between different areas of the country have been found to be a stimulant to Internal migration. Fertility and rates of natural increase in population are generally higher in rural areas. The reduction in the mortality rate are concomitant high rates of population growth would drift the population towards the city, or areas experiencing lower growth rates in population.²

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1. N.V. Sovani, 1966 : Urbanisation in Urban India : Asian publishing House, Bombay, pp.7-8
 2. Mahesh Chand and V.K. Puri, 1983 : Regional planning in India, Allied Publishers pvt,ltd, pp.239-246.

(d) Geographical and physical factors : Geographical and physical factors such as distance, natural barrier, size of the country, weather and climatic conditions, meteorological disasters like flood and drought, etc have also been found to influence the movement of people.³

(e) Political and Institutional factors : Institutional factor such as Government policy towards migration may encourage or discourage the movement of people. For instance, the adoption of jobs for the sons of the soil policy by the government may trim the migration of people from other states. In the Bengali-Marwari conflict one can see the blending class-war with communal disharmony arising out of caste, language, and culture. Will there be an increasing demand in keeping out the migrants and giving preference in matter of employment to the sons of the soil i.e. the local people.⁴

3. Francis Cherunilam, 1984 : Urbanisation in Developing countries. Himalayan Publishing house, pp.53-57.

4. Francis Cherunilam, 1981 : Sons of the soil policy, Despised and disparities in state and society, Himalayan Publishing house

However, it should be noted that the force behind migration is actually a combination of one or more of such factors as these factors themselves are intricately related with one another.

According to B.Beijer,⁵ decision to migrate are based on the satisfaction of desires or expected income related to maximisation of dislikes or lowering costs. According to R.Kelvin Cox,⁶ Place utility plays a dominant role in influencing the decision to migrate to satisfy his perceived needs. He further pointed out the concept of attraction or place utility on the basis of economic opportunity and amenities, ethnic and religious composition, language and housing. M.I.Safa⁷ viewed migration as an economic phenomenon though non-economic activities too have some bearing. Most studies indicate that the bulk of the migrants leaves the place of their origin primarily because of lack of employment and in the hope of finding such an opportunities elsewhere.

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5. B.Beijer, 1963 : Rural migrants in Cuban settings, The Hague and Monton publication.
 6. R.Kelvin Cox, 1972 : Man location and Behaviour, An introduction to human geography, New York, John Weiley.
 7. H.I.Safa, and B.M.Dutoit, 1982 : Migration and Urbanisation, models for adaptive strategies, The Hague Monton publication.

Migration takes place with the development of industrialisation and urbanisation leading to a greater demand for labour and other economic development.

In many cases reason for migration are not very clearcut. Present day Rural to Urban migration in most developing countries is governed only by the pull or attraction of the cities by the better economic opportunities available there, but also due to Push or repelling factors caused by stagnation of rural economy. Thus migration from a country to the city bears a close functional relation to the process of industrialisation, technological advancement and other attendant changes which characterised the evolution of modern society in almost all parts of the world. "The main factor determining the rate of outward employment is other occupations. It is this factors which explain the high rate of movement in recent years in advanced countries (U.S.A, Sweden, Canada, are outstanding) and in the rapidly developing countries in Latin America, Middle East, and Africa."⁸ Many biased policies have created strong incentives to expand economic activity in urban rather than rural areas with the expectation of getting higher paid jobs and better access to services

⁸ U.N, 1953 : Determinants and consequences of world Population trends, New York, p.124.

As the employment opportunities expand and income increases at a higher rate in urban areas as a result of massive investments, it is possible for job hunters to flock to such areas. Apart from the economic opportunities there are a host of other attractions that the city holds out.

In the case of India, Economic factors is one of the major causes that has forced the people to migrate. Migration in India is taking place from the economically depressed regions to economically prosperous areas.

The natural increase in population is one of the main causes which lead to the push causing rural people to leave rural areas where the agricultural sector cannot accomodate increasing population.

Streams of migration on the basis of enumeration can be classified into four classes. These are:

- (i) Rural to Rural (Reverse turn over)
- (ii) Rural to Urban (Push and Pull)
- (iii) Urban to Rural (**Reverse push back**)
- (iv) Urban to Urban (Urban turn over)

The distribution of population movement within India is closely related with social and economic development.

(i) Rural to Rural: It can be clearly noted that the Rural to Rural stream of migration dominated in all states of India. This can be clearly explained by the fact that India is predominantly an agricultural country, and

about 80 per cent of the total population live in the rural areas. Another reason may be attributed to demographic purposes such as marriages which involves female migration from one rural areas to another. This stream of migration is also due to, the fact that the landless agricultural labourers move from one village to another village for seasonal occupation. A large rural turn over could be the indicator of a very low economic growth.

(ii) Rural to Urban : Rural to Urban stream of migration predominantly takes place due to economic reasons. Rural to Urban stream is generally believed to be the classic stream which feed human growth. According to Mitra⁹ The enduring assumption is that overcrowding in agriculture and the consequent lack in subsistence in rural areas pushes population into urban areas to which they are inexorably pulled by overcrowding demand in tertiary activities and to a certain extent in secondary activities.

(iii) Urban to Rural : Reverse migration is mostly demographic in character (By marriage, or by birth of a child in urban centre etc). It is also caused by lack of unemployment in urban areas, shortage of housing accommodation which deprived the urban areas of human vested resources. It is also responsible for the fertilization of economic

9. Ashok Mitra, 1967 : Internal Migration and Urbanisation in India.

and intellectual activities that is now rapid prevailing rural areas.

