

**INTERNAL MIGRATION IN KERALA,  
1961 - 1981**

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*GAYATHRI BALAGOPAL*

CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

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## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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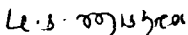
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I hereby affirm that the research for this dissertation titled, "Internal Migration in Kerala, 1961-1981" being submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Applied Economics was carried out entirely by me at the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram.

  
Gayathri Balagopal

Certified that this dissertation is the bonafide work of Gayathri Balagopal. This has not been considered for the award of any other degree by any other university.

  
Dr. S. Irudaya Rajan  
(Associate Fellow)

  
Dr. U.S. Misra  
(Research Associate)

*Supervisors*

  
Dr. Chandan Mukherjee  
Director  
Centre for Development Studies  
Thiruvananthapuram.

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## CHAPTER I

### I N T R O D U C T I O N

A common thread running throughout the entire gamut of migration literature on India is the identification of the spatial patterns and direction of migration flows in India, the dominant characteristics of the migration process in India and an insight into the roots of this phenomenon and its consequences. The first task that any study attempts to undertake is the identification of the areas of origin and the areas of destination of the migration flows. And as migration is a consequence of unbalanced spatial development, this spatial mapping provides a framework for an analysis into the regional variations in the indicators of socio-economic development. These disparities in development rather than dispersal of development across space generally are the precipitators of mobility. The spatial patterns of internal mobility shows the incidence of migration. This is crucial for the success of the programmes introduced by the government to alleviate regional disparities. A look into the impact that migration has on the sending and receiving areas will throw light on whether the society is a loser in this process and whether the manpower is being efficiently matched with the other resources. As the migration process is selective, and especially if positively selective the imbalances among the regions will only widen further as the sending areas lose their best manpower. To have an understanding of the above mentioned issues there is a need to look into the literature on internal migration in India on each of these aspects.

## MIGRATION PROCESS IN INDIA

Studies on internal migration in India support the evidence of the relative immobility of the Indian population. This sedentary nature of the Indian population was prevalent in the Indian subcontinent (pre-Independence India) in the early 20th century and continued into the mid and late 20th century. In the early 20th century, from the period 1901-31, population redistribution on account of migration was found to be small (Zachariah, 1964). But it was expected that this picture of immobility in India could change once industrialization took off.

In the post-Independence period, the Census revealed that the Indian population was largely sedentary. The evidence put forward by various scholars indicates a downward trend in the volume of migration during the sixties (1961-71) (Bose, 1983; Sinha, 1986; Kundu, 1986). Here it is interesting to note that there was a deceleration in the growth of industrial output since the mid 1960s which continued into the seventies. Post 1970s migration rates/proportion of population classified as migrants marginally increased (Sinha, 1986; Skeldon, 1986, Roy, 1989).

Though all the available literature on internal migration in India, based on census data, characterises the Indian population as being relatively immobile, yet migration continues to be studied and is gaining equal importance as fertility and mortality, the other two components of population change.

( In spite of the fact that population redistribution on account of internal migration in the Indian sub-continent was small,



Zachariah's (1964) finding is of interest because of the magnitude of the absolute numbers involved. Although only 3.6 per cent of the population lived in provinces or states other than those of their birth in the 1930's (1931, Census of India), the absolute numbers involved were 12,000,000 people. And as Bose (1983), puts it, "the fact that about 1/3rd of India's population was enumerated outside their place of birth clearly indicates that internal migration in India is a major demographic process".

So though the Indian population is relatively sedentary, the phenomenon of migration does exist with its inherent spatial dimensions, characteristics, causes and consequences which lends weight to the dynamics of population change. And also one cannot ignore the fact that rural-urban migration is expected to be responsible for 2/3rds of India's urban poverty according to a recent UNFPA report. The literature does indicate that the proportion of migrants found in the rural-urban stream has been steadily on the rise from the 1960's to the 1980's (1961-81) though it ranks second to the rural-rural stream (Bose, 1983; Sinha, 1986; Skeldon, 1986). One cannot thus relegate migration to the background. The various aspects of these migration flows needs to be analysed. What are the spatial dimensions of these flows?

#### Spatial dimension of migration flows

Migration flows (in migration and out-migration) estimated for the states/provinces in India bring out the major gaining and losing states. In the early twentieth century (1901-31) the losing zones were the North Zone (United Provinces), South Zone (Madras, Travancore-Cochin and Mysore), Central Zone (Hyderabad, Central

India and Central Provinces) and the North Zone (Rajputana, Punjab Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province and Jammu and Kashmir). The receiving zones were the East Zone, Burma and West Zone (Bombay State), (Zachariah, 1964). In post-independence India, during the 1960s and 1970s backward states like Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Rajasthan and U.P had very high out-migration rates (Kundu, 1986; Sinha, 1986; Roy, 1989; Singh, 1986; Pathak and Mehta 1995) both rural as well as urban (Kundu, 1986). The major receiving states for the same period (1961-81) were Maharashtra, West Bengal, Gujarat and Punjab (Pathak and Mehta 1995; Sinha, 1986; Roy, 1989).

(One can see that Kerala has been identified as one of the most out-migrating states in the country. As Kerala is the focus of this work it would be interesting to see whether mobility within the state is as strong as it is towards other states and countries. The literature on Kerala's internal mobility reveals that there was considerable movement of people before the formation of the state in 1956. The migration of population originated from Travancore province to Malabar which was part of the Madras Presidency. The process occurred in two stages. The first stage appears to have commenced in the 1920's. The movement was directed towards the interiors of Travancore, viz; Meenachil, Thodupuzha and Muvatupuzha (Tharakan 1984; Joseph 1986). The second stage seems to have begun from the 1930's from Travancore to Malabar. This population mobility appears to have culminated in the 1960's. The 1920's also witnessed migration of population from Malabar to other parts of India, especially to Madras Presidency, and even across national boundaries. The rate of net migration in Kerala worked out to be -

0.20 during 1951-51 and -0.22 during 1971-81. (Bhat and Rajan, 1990).

To explain the existing pattern of migration one needs to look into the characteristics which dominate the migration flow. After all it is these characteristics which are responsible for the particular patterns which emerge for different regions.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRATION

✓ The migration process is selective of certain sections of the population. Not all sections of the population would be willing to take the risk involved in it. Only sections of the population possessing some particular characteristic and are aware of the opportunities outside their place of residence/birth would take the risk while the other remaining population would remain immobile. The characteristics which the migration process would be selective of are certain age groups, sex and level of educational attainment.

In the Indian context, migration is selective of young adults in the working age group 15 - 34 years (Zachariah, 1964, 1968; Premi 1980; Bose 1983). This could be indicative of people moving in search of employment, education and also on account of marriage. A slightly different scene emerges when we look at the results of a survey on the determinants and causes of internal migration in India with case studies on Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Kerala, while in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh it is the young adults who migrate, in Kerala the migrants fall in the age group 30-40 years indicating migration of experienced and skilled manpower mainly to the Gulf countries (Oberai et.al, 1989). Migration of population falling in

a particular age-group reveals the selectivity of this phenomenon with regard to age. This could be because the educational facilities and the labour market at the place of destination requires these sections of population belonging to a certain age group.

Is migration in India sex selective? Yes, migration in India is female selective. And female participation in migration is most pronounced in short distance (intra-district) moves, especially in the rural to rural stream (Premi, 1980; Bose, 1983; Sinha, 1986; Pathak and Mehta, 1995). This pre-dominance of females in short distance migration supports Ravensteins hypothesis that migration is inversely related to distance. This high rate of female mobility is not for economic reasons but for social reasons; i.e, marriage. This marriage migration of females is especially dominant in certain parts of India because of the system of village exogamy where a girl can marry only outside the village of her birth (Bose, 1983). But in the case of long distance rural to urban movements, it is the males who dominate the flow though this trend alters as the duration of residence increases. When the duration of residence increases the sex differential evens out with the proportion of females increasing and that of males declining. This points to the fact that economic mobility is less stable than social mobility.

Education is another characteristic of which the migration process is selective. Data (survey based) shows a strong positive relationship between the levels of formal education and the propensity to migrate. This is evident from the educational levels

of migrants studied in Bombay, Manipur, Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Kerala. In the 1960s, the educational attainment of migrants to Bombay was greater than that of the non-migrants at the place of origin and lesser than that of the non-migrants at the place of destination (Zachariah, 1968). During the 1960s and 1970s, migrants from small towns to big cities in Punjab and Haryana had better educational qualifications than non-migrants at the place of origin (Premi, 1980). This positive selectivity of education was also observed in the 1980s in Kanpur and also in Kerala and Uttar Pradesh (Mehta, 1990; Oberai, et.al, 1989). One exception to this was found in Bihar in the 1980's where there was no positive relationship between migration and level of educational attainment (Oberai, et.al, 1989). This high propensity of the educated to migrate could be the result of a stagnant rural labour market with low absorption power. Besides education increases the aspirations of the population which probably cannot be met at the areas of origin and the returns to education could be higher in the urban labour market. Another explanation for this relationship is that facilities for higher education are concentrated in urban areas and so those who want to pursue higher education have to migrate to fulfil their academic aspirations as well as improve their chances of being absorbed in the labour market. So far the spatial dimensions and the dominant characteristics of migration flows in India were brought out from the available literature. Next, we move onto the factors which initiated and perpetuated this phenomenon. /

#### Causes of Migration:

As migration is a response to imbalances in the system itself,

it is important to look into the systems which repel and attract population. Many migrants move as a result of change in conditions either at the places of origin or at the places of destination. Opportunities and resources are not spread uniformly across and within territories and it is to adjust for these unequal endowment of opportunities and resources that population relocates itself.

X In the Indian context, we have already seen from the secondary data source (Migration Tables, Census of India) that the population was relatively immobile in the early mid and late twentieth century; and the receiving and gaining states during the above mentioned period. In pre-independence India, Zachariah (1964) found that the heavy outmigration from the United Provinces was because it had been a traditionally out-migrating area and also due to the effect of chain migration. The initial eastward direction of migration flows because of the development of the plantation industry in Assam and Bengal was replaced by a west-ward direction due to the change in the country's capital from Calcutta to Delhi, the industrialisation of Bombay state and irrigational development in Punjab. The overall immobility of the Indian population during the period 1901-31 could well have been due to the low levels of urbanization and industrialisation. In Post-Independence India, the population was still relatively immobile. In fact the proportion of population classified as migrants came down during the period 1961-71. While in 1961, economic activity accelerated, the seventies witnessed a period of industrial deceleration and stagnation with a buoyant agricultural sector which could have put the brakes on migration. Besides, because of improved flow of information, the potential migrants from the rural sector may have

been dampened by the knowledge of a stagnant and saturated urban labour market (Bose 1983; Salih and Lo, 1985). Apart from these economic factors, the growth of regional identities in tandem with a host of other socio-political factors contributed to the decline in migration during the period 1961-81 (Kundu, 1986). From this discussion, it can be seen that the census by itself does not throw light on the causes of migration. Primary surveys lend more colour to the argument with a variety of reasons cited by the migrants. Here we find that the causes of migration is viewed from the push-pull angle with emphasis on the rural character of migrants.

Rural out-migration to urban areas may well have been a by-product of the colonial rule in India which encouraged a polarised development strategy by developing urban areas at the expense of the rural areas. Economic activity was concentrated in the urban areas mainly to facilitate export to England by acting as collecting centres for the produce originating in the rural areas. Combined with the formation of these export enclaves in urban areas which attracted labour, the disappearance of village crafts and industries and the inequalities in the distribution of land holdings leading to the marginalisation of peasants forced outmigration from rural areas (Mukherjee, 1981; 1985).

Whether rural out-migration was the result of the polarised development strategy followed under the colonial rule or not, one fact that clearly emerges from the findings by various scholars is

that inequalities within rural areas itself, i.e., intra-rural inequalities, were responsible in pushing out the low income groups from rural areas (Lipton, et.al, 1976; Majumdar and Majumdar, 1978; Chathopadhyaya, 1987; Singh, 1986). These inequalities lay in the distribution of income as well as assets, especially landholding in the rural context (Lipton et.al, 1976; Mukherjee, 1985). As majority of the rural population is found in the primary sector, the availability of land assumes importance because of its income generating capacity. And as the distribution of land holdings is skewed in favour of the rich, the low-income groups are eventually pushed out of the rural setting. But here it must be noted that migration was not exclusive to the low-income group only. The higher income group in the rural areas too participated in migration as they were attracted by the educational and employment opportunities in urban areas. And the rich could well afford to migrate as they had enough financial back up (income and land holdings) to take the risk and chain migration was quite common to them. The migration of the richer sections of the population took place at the expense of the poor (Lipton et.al, 1976).

( Talking about land, we come to another point which is closely associated with it - man-land ratio, a factor which has attracted the attention of many a scholar (Lipton et.al, 1976; Oberai.et.al, 1989; Chattopadhyaya, 1987; Tharakan, 1984; Joseph, 1986). Here, an insight into this in the Kerala context would be appropriate. Before Kerala was granted statehood on November 1st, 1956 there was a noticeable movement of population from the Travancore province to the Malabar province (Malabar province came under the administrative jurisdiction of Madras Presidency). This movement



occurred in two stages, the first stage which commenced in the 1920s within Travancore itself and the second stage which commenced in the 1930s. In the first stage, one important causal factor was found to be high man-land ratios on account of the decline in mortality associated with exposure to modern medical technology of the time without a corresponding decline in fertility. The migrants belonged to the Syrian Christian community, mainly peasant farmers who were a socio-economically depressed section of the society (Tharakan, 1984; Joseph, 1986).

✓ Another factor viewed as an explanation for migration was the degree of commercialization of agriculture. This was especially so, in the case of migration in Kerala in the early twentieth century. The breakdown of the subsistence economy and the advent of commercialization of agriculture gave the population the necessary funds to finance mobility. (Tharakan, 1984; Joseph 1986).

Economic changes have affected mobility and also been affected by mobility. The impact of economic change on migration could clearly be observed in Kerala in the 1930s. Rubber prices crashed suddenly subsequent to the Great Depression and as rubber was one of the mainly cultivated crops by the small peasants, they were forced to move onto greener pastures which they found in Malabar with its untapped agricultural potential.

✓ Other economic factors cited in the review of migration literature in India as being causative were rural poverty, rural indebtedness, obsolete technology, lack of employment opportunities and slow growth of trade and commerce (Majumdar and Majumdar, 1978;

Mehta, 1990; Chattopadhyaya, 1987; Singh, 1986). All the above mentioned factors point towards rural underdevelopment which was the crux of rural out-migration. Rural underdevelopment indicates the failure of the multitude of poverty alleviation programmes introduced in every successive plan by the Indian government (Sarkar, 1978). Exodus of the rural population thus became a sort of survival strategy to escape from the tentacles of rural poverty. (Mukherjee, 1981 ; 1985).

Much has been said and written about rural outmigration. There also exists other forms of migration which assumes importance in the Indian context, especially urban out-migration from small towns to big cities. This was the result of high income differentials and weak economic base of the small towns located near big cities (Premi, 1980). Economic development of small towns was stunted because of their proximity to big cities which is otherwise known as the 'umbrella effect'.

Besides the economic environment in which migration operates, there exists a social angle too. One such social practice which caused migration was casteism in villages which forced the subjugated castes to move out to escape oppression and poverty (Majumdar and Majumdar, 1978). Extreme forms of casteism practiced in Kerala in the nineteenth century, in fact kept the population immobile as each caste was strictly bound to their occupation and also because the lower caste Hindus were not allowed freedom of movement as the sight of them was considered to be polluting (Lewandowski, 1980).

The foregoing discussion addressed the milieu in which migration operated in most parts of India. Now the focus of the following discussion shifts to the impact of migration on the sending and receiving areas. This will be addressed in the next section.

### ✓ Consequences of Migration

Migration can have its impact on both the sending as well as the receiving areas and the impact or impacts could be positive or negative.

Migration connects the sending and receiving areas through linkages. The economic background and the number of dependents left behind at the area of origin will determine the linkage effect of migration between the area of destination and area of origin via remittances. Remittances would be negatively related to the number of dependents in the area of destination (Banerjee, 1986; Mehta, 1990).

In India it was found that remittances have negligible impact on the development of out-migrating areas. A major part of the remittances sent by the economically weaker sections of the society were used to meet subsistence requirements and to repay debts. In the case of the high income group migrants, remittances were used on consumption expenditure and to finance migration of other family members (Thomas Isaac, 1997). Migration thus resulted not just in the waste of human resources but also of investible resources and rather than equilibrating inequalities it only worsened it. (Lipton et.al.1976; Majumdar and Majumdar, 1978; Khan, 1986; Oberai

et.al,1989). In fact 'migration was not just the child of inequality but also the father of inequality' (Lipton et.al. 1976).

But it was found that though the proportion of remittances that were used productively was small, it was not as though there was no productive investment at all. In Kerala, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, it was observed that technology adoption was the highest in return migrant and out-migrant households. So migration seemed to have made a small, but positive impact on the area of origin. (Oberai, et.al, 1989). In Bengal too, it was found that linkages were developing through remittances sent by migrants at Durgapur, and the spread effects of these linkages would have been greater if not for inflation, bringing to light the important role of the price mechanism (Ray Chaudhuri, 1993).

(Migration could also have some positive impact on the area of origin as was brought out from the case on Kerala. Migration of the small peasants from Travancore to Malabar had a positive impact on Malabar with the exploitation of its untapped agricultural potential (Tharakan, 1984). But this could also in the long run cause ecological damage as a result of the destruction of forest wealth (Joseph, 1986).

Migration of the more educated young adults lowered the literacy level of the out-migrating areas. And as the older age group and children get left behind, the children were forced to give up their education and enter the job market. Besides, the outmigrating areas were left with the less skilled sections of the

population as the skilled workers were the first to migrate (Premi, 1980).

Overall we get a very grim picture of the consequences of migration though some positive aspects do emerge. What emerges from the existing literature on internal migration in India from census based studies is the sedentary nature of the Indian population starting from the early twentieth century and continuing into the late twentieth century and the tendency of the population to move short distances from one rural area to another, especially in the case of females. But we observe that this pre-dominance of short distance rural to rural migration declined and that rural to urban migration was on the rise from 1961-81. Both primary and secondary studies bring out that migration is selective of young adults and the former also shows migration is positively selective of education. The causes of migration were viewed mainly from the rural end, indicative of a strong push and weak pull. The causes though varied, mostly had their origin in rural underdevelopment and most studies find that migration has a negative impact on the area of origin except one study which finds a slow but sure linkage developing between the origin and destination area.

### X Internal Migration: The Theoretical Framework

At this stage it would be appropriate to look into the theoretical framework put forward by various scholars and see whether there is any association between these theories and studies done on migration in India. For this we shall look into the various theories on migration.