Urban to Urban (Urban Turn Over) : Urban to Urban Migration is mainly due to the transfer of services, family problems, change of professions, it may be also due to certain instances movement of urban folks who moves into neighbouring small towns which is known as 'slip migration'.

The process of migration North-East in general and in Meghalaya in particular, is a recent phenomenon primarily due to its low level of integration with the rest of the country. The second factor relates to its social structure dominated by tribal segment population and lack of a well developed urban system for very long, such as good transport network and high rates of rural growth of population too were missing in the past. All this factors contributed to the low level of migration in the state involving long distance change of residence. However, the situation is rapidly changing as the state has experienced, in recent years, substantial growth of urban areas with accompanying potential for agricultural development which continues to be primitive is forcing people to migrate to cities for employment as well as for education, and for many other reasons. Given the background, it may be exceedingly interesting to analyse the major reasons for migrating in Meghalaya using 1981

census information.

4.2 Causes of Migration, 1981 :

The 1981 census has classified the reasons for migrations into five broad groups : these are (i) employment (ii) Education (iii) Marriage (iv) Family moved (v) Unclassified. However unsatisfactory and inadequate it may be, the classification at least provides the basis to understand the relative strength of some of the important causes of migration in Meghalaya. The data has been further classified to analyse the sex differentials in causes of migration as well as the relative importance of various causes as far as the long distance and short distance are concerned.

Table 4.1 gives a broad overview of the distribution of migrants classified according to the reasons for their migration.

Table 4.1

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY REASONS OF
MIGRATIONS AND LENGTH OF MIGRANT STATUS

Reasons	Total Migrants (Percentage)	Length of Migrant Status	
		5 yrs (%)	5 yrs (%)
Employment	13.44	12.17	19.26
Education	5.28	3.83	10.25
Family Moved	35.57	40.12	36.62
Marriage	19.56	26.04	14.04
Other	26.13	17.80	19.80

It is evident from the above table that the single largest causes for migration is the movement of family accounting for over 35 per cent of all migrants. It is interesting to note that this share is more (i.e., 40.12 per cent) among the recent migrants (having migrated less than five years ago) than the older migrants (five years or more). The second most important cause of migration are the unclassified ones which include causes other than employment, education, movement of family, and marriage. Expectedly marriage is responsible for a significant proportion, i.e., nearly a fifth of all migration in Meghalaya. This may be a part of Rural-Urban stream involving short distance migration. While the importance of employment as the cause of migration has been stressed in all literatures dealing with migration, it seems to be relatively less important a cause for this hill state accounting for only 13.14 per cent of all migrants. However, there are remarkable differences in the relative importance of these causes in terms of older and recent migration. Among the older migrants, employment accounts for nearly a fifth of all migration. On the other hand, the share of persons who have migrated for employment is a meagre 12.17 per cent in the latter case. The difference seems quite intriguing and needs further probe.

A little over 5 per cent of all migrants reported the cause of their migration as education. However, the share is much higher among the older migrants. Over 10 per cent of those who have migrated for over five years stated education as their cause for migration.

The dominance of family as the reason for migration is indicative of rural-urban stream of migration, while the proportion which migrated due to marriage may have largely taken place within rural areas. Relatively low proportion of migration for employment indicates that the economy remains largely self sufficient and the operation of 'push' factors is rather at a low key.

4.2.1 Sex-Composition

It is clear from table 4.2 that females constitute as much as 42.66 per cent of all migrants and there is no differences in this regards as far as the older or recent migrants are concerned. However, male-female differences in migration is remarkably clear when their causes of their migration is concerned. While 11.19 per cent males recorded the same as the reason. Male-female differential in migration for educational purposes is insignificant while the female far outnumber the males in migrations caused by movement of the family. It is interesting

that unlike the rest of the country, migration due to marriage is more among male than for females primarily due to matrilineal social structure in the state wherein marriages in most cases are matri-local and in the process the married man moves to the house of his spouse, than the other way.

The picture in the case of recent as well as the older migrants remains largely the same as the overall pattern. However, there is a notable exception. This concerns the marriage migrations. Among the recent migrants the male-female difference in migrations arising out of marriage is less significant compared to the older migrations.

Table 4.2

SEX COMPOSITION OF MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY REASONS AND
DURATION OF MIGRANT STATUS

Reasons	Total Migrant (Percentage)		Length of Migrant Status			
			5 years (%)		5 years (%)	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
Employment	11.19	2.25	15.82	3.44	10.70	1.98
Education	3.06	2.22	5.88	4.37	2.11	1.46
Family moved	15.89	19.68	15.81	20.81	17.91	21.71
Marriage	11.51	8.05	7.61	6.43	14.50	9.78
Others	15.67	10.46	12.35	7.45	12.01	7.81
Total	57.34	42.66	57.47	42.53	57.26	42.74

Source : Meghalaya Migration Table : (1981).

4.3 Causes and Types of Migration

A cursory look at the table 4.3 and figure 4.1 reveals that employment as a cause for migration differs substantially among different types of migrants; viz. intra-state, inter-state and international. While as much as 13.45 per cent of all migrants declared employment as the cause of their migration, the proportion was much higher, i.e., 22.41 per cent and 18.55 per cent among those who came to Meghalaya from other states of India and from outside India, respectively. The extent of Migration within Meghalaya on accounts of employment seems negligible with only a little over a per cent recording employment as the motive for the migration.

Migration from outside the country for education is highly insignificant. On the other hand, there is a remarkable consistency in the proportion of migrants across all categories on account of the movement of the family. This varies between 31.65 per cent among migrants from other countries and 36.67 per cent among intra-state migrants. Marriage as a cause of migration is also a relatively less important factor among the migrants from other countries.