Here it would be appropriate to start with Ravenstein's (1885, 1889) work, as it acted as the building blocks for a host of subsequent theoretical and empirical work on migration. Even if it dates back to the late nineteenth century, it still hasn't lost its importance, going by the works of various scholars. As per Ravenstein's (1885; 1889) laws, migration is inversely related to distance, i.e., migrants are more prone to move shorter distances. He further hypothesised that migrants tend to move from villages to small towns first and then to bigger cities, i.e., step migration. He also observed that each stream of migration produces a counter stream and that the urban population are less inclined to migrate when compared to the rural population. Ravenstein maintained that the tempo of migration would increase with the development of transport and communications and that mobility was conditioned by economic development.

Lee (1966) provided a conceptual framework for identifying the factors influencing migration decisions based on Ravenstein's laws. He classified the factors that prompt migration in terms of "push" and "pull" factors. The "push" factors are considered to be "negative" factors indicative of a low level of socio-economic development in the area of origin which forces people to move out, and the "pull" factors are "positive" factors indicative of better socio-economic opportunities which attract people. Besides, the model also takes into account the sets of intervening obstacles that exist at the areas of origin and destination which inhibit free movement of population and the underlying personal factors which decide the potential migrants decision to migrate.

The Lewis (1954) dual economy development model which was further extended by Ranis and Fei (1961), models a two sector economy - the rural (subsistence agricultural) sector and the urban (modern industrial) sector. Migration acts as an equilibrating mechanism transferring surplus labour from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector, bringing about equality in wage rates in **the two sectors**. Labour migration would continue as long as capital accumulation and investment took place.

Sjaastad's (1962) human investment theory considers migration as an investment decision wherein individuals calculate their expected costs and returns over time and migrate if the net present value of returns in a potential destination region exceed the returns in the area of origin. Returns and costs comprise of both monetary and non-monetary components and these returns and costs are calculated differently by each individual, depending on personal characteristics like age, sex and education.

Todoro's (1968, 1969) and Harris-Todaro (1970) model of rural-urban migration dropped the neo-classical assumption of full employment and suggests that the decision to migrate is determined by expected rather than actual earnings and a subjective estimate of the probability of obtaining employment in the urban sector. This migration decision-making subject to the expected rather than actual earnings could be a possible explanation for the paradox of high urban unemployment coupled with unabated rural-urban migration.

The structural-functional/Marxist approach to migration considers migration as a response to the overall strategy of economic development. These approaches concentrate on the organisation of the society and the modes of production within it and argue that the transformation and disruption of underdeveloped economies as a result of their integration with the colonial capitalist system starts off migration and its associated problems like the exploitation of labour (Amin, 1974; Meilink, 1976).

✓ We have covered some of the basic theories on internal migration. From the studies done on various parts in India, those based on census data do not adopt any theoretical framework as the census does not give firsthand information on many of the variables incorporated in the theories. We are able to find some association with theories only in the case of one of Ravenstein's laws which hypothesise that migration is inversely related to distance. This is one hypothesis which is supported by the census based studies.

However, we find that some of the field based studies incorporated theory in their discussion. One of the most popularly adopted theory is Lee's (1966) push-pull model even if it not explicitly stated. These studies on labour migration invariably mention push factors at the area of origin as they found the negative factors exerting a very strong influence in initiating migration (Lipton et.al, 1976; Majumdar and Majumdar, 1978; Sarkar, 1978; Mukherjee 1981, 1985; Tharakan, 1984). Lipton et.al (1976) also consider migration as a response to imbalances in the system like the Neo-classical models of Lewis (1954) and Ranis & Fei (1961), though they did not paint a rosy picture like the Neo-



classicals did of the transfer of labour from low productivity areas to high productivity areas which would eventually equilibrate the productivity levels between areas of origin and destination. Instead they found that rural out-migration only worsens the economic conditions at the rural end. A strong structural functional/Marxist flavour can be found in some studies which talk about migration as a consequence to change in the modes of production (Joseph, 1986) and the emergence of capitalism which ends up in the exploitation of labour (Mukherjee, 1981, 1985).

In the foregoing sections we discussed the main issues which emerged from the existing literature on internal migration in India followed by a theoretical discussion and the theoretical framework adopted in the studies. In the literature surveyed so far we find that there is no work on internal migration in Kerala during the period 1961-81. What we are going to explore here are the dominant features of intra-state migration in Kerala using the 1961-81 census data.

#### ✓ Objectives:

The two major questions addressed in this study are:

1. What are the spatial patterns, with some added dimensions like gender, distance, sectoral and streams, of intra-state mobility in Kerala during the period 1961-81?
2. What are the characteristics of intra-state migrants in Kerala, with respect to age, sex, education, marital status and occupational specialization?

These two basic issues need to be addressed first, to have a better understanding of the causes and impacts of migration and

also to make feasible a meaningful regulation of any specific stream of migration, especially the rural-urban stream in the context of developing countries.

Data Source:

The data base of this study are the 1961, 1971 and 1981 Indian censuses. The 1991 migration tables were not available at the time of writing this dissertation. A detailed discussion on the data source and its problems will be discussed chapterwise, i.e, in the second and third chapter. Before proceeding further, one thing needs to be made clear. Given below in the table are the districts/corporation in each of the census years, 1961, 1971, 1981; and also in brackets the other commonly used names of these districts. In this work we use these names inter-changeably. In 1961 there were nine districts and four city corporations/municipalities; in 1971 there were ten districts and five city corporations/municipalities and in 1981 there were twelve districts though corporation level data are not provided. These changes in the number of districts was due to changes in administrative boundaries.

Table 1.1  
Districts of Kerala, 1961, 1971 and 1981

1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore (Kannur)	1. Cannanore	1. Cannanore
2. Kozhikode (Calicut)	2. Kozhikode	2. Wayanad
3. Palghat (Palakkad)	3. Malappuram	3. Kozhikode
4. Trichur (Trissur)	4. Palghat	4. Malappuram
5. Ernakulam	5. Trichur	5. Palghat
6. Kottayam	6. Ernakulam	6. Trichur
7. Alleppey (Alappuzha)	7. Kottayam	7. Ernakulam
8. Quilon (Kollam)	8. Alleppey	8. Idukki
9. Trivandrum (Thiruvananthapuram)	9. Quilon	9. Kottayam
	10. Trivandrum	10. Alleppey
		11. Quilon
		12. Trivandrum

Table 1.2  
City Corporations/Municipalities of Kerala, 1961 and 1971

1961	1971
1. Trivandrum	1. Calicut
2. Calicut	2. Cochin (Kochi)
3. Alleppey	3. Alleppey
4. Ernakulam	4. Quilon
	5. Trivandrum

### Chapter Scheme

The study has four chapters.

Chapter One discusses the main findings that are brought out from the existing literature on migration in India, followed by a theoretical discussion on internal migration and the objectives of the study. Chapter Two focuses upon the district-wise patterns of internal migration in Kerala during the three decades 1961, 1971 and 1981. Chapter Three discusses the characteristics of migrants in Kerala for the same period. Chapter Four presents the summary and concludes the findings of the study.



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## CHAPTER 2

### SPATIAL PATTERNS OF INTRA-STATE MIGRATION IN KERALA, 1961-1981

#### Introduction:

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyse certain spatial dimensions of internal migrants in Kerala as revealed through the 1961, 71 and 1981 census. Though it is difficult to conceptualise what constitutes space, for the purpose of this study the space under consideration has been determined by the administrative unit identified by the Census of India. In our quest to explore intra-state mobility in Kerala, the spatial unit under consideration is the district. Migration in our context constitutes movement of population within the district (intra-district migration) and movement of population between the districts (inter-district migration) of Kerala. This census defined spatial unit brings to mind Standing's (1984) statement that, 'the areas between which moves count as migration are first defined by bureaucrats and later rationalised by social scientist researchers'.

Besides identifying the patterns of intra-state mobility in Kerala from 1961-81, an attempt has also been made to offer some tentative explanations for the emerging patterns. In this context, it would be interesting to explore Lipton et.al's (1976) observation that there can be no single variable explanation for migration.

In the process of identifying the spatial patterns of intra-state mobility in Kerala from 1961-81, we get a fairly good

understanding of which regions of Kerala (northern, southern and central) have attracted more migrants over time. This is further analysed with a gender and sectoral (rural-urban) classification. Apart from this, another dimension which would be addressed in this chapter is the distance moved by migrants, i.e., whether migration in Kerala is a short distance (intra-district) or medium distance (inter-district) phenomenon. This is further analysed with an inter-sectoral [Rural-Rural (R-R); Rural-Urban (R-U); Urban-Rural (U-R) and Urban-Urban (U-U)] break-up as each one of these four streams of migration has a cause unique to it. While the addressal of this inter-sectoral aspect would have been augmented by looking into whether migration stabilises as the duration of stay at the place of enumeration increases. This could not be analysed because of data constraints which are discussed in the following section. Also, when all these above mentioned issues are cross-addressed by the gender factor, it would enable us to try and identify whether migration in Kerala is socially motivated or economically motivated.

#### Data Source and Problems:

Before entering into a detailed discussion on the patterns of distribution of migrants across and within districts in Kerala, some points on the source of data need to be made clear. The Census of India defines migrants using two criteria, one is the Place of Birth criterion and the second the place of Last Residence Criterion. A migrant as per the Place of Birth (PoB) criterion is a person who is enumerated in a place other than that of his/her birth. While a migrant as per the place of Last Residence (PoLR) is a person who is enumerated in a place other than where he/she

resided previously. The information on migration rates for all the districts and its cross-classification by rural/urban destination and gender; the types of movement and the streams of migration have all been collected and computed on the basis of place of birth tables in the 1961 (Table DII), 1971 (Table DI) and 1981 (Table DI) Migration Tables, Kerala, Census of India. So the above mentioned details are comparable over the three decades and it should be noted that it provides information on only in-migration to districts from other districts as well as from the same district and so migration/migrants in our context constitutes in-migration/in-migrants only. An identification of the losing and gaining districts of Kerala is possible only for 1981 (Table D-13) Census as the 1961 and 1971 censuses do not provide this detail. So this would be left out of the purview of our analysis. Here it must be noted that while computing data for the streams of migration, the category of population whose place of birth was recorded as 'Unclassifiable', i.e. neither Rural nor Urban, has been left out.

Now coming to the problems encountered with the duration of residence phenomenon, in view of the fact that while the 1961 census provides information on this for the state with a district-wise break-up based on the POB criterion, the 1971 and 1981 censuses provide information on this for the state without a district-wise break-up based on the POLR criterion, it will not be possible to obtain a comparable contextual data set for all the three decades. It is important to understand that while 1971 and 1981 data are comparable for duration of residence, it will not be worthwhile to analyse it in this study as all the other issues

addressed in this chapter are based on POB data including the section on streams of migration to which the duration aspect would have lent credence. To preserve continuity in the discussion on patterns of spatial mobility in the districts in Kerala given only by POB data, we are forced to take recourse to this action of not addressing the duration issue.

As Skeldon (1986) puts it, PoB data is not very useful in comparing trends in movement because they don't provide information on timing of the movements. But since only PoB data provides a comparable set of information for a district wise analysis, it forms the main part of our analysis.

#### Patterns of Population Mobility in Kerala, 1961-81:

Before we probe into the spatial dimensions of Kerala's mobility pattern, let us have a look at what the Indian picture tells us for the same period. For India as a whole, from 1961 to 1981, mobility declined [Kundu (1986), Sinha (1986)]. The decade 1961-71 witnessed a decline in the proportion of the total population classified as migrants (Bose, 1984; Kundu, 1986; Sinha, 1986) and the decade 1971-81 witnessed a marginal increment in the proportion of the total population classified as migrants (Kundu, 1986; Sinha, 1986; Skeldon, 1986; Roy, 1989). What would have put the brakes on the migration process from 1961-81?

Bose (1984) attributed this decline in mobility to the successful implementation of the Green Revolution, the industrial stagnation of the 1970s and the improved flow of information which reduced the pressure to move out of rural areas, while Kundu (1986)

viewed it as the result of the emergence of strong regional identities and socio-political factors.

This trend of downward mobility in India was observed for both rural as well as urban areas and it was more pronounced in the case of males than females (Kundu, 1986) probably indicating that economic mobility was less stable than social mobility, i.e., male migration appears to be conditioned by the vagaries of the development process.

The Kerala picture reveals that from 1961 to 1971 there was a consistent dip in the share of migrants in all the districts (Table 2.1). From 1971-81 mobility in Kerala picked up in all the

Table 2.1  
District-wise share of Migration in Kerala  
(as Percentage to total population)

District	Years								
	1961			1971			1981		
	p	m	f	p	m	f	p	m	f
1. Canranore	27.52	25.94	29.06	23.97	22.39	25.53	26.90	24.55	29.18
2. Wayanad	-	-	-	-	-	-	38.67	39.46	39.46
3. Kozhikode	23.55	18.48	28.72	22.92	19.52	26.35	31.14	20.88	45.26
4. Malappuram	-	-	-	16.42	9.24	23.32	20.48	12.01	28.53
5. Palghat	20.44	12.78	27.51	20.20	14.20	25.89	25.22	16.83	33.17
6. Trichur	26.31	19.34	32.66	22.07	14.53	29.04	31.47	22.66	39.48
7. Ernakulam	23.65	17.51	29.80	21.22	15.23	11.42	25.59	17.91	33.29
8. Idukki	-	-	-	-	-	-	38.80	37.19	40.46
9. Kottayam	31.48	26.80	36.35	28.89	23.19	34.72	29.55	20.04	39.05
10. Alleppey	19.98	13.13	26.66	17.14	9.76	24.32	22.89	13.44	31.90
11. Quilon	21.31	18.01	24.62	18.71	14.61	22.80	21.79	16.37	27.07
12. Trivandrum	16.05	15.23	16.86	13.68	12.52	14.83	16.15	14.30	17.94
<b>KERALA</b>	<b>23.33</b>	<b>18.57</b>	<b>27.99</b>	<b>20.56</b>	<b>15.69</b>	<b>25.36</b>	<b>25.30</b>	<b>19.12</b>	<b>31.28</b>

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.

- Notes: (1) P - Persons (Total); m - Male; f - Females.  
 (2) This table is based on POB criterion.  
 (3) Wayanad is the only district in Kerala which has no urban areas. Hence, Wayanad will represent only rural areas in this dissertation.



districts. In all the three decadal years, the proportion of population classified as migrants in Kerala lay in the range of 15% to 35%. That is, around 1/5th to 1/3rd of the total population in all the districts were migrants according to the PoB criterion. Temporally, i.e., across 1961, 1971 and 1981 which were the spatial units possessing a greater share of migrants? We would be able to gauge this by taking into account the district-wise share of migrants in Kerala, which will be addressed in the succeeding discussion.

The data reveals that of the twelve districts, five districts (Kottayam, Cannanore, Trichur, Ernakulam and Kozhikode) belonging to northern and central Kerala have a larger share of in-migrants, from the sixties to the eighties. Though in 1981, Wayanad and Idukki have the largest share of in-migrants. A comparison over time of these two districts with other districts is not possible because they came into existence only by the 1981 census. There are three districts (Trivandrum, Alleppey and Quilon) belonging to southern Kerala which have a lesser share of in-migrants than all the other districts.

Historically, Travancore, (South Kerala) was found to be an out-migrating region, losing their population to Malabar (North Kerala) (Tharakan, 1984; Joseph 1986). This two stage migration process (first from Travancore to the interior regions of Travancore and second from Travancore to Malabar) commenced towards the beginning of the 1920s and tapered off by the 1960's and occurred mainly as a form of colonizing migration to develop the agricultural potential of the Malabar region. Even if the flow is

supposed to have tapered off in the 1960s, the southern region has a lesser share of in-migrants than the central and northern regions in 1961, 1971 and 1981. In this context, it is interesting to note that the systems approach recognizes that migration flows occur between areas that already have some historical, cultural, political or economic linkages (Bilsborrow and Zlotnik, 1994).

A point that strikes one immediately is the relatively moderate proportion of migrants in Ernakulam from 1961 to 1981. While in all the three decadal years, Ernakulam has consistently been one of the most urbanised districts along with Kozhikode and Trivandrum (Sreekumar, 1993). With this comparatively high degree of urbanization, one would expect Ernakulam to have a considerably larger share of in-migrants in its population. While Ernakulam does not have a very low percentage of in-migrants, it does not have a share of in-migrants that should correspond to its high degree of urbanisation. Besides urbanisation, industrialisation is another aspect which needs to be considered. As the Neo-classicals saw it, migration was an automatic equilibrator, which drew out surplus population employed in the agricultural sector primarily rural in origin, to the modern industrial sector urban in origin, to initiate the development process. At this point, it would be useful to look into some indicator of the industrial set up in Kerala. Here we take into consideration the district-wise endowment of working factories in Kerala.

As data were not available for 1961, only 1971 and 1981 data are shown in Table 2.2. The data reveals that in 1971, Trichur, Ernakulam and Quilon had the largest number of working factories in

Kerala and in 1981, Ernakulam, Cannanore and Kozhikode had the largest number of working factories.

✓ If, as the Neo-classicals consider migration to be an adjustment mechanism which tries to equilibrate for differences in

Table 2.2  
Number of Working Factories in Kerala, 1971-81

Districts	Number of working factories		Employment (Nos)	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Cannanore	271	1415	NA	22,810
Wayanad	-	-	-	-
Kozhikode	363	1235	-	23,887
Malappuram	x	240	-	3,575
Palghat	269	942	-	11,909
Trichur	532	1001	-	21,853
Ernakulam	435	1564	-	40,820
Idukki	x	125	-	4,734
Kottayam	290	697	-	8,726
Alleppey	261	625	-	17,808
Quilon	447	901	-	124,624
Trivandrum	155	361	-	19,769

Source: Government of Kerala, Economic Review, 1984, 1973, 1993. State Planning Board, Trivandrum.

the spatial endowment of economic opportunities, then, going by that argument Ernakulam should have been able to attract a larger share of in-migrants than it has been doing unless of course there is an equitable spatial spread of the range of opportunities not confined to employment in the Lewis, Ranis & Fei, modern, urban industrial sector.

Leaving aside the case of Ernakulam, it is found that the other four districts with a large share of in-migrants, Kozhikode, Cannanore and Trichur also had a sizeable number of working factories. Of the four, Kottayam has a large share of plantation industries in its fold. Now, could it be that there exists a

diversity in the type of industries found in Ernakulam from those in Kozhikode, Cannanore and Trichur? And what about the three districts, (Trivandrum, Alleppey, Quilon) which have a smaller share of in-migrants? While Trivandrum is highly urbanized, Quilon has a fairly large number of working factories. So in the case of some districts like Kozhikode, Trichur and Ernakulam, migration, industrialisation and urbanisation appear to go hand in hand. Here it would be pertinent to examine the issue with a glance at some indicator of development. After all, territorial mobility is conditioned by the geographical spread of economic opportunities. And as Skeldon (1992) puts it, 'Population mobility is thus an integral part of the development process, it both causes and is caused by changes in the economic and social structure of an area. There can be no development without migration and no significant redistribution of population without development'.

To give strength to this argument of migration conditioned by development, we incorporate an index of development for each district in Kerala. For this we make use of George's (1988) composite index of development for the period 1975-85.