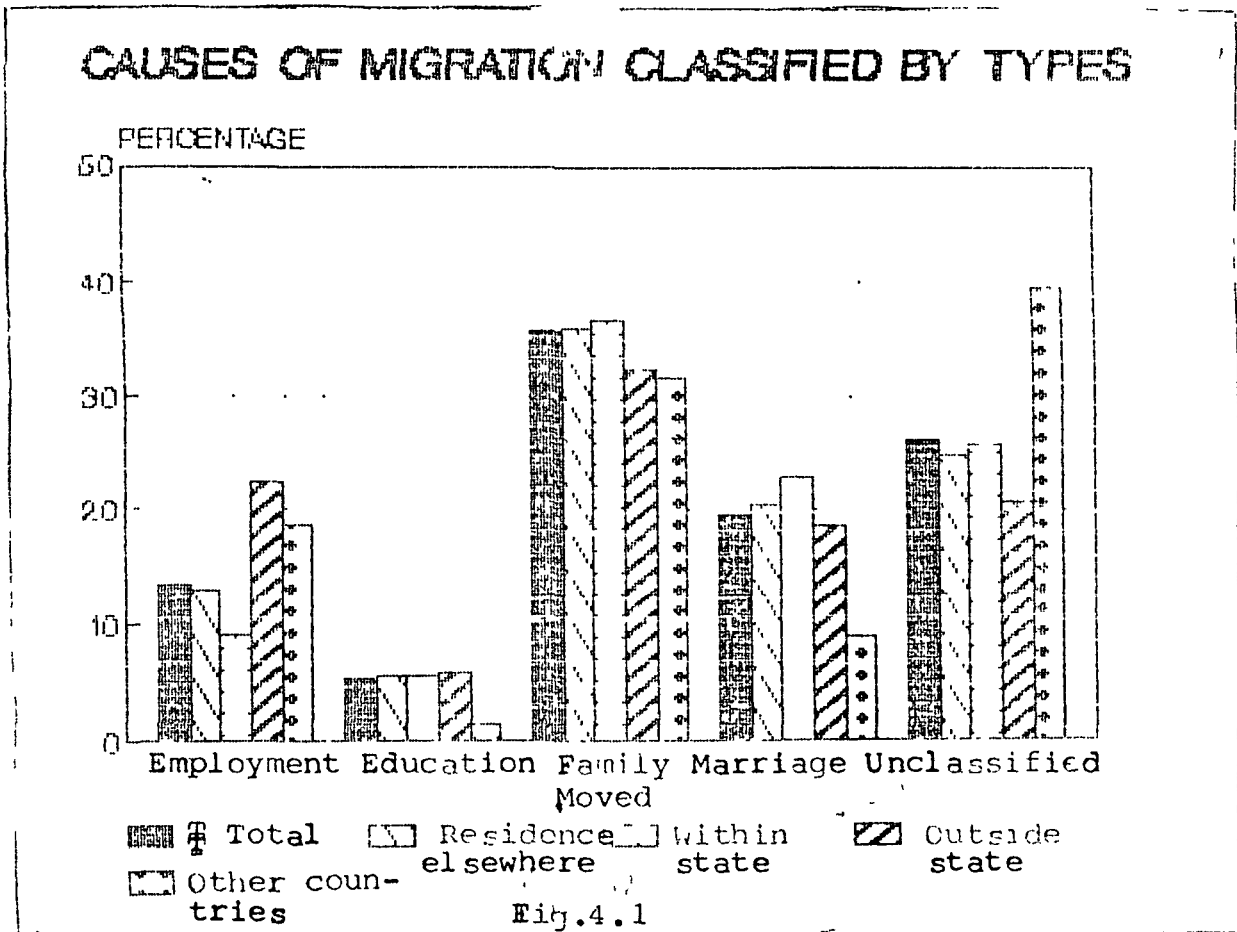


Table 4.3

CAUSES OF MIGRATION CLASSIFIED BY TYPES OF MIGRANTS

Types of Migration	1 Employment	2 Education	3 Family moved	4 Marriage	5 Unclassified	6 Total
Total	43268 (13.45%)	16990 (5.28%)	114433 (35.57%)	62922 (19.56%)	84067 (26.13%)	321680 (100%)
Last Residence elsewhere in India	37697 (12.91%)	16557 (5.67%)	104962 (35.96%)	60236 (20.64%)	72385 (24.80%)	291837 (100%)
Within State of Enumeration	19613 (9.11%)	11842 (5.50%)	78933 (36.67%)	49289 (22.90%)	55578 (25.82%)	215255 (100%)
State in India beyond state of Enumeration.	18084 (22.41%)	4813 (5.96%)	26028 (32.25%)	15059 (18.66%)	16704 (20.70%)	80688 (100%)
Other Countries	5551 (18.55%)	433 (1.44%)	9471 (31.65%)	2686 (8.97%)	11782 (39.37%)	29923 (100%)

Source : Census of India, Meghalaya Migration Tables, 1981.

4.3.1

Sex Composition

In this section, an attempt is made to examine the male-female differentials ⁱⁿ relation to the type of migrant status classified as those having their last residence elsewhere in India, within the state of enumeration, state in India beyond state of enumeration and migrants from other countries.

Family moved : There seems to be direct relation with distance among migrants who have moved due to the shifting of the family. It is because of the fact that the persons who have moved due to employment, are assigned

employment as the cause of the migration; but if his family moved with him they are classed as migrants due to shift of the family. It is interesting to note that females dominate in this category of migration irrespective of the distance factor. The proportion of females migrating on account of the shift of the family is the highest in the inter-state category, contributing nearly 58 per cent of all migrants. This is probably due to the fact that those who came to Meghalaya from far off places are more likely to bring their families into the area of immigration as distance poses serious limitation on keeping frequent contact with the family. Since male migration is more common in other categories of reasons, the proportion of female migrants rises sharply due to the movement of the family. Table 4.4 and figure 4.2.