The data (Table 2.3) shows the rank of each district as per the composite index of development. Ernakulam, Quilon, Trichur and Cannanore are the top ranking districts during the period 1975-85.

Table 2.3  
Composite Index of Development

District	Value of the Index	Rank
Trivandrum	1.02	5
Quilon	1.30	2
Alleppey	0.96	7
Kottayam	0.87	9
Idukki	0.56	11
Ernakulam	1.41	1
Trichur	1.16	3
Palghat	0.92	8
Malappuram	0.68	10
Calicut	1.01	6
Cannanore	1.09	4

Source: George, T (1988).

Now going by the migration rates of the districts for the period 1961-81, we found that Cannanore, Kozhikode, Trichur, Ernakulam and Kottayam had rates higher than the state average. Now, trying to link these two issues, we find some association between development and migration in the case of Ernakulam, Trichur and Cannanore. Quilon appears to be the odd one out in this group, which inspite of being ranked second going by the development index, has migration rates below the state average. Apart from industrialisation, urbanisation and the broader aspect of development, could there be some other explanation? Could it be that the southern region of Kerala is more densely populated than the central and northern regions and also experience a higher rate of population growth such that they are not able to absorb more population? There is a perception that a burgeoning population which cannot be sustained by the available land has to be pushed out to areas which are not densely populated and which have smaller population growth rates. This view is consolidated when one looks at the migration process between two regions of Kerala, from Travancore to Malabar in the early twentieth century. The decennial growth rate of population in the Travancore region was

much higher than in the Malabar region from 1901 to 1951 which puts pressure on cultivable land in Travancore and thus pushed out a section of the population into the less densely populated areas of Malabar (Tharakan, 1984). Is this factor still exerting the kind of force that it did prior to the sixties, even in the post-sixties? A look at the relevant tables would shed some light on this issue.

The data on density of population in Kerala from 1961 to 1981 shows Alleppey to be one of the most densely populated districts and Idukki to be the least (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4  
Density of Population in Kerala (1961-81)  
(Persons per sq.km)

State/District	1961	1971	1981
KERALA	435	549	655
Cannanore	341	451	565
Wayanad	129	194	260
Kozhikode	598	777	957
Malappuram	391	523	677
Palghat	306	376	456
Trichur	557	702	805
Ernakulam	705	899	1053
Idukki	115	151	192
Kottayam	596	698	770
Alleppey	959	1129	1248
Quilon	421	522	609
Trivandrum	796	1003	1184

Source: Census of India, 1981 Kerala, Final Population Totals Statement 5.1.

From 1961 six districts (Alleppey, Trivandrum, Ernakulam, Kozhikode, Trichur and Kottayam) had a density of population higher than the state average while the remaining six districts had density of population below the state average. Districts like Alleppey and Trivandrum which had high population densities had a lesser share of migrants. But even the central and northern

regions of Kerala which had a larger proportion of migrants in their population had densities of population which were on the higher side. So it is doubtful whether density of population can explain or at any rate be one of the major push/pull factors responsible for the differences observed in the distribution of migrants across districts. The next logical step would be to examine the decennial population growth rate in Kerala from 1961 to 1981. May be this will provide some additional clues into the differential pattern of migration observed in Kerala.

An examination of the data reveals that during 1961-71 six districts (Cannanore, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Malappuram, Ernakulam and Idukki) had a population growth rates, higher than that of the state average while the remaining had population growth rates below the state average (Table 2.5). Wayanad, Malappuram and Idukki had

Table 2.5  
Decennial Growth Rate of Population (1961-81) Kerala

State/District	Decennial Growth Rate (per cent)	
	1961-71	1971-81
Kerala	+26.29	+19.24
Cannanore	+32.29	+25.39
Wayanad	+50.35	+33.87
Kozhikode	+29.81	+23.25
Malappuram	+33.80	+29.43
Palghat	+23.06	+21.30
Trichur	+26.09	+14.60
Ernakulam	+27.38	+17.18
Idukki	+31.95	+26.91
Kottayam	+17.13	+10.29
Alleppey	+17.73	+10.56
Quilon	+23.93	+16.61
Trivandrum	+26.03	+18.08

Source: Census of India, 1981, Kerala, Final Population Totals, Statement 7.2.

growth rates way above the state average. The reason for this being the immigration of enterprising agricultural settlers from the

erstwhile Travancore state and central Travancore area (Statement 7.2, Census of India, 1981, Final Population Totals). During 1971-81, there was a general decline in the growth rates for all districts in Kerala but the northern districts continued to have population growth rates higher than the state average. Idukki was the only district from central Kerala having population growth rates higher than the state average, other wise all the districts in central and southern Kerala fall below the state average. So during the post 1960s, north Kerala had higher decennial population growth rates than central and south Kerala. But still north Kerala had a larger share of (in)migrants than the other two regions. This discussion would be further substantiated by analysing the decennial growth rate of migration in Kerala from 1961-81.

This information provides some additional twists and turns. Table 2.6 reveals that while Cannanore and Ernakulam possessed growth rates of migration above the state average for the period 1961-71, Kozhikode recorded a negative migration growth rate for the same period. During the period 1971-81, Trichur recorded the highest growth rate of migration. Other districts which showed growth rates above the state average were Malappuram, Palghat and Alleppey. Three districts (Malappuram, Palghat and Alleppey) which had a smaller share of (in)migrants for the same period, yet displayed that the volume of migrants was growing at a rapid rate. Maybe these districts which had low migration rates are acting as potential magnets for migrants and may well be the districts to watch out for in the future. Besides, if we look at economic



Table 2.6  
Decennial Growth Rate of Migration in Kerala (1961-81)

State/District	Decennial Growth Rate (per cent)	
	1961-71	1971-81
Kerala		
Cannanore	+15.72	+33.00
Wayanad	-	-
Kozhikode	+21.68	+23.78
Malappuram	-	+61.44
Palghat	-6.25	+51.44
Trichur	+8.89	+63.40
Ernakulam	+15.00	+28.28
Idukki	-	-
Kottayam	+10.40	-16.73
Alleppey	+0.67	+47.65
Quilon	+9.10	+35.82
Trivandrum	+7.42	+39.35

Source: Census of India, 1961, 71, and 81. Kerala, Migration Tables.

Note: This table is based on POB criterion.

growth as differentiated from development, as growth reflects the quantitative change, the Composite Index of Growth from 1975-85 ranks Malappuram, Idukki and Palghat as the top three performers (George, 1988).

From the above discussion we can clearly see that some of the tentative explanatory factors could offer answers for the migration patterns only in certain regions (districts). No single factor was able to explain the emerging patterns in the different regions. In fact, there were some regions, (Quilon) which evade explanation because even though they possessed either or all of the following factors like large number of working factories, high degree of urbanization, high indices of development, low density of population and low population growth rates; still had low migration rates in 1961, 1971 and 1981.

Basically, while trying to explain the patterns of migration in Kerala one comes to almost the same conclusion as Lipton et.al (1976) did while explaining the determinants of rural out-migration in India, that migration is a multivariate phenomenon and there can be no single variable explanation for it.

So far an attempt was made to identify the patterns emerging from the data on the district-wise share of migrants and some tentative explanations were tried. This was done for the

Table 2.7  
District-wise share of Migration in Rural Kerala  
(as Percentage of Rural population)

District	Years								
	1961			1971			1981		
	p	m	f	p	m	f	p	m	f
1. Cannanore	28.71	26.82	30.52	25.07	23.36	26.75	28.38	25.78	30.91
2. Wayanad	-	-	-	-	-	-	38.67	37.92	39.46
3. Kozhikode	24.04	18.40	29.60	25.34	21.55	29.20	29.50	23.05	35.79
4. Malappuram	-	-	-	16.50	9.09	23.61	20.63	11.92	28.90
5. Palghat	20.10	11.86	27.65	19.41	13.08	25.45	24.90	16.12	33.19
6. Trichur	26.12	18.82	32.80	21.50	13.73	28.68	31.20	21.99	39.50
7. Ernakulam	22.52	15.49	29.48	21.18	13.85	28.55	26.81	17.52	36.10
8. Idukki	-	-	-	-	-	-	38.93	37.53	40.38
9. Kottayam	31.44	26.69	36.38	29.23	23.41	35.17	29.50	19.82	39.18
10. Alleppey	19.39	11.99	26.58	16.93	9.04	24.60	23.16	13.29	32.54
11. Quilon	21.15	17.66	24.64	18.55	14.26	22.83	22.24	16.47	27.85
12. Trivandrum	15.08	13.90	16.24	12.75	11.20	13.44	15.72	13.58	17.79
KERALA	23.29	18.06	28.38	20.75	15.44	25.95	12.54	19.28	32.29

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Notes: (1) p- Persons (total); m - Male; f- Female.

(2) This table is based on POB criterion.

population as a whole without a gender break up. But if one looks at the gender dimension, the emerging scenario may be different.

### Population Mobility and its Gender Dimensions

Almost all the studies on internal migration in India using Census data found that females were more migratory than males, i.e., migration in India was female dominated (Zachariah, 1964; Bose, 1983; Kundu, 1986; Sinha, 1986, Roy, 1989). These scholars have attributed this to marriage migration, especially in the case of rural to rural female migration. At this stage an important question may be asked, is there a difference in the migration behaviour between the two sexes in Kerala too? The gender aspect of migration would shed some light on whether migration in Kerala is socially motivated or economically motivated.

The data contained in the first Table of this chapter reveals that in all the districts in Kerala, for the period 1961-81, females were more migratory than males. This holds for all the three regions, northern, central and southern, though it was very much more dominant in northern and central Kerala. Even the southern districts which had a lesser proportion of migrants had quite a high share of female migrants except Trivandrum where it was also low. Another point that emerges is that female mobility also slowed down in 1971 when compared to 1961 and then picked up in 1981. If female migration is considered as being sequential to marriage, then as economic mobility of males had declined in 1971 it follows that female mobility would also decline.

But we cannot conclusively state this as a fact unless we have a fair idea of whether female in-migration was higher in the rural or urban sector of Kerala. A strong rural-bound mobility dominated by females would point to social motives as the underlying cause of intra-state migration in Kerala. Before looking into this it would be instructive to find out whether rural Kerala or urban Kerala had a larger proportion of migrants.

Sectoral (Rural-urban) dimension

Basically, here we are trying to observe whether a rural-urban dichotomy emerges in the district-wise share of migrants in Kerala.

Table 2.8  
District-wise share of Migration in Urban Kerala  
(as Percentage of Urban population)

District	Years								
	1961			1971			1981		
	p	m	f	p	m	f	p	m	f
1. Cannanore	21.68	21.63	21.73	17.08	16.30	17.86	22.04	20.51	23.51
2. Wayanad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Kozhikode	21.54	18.86	24.25	16.26	13.93	18.61	18.89	15.11	22.63
4. Malappuram	-	-	-	15.30	11.29	19.19	18.53	13.15	23.78
5. Palghat	23.70	23.13	26.18	25.66	21.79	29.46	28.12	23.05	33.03
6. Trichur	27.62	23.42	31.56	26.32	20.54	31.73	32.47	25.09	39.38
7. Ernakulam	27.81	24.77	31.03	21.35	18.79	24.03	23.73	18.51	28.98
8. Idukki	-	-	-	-	-	-	36.01	30.10	42.06
9. Kottayam	31.88	27.82	36.09	25.97	21.27	30.78	30.05	22.22	37.78
10. Alleppey	22.85	18.58	27.06	18.17	13.26	22.98	21.47	14.22	28.46
11. Quilon	23.35	22.42	24.33	20.59	18.67	22.54	18.83	15.72	21.88
12. Trivandrum	18.86	19.05	18.68	16.33	16.26	16.40	17.40	16.42	18.36
<b>KERALA</b>	<b>23.58</b>	<b>21.38</b>	<b>25.79</b>	<b>27.57</b>	<b>16.98</b>	<b>21.98</b>	<b>22.72</b>	<b>18.43</b>	<b>26.91</b>

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Notes : 1. p- Persons (Total); m - Male; f - Female.

2. This table is based on POB criterion.

It is obvious from Table 2.7 and 2.8 that in Kerala for most of the districts except three (Palghat, Trichur and Trivandrum), the proportion of migrants in the rural sector were more than that in the urban sector. But this rural-urban differential was very pronounced only in the case of two northern districts (Cannanore and Kozhikode). Most of the other districts had a very small gap between the sectoral (rural-urban) absorption of migrants.

Also one finds that from 1961 to 1981, there was a decline in the proportion of migrants in the urban sector in six of the twelve districts (Kozhikode, Ernakulam, Kottayam, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum). Interestingly, Kozhikode, Palghat, Kottayam, Alleppey, Quilon exhibited a decline in their share of urban population to state's urban population (Sreekumar, 1993). In one district (Kottayam) there was a decline in the proportion of migrants in the rural sector while in all the other districts the proportion of migrants in the rural sector went up.

The gender aspect of this rural-urban dichotomy in the absorption of migrants reveals that in all the three decades, 1961, 1971 and 1981, females were more migratory towards rural as well as urban areas. With females proving to be more mobile in both the sectors, rural as well as urban, can it be stated that migration within Kerala is solely socially motivated?

Over the three decades, in the rural sector male migration appears to have declined in Cannanore, Kottayam and Quilon whereas female migration increased in all the districts. In the urban sector, while male migration declined in seven districts

(Cannanore, Kozhikode, Ernakulam, Kottayam, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum), female migration declined in four districts (Kozhikode, Ernakulam, Quilon and Trivandrum).

The sectoral (rural-urban) dimension reveals that while the rural sector has a larger proportion of in-migrants than that in the urban sector in most districts except three (Palghat, Trichur, Trivandrum), this rural-urban differential is not very pronounced except in two districts (Kozhikode and Cannanore). Over time we found a declining share of migrants in the urban sector of Kozhikode, Ernakulam, Kottayam, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum, especially in the case of males. Females proved to be more migratory than males in both the sectors.

Now that we have a fairly good idea about the district-wise share of migrants in Kerala complete with a gender and sectoral dimension, it would be interesting to find out whether migrants in Kerala prefer to move short distances or medium distances.

#### Migration and Distance Moved:

While there are three principal elements, geographical, economic and social, in the concept of distance (Standing, 1984), for the purpose of this analysis only a census defined concept is used. Two types of distance moved by migrants are considered. They are, (1) short-distance migration (Intra-district migration): Persons born outside the place of enumeration but enumerated within the district of enumeration; (2) Medium-distance migration (Inter-district migration): Persons born outside the district of enumeration but enumerated within the state of enumeration.

As the study concerns itself solely with intra-state migration in Kerala, these are the only two types of distance moved that are analysed in this study. This analysis is expected to offer an insight into whether distance acts as a deterrent towards migration as Ravenstein (1885, 1889) had stated. One of Ravenstein's laws of migration stated that migration is inversely related to the distance moved.

Here what we are trying to look into is whether a larger proportion of the population in Kerala migrate from districts other than that of their birth or within the district of their birth. And during the three decades did the dominance of migrants moving short or medium distance continue or is there some shift in the pattern?

From the data (Table 2.9), it is evident that in 1961, 71 and 81, with the exception of Wayanad and Idukki, in all the other districts a large percentage of the population were short-distance migrants. That is, a large share of the population in Kerala migrated mainly within the district of their birth itself. This finding that migrants prefer to move shorter distances does conform to Ravenstein's Law that migration is inversely related to the distance moved.

Table 2.9  
Intra-District and Inter-District Migration Rates

District	Intra-District			Inter-District		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore	20.25	15.60	19.64	7.27	8.37	7.26
2. Wayanad	-	-	9.17	-	-	29.50
3. Kozhikode	17.60	13.07	23.56	5.95	9.85	7.58
4. Malappuram	-	12.40	14.96	-	4.02	5.52
5. Palghat	17.74	15.94	18.34	2.70	4.26	6.88
6. Trichur	21.87	18.12	25.86	4.44	3.95	5.61
7. Ernakulam	17.49	14.52	17.56	6.16	6.70	8.03
8. Idukki	-	-	11.05	-	-	38.80
9. Kottayam	23.28	20.11	21.29	8.20	8.78	8.26
10. Alleppey	15.39	12.46	16.37	4.59	4.68	6.52
11. Quilon	15.71	13.21	15.60	5.60	5.50	6.19
12. Trivandrum	13.41	10.77	12.67	2.64	2.91	3.48
<b>KERALA</b>	<b>18.01</b>	<b>14.59</b>	<b>17.62</b>	<b>5.33</b>	<b>5.97</b>	<b>7.67</b>

Sources: Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981, Migration Tables, Kerala.  
Note: This Table is based on PoB criterion.

Though short distance migrants dominated over medium distance in-migrants, the rate of the former decreased and that of the latter increased in four districts (Cannanore, Kottayam, Quilon, Trivandrum), while both the rates increased in six districts (Kozhikode, Malappuram, Palghat, Trichur, Ernakulam and Alleppey) over the three decades. Most of the northern and central districts of Kerala exhibited a rise in the extent of mobility over time.

The greater visibility of migrants in the short-distance category is nothing unique to Kerala. For India, in 1961, 71 and 81 the intra-district migration rates were higher than the inter-district and inter-state migration rates though there was a decline in the rate of the former and an increase in the rates of the latter two over time (Sinha, 1986; Pathak and Mehta, 1995).

Another question which emerges on migrants and distance moved is whether both the types of movement, short and medium distance



are sex selective? It can be seen from Tables 2.10 and 2.11 that in 1961, 71 and 81, short and medium distance migration were selective of females.

Table 2.10  
Distribution of male migrants by type of movement,  
1961, 1971 and 1981 (as percentage of male population)

District	Intra-District			Inter-District		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore	17.80	13.28	16.69	8.14	9.11	7.86
2. Wayanad	-	-	7.26	-	-	30.66
3. Kozhikode	12.20	9.24	14.64	6.28	10.28	6.24
4. Malappuram	-	5.75	7.34	-	3.49	4.67
5. Palghat	10.36	10.01	10.73	2.42	4.19	6.10
6. Trichur	15.08	11.08	17.66	4.26	3.45	5.00
7. Ernakulam	11.62	9.02	11.08	5.89	6.21	6.83
8. Idukki	-	-	9.92	-	-	27.27
9. Kottayam	18.83	15.29	14.15	7.97	7.90	5.89
10. Alleppey	9.90	6.84	9.48	3.23	2.92	3.96
11. Quilon	12.57	9.65	11.23	5.45	4.95	5.14
12. Trivandrum	12.23	9.38	10.79	3.01	3.14	3.51
KERALA	13.30	10.03	12.16	5.27	5.66	6.96

Source: Census of India, 1916, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.  
Note: This Table is based on POB Criterion.

Table 2.11  
Distribution of female migrants by type of movement,  
1961, 1971 and 1981 (as percentage of female population)

District	Intra-District			Inter-District		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore	22.62	17.90	22.51	6.44	7.63	6.67
2. Wayanad	-	-	11.18	-	-	28.28
3. Kozhikode	23.09	16.94	35.83	5.63	9.41	9.43
4. Malappuram	-	18.78	22.21	-	4.54	6.32
5. Palghat	24.55	21.56	25.56	2.95	4.33	7.61
6. Trichur	28.11	24.63	33.32	4.55	4.41	6.16
7. Ernakulam	23.38	20.12	24.05	6.42	7.20	9.24
8. Idukki	-	-	12.22	-	-	28.24
9. Kottayam	27.91	25.04	28.43	8.44	9.68	10.62
10. Alleppey	20.75	17.92	22.93	5.91	6.40	8.97
11. Quilon	18.86	16.77	19.86	5.75	6.03	7.21
12. Trivandrum	14.59	12.14	14.50	2.27	2.69	3.44
KERALA	22.61	19.08	22.92	5.38	6.28	8.37

Source: Census of India, 1916, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.  
Note: This Table is based on PoB Criterion.

It is only in two districts (Wayanad and Cannanore) where medium distance migration was selective of males. But a greater parity between the sexes was attained as the distance moved increased or rather the sex differential narrow down in the case of inter-district migration. A dominance of females over males in the case of intra-district migration was noticed in three districts (Kozhikode, Trichur and Kottayam). If the distance factor is analysed with a sectoral (Rural-urban) break-up does a different pattern emerge regarding the dominance of one type of movement over the other? And what pattern emerges over time are the questions to be addressed in the following paragraphs.

It is obvious from the Table 2.12 that in most of the districts, except Wayanad and Idukki, the intra-district migration rates were higher than the inter-district migration rates in the rural sector in all the three decades, 1961, 71 and 81.

Table 2.12  
Distribution of rural migrants by type of movement,  
1961, 1971 and 1981 (as percentage of rural population)

District	Intra-District			Inter-District		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore	20.92	16.09	20.11	7.79	8.98	8.37
2. Wayanad	-	-	9.17	-	-	29.50
3. Kozhikode	18.07	14.70	23.80	5.97	10.64	5.70
4. Malappuram	-	12.56	15.10	-	3.94	5.53
5. Palghat	17.80	15.88	18.44	2.29	3.53	6.46
6. Trichur	22.09	17.94	25.93	4.03	3.56	5.27
7. Ernakulam	17.81	16.11	20.68	4.71	5.07	6.13
8. Idukki	-	-	10.97	-	-	27.96
9. Kottayam	23.75	20.75	21.98	7.69	8.48	7.52
10. Alleppey	15.41	12.60	16.95	3.98	4.33	6.21
11. Quilon	15.88	13.34	16.20	5.27	5.21	6.04
12. Trivandrum	13.76	11.26	13.75	1.32	1.49	1.97
<b>KERALA</b>	<b>18.39</b>	<b>15.17</b>	<b>18.41</b>	<b>4.89</b>	<b>5.58</b>	<b>10.85</b>

Source: Census of India, 1916, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Note: This Table is based on POB Criterion.

On further analysis of the district-wise share of migrants, both short and medium distance migrants, in the rural sector with a gender break-up, the information from Tables 2.14 and 2.15 inform us that females were more mobile than males in migration within and between districts though the sex differential is narrowed down in inter-district migration.

As for the urban sector we were able to observe from the data (Table 2.13) except for Idukki and Kottayam (1981), for most of the other districts intra-district migration rates were higher than the inter-district migration rates in all the three decades.

Table 2.13  
Distribution of urban migrants by type of movement,  
1961, 1971 and 1981 (as percentage of urban population)

District	Intra-District			Inter-District		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore	16.96	12.58	18.46	4.72	4.50	3.58
2. Wayanad	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Kozhikode	15.65	8.60	10.31	5.89	7.66	8.58
4. Malappuram	-	10.11	13.18	-	5.19	5.35
5. Palghat	17.20	16.41	17.54	6.50	9.25	10.58
6. Trichur	20.19	19.44	25.61	7.43	6.88	6.86
7. Ernakulam	16.33	10.35	12.79	11.48	11.00	10.94
8. Idukki	-	-	12.56	-	-	23.45
9. Kottayam	18.90	14.48	14.66	12.98	11.49	15.39
10. Alleppey	15.28	11.78	13.28	7.57	6.39	8.19
11. Quilon	13.58	11.68	11.62	9.77	8.91	7.21
12. Trivandrum	12.41	9.35	9.48	6.45	6.98	7.92
<b>KERALA</b>	<b>15.82</b>	<b>11.61</b>	<b>14.41</b>	<b>7.75</b>	<b>8.01</b>	<b>8.31</b>

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Note: This Table is based on POB Criterion.

But if one wants to find out whether there was any specific regional pattern the increase or decrease in both the rates over time a very mixed and hazy picture emerges for both the sectors.

And in the urban sector too as in the rural sector, the data (Table 2.16 and 2.17) inform us that females were more mobile than

movement, 1961, 1971 and 1981 (as percentage of urban male population)

District	Intra-District			Inter-District		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore	15.85	11.16	16.47	5.78	5.14	4.04
2. Wayanad	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Kozhikode	12.45	6.25	7.11	6.41	7.68	8.00
4. Malappuram	-	5.79	7.69	-	5.50	5.46
5. Palghat	14.38	12.27	13.20	6.75	9.52	9.85
6. Trichur	15.87	13.83	18.52	7.55	6.71	6.57
7. Ernakulam	12.58	7.49	8.34	12.19	11.30	10.17
8. Idukki	-	-	10.00	-	-	20.10
9. Kottayam	15.08	10.85	9.82	12.74	10.42	12.40
10. Alleppey	11.92	8.08	8.51	6.66	5.18	5.71
11. Quilon	12.29	10.01	9.27	10.13	8.66	6.45
12. Trivandrum	11.43	8.60	8.17	7.62	7.66	8.25
<b>KERALA</b>	<b>13.15</b>	<b>8.91</b>	<b>10.68</b>	<b>8.23</b>	<b>8.08</b>	<b>7.75</b>

Source: Census of India, 1916, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Note: This Table is based on POB Criterion.

Table 2.17

Distribution of Urban female migrants by type of movement, 1961, 1971 and 1981 (as percentage of urban female population)

District	Intra-District			Inter-District		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore	18.06	13.99	20.37	3.67	3.87	3.14
2. Wayanad	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Kozhikode	18.88	10.96	13.48	5.37	7.65	9.15
4. Malappuram	-	14.31	18.53	-	4.88	5.25
5. Palghat	19.93	20.47	21.73	6.25	8.99	11.30
6. Trichur	24.24	24.69	32.24	7.32	7.04	7.14
7. Ernakulam	20.30	13.34	17.26	10.73	10.69	11.72
8. Idukki	-	-	15.18	-	-	26.88
9. Kottayam	22.85	18.19	19.44	13.24	12.59	18.34
10. Alleppey	18.59	15.40	17.87	8.47	7.58	10.59
11. Quilon	14.93	13.37	13.93	9.40	9.17	7.95
12. Trivandrum	13.40	10.11	10.76	5.28	6.29	7.60
<b>KERALA</b>	<b>18.51</b>	<b>14.04</b>	<b>18.06</b>	<b>7.28</b>	<b>7.95</b>	<b>8.85</b>

An examination of the data on migration and distance clearly conveyed one fact - that migration was inversely related to distance. This can be gauged by the fact that short distance migration rates were much higher than the medium distance migration

though the difference was much less in the case of the latter.

Table 2.14  
Distribution of rural male migrants by type of  
movement, 1961, 1971 and 1981 (as percentage of rural male population)

District	Intra-District			Inter-District		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore	18.20	13.62	16.75	8.62	9.74	9.03
2. Wayanad	-	-	7.26	-	-	30.66
3. Kozhikode	12.14	10.32	17.47	6.26	11.23	5.58
4. Malappuram	-	5.75	7.31	-	3.34	4.61
5. Palghat	9.91	9.68	10.44	1.95	3.40	5.68
6. Trichur	14.98	10.71	17.42	3.84	3.02	4.57
7. Ernakulam	11.35	9.61	12.88	4.14	4.24	4.64
8. Idukki	-	-	9.92	-	-	27.61
9. Kottayam	19.22	15.80	14.59	7.47	7.61	5.23
10. Alleppey	9.47	6.59	9.66	2.52	2.45	3.63
11. Quilon	12.59	9.62	11.53	5.07	4.64	4.94
12. Trivandrum	12.51	9.67	11.69	1.39	1.53	1.89
KERALA	13.38	10.25	12.51	4.73	5.19	9.73

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Note: This Table is based on POB Criterion.

Table 2.15  
Distribution of rural female migrants by type of  
movement, 1961, 1971 and 1981 (as percentage of rural female population)

District	Intra-District			Inter-District		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
1. Cannanore	23.53	18.52	23.16	6.99	8.23	7.75
2. Wayanad	-	-	11.18	-	-	28.28
3. Kozhikode	23.91	19.12	29.98	5.69	10.08	5.81
4. Malappuram	-	19.10	22.50	-	4.51	6.40
5. Palghat	25.04	21.71	25.99	2.61	3.74	7.20
6. Trichur	28.60	24.62	33.60	4.20	4.06	5.90
7. Ernakulam	24.19	22.65	28.48	5.29	5.90	7.62
8. Idukki	-	-	12.07	-	-	28.31
9. Kottayam	28.45	25.82	29.36	7.93	9.35	9.82
10. Alleppey	21.19	18.44	23.88	5.39	6.16	8.66
11. Quilon	19.17	17.06	20.75	5.47	5.77	7.10
12. Trivandrum	15.00	12.00	15.75	1.24	1.44	2.04
KERALA	23.33	19.99	24.03	5.05	5.96	8.26

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Note: This Table is based on POB Criterion.

rates. The clustering of migrants in the intra-district category, dominated by females does seem to indicate the strength of social factors in initiating this phenomenon. But one notices that in the medium distance category, the gender differential is not so significant as some parity is attained. Over time, when one looks at the distance factor the short-distance migration rates declined and the medium distance migration rate increased in four districts (Cannanore, Kottayam and both Quilon and Trivandrum) increased in six districts (Kozhikode, Malappuram, Palghat, Trichur, Ernakulam and Alleppey). Another aspect under consideration, i.e., distance moved by migrants for both sectors (rural and urban) brings out that migrants prefer to move shorter distances in both sectors (rural/urban).

Having examined the data on migration and distance moved one is led to explore the spatial configurations that would emerge from the information on the streams of intra-state migration in Kerala.

#### Migration streams in Kerala:

Here we will be talking about the patterns revealed by the data on the four streams of migration in Kerala - Rural to Rural (R-R), Urban to Rural (U-R), Rural to Urban (R-U) and Urban to Urban (U-U). This will be discussed straightaway with a distance classification.

The evidence put forward by analysing the Table 2.18a to 2.18c indicates that the Rural to Rural (R-R) flow for both categories of distance was by far the most dominant form of inter-sectoral flow in Kerala in 1961, 71 and 81 in the case of males and females

Table 2.18a  
Migration Streams in Kerala, 1961-81  
(in %)

RR = Rural to Rural; UR = Urban to Rural  
RU = Rural to Urban; UU = Urban to Urban

	RR	UR	RU	UU	Total
<b>K E R A L A</b>					
1961					
Short	81.12	5.59	10.13	3.16	3,038,224 (100%)
Medium	70.18	7.81	13.65	8.36	898,415
1971					
Short	79.35	7.82	10.72	2.11	3,110,180 (100%)
Medium	67.39	10.94	14.14	7.53	1,271,783
1981					
Short	73.41	11.26	11.27	4.06	4,483,560 (100%)
Medium	58.02	13.30	18.07	10.61	2,194,036
<b>1) Cannanore</b>					
1961					
Short	80.86	5.00	8.69	5.45	359792 (100%)
Medium	84.65	4.43	6.24	4.69	129075 (100%)
1971					
Short	82.40	6.65	9.07	1.88	368505 (100%)
Medium	82.64	9.99	4.39	2.98	197637 (100%)
1981					
Short	70.70	7.28	15.96	6.03	550715 (100%)
Medium	77.30	11.20	6.77	4.77	203328 (100%)
<b>2) Palghat</b>					
1961					
Short	87.59	3.02	8.19	1.19	31488 (100%)
Medium	65.59	11.11	12.74	10.56	47884 (100%)
1971					
Short	81.28	5.71	11.59	1.42	268486 (100%)
Medium	59.43	13.12	16.49	10.97	71635 (100%)
1981					
Short	82.23	8.10	8.45	1.22	375069 (100%)
Medium	65.85	18.58	9.17	6.40	140543 (100%)
<b>3) Kozhikode</b>					
1961					
Short	81.82	3.56	10.76	3.86	461601 (100%)
Medium	78.51	5.20	10.03	6.26	155573 (100%)
1971					
Short	74.31	8.34	12.52	4.84	274617 (100%)
Medium	72.30	7.08	14.82	5.80	207047 (100%)
1981					
Short	70.70	15.37	7.36	6.56	452029 (100%)
Medium	54.00	10.04	24.00	11.98	145466 (100%)

(contd....)

## (Continuation of table 2.18a)

4) Trichur					
1961					
Short	82.26	7.29	8.80	1.65	358351 (100%)
Medium	71.30	9.60	12.60	6.51	72229 (100%)
1971					
Short	79.17	8.29	10.67	1.86	385433 (100%)
Medium	66.21	13.45	13.43	6.91	83895 (100%)
1981					
Short	67.70	11.43	16.53	4.39	629375 (100%)
Medium	58.54	15.63	15.13	10.70	136186 (100%)
5) Ernakulam					
1961					
Short	73.45	6.69	14.11	5.75	324893 (100%)
Medium	53.94	6.38	24.06	15.62	114293 (100%)
1971					
Short	70.76	9.71	15.99	3.53	345481 (100%)
Medium	45.34	9.63	28.76	16.28	159075 (100%)
1981					
Short	55.80	15.41	18.15	10.66	445088 (100%)
Medium	34.60	11.52	29.17	24.71	203496 (100%)
6) Kottayam					
1961					
Short	86.18	6.05	6.71	1.05	402823 (100%)
Medium	76.27	8.59	11.03	4.12	141872 (100%)
1971					
Short	83.83	8.82	6.37	0.98	419143 (100%)
Medium	73.40	13.22	9.10	4.28	182810 (100%)
1981					
Short	71.04	23.25	4.98	0.73	408588 (100%)
Medium	68.20	14.33	11.11	6.37	140113 (100%)
7) Alleppey					
1961					
Short	77.20	5.75	14.45	2.61	277943 (100%)
Medium	61.40	10.32	16.80	11.48	83005 (100%)
1971					
Short	75.73	8.31	13.96	2.00	264625 (100%)
Medium	63.24	13.66	14.41	8.68	99170 (100%)
1981					
Short	74.30	12.78	10.31	2.58	384611 (100%)
Medium	60.90	19.12	10.72	9.23	153211 (100%)
8) Quilon					
1961					
Short	89.94	3.62	5.27	1.17	304114 (100%)
Medium	75.21	11.80	7.61	5.39	108533 (100%)
1971					
Short	87.60	5.52	5.94	0.94	318352 (100%)
Medium	75.95	11.34	7.49	5.22	132394 (100%)
1981					
Short	81.80	8.38	7.97	1.84	438760 (100%)
Medium	65.53	19.15	8.23	7.09	173968 (100%)

(contd.....)



(continuation of table 2.18a)

9) Trivandrum					
1961					
Short	64.75	11.36	17.41	6.48	234127 (100%)
Medium	29.93	7.18	40.12	22.77	45951 (100%)
1971					
Short	65.00	12.48	18.71	3.80	235579 (100%)
Medium	30.60	7.26	42.22	19.89	63490 (100%)
1981					
Short	65.00	16.16	14.14	4.75	328949 (100%)
Medium	32.10	10.35	36.51	21.03	89941 (100%)
10) Malappuram					
1971					
Short	90.70	3.92	5.06	0.37	229962 (100%)
Medium	76.20	15.14	5.29	3.35	74570 (100%)
1981					
Short	86.50	7.03	5.75	0.77	359491 (100%)
Medium	73.20	19.63	4.02	3.16	132394 (100%)
11) Idukki					
1981					
Short	83.30	11.49	4.92	0.31	107318 (100%)
Medium	79.90	16.24	2.55	1.33	269587 (100%)
12) Wayanad					
1981					
Short	There were no urban areas in this district in 1981				
Medium					

Data Source: Census of India, Kerala Migration Tables, 1961-81.  
 Note: Districts 11 & 12 were created in 1981; hence these cannot be represented in 1961 and 1971.

Table 2.18b  
 Migration Streams of Male Migrants in Kerala, 1961-81  
 (in %)

RR = Rural to Rural; UR = Urban to Rural  
 RU = Rural to Urban; UU = Urban to Urban  
 Short Distance = Intra-district migration  
 Medium Distance = Inter-district migration

	RR	UR	RU	UU	Total
KERALA					
1961					
Short	78.41	6.41	11.50	3.68	1,110,499(100%)
Medium	68.07	7.96	15.14	8.83	439,403
1971					
Short	76.35	9.22	11.83	2.60	1,059,728(100%)
Medium	65.44	11.28	15.24	8.04	597,877
1981					
Short	69.82	13.64	11.65	4.89	1,523,001(100%)
Medium	63.51	15.50	12.33	8.66	870,915

(contd.....)

(continuation of table 2.18b)

1) Cannanore						
1961						
Short	79.55	5.24	9.35	5.86	155387	(100%)
Medium	83.46	4.45	7.13	4.95	70934	(100%)
1971						
Short	80.73	7.76	9.50	2.01	155392	(100%)
Medium	81.87	10.36	4.72	3.05	106662	(100%)
1981						
Short	68.67	8.28	16.17	6.88	230335	(100%)
Medium	76.73	11.26	7.05	4.96	108332	(100%)
2) Palghat						
1961						
Short	82.32	3.88	11.48	2.32	88070	(100%)
Medium	59.57	12.76	14.32	13.35	20603	(100%)
1971						
Short	76.93	7.31	13.80	1.96	81975	(100%)
Medium	55.98	14.77	17.15	12.11	34265	(100%)
1981						
Short	77.56	9.87	10.70	1.87	106634	(100%)
Medium	62.47	21.03	9.48	7.02	60663	(100%)
3) Kozhikode						
1961						
Short	78.86	4.12	12.73	4.30	158300	(100%)
Medium	77.55	5.43	10.71	6.30	81561	(100%)
1971						
Short	72.05	10.14	12.48	5.33	97435	(100%)
Medium	73.40	6.88	14.12	5.61	108601	(100%)
1981						
Short	67.45	19.27	6.29	6.99	162707	(100%)
Medium	54.15	10.80	23.14	11.91	69301	(100%)
4) Trichur						
1961						
Short	78.69	9.24	10.28	1.79	118247	(100%)
Medium	69.48	10.18	13.54	6.79	33386	(100%)
1971						
Short	74.96	10.37	12.10	2.57	113252	(100%)
Medium	63.41	13.73	14.76	8.10	35185	(100%)
1981						
Short	62.93	14.60	16.86	5.61	204747	(100%)
Medium	55.68	16.22	16.74	11.36	57779	(100%)
5) Ernakulam						
1961						
Short	69.06	7.29	16.77	6.88	108098	(100%)
Medium	48.49	6.30	28.02	17.19	54772	(100%)
1971						
Short	65.92	11.03	18.23	4.82	108096	(100%)
Medium	39.52	9.85	32.58	18.04	74290	(100%)
1981						
Short	51.29	18.88	17.47	12.36	140644	(100%)
Medium	28.92	12.06	31.76	27.26	86565	(100%)

(contd.....)