Table 4.4

FAMILY MOVED

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
Total	114433 (100%)	51126 (44.67%)	63307 (55.33%)
Last residence elsewhere in India	104962 (100%)	46609 (44.49%)	58263 (55.51%)
Within State of Enumeration	78933 (100%)	35730 (45.26%)	43203 (54.74%)
State in India beyond state of Enumeration	26028 (100%)	10969 (42.14%)	15059 (57.86%)
Other Countries	9471 (100%)	4427 (46.74%)	5044 (53.26%)

Source : Census of India, Meghalaya Migration Tables, 1981.

Marriage : Unlike the pattern obtained elsewhere in the country, there are excess of males migrating out on account of marriage, table. 4.5 and figure 4.3.

Table 4.5

MARRIAGE

	Total	Male	Female
Total	62922 (100%)	37044 (58.57%)	25878 (41.13%)
Last residence elsewhere in India	60236 (100%)	36380 (60.39%)	23856 (39.61%)
Within State of Enumeration	49289 (100%)	34464 (69.92%)	14825 (30.08%)
State in India beyond state of enumeration	15059 (100%)	10947 (72.69%)	1916 (27.31%)
Other Countries	2686 (100%)	664 (24.72%)	2022 (75.27%)

Source : Census of India, Meghalaya Migration Tables, 1981.

In all 58.8 per cent of those migrating out due to marriage consists of males. This is understandable as much of the migration takes place within the state and the cultural practices in Meghalaya is matrilineal and matrilocal in character. This is evident from the fact that the share of male migrants due to marriage is as high as 69.92 per cent while it is only 24.72 per cent in the case of those coming from outside the country. Interestingly, a very high proportion of migrants from other states of India

REASONS FOR MIGRATION
MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY TYPES AND SEX
(FAMILY MOVED)

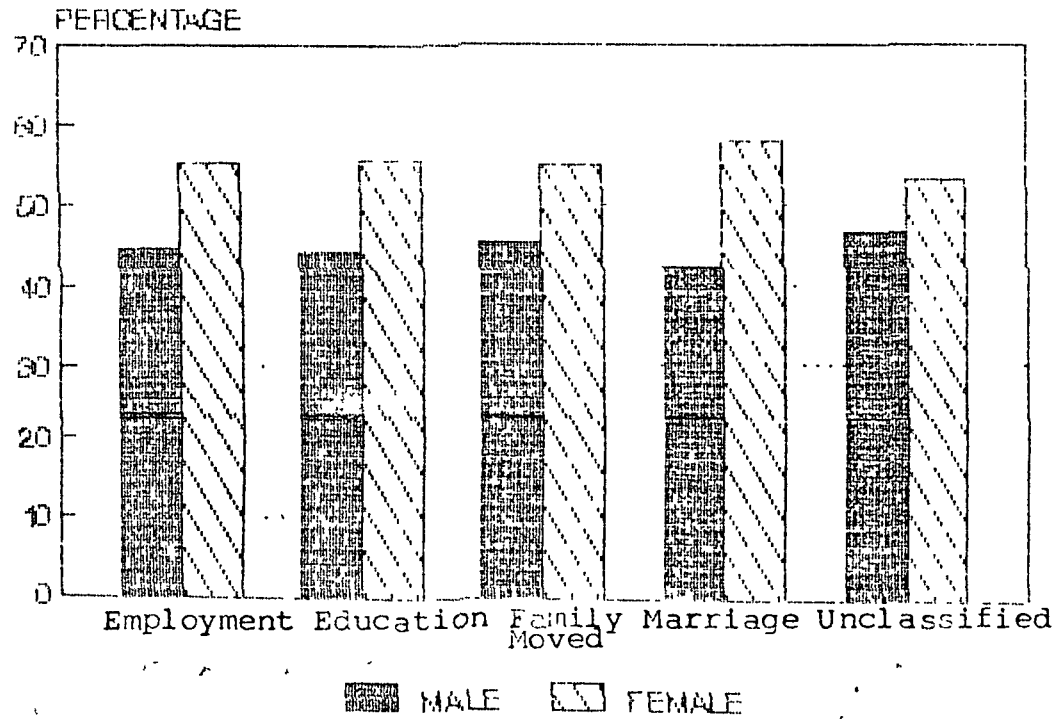


Fig. 4.2

REASONS FOR MIGRATION
MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY TYPES AND SEX
(MARRIAGE)