(continuation of table 2.18b)

6) Kottayam					
1961					
Short	85.76	6.60	6.52	1.12	165961 (100%)
Medium	75.74	9.00	11.29	3.97	70250 (100%)
1971					
Short	55.51	6.35	34.05	4.09	241770 (100%)
Medium	72.31	14.19	9.21	4.29	83140 (100%)
1981					
Short	77.26	16.28	5.49	0.97	120063 (100%)
Medium	64.42	15.99	11.94	7.65	49987 (100%)
7) Alleppey					
1961					
Short	72.50	6.66	17.65	3.19	88146 (100%)
Medium	53.36	11.14	21.21	14.29	28845 (100%)
1971					
Short	69.99	9.99	17.21	2.81	71570 (100%)
Medium	53.78	16.01	18.64	11.57	30420 (100%)
1981					
Short	69.41	16.23	11.04	3.32	108616 (100%)
Medium	54.97	21.96	12.16	10.91	45340 (100%)
8) Quilon					
1961					
Short	88.51	4.05	6.11	1.33	121994 (100%)
Medium	73.37	12.48	8.49	5.66	52935 (100%)
1971					
Short	85.53	6.36	6.97	1.14	116240 (100%)
Medium	73.77	12.46	8.23	5.54	59619 (100%)
1981					
Short	79.29	9.81	8.71	2.19	155892 (100%)
Medium	62.70	20.72	8.80	7.78	71355 (100%)
9) Trivandrum					
1961					
Short	63.92	11.79	17.70	6.59	106296 (100%)
Medium	27.51	6.70	43.47	22.31	26117 (100%)
1971					
Short	62.89	13.27	19.82	4.02	102320 (100%)
Medium	28.83	7.38	44.69	19.09	33990 (100%)
1981					
Short	63.43	17.33	14.09	5.15	138068 (100%)
Medium	30.81	9.62	39.12	20.45	44669 (100%)
10) Malappuram					
1971					
Short	88.47	4.86	6.04	0.62	52229 (100%)
Medium	73.00	16.35	6.15	4.49	31615 (100%)
1981					
Short	82.86	9.28	6.75	1.11	85906 (100%)
Medium	70.13	21.11	4.76	4.00	54627 (100%)

(contd.....)

(continuation of table 2.18b)

11) Idukki						
1981						
Short	83.26	12.14	4.31	0.29	49092	(100%)
Medium	79.87	16.76	2.18	1.19	134986	(100%)
12) Wayanad						
1981						
Short	There were no urban areas in this district in 1981					
Medium						

Data Source: Census of India, Kerala Migration Tables, 1961-81.  
 Note: Districts 11 & 12 were created in 1981; hence these cannot be represented in 1961 and 1971.

Table 2.18c  
 Migration Streams of Female Migrants in Kerala, 1961-81  
 (in %)

RR = Rural to Rural; UR = Urban to Rural  
 RU = Rural to Urban; UU = Urban to Urban  
 Short Distance = Intra-district migration  
 Medium Distance = Inter-district migration

	RR	UR	RU	UU	Total
K E R A L A					
1961					
Short	82.68	5.12	9.34	2.86	1,927,725 (100%)
Medium	72.20	7.67	12.23	7.90	459,012
1971					
Short	81.09	7.12	10.18	1.61	2,045,452 (100%)
Medium	69.11	10.62	13.17	7.10	673,996
1981					
Short	75.26	10.04	11.06	3.64	2,960,549 (100%)
Medium	65.76	14.51	11.61	8.12	1,080,890
1) Cannanore					
1961					
Short	81.86	4.82	8.18	5.14	204405 (100%)
Medium	86.10	4.40	5.14	4.36	58141 (100%)
1971					
Short	83.61	5.85	8.75	1.79	213115 (100%)
Medium	83.54	9.56	4.00	2.90	90975 (100%)
1981					
Short	72.22	6.57	15.81	5.40	320660 (100%)
Medium	77.85	11.14	6.46	4.55	94996 (100%)

(contd....)

## (continuation of table 2.18c)

2) Palghat					
1961					
Short	89.64	2.69	6.92	0.76	226811 (100%)
Medium	70.13	9.87	11.54	8.46	27281 (100%)
1971					
Short	83.19	5.00	10.62	1.18	186511 (100%)
Medium	63.17	11.43	15.63	9.76	37960 (100%)
1981					
Short	84.09	7.41	7.54	0.96	268435 (100%)
Medium	68.42	16.72	8.92	5.94	79880 (100%)
3) Kozhikode					
1961					
Short	83.37	3.27	9.73	3.63	303300 (100%)
Medium	79.57	4.93	9.28	6.22	74012 (100%)
1971					
Short	75.53	7.35	12.56	4.57	177002 (100%)
Medium	71.09	7.30	15.60	6.01	98446 (100%)
1981					
Short	72.55	13.18	7.96	6.31	289322 (100%)
Medium	53.82	9.35	24.78	12.05	76165 (100%)
4) Trichur					
1961					
Short	84.01	6.33	8.08	1.58	240104 (100%)
Medium	72.85	9.10	11.78	6.26	38843 (100%)
1971					
Short	80.92	7.43	10.08	1.57	272176 (100%)
Medium	68.24	13.24	12.47	6.05	48710 (100%)
1981					
Short	69.92	9.90	16.37	3.81	424628 (100%)
Medium	60.64	15.19	13.96	10.21	78407 (100%)
5) Ernakulam					
1961					
Short	75.64	6.39	12.78	5.19	216795 (100%)
Medium	58.94	6.44	20.42	14.20	59531 (100%)
1971					
Short	73.02	9.12	14.90	2.95	237205 (100%)
Medium	50.40	9.50	25.39	14.72	84845 (100%)
1981					
Short	57.85	13.82	18.46	9.87	304444 (100%)
Medium	38.80	11.12	27.24	22.84	116931 (100%)
6) Kottayam					
1961					
Short	86.48	5.67	6.84	1.00	236862 (100%)
Medium	76.79	8.18	10.77	4.26	71622 (100%)
1971					
Short	84.20	8.38	6.51	0.91	257924 (100%)
Medium	74.31	12.41	9.00	4.28	99670 (100%)
1981					
Short	81.85	11.70	5.70	0.75	241311 (100%)
Medium	45.21	44.31	6.85	3.63	140126 (100%)

(contd.....)

(continuation of table 2.18c)

7) Alleppey					
1961					
Short	79.38	5.32	12.96	2.34	189797 (100%)
Medium	65.68	9.89	14.45	9.99	54160 (100%)
1971					
Short	77.86	7.69	12.75	1.70	193055 (100%)
Medium	67.43	12.63	12.54	7.40	68750 (100%)
1981					
Short	76.26	11.42	10.03	2.29	275995 (100%)
Medium	63.44	17.93	10.11	8.52	107871 (100%)
8) Quilon					
1961					
Short	90.90	3.33	4.70	1.06	182120 (100%)
Medium	76.96	11.15	6.76	5.13	55598 (100%)
1971					
Short	88.79	5.04	5.35	0.83	202112 (100%)
Medium	77.73	10.43	6.89	4.95	72775 (100%)
1981					
Short	83.20	7.60	7.56	1.64	282868 (100%)
Medium	67.51	18.06	7.83	6.60	102613 (100%)
9) Trivandrum					
1961					
Short	65.60	11.03	16.98	6.40	127531 (100%)
Medium	33.11	7.82	35.70	23.37	19834 (100%)
1971					
Short	70.26	7.08	18.83	3.83	126389 (100%)
Medium	32.71	7.12	39.37	20.80	29500 (100%)
1981					
Short	66.05	15.32	14.18	4.45	190881 (100%)
Medium	33.40	11.06	33.94	21.60	45272 (100%)
10) Malappuram					
1971					
Short	91.29	3.65	4.77	0.29	177733 (100%)
Medium	78.59	14.25	4.66	2.50	42955 (100%)
1981					
Short	87.58	6.32	5.44	0.66	273585 (100%)
Medium	75.33	18.59	3.50	2.58	77767 (100%)
11) Idukki					
1981					
Short	83.31	10.94	5.43	0.32	58226 (100%)
Medium	79.88	15.71	2.93	1.48	134601 (100%)
12) Wayanad					
1981					
Short	There were no urban areas in this district in 1981				
Medium					

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Data Source: Census of India, Kerala Migration Tables, 1961-81.  
 Note: Districts Idukki and Wayanad were created in 1981; hence these cannot be represented in 1961 and 1971.

though much more pronounced in the case of females. This corresponds to the Indian picture where the R-R stream retained its dominance over the years 1961, 71 and 81 (Bose, 1983; Sinha, 1986, Roy, 1989). But in each successive decadal year we notice that the share of R-R stream went down in Kerala for both the short and medium distance categories except in one district (Trivandrum). The next in importance is the R-U stream, especially so when migration takes place within the district of birth itself. The U-R stream appears to be strong in at least eight districts (Palghat, Trichur, Kottayam, Alleppey, Quilon, Trivandrum, Idukki, Malappuram) when migration takes place between districts. In both intra-district and inter-district migration, we noticed a clear preference for rural destination except in one district (Trivandrum) in the case of the latter. In Trivandrum, we noticed that in the medium distance category the R-U stream had the largest share followed by the R-R and U-U stream. But over time, the share of the urban-bound migrants declined and that of the R-R increased. Ernakulam is another district which has quite a high share of urban-bound migrants in the medium distance category and this share increases over time. This urban-bound movement of migrants to Trivandrum and Ernakulam is not surprising considering that both are among the most highly urbanised districts of Kerala.

## Summary

Overall what emerges from the discussion on the spatial patterns of internal migration in Kerala during the period 1961-81 is that the population was relatively sedentary as the proportion of population classified as in-migrants ranged from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. A distinct regional pattern emerges showing that the northern and central regions of Kerala had a larger share of in-migrants while the southern region had a lesser share of in-migrants for the period under consideration.

During the 1960s (1961-71) we notice a decline in the share of in-migrants in all the districts while the 1970s (1971-81) witnessed a slight increase of the same. Females were more migratory than males in both rural-bound and urban-bound destinations; as well as in short and medium distance moves. The rural sector in Kerala had a higher share of migrants than the urban sector for all the three decades, 1961, 1971 and 1981 though there was not a big gap between them. As for the distance factor we find that migration within Kerala is mainly a short distance phenomenon in all the three decades though it is on the decline through the years. Not surprisingly the rural-rural (R-R) stream is the dominant stream of migration in Kerala followed by the rural to urban (Rural-Urban) stream especially when the distance moved is shorter.



### CHAPTER III

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS IN KERALA

It is a well documented fact that migration is a selective phenomenon, i.e., the process chooses only certain sections of the population who possess certain features/characteristics different from the parent population. Migration selects the young as well as the old, women as well as men, married as well as unmarried, skilled as well as the unskilled, the literate as well as the illiterate (Simmons, 1976). The selectivity of the features/characteristics indicates the causes - why sections of population possessing a particular feature is chosen. Besides, each region will have some special features regarding the population it gains or loses. It is thus obvious that migration selects a selected few and there would be region specific differences regarding this selected few. This could be because the circumstances in which migration occurs in various regions are different as each region might be in a different stage of development in given time periods. These geo-temporal differentials in development would result in the regional differentials in the characteristics of migrants as the opportunities for employment and education will be restricted to sections of population possessing certain specific characteristics such as age, sex and educational level. Depending on the manpower requirements at the area of destination and the manpower availability at the area of origin, migration flows commence to fill the demand-supply gap. But since there is no perfect spread of information, the migration patterns might not be the same for all regions. This lack of uniformity could be because certain

features regarding age, sex, educational levels and occupational skills, dominate in the different regions. The dominance of certain characteristics in some regions could also have links with the stage of economic development, urbanization and occupational structure of that region.

In this chapter we make an attempt to identify the characteristics of migrants in Kerala for the years 1961, 1971 and 1981. The characteristics will be analysed separately for each of the census years in different sections, the reason for which is discussed in the methodology section. An identification of the characteristics of migrants in Kerala would demonstrate whether the migration process in Kerala is selective of certain specific groups of population and whether there are any region-specific differences pertaining to the characteristics under consideration. The characteristics under consideration are age, sex, educational level, occupational structure, industrial distribution of the workforce and marital status. Here it must be noted that because of definitional differences and lack of data availability in the 1961, 1971 and 1981 censuses, an accurate comparison between the years is inhibited. These data constraints are addressed in the following section.

#### Data Source and Problems

In 1961, the data on characteristics of migrants in Kerala are given only for four city corporations/municipalities viz., towns each with a population of 1,00,000 and over. The four cities are Trivandrum, Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey. In 1971 the information is provided and analysed for five city corporations/municipalities in

Kerala, viz., Trivandrum, Cochin, Calicut, Alleppey and Quilon. In 1981, the data on characteristics of migrants are given only for Kerala as a whole with a R/U classification and not for the cities as was the case in 1961 and 1971 and it covers only those migrants reporting 'employment' as a reason for migration. In 1961, the characteristics shown are age, sex and educational level for the four city corporations/municipalities; and the industrial distribution of the migrant workforce for the four cities as well as at the district level. In 1971, the characteristics shown are age, sex, educational level and industrial distribution of the migrant workforce at the city (five) and district levels; and marital status at the district level. In 1981, the characteristics shown are age, sex and educational level of migrants in the R-U and U-U streams.

Then again in 1961, the data on characteristics of migrants in the four cities includes migrants from within and outside the state while the data on the same for 1971 shows the intra-state migrants. In 1981, the data on characteristics (age, sex and educational level) are available for intra-state migrants in the two streams, R-U and U-U. These are the constraints associated with data availability. There are also limitations due to definitional differences in 1961, 1971 and 1981.

In 1961, the data on characteristics are based on the Place of Birth (PoB), Criterion, while in 1971 and 1981, the data on characteristics are based on the Place of Last Residence (PoLR) criterion. We have already explained in the previous chapter on

how a migrant is defined according to the Place of Birth (PoB) criterion and Place of Last Residence (PoLR) criterion.

Keeping in mind the data limitations we proceed to analyse the characteristics of migrants in Kerala for the years 1961, 71 & 81.

### Characteristics of Migrants in Kerala, 1961.

Here we look into the age, sex, educational levels and occupational specialization, industrial distribution of migrants to the four cities in Kerala, viz., Trivandrum, Calicut, Alleppey and Ernakulam. Basically, here the aim is to find out in which age groups, at which level of education and in which occupation the migrants (male/female) bunch.

### Age and Sex of Migrants in the Four City Corporations/ Municipalities in Kerala, 1961

The literature on internal migration in India shows that migration was mainly selective of females. In Kerala, the data (Table 3.1) demonstrates that of the four city corporations/ municipalities under study in 1961, we find that migration to Ernakulam and Alleppey was selective of females; and that migration to Calicut and Trivandrum was selective of males.

Table 3.1  
Gender Composition of Migrants in the City Corporations/  
Municipalities in Kerala, 1961 (as %)

	Calicut	Ernakulam	Alleppey	Trivandrum
P	49,068	42,521	36,029	78,925
M	51.68	47.84	47.52	52.93
F	48.32	52.16	52.48	47.07

Source: Census of India, 1961, Migration Tables, Kerala.

Notes 1. This Table is based on POB criteria.

2. P - Population; M - Males; F - Females.

In Ernakulam of the total migrant population, 52% were females and 48% were males. In Alleppey too, of the total migrants, 52% were females and 48% were males. Whereas in Calicut, of the total migrants, females comprised 48% and males 52%; and in Trivandrum of the total migrants, 47% were females and 53% were males.

In Kerala, in 1961, we find that the gender composition was in favour of females in two city corporations/Municipalities (Ernakulam and Alleppey) and in favour of males in the other two city corporations (Calicut and Trivandrum).

Many studies conducted in India reveal that a majority of migrants are young adults, i.e., in the age group 15-34. In this connection it would be interesting to see in which age-group migrants are pre-dominantly found and is there a sex differential in Kerala?

Table 3.2 reveals that in 1961, for all the four cities (Trivandrum, Calicut, Alleppey, Ernakulam) under study, the migration process is definitely selective of young adults, i.e., population in the age group 15-34. This is true for males as well as females.

In Trivandrum Corporation, 46 per cent of the total migrants were concentrated in the age group 15-34 with 47 per cent of the male migrants and 46 per cent of the female migrants being found in this age group. In Calicut Municipality, 42 per cent of the total in-migrants were of the age 15-34 years, with 42 per cent of the male and 42 per cent of the female migrants being found in this age

Table 3.2  
Age Structure of Migrants  
in the Four City Corporations/Municipalities  
in Kerala, 1961 (as %)

Trivandrum						
	Male	Male%	Female	Female%	Total	Total%
All Ages	41777	100.00	37148	100.00	78925	100.00
0 - 14	6745	16.15	6801	18.31	13546	17.16
15 - 34	19519	46.72	17168	46.22	36687	46.48
35 - 39	13268	31.76	10523	28.33	23791	30.14
60+	2243	5.37	2656	7.15	4899	6.21
Age unstated(Age US)	2	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.00
Calicut						
All Ages	25360	100.00	23708	100.00	49068	100.00
0 - 14	3802	14.99	3820	16.11	7622	15.53
15 - 34	10582	41.73	9855	41.57	20437	41.65
35 - 39	9071	35.77	7858	33.14	16929	34.50
60+	1901	7.50	2174	9.17	4075	8.30
Age unstated	4	0.02	1	0.00	5	0.01
Alleppey						
All Ages	17121	100.00	18908	100.00	36029	100.00
0 - 14	3073	17.95	2284	15.25	5957	16.53
15 - 34	5843	34.13	7719	40.82	13562	37.64
35 - 39	6946	40.57	6590	34.85	13536	37.57
60+	1258	7.35	1715	9.07	2973	8.25
Age unstated	1	0.01	0	0.00	1	0.00
Ernakulam						
All Ages	20342	100.00	22179	100.00	42521	100.00
0 - 14	3789	18.63	3898	17.58	7687	18.08
15 - 34	9465	46.53	10143	45.73	19608	46.11
35 - 39	6095	29.96	6639	29.93	12734	29.95
60+	990	4.87	1499	6.76	2489	5.85
Age unstated	3	0.01	0	0.00	3	0.00

Source: Census of India, 1961, Migration Tables, Kerala.  
Note: This table is based on POB criterion.

group. In Alleppey Municipality, 38 per cent of the total migrants were found in the age group 15-34 years and another 38 per cent of the total migrants were of the age 35-39 years, with 34 per cent of the male migrants and 41 per cent of the female migrants aged 15-34 and 41 per cent of the male migrants and 35 per cent of the female

migrants aged 35-39 years. In Ernakulam, 46 per cent of the total migrants were of the age 15-34 years, with 47 per cent of the male migrants and 46 per cent of the female migrants being found in the age group 15-34 years.

It can thus be observed that sections of the population lying in the age group 15-34 years were more prone to migrate in Kerala, looking at the age-structure of the migrants to the four major cities/towns in Kerala and that there was no discernible difference regarding this particular characteristic with respect to sex. Both male and female migrants tended to be in the age-group 15-34 years, demonstrating that migration to cities in Kerala was selective of young adults.

Now the next question is, do these migrants, both male and female belong to the literate section of the society or the illiterate section of the society? For this, we shall look into the educational level of migrants to the four cities in 1961, given for different age groups and cross-classified by sex.

#### Educational level of migrants in the four City Corporations/ Municipalities in Kerala, 1961:

The Indian picture on the educational level of migrants reveals that migration selected the more educated or literate sections of the society from the area of origin, though the educational level of migrants were lower than the native population at the area of destination. Here we would try to find out whether the migrants to the four cities in Kerala possess some level of education or are illiterate, and if educated, what level of education do the migrants possess? This information will be

analysed for different age groups also. Besides, is there any difference between males and females regarding this attribute?

Table 3.3  
Educational Levels of Migrants in the Four City Corporations/  
Municipalities in Kerala, 1961 (as %)  
Trivandrum Corporation

Age group	Category	No. of Migrants	Educational Levels of Migrants				
			Illiterate	Literate without edn.level	Literate with some edn.level	University Degree (UG/PG)	Technical Degree Dip(UG/PG)
All Ages	Total	78925	26.98	27.20	37.80	4.94	3.08
	Male	41777	17.47	27.08	43.36	7.75	4.34
	Female	37148	37.68	27.34	31.54	1.77	1.67
0 - 14	Total	13546	48.63	27.50	23.87	0.00	0.00
	Male	6745	46.73	28.33	24.94	0.00	0.00
	Female	6801	50.52	26.67	22.81	0.00	0.00
15 - 34	Total	36687	16.62	23.44	49.07	5.76	5.11
	Male	19519	9.20	21.51	54.03	8.26	7.00
	Female	17168	25.06	25.64	43.42	2.91	2.96
35 - 39	Total	23791	27.28	32.21	31.81	6.65	2.04
	Male	13268	14.19	33.61	38.49	10.79	2.92
	Female	10523	43.79	30.44	23.40	1.44	0.93
60+	Total	4899	43.23	30.25	21.00	4.16	1.35
	Male	2243	20.86	33.21	34.73	8.83	2.36
	Female	2656	62.12	27.75	9.41	0.23	0.49
Age US	Total	2	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00	0.00
	Male	2	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00	0.00
	Female	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Calicut Municipality

All Ages	Total	49068	37.17	31.34	28.71	1.79	1.00
	Male	25360	27.05	35.21	33.44	2.88	1.41
	Female	23708	47.98	27.19	23.64	0.62	0.56
0 - 14	Total	7622	44.98	34.30	20.73	0.00	0.00
	Male	3802	42.79	36.35	20.86	0.00	0.00
	Female	3820	47.15	32.25	20.60	0.00	0.00
15 - 34	Total	20437	24.99	30.49	40.39	2.60	1.53
	Male	10582	17.59	31.61	44.95	3.81	2.04
	Female	9855	32.94	29.29	35.48	1.30	0.98
35 - 39	Total	16929	42.29	32.54	22.58	1.73	0.86
	Male	9071	27.38	39.30	29.04	3.01	1.27
	Female	7858	59.49	24.73	15.13	0.25	0.39

(contd....)



60+	Total	4075	62.38	25.03	10.50	1.35	0.74
	Male	1901	46.71	33.46	15.62	2.89	1.32
	Female	2174	76.08	17.66	6.03	0.00	0.23
Age US	Total	5	20.00	40.00	20.00	0.00	20.00
	Male	4	25.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	25.00
	Female	1	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00

#### Alleppey Municipality

All Ages	Total	36029	31.98	39.68	26.31	1.22	0.81
	Male	17121	21.84	43.54	31.24	2.18	1.20
	Female	18908	41.15	36.20	21.85	0.34	0.46
0 - 14	Total	5957	47.73	31.32	20.95	0.00	0.00
	Male	3073	47.09	31.17	21.74	0.00	0.00
	Female	2884	48.40	31.48	20.11	0.00	0.00
15 - 34	Total	13562	19.82	39.76	37.47	1.59	1.36
	Male	5843	11.55	40.24	43.49	2.88	1.85
	Female	7719	26.08	39.40	32.92	0.62	0.98
35 - 39	Total	13536	32.15	44.67	21.01	1.43	0.73
	Male	6946	17.59	51.24	27.33	2.58	1.27
	Female	6590	47.50	37.75	14.36	0.23	0.17
60+	Total	2973	55.10	33.37	10.26	0.98	0.30
	Male	1258	31.48	46.50	19.16	2.15	0.72
	Female	1715	72.42	23.73	3.73	0.12	0.00
Age US	Total	1	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Male	1	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Female	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

#### Ernakulam Municipality

All Ages	Total	42521	27.87	32.23	33.82	3.70	2.38
	Male	20342	20.48	30.04	39.82	6.18	3.48
	Female	22179	34.64	34.24	28.32	1.43	1.38
0 - 14	Total	7687	46.98	31.64	21.39	0.00	0.00
	Male	3789	47.19	30.54	22.28	0.00	0.00
	Female	3898	46.77	32.71	20.52	0.00	0.00
15 - 34	Total	19608	16.81	29.16	45.88	4.47	3.68
	Male	9465	13.88	23.57	50.84	6.69	5.02
	Female	10143	19.54	34.37	41.26	2.41	2.43
35 - 39	Total	12734	28.62	37.64	26.97	4.74	2.03
	Male	6095	13.60	38.01	36.34	8.74	3.30
	Female	6639	42.42	37.29	18.36	1.05	0.87

(contd....)

60+	Total	2489	52.07	30.61	12.25	3.78	1.29
	Male	990	23.64	40.91	23.13	9.19	3.13
	Female	1499	70.85	23.82	5.07	0.20	0.07
Age US	Total	3	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Male	3	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Female	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Source: Census of India, 1961; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Note: This table is based on PoB Criterion.

What emerges from Table 3.3 is that in all the four cities (Trivandrum, Calicut, Alleppey and Ernakulam) at least 60 per cent of the migrants were educated/literate. This is true of both male and female migrants, though the percentage of illiterates were higher among females than males. In two cities, Trivandrum and Ernakulam, among the migrants, there was a higher share of migrants who were literate with some educational level (38% + 34% respectively), viz., primary or junior basic, matriculation or higher secondary, technical diploma not equal to degree and non-technical diploma not equal to degree. In the other two cities, Calicut (31%) and Alleppey (40%), among the migrants there was a higher share of migrants who were just literate without any specific educational level. The data demonstrates that though majority of in-migrants to the four cities under consideration were literate, those possessing higher levels, of educational qualifications like UG/PG degree and technical degrees equivalent to UG/PG degree were very few and very visible among female migrants. This gender differential persists for all educational levels, both illiterates and literates. More female migrants were illiterate than male migrants and these also possessed lower levels of educational attainment when compared to males, especially in Calicut Corporation where around 48% of the female migrants were illiterate.

When the data is further analysed with an age classification, we find that in Trivandrum Corporation a large proportion of migrants (49%) both male (54%) and female (43%) in the age group 15-34 years were literate with some level of education, as also migrants (32%), both male (38%) and female (23%) in the age group 35-39 years. In Calicut Municipality, a large number of migrants (40%), both male (45%) and female (35%), in the age group 15-34 years were literate with some level of education whereas in the age group 35-39 years, most of the migrants (33%), both male (39%) and female (25%) were literate but without any educational qualification. In Alleppey Municipality, majority of the migrants (40%), especially females (39%) in the age group 15-34 years were literate but without any educational qualification, though more male migrants (43%) in this age group were literate with some educational qualification. In Ernakulam Municipality, a majority of migrants (46%), both male (51%) and female (41%) in the age group 15-34 years were literate with some educational qualification whereas in the age group 35-39 years, most migrants (38%), male (38%) and female (37%) were literate but without any specific educational qualification.

The educated tend to be more migratory as the risks inherent in migration are reduced because they stand a fair chance of being absorbed in the labour market. Also those sections of the population possessing some level of educational attainment might migrate to further enhance their educational level for which opportunities are almost non-existent or negligible at the origin areas. A majority of the migrants, especially males, in the cities of Kerala were literate.

The next step in this chapter is to observe whether migrants in the cities/corporations work. For this we extend our discussion to the industrial distribution of the migrant work force.

#### Industrial distribution of the migrant workforce in Kerala, 1961:

Besides exploring whether migrants work or not, it would also be useful to locate the distribution of the working migrants in the primary (agriculture and its allied activities), secondary (industry) and tertiary (services) sectors.

In our analysis on educational attainment of the migrants to the four corporations in Kerala for 1961, we found that illiteracy was more common to females than males and they were more represented in lower levels of educational attainment. So does it follow that there would be a larger proportion of females who do not work? We would try to address these issues at both the city corporation/municipality level and the district level.

#### Industrial Distribution of the Migrant workforce in the city Corporations/Municipalities in Kerala, 1961:

First we would look into what proportion of the total migrants in each of these four city corporations/municipalities were workers and what proportion were non-workers. This would be followed by an analysis of the industrial distribution of the migrant workforce.

3

It is clear from Table 3.4 that in all the four city corporations/municipalities, namely; Trivandrum (57%), Calicut (56%), Alleppey (58%) and Ernakulam (60%), more than half the migrant population were non-workers. And another fact that emerges is that the larger proportion of non-workers in the city

corporations/municipalities in Kerala could be explained because of an overwhelming majority of female migrants in the non-worker category in Trivandrum (80%), Calicut (83%), Alleppey (72%) and Ernakulam (83%). While if we look at the distribution of male migrants among these two categories, total workers and non-workers, it is seen that in three of the four city corporations/municipalities, i.e., in Trivandrum (62%), Calicut (70%) and Ernakulam (66%), a higher proportion of male migrants were workers. It is only in Alleppey (48%) where a lesser proportion of male migrants were workers.

Table 3.4  
Distribution of Workers by Industrial Categories  
in City Corporations/Municipalities in Kerala, 1961 (as %)

		Total	Male	Female
<b>Trivandrum</b>				
Non-Workers		34448	12162	22286
	(in %)	57.31	37.89	79.56
Total Workers		25661	19937	5724
	(in %)	42.69	62.11	20.44
Total Migrants		60109	32099	28010
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES</b>				
(a) Primary Sector	(in %)	1.42	1.39	1.54
(b) Secondary Sector	(in %)	13.21	15.21	6.25
(c) Tertiary Sector	(in %)	85.37	83.40	92.21
Total Workers		25661	19937	5724
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00

(contd.....)

(continuation of table 3.4)

<b>Calicut</b>				
Non-Workers		24338	6565	17773
	(in %)	55.87	29.72	82.78
Total Workers		19220	15524	3696
	(in %)	44.13	70.28	17.22
Total Migrants		43558	22089	21469
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES</b>				
(a) Primary Sector (in %)		0.71	0.59	1.22
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)		25.70	26.42	22.67
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		73.58	72.98	76.11
Total Workers		19220	15524	3696
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>Alleppey</b>				
Non-Workers		19997	12100	7897
	(in %)	58.12	51.73	71.69
Total Workers		14407	11289	3118
	(in %)	41.88	48.27	28.31
Total Migrants		34404	23389	11015
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES</b>				
(a) Primary Sector (in %)		2.97	1.93	6.74
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)		31.95	29.98	39.06
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		65.08	68.08	54.20
Total Workers		14407	11289	3118
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>Ernakulam</b>				
Non-Workers		23668	6390	17278
	(in %)	60.28	34.43	83.45
Total Workers		15594	12167	3427
	(in %)	39.72	65.57	16.55
Total Migrants		39262	18557	20705
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES</b>				
(a) Primary Sector (in %)		1.93	0.99	5.25
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)		14.79	17.43	5.40
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		83.28	81.57	89.35
Total Workers		15594	12167	3427
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Census of India, 1961; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Note: This table is based on PoB criterion.

(The fact that there were more female migrants in the non-worker category and more males in the worker category could probably be indicative of the fact that female migration is socially motivated and that males migration is conditioned by the changing economic environment.)

(At this juncture it is appropriate to identify which sector (primary, secondary, tertiary) attracts migrants in the four city corporations/municipalities in 1961. The data substantiates that the migrants are concentrated in the tertiary sector in Trivandrum (85%), Calicut (74%), Alleppey (65%) and Ernakulam (83%). This dominance of the tertiary sector in Trivandrum could be because it is the administrative capital of Kerala, while in Calicut because it is a commercial centre, whereas in Ernakulam because of the presence of the port, its strong industrial base and subsequent growth of trade and commerce. This is more so among female migrants in Trivandrum (92%), Calicut (76%) and Ernakulam (89%). It was only in Alleppey that male migrants (68%) were more visible than female migrants in the tertiary sector. In Alleppey there was a higher representation of migrants, especially females in the secondary sector when compared to the other three city corporations of Kerala and this could be because of the presence of a large number of non household agro-processing industries.

So we find that in three (Trivandrum, Calicut and Ernakulam) out of the four city corporations/municipalities, migrants were mainly occupied in the service (or tertiary) sector and this was very pronounced among female migrants. Trivandrum had the largest proportion of migrants in the tertiary sector, while Alleppey had the least.

Now that we have analysed the occupational structure/ industrial distribution of the migrants in the four city corporations/municipalities in Kerala, it would be pertinent to examine the issue at the district level also.

The data (Table 3.5) reveals that for Kerala as a whole there were more non-workers in rural (59%) and urban (60%) Kerala in 1961. The gender aspect reveals that the proportion of male migrants classified as workers was high in both rural (64%) as well as urban areas(64%), whereas among female migrants it was low in both rural (27%) and urban (20%) areas. This pattern is prevails in all the nine districts with slight variations in magnitude. Five districts (Cannanore, Palghat, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum) had a considerably larger share of migrants classified as workers than the other four districts (Kozhikode, Trichur, Kottayam and Ernakulam).

**Table 3.5**  
**Industrial distribution of the migrant workforce in Kerala, 1961;**  
**A District-wise analysis (as %)**

	RURAL			URBAN		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
<b>KERALA</b>						
Non-Workers (NW)	1955806	462704	1493102	363737	99301	264436
(in %)	58.66	36.29	72.51	60.48	36.39	80.49
Total Workers (TW)	1378355	812340	566015	237724	173607	64117
(in %)	41.34	63.71	27.49	39.52	63.61	19.51
Total Migrants (TW+NW)	3334161	1275044	2059117	601461	272908	328553
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES (in percentages)</b>						
(a) Primary Sector	44.03	38.97	51.30	7.06	4.39	14.30
(b) Secondary Sector	25.99	26.71	24.96	24.85	24.76	25.11
(c) Tertiary Sector	29.98	34.32	23.74	68.08	70.85	60.59
Total Workers	1378355	812340	566015	237724	173607	64117
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(contd.....)



## (continuation of table 3.5)

**Cannanore**

Non-Workers (NW)	231378	75476	155902	38246	12093	26153
(in %)	54.59	38.89	67.84	58.87	37.53	79.85
Total Workers (TW)	192498	118606	73892	26725	20126	6599
(in %)	45.41	61.11	32.16	41.13	62.47	20.15
Total Migrants	423876	194082	229794	64971	32219	32752
(TW+NW) (in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector	99222	50968	48254	2150	736	1414
(in %)	51.54	42.97	65.30	8.04	3.66	21.43
(b) Secondary Sector	36463	27359	9104	9501	7963	1538
(in %)	18.94	23.07	12.32	35.55	39.57	23.31
(c) Tertiary Sector	56813	40279	16534	15074	11427	3647
(in %)	29.51	33.96	22.38	56.40	56.78	55.27
Total Workers	192498	118606	73892	26725	20126	6599
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Kozhikode**

Non-Workers (NW)	325929	71974	253955	57362	13710	43652
(in %)	62.16	36.16	78.06	61.85	33.78	84.07
Total Workers (TW)	198437	127061	71376	35385	27116	8269
(in %)	37.84	63.84	21.94	38.15	66.42	15.93
Total Migrants	524366	199035	325331	92747	40826	51921
(TW+NW) (in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector	73747	42710	31037	1333	527	806
(in %)	37.16	33.61	43.48	3.77	1.94	9.75
(b) Secondary Sector	54194	34243	19951	10765	8123	2642
(in %)	27.31	26.95	27.95	30.42	29.96	31.95
(c) Tertiary Sector	70496	50108	20388	23287	18466	4821
(in %)	35.53	39.44	28.56	65.81	68.10	58.30
Total Workers	198437	127061	71376	35385	27116	8269
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Palghat**

Non-Workers (NW)	170502	33153	137349	23753	6310	17443
(in %)	52.94	36.50	59.40	58.37	35.38	76.30
Total Workers (TW)	151551	57673	93878	16941	11524	5417
(in %)	47.06	63.50	40.60	41.63	64.62	23.70
Total Migrants	322053	90826	231227	40694	17834	22860
(TW+NW) (in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector	85980	20840	65140	3193	821	2372
(in %)	56.73	36.13	69.39	18.85	7.12	43.79
(b) Secondary Sector	25361	14062	11299	3074	2220	854
(in %)	16.73	24.38	12.04	18.15	19.26	15.77
(c) Tertiary Sector	40210	22771	17439	10674	8483	2191
(in %)	26.53	39.48	18.58	63.01	73.61	40.45
Total Workers	151551	57673	93878	16941	11524	5417
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(contd....)