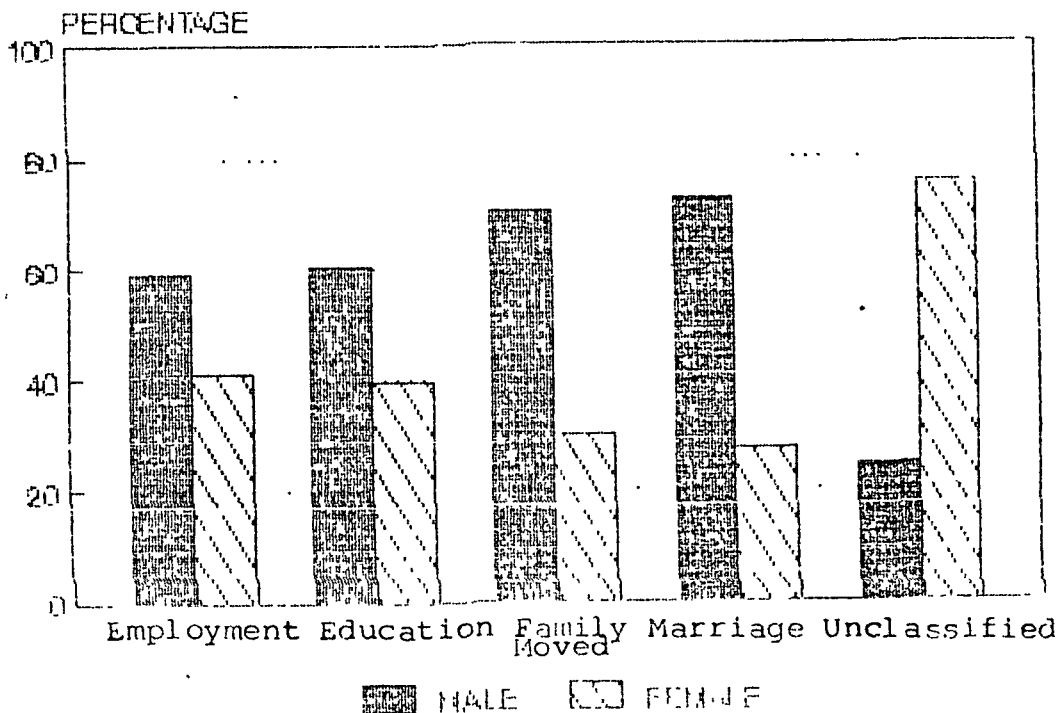


Fig. 4.3

migrating out on account of marriage consists of males; their share being as high as 72.69 per cent. This is indicative of marriages between the males from outside the state and females within the state which necessitates the migration of males and not the females due to prevalence of matri-local system.

Employment : In all categories of migration, females contribute a very small proportion of total migrants who have moved due to employment. However, Table 4.6 and figure 4.4.

Table 4.6

EMPLOYMENT

	Total	Male	Female
Total	43268 (100%)	35995 (83.23%)	7253 (16.77%)
Last residence elsewhere in India	37697 (100%)	30934 (81.63%)	6763 (18.37%)
Within State of Enumeration	19613 (100%)	14276 (72.79%)	5337 (27.21%)
State in India beyond state of Enumeration	18084 (100%)	16658 (92.11%)	1426 (7.89%)
Other Countries	5551 (100%)	5061 (91.17%)	490 (8.82%)

Source : Census of India, Meghalaya Migration Tables,
1981.

indicates that there exists enormous variations in the share of women among the three broad categories of migration. Overall, females account for only 16.77 per cent of migration with employment as the major cause. But in the case of inter-state and international migration, males contribute the overwhelming majority while in the case of migrating within the state females contribute as much as 27.21 per cent of all migrants who have changed residence for employment.

Thus, it is clear that employment as a cause of migration is more evident among the males coming from far - off areas. The females migration is more associational in character in such migration but within the state, females do contribute a very significant proportion of migration on account of employment and not as much associated as in the case of migrants from other states and countries.

Education : Migration on account of education has been low compared to the percentages in other categories of causes of migration. A remarkable feature of migrants in this category, however, is little sex differential, indicating that women do not lag behind the men in migrating for availing educational facilities mostly located in cities. But there exists enormous gap in the proportion

REASONS FOR MIGRATION
MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY TYPES AND SEX
(EMPLOYMENT)

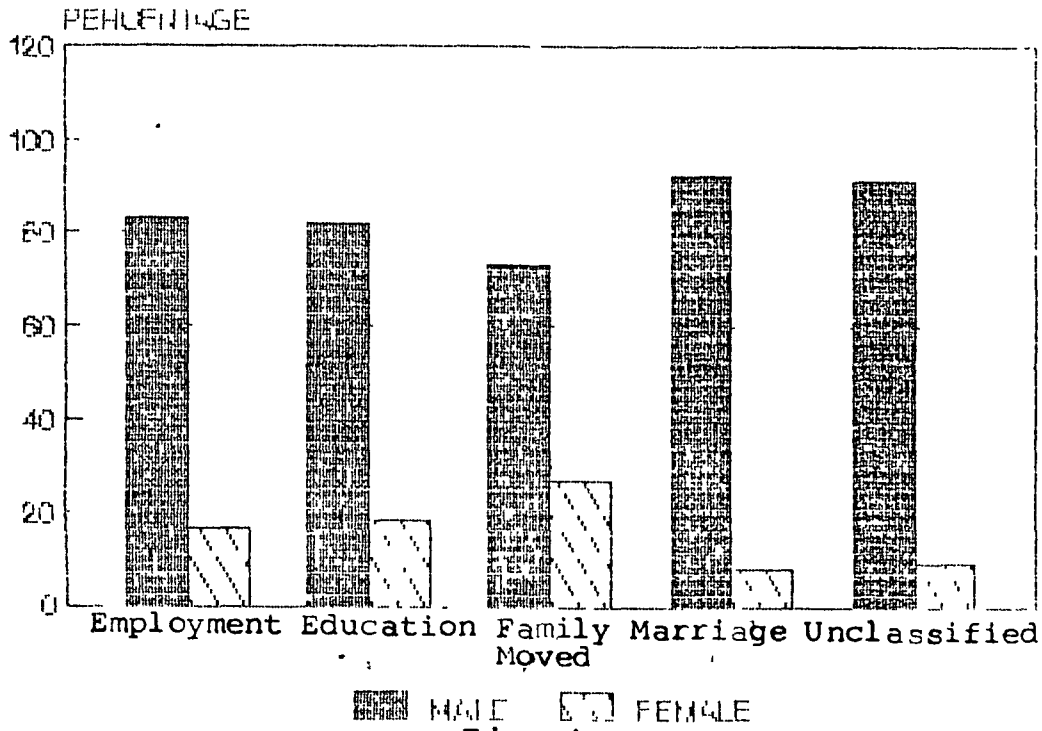


Fig. 4.4

REASONS FOR MIGRATION
MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY TYPES AND SEX
(EDUCATION)