## (continuation of table 3.5)

<b>Trichur</b>						
Non-Workers (NW)	234914	56461	178453	32435	8379	24056
(in %)	61.93	43.24	71.75	66.18	44.56	79.64
Total Workers (TW)	144392	74114	70278	16574	10424	6150
(in %)	38.07	56.76	28.25	33.82	55.44	20.36
Total Migrants (TW+NW)	379306	130575	248731	49009	18803	30206
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Trichur**

## TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector	51647	20501	31146	1588	534	1054
(in %)	35.77	27.66	44.32	9.58	5.12	17.14
(b) Secondary Sector	36610	20868	15742	3079	2213	866
(in %)	25.35	28.16	22.40	18.58	21.23	14.08
(c) Tertiary Sector	56135	32745	23390	11907	7677	4230
(in %)	38.88	44.18	33.28	71.84	73.65	68.78
Total Workers	144392	74114	70278	16574	10424	6150
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Ernakulam**

Non-Workers (NW)	197330	42829	154501	67000	17267	49733
(in %)	59.92	38.06	71.28	60.99	34.31	83.54
Total Workers (TW)	131974	69716	62258	42860	33058	9802
(in %)	40.08	61.94	28.72	39.01	65.69	16.46
Total Migrants (TW+NW)	329304	112545	216759	109860	50325	59535
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

## TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector	55728	22586	33142	1443	628	815
(in %)	42.23	32.40	53.23	3.37	1.90	8.31
(b) Secondary Sector	34611	20894	13717	7909	6485	1424
(in %)	26.23	29.97	22.03	18.45	19.62	14.53
(c) Tertiary Sector	41635	26236	15399	33508	25945	7563
(in %)	31.55	37.63	24.73	78.18	78.48	77.16
Total Workers	131974	69716	62258	42860	33058	9802
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Kottayam**

Non-Workers (NW)	303871	77126	226745	33448	9050	24398
(in %)	61.77	36.24	81.23	63.48	38.71	83.24
Total Workers (TW)	188069	135684	52385	19243	14331	4912
(in %)	38.23	63.76	18.77	36.52	61.29	16.76
Total Migrants (TW+NW)	491940	212810	279130	52691	23381	29310
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

## TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector	66693	44427	22266	1910	1221	689
(in %)	35.46	32.74	42.50	9.93	8.52	14.03
(b) Secondary Sector	69867	53260	16607	4000	3209	791
(in %)	37.15	39.25	31.70	20.79	22.39	16.10
(c) Tertiary Sector	51509	37997	13512	13333	9901	3432
(in %)	27.39	28.00	25.79	69.29	69.09	69.87
Total Workers	188069	135684	52385	19243	14331	4912
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(contd.....)

(Continuation of Table 3.5)

<b>Alleppey</b>							
Non-Workers (NW)	171010	33632	137378	43862	10665	33197	
(in %)	58.95	38.05	68.11	61.89	37.28	78.55	
Total Workers (TW)	119070	54751	64319	27006	17943	9063	
(in %)	41.05	61.95	31.89	38.11	62.72	21.45	
Total Migrants (TW+NW)	290080	88383	201697	70868	28608	42260	
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector	52428	23674	28754	2760	1337	1423	
(in %)	44.03	43.24	44.71	10.22	7.45	15.70	
(b) Secondary Sector	36768	11926	24842	8470	4894	3576	
(in %)	30.88	21.78	38.62	31.36	27.28	39.46	
(c) Tertiary Sector	29874	19151	10723	15776	11712	4064	
(in %)	25.09	34.98	16.67	58.42	65.27	44.84	
Total Workers	119070	54751	64319	27006	17943	9063	
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

**Quilon**

Non-Workers (NW)	212406	46530	165876	17856	5321	12535	
(in %)	56.05	29.38	75.19	53.01	32.11	73.26	
Total Workers (TW)	166559	111828	54731	15826	11250	4576	
(in %)	43.95	70.62	24.81	46.99	67.89	26.74	
Total Migrants (TW+NW)	378965	158358	220607	33682	16571	17111	
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector	80212	58334	21878	667	569	98	
(in %)	48.16	52.16	39.97	4.21	5.06	2.14	
(b) Secondary Sector	48483	25056	23427	5963	3443	2520	
(in %)	29.11	22.41	42.80	37.68	30.60	55.07	
(c) Tertiary Sector	37864	28438	9426	9196	7238	1958	
(in %)	22.73	25.43	17.22	58.11	64.34	42.79	
Total Workers	166559	111828	54731	15826	11250	4576	
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

**Trivandrum**

Non-Workers (NW)	108466	25523	82943	48827	15558	33269	
(in %)	55.55	28.55	78.37	57.77	36.18	80.12	
Total Workers (TW)	86787	63889	22898	35698	27443	8255	
(in %)	44.45	71.45	21.63	42.23	63.82	19.88	
Total Migrants (TW+NW)	195253	89412	105841	84525	43001	41524	
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector	41233	32510	8723	1642	1170	472	
(in %)	47.51	50.89	38.10	4.60	4.26	5.72	
(b) Secondary Sector	16897	10296	6601	6106	5106	1000	
(in %)	19.47	16.12	28.83	17.10	18.61	12.11	
(c) Tertiary Sector	28657	21083	7574	27950	21167	6783	
(in %)	33.02	33.00	33.08	78.30	77.13	82.17	
Total Workers	86787	63889	22898	35698	27443	8255	
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

Source: Census of India 1961; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Note: This table is based on POB criterion.

An examination of the occupational structure/industrial distributions of the migrant (intra-state) workforce in Kerala reveals that the primary sector was the single largest absorber of the migrant workforce in rural Kerala (44%), while it was the tertiary sector (68%) which absorbed a larger share of the migrant workforce in urban areas. Here an important fact that emerges is that in rural Kerala, while absorption of migrant labour force was higher in the agricultural/primary sector, it was certainly not negligible in non-agricultural activities (secondary/tertiary sectors) which accounted for more than half of the migrant workforce. While female workers dominated the primary sector, male workers were pre-dominant in the tertiary sector. The district-wise picture shows the relative dominance of the primary sector, in rural areas in three districts (Cannanore 52%, Palghat 57%, Quilon 56% and the relative dominance of the tertiary sector in other three districts (Trivandrum 78%, Ernakulam 78% and Trichur 72%).

So it emerges that there were more migrants in both rural and urban Kerala who did not work and this was mainly because of the large proportion of non-working female migrants, as majority of the male migrants were workers. Besides, migrants in rural Kerala, especially females were more evident in the primary sector while migrants in urban Kerala, especially males were more visible in the tertiary sector.

#### Characteristics of Migrants in the five City Corporations/ Municipalities in Kerala, 1971:

In 1971, an additional feature was added in the data source (Census of India, 1971; Migration Tables, Kerala) to the characteristics of migrants besides age, sex, educational level and

occupational structure, namely, marital status. So, besides finding out whether the migrants were young or old, male or female, literate or illiterate, worker or non-worker, we would also be able to observe whether migrants were married or unmarried in the 1971 scenario. The census gives us information on these characteristics for five city corporations/ municipalities viz., Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum and in the case of marital status for the ten districts (Cannanore, Kozhikode, Malappuram, Palghat, Trichur, Ernakulam, Kottayam, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum) and occupational structure at both the corporation and the district level.

Age and Sex of Migrants in the Five City Corporations/ Municipalities in Kerala, 1971

First, we would analyse whether the migration flows to the five city corporations/municipalities were selective of sex. We find that in four (Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey, Quilon) of the five city corporations/municipalities, migration was selective of female. (Table 3.6). In one city corporation/municipality (Trivandrum) migration was male selective.

Table 3.6  
Gender Composition of Migrants in the City Corporations/ Municipalities in Kerala, 1971.

	Calicut	Cochin	Alleppey	Quilon	Trivandrum
P	50585	73805	29190	25385	72205
M	(47.87) 24215	(44.45) 32805	(42.41) 12380	(45.85) 11640	(51.95) 37510
F	(52.13) 26370	(55.55) 41000	(57.59) 16810	(54.15) 13745	(48.05) 34695

Source: Census of India, 1961, Migration Tables, Kerala.  
Note: This Table is based on PoLR Creterion.

Looking at the gender composition of the migrants to each city corporation/municipality, in Calicut 52% of the migrant population were females and 48% were males; in Cochin 56% were females and 44% were males; in Alleppey 58% were females and 42% were males; in Quilon 54% were females and 46% were males; while in Trivandrum 48% were females and 52% were males. So only in one city corporation/municipality (Trivandrum) we find that migration was male selective. Otherwise, migration to the city corporation/municipalities (Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum) of Kerala was female selective as was the case with India as a whole. With this finding in mind we move on to analyse the age structure of the migrants to the five city corporations/municipalities.

The analysis of the age structure will be restricted only to two age groups viz., 15-29 years and 30-59 years as the census provides information only on these two. Table 3.7 reveals that in Calicut corporation the migrants were mainly concentrated in the age group 30-59 years (46%) though a fair number of migrants were also found in the age group 15-29 years (31%). One-third of the migrants to Cochin Corporation were mainly of the age 30-59 years (33%) and more than 1/5th in the age group 15-29 years (23%). In Alleppey Municipality, around 49% of the migrants were found in the age group 30-59 years while 28% were found in the age group 15-29 years. The age structure of migrants to Quilon Municipality showed that they were represented more in the age group 30-59 years (44%), while this representation was more than one-third in the age group 15-29 years (36%). In Trivandrum Corporation too, migrants were mainly aged between 30-59 years (44%) whereas 34% of the migrants

were in the age group 15-29 years. The concentration analysis of age structure of migrants in the Five city corporations in Kerala exhibited that both males and females were found mainly in the age group 30-59 years.

Table 3.7  
Age Structure of Migrants in the Five City  
Corporations/Municipalities in Kerala, 1971 (as %)

1) Calicut

	P	M	F
All Ages	50585	24215	26370
15-29	(30.76) 15560	(28.70) 6950	(32.65) 8610
30-59	(45.64) 23085	(47.16) 11420	(44.24) 11665

2) Cochin

All Ages	73805	32805	41000
15-29	(22.77) 16805	(22.33) 7325	(23.12) 9480
30-59	(33.39) 24645	(34.34) 11265	(32.63) 13380

3) Alleppey

All Ages	29190	12380	16810
15-29	(28.07) 8195	(24.03) 2975	(31.05) 5220
30-59	(48.78) 14240	(50.24) 6220	(47.71) 8020

4) Quilon

All Ages	25385	11640	13745
15-29	(35.57) 9030	(30.46) 3545	(39.91) 5485
30-59	(44.06) 11185	(49.36) 5745	(39.58) 5440

5) Trivandrum

All Ages	72205	37510	34695
15-29	(33.93) 24500	(31.59) 11850	(36.46) 12650
30-59	(43.95) 31735	(47.25) 17725	(40.38) 14010

Source: Census of India 1971, Migration Tables, Kerala.

Notes : 1. P - Population, M - Males, F - Females.  
2. This table is based on PoLR criterion.

The selectivity of migrants in the age group 30-59 years could possibly be indicative of the demand in the five city corporations/ municipalities for more skilled workers. An earlier survey based study on Kerala had found that migration in Kerala was selective of population in the age group 30-40 years and had attributed this to demand for skilled workers from the Gulf countries. This was different from what the study had found in Bihar. Migration in Bihar comprised mainly of adolescents indicating the extreme levels of poverty in that state (Oberai, et.al. 1989).

Our analysis thus demonstrated that a larger proportion of migrants, both male and female were middle-aged. We attributed this probably to the higher levels of specialisation required in the urban labour market. From this it follows that maybe migration to cities in Kerala could not be a distress phenomenon associated with oppressive levels of poverty.

#### Educational levels of migrants in the Five City Corporations in Kerala, 1971

It is evident from Table 3.8 informs us that a majority of migrants to the city corporations (Calicut, Cochin, Quilon, Alleppey and Trivandrum) were literate and possessed some level of education such as primary or junior basic, matriculation or higher secondary, technical diploma not equal to degree and non-technical diploma not equal to degree.



Table 3.8  
Educational Levels of Migrants in the five city Corporations/  
Municipalities in Kerala, 1971 (as %)

Age Group	Category	No. of migrants	Illiterate	Literate without specifying ednl.level	Literate with some ednl. level	Graduate + PG	Technical degree/diploma equal to UG/PG
<b>CALICUT - 1971</b>							
All Ages	Total	50585					
	(in %)	100.00	27.81	10.82	56.28	3.75	1.33
	Male	24215					
	(in %)	100.00	20.07	11.98	60.25	5.86	1.84
	Female	26370					
	(in %)	100.00	34.93	9.76	52.64	1.80	0.87
15 - 29	Total	15560					
	(in %)	100.00	10.54	6.23	74.68	6.59	1.96
	Male	6950					
	(in %)	100.00	6.47	5.61	76.12	9.14	2.66
	Female	8610					
	(in %)	100.00	13.82	6.74	73.52	4.53	1.39
30 - 59	Total	23085					
	(in %)	100.00	30.37	9.10	55.53	3.53	1.47
	Male	11420					
	(in %)	100.00	20.45	9.85	61.25	6.39	2.06
	Female	11665					
	(in %)	100.00	40.08	8.36	49.94	0.73	0.90
<b>COCHIN - 1971</b>							
All Ages	Total	73805					
	(in %)	100.00	22.34	12.12	62.06	2.57	0.91
	Male	32805					
	(in %)	100.00	15.71	11.75	66.85	4.33	1.36
	Female	41000					
	(in %)	100.00	27.65	12.41	58.22	1.16	0.56
15 - 29	Total	16805					
	(in %)	100.00	12.56	10.38	69.15	6.10	1.81
	Male	7325					
	(in %)	100.00	7.78	8.81	72.22	8.67	2.53
	Female	9480					
	(in %)	100.00	16.24	11.60	66.77	4.11	1.27
30 - 59	Total	24645					
	(in %)	100.00	28.55	14.75	52.02	3.31	1.38
	Male	11265					
	(in %)	100.00	16.20	13.14	62.09	6.48	2.09
	Female	13380					
	(in %)	100.00	38.94	16.11	43.54	0.64	0.78

(contd...)

(Table 3.8 continuing)

## ALLEPPEY - 1971

All Ages	Total	29190					
	(in %)	100.00	23.06	12.13	60.64	2.76	1.42
	Male	12380					
	(in %)	100.00	15.87	11.67	65.67	4.89	1.90
	Female	16810					
	(in %)	100.00	28.35	12.46	56.93	1.19	1.07
15 - 29	Total	8195					
	(in %)	100.00	8.79	7.99	77.55	3.84	1.83
	Male	2975					
	(in %)	100.00	4.37	7.56	78.66	6.72	2.69
	Female	5220					
	(in %)	100.00	11.30	8.24	76.92	2.20	1.34
30 - 59	Total	14240					
	(in %)	100.00	21.80	11.52	61.83	3.20	1.65
	Male	6220					
	(in %)	100.00	11.82	10.21	69.94	5.95	2.09
	Female	8020					
	(in %)	100.00	29.55	12.53	55.55	1.06	1.31

## QUILON - 1971

All Ages	Total	25385					
	(in %)	100.00	21.10	10.95	62.44	4.02	1.50
	Male	11640					
	(in %)	100.00	14.13	10.78	68.08	5.15	1.85
	Female	13745					
	(in %)	100.00	26.99	11.09	57.66	3.06	1.20
15 - 29	Total	9030					
	(in %)	100.00	9.52	6.48	77.19	5.37	1.44
	Male	3545					
	(in %)	100.00	6.35	4.65	81.66	5.36	1.97
	Female	5485					
	(in %)	100.00	11.58	7.66	74.29	5.38	1.09
30 - 59	Total	11185					
	(in %)	100.00	23.33	9.21	61.02	4.47	1.97
	Male	5745					
	(in %)	100.00	11.31	9.49	70.41	6.61	2.18
	Female	5440					
	(in %)	100.00	36.03	8.92	51.10	2.21	1.75

(contd....)

## (continuation of Table 3.8)

## TRIVANDRUM - 1971

All Ages	Total	72205					
	(in %)	100.00	18.48	10.15	58.94	9.54	2.89
	Male	37510					
	(in %)	100.00	11.85	8.76	62.38	13.33	3.68
	Female	34695					
	(in %)	100.00	25.64	11.66	55.21	5.45	2.05
15 - 29	Total	24500					
	(in %)	100.00	8.71	6.06	70.90	10.82	3.51
	Male	11850					
	(in %)	100.00	4.89	3.76	74.35	12.66	4.35
	Female	12650					
	(in %)	100.00	12.29	8.22	67.67	9.09	2.73
30 - 59	Total	31735					
	(in %)	100.00	15.99	8.18	60.20	12.15	3.48
	Male	17725					
	(in %)	100.00	10.10	7.02	61.02	17.57	4.29
	Female	14010					
	(in %)	100.00	23.45	9.64	59.17	5.28	2.46

Source: Census of India, 1971; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Note: This table is based on PoLR criterion.

In Calicut corporation 56% of the migrants had some basic level of educational attainment. This was so for both males (60%) and females (53%). Looking at the level of educational attainment with an age-wise break up, we find that 75% of the migrants were literate with some basic level of education in the age group 15-29. But we find that in the age group 30-59 there were a large number of illiterates (30%), especially in the case of females. In Cochin Corporation, majority of the migrants (62%) were literate with some basic educational qualifications and this applied for males (67%) as well as females (58%). In the age group 15-29 years, 69% of the migrants were literate with some basic level of education, while in the age group 30-59 years it was 52%. There were more illiterates (29%) among migrants in the age group 30-59 years, more so among

females (39%). In Alleppey Municipality, most of the migrants were literate with some level of education (61%) and this was true for male (66%) and female migrants (57%). While more than three-fourths (76%) of the migrants in the age group 15-29 were literate with some level of education in Alleppey, a large share of illiterate female migrants (30%) were found in the age group 30-59 years. In Quilon Municipality, a larger proportion of migrants (62%) were literate with some level of education, both males (68%) as well as females (58%). While a sizeable number of migrants (77%) in the age group 15-29 possessed some level of educational attainment, a larger share of illiterate migrants, especially females (36%) were found in the age group 30-59 years. In Trivandrum Corporation, a larger share of the migrants (59%) were literate with some level of education in the case of males (62%) and females (55%). Migrants with some level of literacy was more dominant in the age group 15-29 years (71%) than in the age group 30-59 years (59%).

Overall we find that both male and female migrants to the five city corporations of Kerala (Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum) were literate with some specified level of basic education. When we cross-examined educational level of the migrants with age structure, we found that literate migrants with some basic educational qualifications were more dominant in the age group 15-29 years while illiterate female migrants were more dominant in the age group 30-59 years probably indicative of the fact that female migration was conditioned by social rather than economic factors. With this finding in mind we move on to analyse the occupational structure/industrial distribution of the migrant

workforce at both the city corporation/municipality level and district level.

Industrial Distribution of the Migrant Workforce in the City Corporations/Municipalities in Kerala, 1971

What emerges from Table 3.9 is that in all the five city corporation/municipalities of Kerala (Trivandrum, Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey and Quilon) there were more non-workers than workers among the migrant population. While in Trivandrum, 56% of the migrants were non-workers, 44% were workers; in Calicut 62% of the migrants were non-workers and 38% of the migrants were workers; in Ernakulam 60% of the migrants were non-workers and 40% were workers; in Alleppey 64% of the migrants were non-workers and 36% were workers; and in Quilon 59% of the migrants were non-workers and 41% were workers. In all the city corporations except Calicut, we find that in the case of male migrants, there were more workers than non-workers.

Table 3.9  
Distribution of Workers by Industrial Categories  
in City Corporations/Municipalities in Kerala, in 1971 (as%)

Trivandrum	Total	Male	Female
Non-Workers (NW)	40545	13590	26955
(in %)	56.49	34.53	83.14
Total Workers (TW)	31235	25770	5465
(in %)	43.51	65.47	16.86
Total Migrants (NW + TW) (in %)	71780 100.00	39360 100.00	32420 100.00
TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES			
(a) Primary Sector (in %)	5.99	6.27	4.67
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)	11.35	12.50	5.95
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)	82.66	81.24	89.39
Total Workers (in %)	31235 100.00	25770 100.00	5465 100.00

(contd.....)