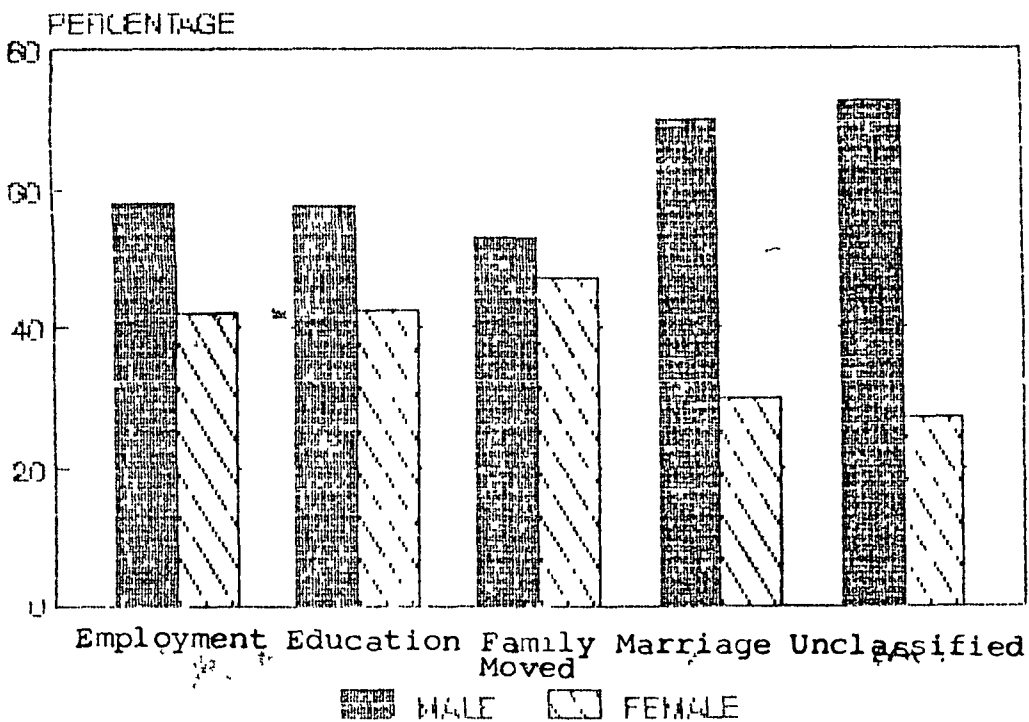


Fig. 4.5

of male and female migrants who came from outside Meghalaya or from outside the country to pursue education. These migrants are overwhelmingly male with females contributing only a small minority. Table 4.7 and figure 4.5.

Table 4.7

EDUCATION

	Total	Male	Female
Total	16090 (100%)	9859 (58.02%)	7131 (41.98%)
Last residence elsewhere in India	16557 (100%)	9544 (57.64%)	7013 (42.36%)
Within State of Enumeration	11842 (100%)	6270 (52.94%)	5572 (47.05%)
State in India beyond state of Enumeration	4813 (100%)	3373 (70.08%)	1440 (29.92%)
Other Countries	433 (100%)	315 (72.75%)	118 (27.25%)

Source : Census of India, Meghalaya Migration Tables, 1981.

But within the state, the females contribute as much as 47.05 per cent of all migrants who have changed their residences for the purpose of education. Thus, it is clear that education as a reason for migration does not distinguish between males and females within Meghalaya, while few women from outside the state migrate to attain education.

It may be noted that the proportion of migrants who have moved for the purpose of education, declines remarkably with increasing distance indicating a distance decay function. Therefore, the percentage of male migrants is always higher in these cases. The percentages are 70.08 per cent and 29.92 per cent in the case of migrants enumerated outside Meghalaya and foreign countries, respectively. It can be summed up that education offers as one of the pull factors within the state involving short-distance migration. The prevalence of matrilineal social structure, probably, plays a significant role. There is a relatively large female proportion among migrants from within the state, which also involves short-distance migration. With increasing distance, as in the case of inter-state or international migration, the share of females in the migrants for education falls drastically.

Others : Many other reasons not covered above, are grouped under the category of 'others'. They may include causes like movement due to retirement, movement due to other economic and socio-cultural factors such as setting up of shops, starting up of business; religious pursuits and so on. It is always found out that population movement due to other reasons is more or less the same for all categories of migration. Table 4.8 and figure 4.6.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION
 MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY TYPES AND SEX
 (OTHERS)

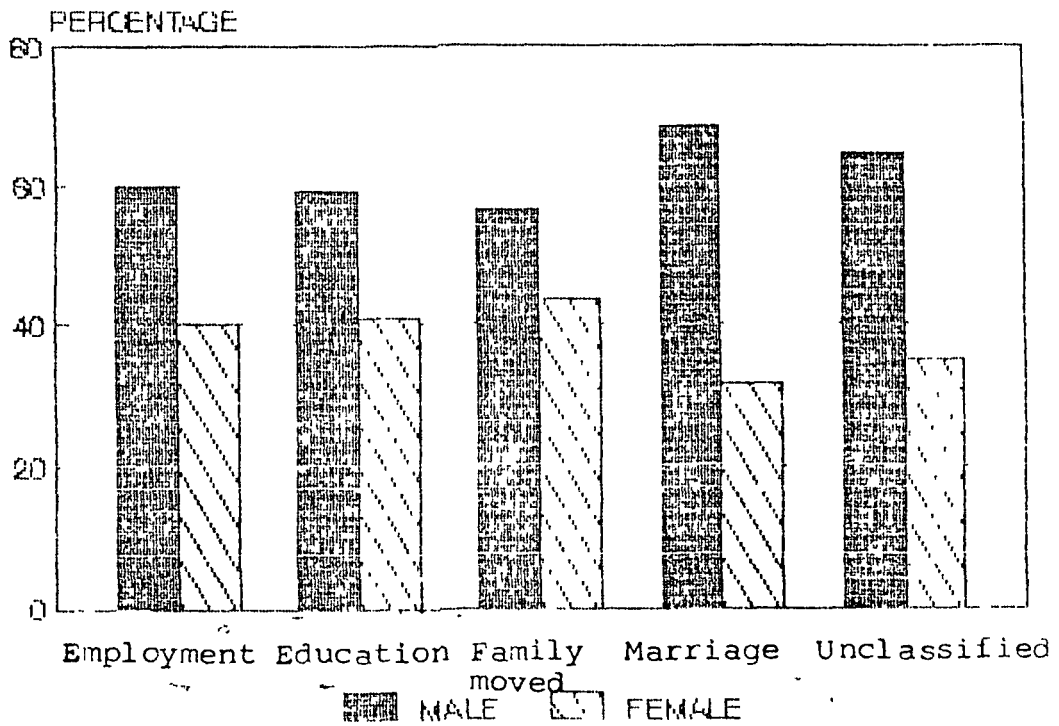


Fig. 4.6

Table 4.3

OTHERS

	Total	Male	Female
Total	84067 (100%)	50407 (56.96%)	33660 (40.04%)
Last residence elsewhere in India	72385 (100%)	42784 (59.10%)	29501 (40.75%)
Within state of Enumeration	55578 (100%)	31361 (56.42%)	24217 (43.58%)
State in India beyond state of Enumeration	16704 (100%)	11423 (68.38%)	5284 (31.62%)
Other Countries	11782 (100%)	7623 (64.70%)	4159 (35.29%)

Source : Census of India, Meghalaya Migration Tables, 1981.

(Table 4.8) provides details about the share of migrants and the sex-differentials. Out of the total migrant population, 56.96 per cent are shared by males, and 40.04 per cent by females migrants. In fact, migrants born within their residence elsewhere in India has been found to exercise an important influence in migration, at the same time religious, linguistics and socio-cultural differences increase with the increasing distance of travels which presents inverse relationship between number of migrants and then travel distance. It is interesting to note that female migrants constitute nearly half (43.58 per cent) of the cases of short distance to (31.62 per cent) in the case of long distance migration. Whereas in the case of male migrants born in other countries outside India account

for 64.70 per cent and 35.29 per cent in the case of female migrants.

It can be summed up that pull factors in drawing migrants declines with increase in distance, while economic reasons have been more significant and they have drawn migrants from longer distance. This results with the decline in the percentage in the case of female migrants with increasing distances. This may be because majority of the migrants who moved due to social reasons.

4.4 Summary of Findings

The foregoing analysis on the cause of migration in Meghalaya brings out the following interesting observations which are summarised below :-

(i) Economic forces do not seem to be a major cause of migration within the state. Thus, it may be assumed that the 'push' factors have not yet acquired menacing proportion behind migration behaviour in this part of the country. The cities are probably functioning as 'pull' areas, as evident from the fact that movements of family is the largest single cause for migration.

(ii) Female migration for economic reasons is remarkably low indicating that much of their migration is associational in nature. However, the extent of female migration on account of economic reasons within the state is substantial.

(iii) Males predominate in migration due to marriage. This is at variance with other parts of the country where females constitute an overwhelmingly large proportion of all migrations on account of marriage. The opposite picture within Meghalaya is due to the prevalence of matri-local system of marriage.

(iv) In terms of sex differentials in each of the causes independently, the pattern is highly varied in relation to the nature of the migration, viz., intra-state, inter-state and international. The extent of sex differentials in each of the causes is substantially low in the case of intra-state migration.

CHAPTER -VSUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Internal migration is a continuous process, changing frequently the map of distribution and composition of the population. The types, causes and consequences of migration are varied and brings it close to studies which cut across disciplinary boundaries.

Historically, tribal societies have experienced immigration at a smaller scale due largely to a low-key integration with other societies and as a result of subsistence economic organization. Absence of large-scale disparity in socio-economic structure did not necessitate migration, unless, of course external causes, such as invasions or internal causes such as high natural growth leading to a fall in the carrying capacity of the land led to the movement of people en masse. However, the relative isolation of tribal territories have been broken and these areas are now attracting people not only from outside but the tribal population itself is becoming increasingly mobile with growing urbanization and improved means of transport and communication and various debilitating forces operating at the origin of migration.

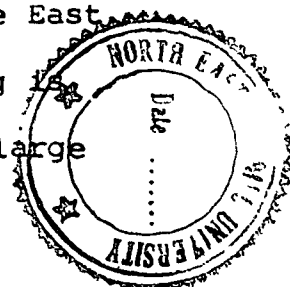
The pattern of migration in Meghalaya which has been analysed in the dissertation acquires significance in this context, the study area being tribal in character and the

physical and social isolation which it had with the rest of the country, till very recently. The process of urbanization has a short history in the state and types and causes of migrations also present qualitative differences worth studying.

The study, however, suffers from the limitation of the census data which is highly inadequate only source for arriving at conclusions at a broad level, which is justified before any detailed analysis at the micro-level is attempted. A major inadequacy pertains to the classification of the reasons of migration which are highly generalised and may even overlap. However, it is presumed that these limitation would not seriously affect the analysis which is aimed at finding out only the broad patterns.

Some of the major findings of the study may be outlined as follows :

(1) The extent and volume of migration in Meghalaya seems to respond positively with the size of urban population in each district suggesting the importance of urbanization in accelerating the process. Another feature of migration in the state refers to the disproportionate share found only in one district, i.e. the East Khasi Hills district where the capital of Shillong is located, and which undoubtedly is a fast growing large



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urban concentration not only of significance in the state but in the entire North East Region.

(2) The dominance of intra state migration in the total volume of migrants indicate a higher mobility among the local population largely consisting of Scheduled Tribes belonging to Khasi and Garo tribes.

(3) A very large proportion of the migrants coming from outside the state tends to get concentrated in the East Khasi Hills district, possibly in the capital city of Shillong. In fact, larger the distance greater is their concentration in this district. The capital city is flourishing with its educational, trade and administrative functions, which attracts the long distance migrants to this district.

However, the Assamese migrants are distributed in almost all areas of Meghalaya unlike other migrants from outside. This may be largely due to closer social and economic linkages between these two neighbouring states which were one administrative entity not very long back.

(4) While the distribution of male migrants closely resemble the aggregative pattern, the females tend to show a slightly greater concentration in the East Khasi Hills district.

(5) considering the peculiarities of the regional economy, topographic conditions and recent history of urbanisation in the state coupled with the subsistence level of agricultural economy, the extent of rural - to - urban stream of migration is significant and is comparable to advanced region of the country. But it may be added that only one or two districts are only experiencing such migration at a larger scale while in vast areas of the state the rural - to - urban stream continues to be feeble. This is understandable as urbanisation in these districts too is poorly developed and merely serves some administrative functions. It is significant that with the emergence of a strong urban base in East Khasi Hills district and West Garo Hills district, the stream is picking up momentum in these areas.

(6) Much like the rest of the country the pattern of migration is dominated by rural - to - rural stream characteristics of any economy dominated by agriculture and other primary methods of production.

(7) Bulk of the rural to urban stream of migration consists of small distance migrants i.e., inter-district or intra-district, the former being more dominant than the latter. Most of the rural migrants from outside the state get concentrated in East Khasi Hills district only.

(8) Male rural-to-urban migrants are slightly more in inter-state category involving long distance migration. On the other hand, bulk of the female rural-to-urban migration involves short distance migration i.e., either inter - or intra -state type.

(9) A very significant feature of the nature of rural to urban migration in the state refers to lack of large scale sex selectivity in its composition. The preponderance of females in the Rural - to - Urban stream is in sharp contrast to the situation elsewhere in the country and brings it closer to experiences of the western developed economies. The females particularly outnumber males or constitute a very large proportion in the intra-state category in most districts. But their share fall drastically in the category which involved inter-state movement. The numerical dominance of females in the shortest distance migration, i.e., intra-district movement is particularly revealing. The pattern brings out the sharp differences in the tribal and non-tribal response to Rural - to - Urban migration. The tribal ethos has probably withstood the sex selectivity in the Rural-Urban migration characteristics of nontribal social order which permits a larger male migration only. The numerical superiority of females in Rural-Urban stream within the state

indicates the continuance of the tribal ethos of lack of gender bias in migration.

(10) Analysis of the reasons of migration provides indications of the effects that the push factors have not yet acquired menacing proportions causing large sections to migrate from their areas of living which is cited as a major cause elsewhere in the country. The cities probably continue to act as pull areas as evident from the fact that movement of families is the single largest cause. The economic motive comes as the third important cause. Such a conclusion, however, should only be treated as tentative as the census categorization of causes itself may be inadequate.

(11) Economic reasons do not seem to be a major cause of migration among females. But it is substantial within the state.

(12) The extent of sex - differential in each of the causes is substantially low in the case of intra-state migration. Unlike the rest of the country the marriage migrations are dominated by males. This is largely prevalence of matri-local system of marriage involving migration of males to in - laws place of residence.

The generalization and conclusions arrived at are by no means conclusive and carry all the limitations of census data. But even the generalizations throw up some basic questions as far as its implication are concerned.

It is important to note that the extent of rural - to -urban migration is taking place due to urbanization which is mostly administrative nature. There is no evidence to suggest that any structural changes are associated with urbanization and migrations. Secondly, there is a need to understand the specific nature of such migrations as they affect the rural areas, it's economy, and the social organisation. The impact of such a strong stream of rural -to- urban migration may have wide-ranging implications to a tribal economy which is characterised by subsistence agriculture and a social organisation based on egalitarian principles and matrilineal system. Third, the cause of migration may be rooted in the diversity of factors such as stagnation of the rural economy due to population growth and increasing awareness of people to the growing impulses of the towns. These questions need further insight into the problem.

Fourthly, Shillong Urban Concentration is of particular significance. It is growing fast in recent decades. It has a large spare of the population of the state and this

proportion is increasing. However, the city is not based on any large scale, organised manufacturing activity. Therefore, trade, commerce, administration and the 'informal sector' is becoming the key to pull operated an intra-state migration. On the other hand, the stagnation, even decay in the rural hinterland, though not conclusively proven, may act as the main push factor in this growing stream of migrants to Shillong and the adjoining towns. Without an adequate economic base, the quality of life in the city will go down, social conflict rise (in competition for limited resources) and all that can be stemmed only by a proposeful reconstruction of the rural hinterland.

The dissertation started with a limited objective and concludes with even more questions than it planned to answer. It is proposed to carry on the work forward by an intensive fieldwork to find out possible answers to the questions raised by the work.

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