## (continuation of table 3.9)

Calicut	Total	Male	Female
Non-Workers (NW)	30990	22820	8170
(in %)	62.22	60.55	67.44
Total Workers (TW)	18815	14870	3945
(in %)	37.78	39.45	32.56
Total Migrants (NW + TW) (in %)	49805 100.00	37690 100.00	12115 100.00

## TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector (in %)	5.16	5.85	2.53
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)	21.37	23.87	11.91
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)	73.48	70.28	85.55
Total Workers (in %)	18815 100.00	14870 100.00	3945 100.00

Ernakulam	Total	Male	Female
Non-Workers (NW)	45070	10635	34435
(in %)	60.29	31.77	83.41
Total Workers (TW)	29690	22840	6850
(in %)	39.71	68.23	16.59
Total Migrants (NW + TW) (in %)	74760 100.00	33475 100.00	41285 100.00

## TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector (in %)	2.61	2.58	2.70
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)	15.58	17.43	9.42
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)	81.81	79.99	87.88
Total Workers (in %)	29690 100.00	22840 100.00	6850 100.00

Alleppey	Total	Male	Female
Non-Workers (NW)	18185	4005	14180
(in %)	63.85	33.17	86.44
Total Workers (TW)	10295	8070	2225
(in %)	36.15	66.83	13.56
Total Migrants (NW + TW) (in %)	28480 100.00	12075 100.00	16405 100.00

## TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector (in %)	7.24	5.70	12.81
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)	22.97	24.35	17.98
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)	69.79	69.95	69.21
Total Workers (in %)	10295 100.00	8070 100.00	2225 100.00

(contd.....)

(continuation of table 3.9)

Quilon	Total	Male	Female
Non-Workers (NW)	14450	3655	10795
(in %)	58.55	31.92	81.59
Total Workers (TW)	10230	7795	2435
(in %)	41.45	68.08	18.41
Total Migrants (NW + TW)	24680	11450	13230
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00
TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES			
(a) Primary Sector (in %)	5.03	6.29	1.03
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)	24.98	25.34	23.82
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)	69.99	68.38	75.15
Total Workers	10230	7795	2435
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Census of India, 1971, Migration Tables

Note: This Table is based on PoLR Criterion.

The Industrial distribution of the migrant workforce in the five city corporations/municipalities of Kerala reveals that in all the five cities (Trivandrum 83%, Calicut 73%, Ernakulam 82% and Quilon 70%, Alleppey 70%) migrants were mostly concentrated in the tertiary sector and more so among females. But in Alleppey, both males (70%) and females (69%) were almost equally visible in the tertiary sector.

Overall we find that there were more non-workers than workers among migrants in the five city corporations/municipalities of Kerala in 1971 and this was due to the large volume of non-working female migrants as majority of the male migrants were workers. It was only in Calicut where we find that among male migrants also there were more non-workers than workers. The tertiary sector absorbed the major share of the migrant workforce in all the five city corporations/municipalities.

We shall extend this analysis to the ten districts of Kerala.

**Industrial Distribution of the Migrant Workforce in Kerala, 1971**  
**A Districtwise analysis:**

The data (Table 3.10) shows that for Kerala as a whole there were more non-working migrants (65%) than working migrants (35%) in rural Kerala and urban Kerala (64% and 36% respectively). But male and female migrants exhibited a difference in this regard. In rural Kerala, there were more male migrants classified as workers (63%) than as non-workers (37%), while majority of the female migrants were classified as non-workers (82%). In Urban Kerala too, male migrants were mostly categorised as workers (62%) than as non-workers (38%) whereas female migrants were mostly non-workers (83%). This was true of migrants in rural and urban areas of all the districts. Of the ten districts, three (Palghat, Trivandrum and Cannanore) had a larger proportion of migrants in the worker's category (41%, 39% and 38% respectively).

**Table 3.10**  
**Industrial Distribution of the Migrant Workers in Kerala, 1971**  
**A district-wise analysis (as %)**

	Total	RURAL		Total	URBAN	
		Male	Female		Male	Female
<b><u>Kerala State</u></b>						
Non Workers (NW)	2462320	509150	1953170	435865	112750	323115
(in %)	65.47	36.80	82.16	63.89	38.44	83.08
Total Workers (TW)	1298710	874460	424250	246355	180535	65820
(in %)	34.53	63.20	17.84	36.11	61.56	16.92
Total Migrants (TW + NW)	3761030	1383610	2377420	682220	293285	388935
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES</b>						
(a) Primary Sector (in %)	61.46	59.99	64.49	11.74	9.90	16.80
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)	14.45	14.62	14.11	20.53	22.81	14.27
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)	24.08	25.39	21.39	67.73	67.29	68.94
Total Workers (TW)	1298710	874460	424250	246355	180535	65820
(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(contd....)



(continuation of table 3.10)

**Cannanore**

Non Workers (NW)		324860	91360	233500	34345	9925	24420
	(in %)	62.43	38.26	82.94	61.59	37.74	82.88
Total Workers (TW)		195460	147440	48020	21415	16370	5045
	(in %)	37.57	61.74	17.06	38.41	62.26	17.12
Total Migrants (TW + NW)	(in %)	520320	238800	281520	55760	26295	29465
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector (in %)		65.34	61.75	76.36	13.45	10.35	23.49
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)		13.85	15.71	8.16	22.48	24.92	14.57
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		20.80	22.54	15.47	64.07	64.72	61.94
Total Workers (TW)		195460	147440	48020	21415	16370	5045
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Kozhikode**

Non Workers (NW)		256790	60110	196680	61555	16005	45550
	(in %)	64.73	35.64	86.24	67.25	40.83	87.04
Total Workers (TW)		139930	108550	31380	29980	23195	6785
	(in %)	35.27	64.36	13.76	32.75	59.17	12.96
Total Migrants (TW + NW)	(in %)	396720	168660	228060	91535	39200	52335
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector (in %)		67.36	66.51	70.27	9.81	9.36	11.35
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)		11.43	11.64	10.68	24.50	25.70	20.41
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		21.22	21.84	19.06	65.69	64.95	68.24
Total Workers (TW)		139930	108550	31380	29980	23195	6785
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Malappuram**

Non Workers (NW)		212920	30860	182060	13585	2820	10765
	(in %)	73.32	39.32	85.91	70.33	40.58	87.06
Total Workers (TW)		77490	47620	29870	5730	4130	1600
	(in %)	26.68	60.68	14.09	29.67	59.42	12.94
Total Migrants (TW + NW)	(in %)	290410	78480	211930	19315	6950	12365
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector (in %)		65.30	57.94	77.03	13.61	8.47	26.88
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)		9.07	11.86	4.62	12.48	14.16	8.13
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		25.63	30.20	18.35	73.91	77.36	65.00
Total Workers (TW)		77490	47620	29870	5730	4130	1600
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(contd....)

(continuation of table 3.10)

Palghat

Non Workers (NW)		168080	40170	127910	34560	9795	24765
	(in %)	58.01	43.27	64.97	62.52	42.15	77.31
Total Workers (TW)		121650	52675	68975	20715	13445	7270
	(in %)	41.99	56.73	35.03	37.48	57.85	22.69
Total Migrants (TW + NW)		289730	92845	196885	55275	23240	32035
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector (in %)		70.78	50.69	86.13	22.38	10.41	44.50
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)		9.10	14.80	4.76	14.43	16.85	9.97
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		20.12	34.51	9.12	63.19	72.74	45.53
Total Workers (TW)		121650	52675	68975	20715	13445	7270
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Trichur

Non Workers (NW)		293000	59570	233430	47355	12360	34995
	(in %)	71.35	47.29	82.00	71.44	49.62	84.57
Total Workers (TW)		117642	66410	51232	18933	12550	6383
	(in %)	28.65	52.71	18.00	28.56	50.38	15.43
Total Migrants (TW + NW)		410642	125980	284662	66288	24910	41378
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector (in %)		50.79	45.43	57.74	13.67	9.56	21.75
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)		19.01	20.67	16.84	18.64	22.71	10.65
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		30.20	33.90	25.4	67.69	67.73	67.60
Total Workers (TW)		117642	66410	51232	18933	12550	6383
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Ernakulam

Non Workers (NW)		256110	47860	208250	86760	21300	65460
	(in %)	68.46	38.76	83.09	62.27	34.51	84.34
Total Workers (TW)		117991	75620	42371	52579	40425	12154
	(in %)	31.54	61.24	16.91	37.73	65.49	15.66
Total Migrants (TW + NW)		374101	123480	250621	139339	61725	77614
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector (in %)		49.74	46.17	56.13	5.15	4.77	6.41
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)		22.05	24.97	16.85	24.67	28.56	11.72
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		28.21	28.87	27.02	70.18	66.67	81.87
Total Workers (TW)		117991	75620	42371	52579	40425	12154
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(contd...)

(continuation of table 3.10)

**Kottayam**

Non Workers (NW)		359980	80020	279960	37245	9320	27925
	(in %)	64.58	34.76	85.55	65.83	39.68	84.40
Total Workers (TW)		197430	150160	47270	19330	14170	5160
	(in %)	35.42	65.24	14.45	34.17	60.32	15.60
Total Migrants (TW + NW)	(in %)	557410	230180	327230	56575	23490	33085
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector (in %)		70.60	71.40	68.03	17.69	18.91	14.34
(b) Secondary Sector(in %)		8.45	9.32	5.69	16.63	19.83	7.85
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		20.95	19.27	26.27	65.68	61.26	77.81
Total Workers (TW)		197430	150160	47270	19330	14170	5160
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Alleppey**

Non Workers (NW)		203980	30710	173270	44490	9105	35385
	(in %)	69.02	39.28	79.71	67.29	38.06	83.86
Total Workers (TW)		91575	47480	44095	21625	14815	6810
	(in %)	30.98	60.72	20.29	32.71	61.94	16.14
Total Migrants (TW + NW)	(in %)	295555	78190	217365	66115	23920	42195
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector (in %)		53.99	50.76	57.47	16.18	11.81	25.70
(b) Secondary Sector(in %)		16.86	15.94	17.85	20.25	21.40	17.77
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		29.15	33.30	24.69	63.56	66.79	56.53
Total Workers (TW)		91575	47480	44095	21625	14815	6810
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Quilon**

Non Workers (NW)		263170	47920	215250	22600	5835	16765
	(in %)	63.27	30.04	83.96	57.48	32.68	78.10
Total Workers (TW)		152740	111620	41120	16720	12020	4700
	(in %)	36.72	69.96	16.04	42.52	67.32	21.90
Total Migrants (TW + NW)	(in %)	415915	159540	256375	39320	17855	21465
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES**

(a) Primary Sector (in %)		54.27	62.35	32.34	8.85	11.52	2.02
(b) Secondary Sector(in %)		20.90	14.00	39.62	32.83	28.20	44.68
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)		24.83	23.65	28.04	58.31	60.27	53.30
Total Workers (TW)		152740	111620	41120	16720	12020	4700
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(contd...)

(continuation of table 3.10)

Trivandrum

Non Workers (NW)		125680	25870	99810	53870	16785	37085
	(in %)	60.62	28.53	85.57	57.81	36.29	79.03
Total Workers (TW)		81639	64810	16829	39308	29465	9843
	(in %)	39.38	71.47	14.43	42.19	63.71	20.97
Total Migrants (TW + NW)		207319	90680	116639	93178	46250	46928
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TOTAL WORKERS' CATEGORIES

(a) Primary Sector (in %)	58.10	60.65	48.25	10.18	11.40	6.50
(b) Secondary Sector (in %)	13.69	13.49	14.49	13.01	15.34	6.02
(c) Tertiary Sector (in %)	28.21	25.86	37.26	76.82	73.26	87.47
Total Workers (TW)	81639	64810	16829	39308	29465	9843
	(in %)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Census of India, 1971, Migration Tables, Kerala

Note: This table is based on PoLR criterion.

The data on the industrial distribution of the migrant workforce reveals that in rural Kerala migrants (61%) were concentrated in the primary sector and that females (76%) were quite dominant in this sector. In urban Kerala, 68% of the migrant workers were occupied in the tertiary sector and this concentration was more or less equal among male migrants (67%) and female migrants (70%).

The districts in which the primary sector was pre-dominant were Palghat (71%) and Kottayam (71%) and the districts in which the tertiary sector absorbed a majority of the migrant workforce were Malappuram (74%), Ernakulam (70%) and Trivandrum (77%).

Going by the larger proportion of the non-workers category of female migrants in Kerala in 1971, we can suppose, as also stated earlier, that female migration in Kerala is mainly caused by social

factors, while male migration is economically motivated because a larger share of male migrants were workers.

The primary (agricultural) sector in rural Kerala was the single largest absorber of the migrant workforce. In urban Kerala, it is seen that the migrant workforce clustered mainly in the tertiary sector.

One more additional information which could give us an insight into whether female mobility is mainly a social phenomenon, is the marital status of the migrants.

#### Marital Status of Migrants in Kerala 1971: A District-wise analysis

Here we analyse the information on marital status of migrants in Kerala in 1971 for the two types of migration, i.e., short and medium distance migration, because it is believed by various scholars that short distance migration is dominated by females on account of marriage and as the distance increases on economic dimension comes into play with males dominating the migration flows. This information on marital status is provided for both rural as well as urban sectors which would further substantiate whether migration in Kerala is mainly the result of the social milieu in which it operates.

A perusal of Table 3.11 informs us that both male and female migrants in Kerala were mostly married. In the case of males, in rural Kerala, a little over half of the male migrants were married both short distance (52%) and medium distance (54%) migration and the gap between the married and un-married migrants was small in

both the types of migration. In Urban Kerala too, in both short medium distance migration there was only a small difference in the proportion of married male migrants (52% and 50% respectively) and the proportion of non-married male migrants (46% and 49% respectively). Whereas among female migrants in rural Kerala, in both short and medium distance migration, the proportion of those who were married (68% and 62% respectively) were more than double the proportion of them who were non-married (20% and 27% respectively). In urban Kerala, in short distance migration, we find the pre-dominance of married female migrants (61%). But in medium distance migration, in urban Kerala, the gap between married female migrants (54%) and unmarried female migrants (33%) narrowed down.

Table 3.11  
Marital Status of Migrants in Kerala, 1971  
A District-Wise Analysis (as %)

Type of Migration	R/U	Male				Female			
		TM	NM	M	W+D	TM	NM	M	W+D
<b>KERALA</b>									
Short Distance	R	942900 100%	46.15	51.67	2.18	1860150 100%	19.91	67.89	12.20
	U	160705 100%	46.08	51.94	1.98	257240 100%	24.42	61.38	14.20
Medium Distance	R	442330 100%	43.57	54.35	2.08	519110 100%	27.29	62.43	10.28
	U	135865 100%	48.58	50.01	1.41	135435 100%	33.31	54.28	12.41
<b>1) CANNANORE</b>									
Short Distance	R	146800 100%	51.64	46.70	1.66	205410 100%	29.03	58.72	12.25
	U	18335 100%	50.34	47.83	1.83	23710 100%	29.52	55.61	14.87
Medium Distance	R	92140 100%	45.05	52.71	2.24	76190 100%	36.03	55.49	8.48
	U	8180 100%	48.84	49.69	1.47	6135 100%	41.32	44.17	14.51

(contd.....)

(continuation of table 3.11)

2) KOZHICODI

Short Distance	R	88220 100%	51.26	46.80	1.94	157810 100%	22.41	65.49	12.10
	U	18700 100%	47.33	50.72	1.95	32000 100%	20.13	63.73	16.14
Medium Distance	R	80460 100%	41.03	56.64	2.34	70350 100%	28.46	60.60	10.95
	U	21010 100%	44.91	53.69	1.40	20995 100%	28.08	54.27	17.65

3) MALAPPURAM

Short Distance	R	50060 100%	45.98	52.02	2.00	173130 100%	10.54	75.24	14.23
	U	3660 100%	49.04	50.00	0.96	9310 100%	15.25	69.66	15.09
Medium Distance	R	28490 100%	49.14	49.39	1.47	39800 100%	25.10	64.82	10.08
	U	3375 100%	52.59	45.93	1.48	3140 100%	28.50	55.57	15.92

4) PALGHAT

Short Distance	R	71170 100%	53.39	44.70	1.91	169870 100%	16.39	68.55	15.05
	U	13165 100%	45.58	52.53	1.90	22625 100%	21.92	61.70	16.38
Medium Distance	R	24300 100%	52.14	46.30	1.56	27720 100%	28.82	61.44	9.74
	U	9715 100%	54.04	45.03	0.93	9650 100%	40.47	49.02	10.52

5) TRICHUR

Short Distance	R	98590 100%	53.44	44.90	1.65	245650 100%	22.06	65.32	12.62
	U	17215 100%	55.59	42.96	1.45	32810 100%	29.26	58.52	12.22
Medium Distance	R	27480 100%	44.18	53.93	1.89	39130 100%	25.48	63.97	10.55
	U	8795 100%	34.11	54.69	11.20	7870 100%	52.99	46.19	0.83

6) ERNAKULAM

Short Distance	R	87050 100%	47.62	49.73	2.65	200150 100%	19.04	69.82	11.15
	U	27145 100%	48.06	50.19	1.75	45340 100%	23.72	62.63	13.65
Medium Distance	R	36470 100%	46.34	52.23	1.43	50460 100%	27.13	62.64	10.23
	U	35285 100%	49.10	49.62	1.28	32915 100%	34.56	54.66	10.79

(contd.....)

## (continuation of table 3.11)

## 7) KOTTAYAM

Short Distance	R	155440 100%	46.37	51.46	2.17	242550 100%	24.98	65.55	9.47
	U	12345 100%	51.32	45.97	2.71	20030 100%	28.88	60.08	11.03
Medium Distance	R	69240 100%	41.91	55.89	2.20	84820 100%	30.71	59.87	9.42
	U	11240 100%	51.11	47.06	1.82	13120 100%	31.94	56.55	11.51

## 8) ALLEPPEY

Short Distance	R	57020 100%	37.81	58.94	3.24	166050 100%	13.65	73.63	12.72
	U	14780 100%	37.62	59.57	2.81	28535 100%	18.63	65.57	15.81
Medium Distance	R	21260 100%	49.58	48.45	1.98	54820 100%	17.99	71.84	10.18
	U	9475 100%	45.59	52.51	1.90	14110 100%	26.61	60.17	13.22

## 9) QUILON

Short Distance	R	109180 100%	35.63	61.69	2.68	192560 100%	16.94	72.17	10.88
	U	9910 100%	39.10	58.58	2.32	13355 100%	27.41	60.43	12.17
Medium Distance	R	50500 100%	35.41	61.92	2.67	64020 100%	20.98	65.75	13.28
	U	8185 100%	42.03	56.51	1.47	8665 100%	33.87	51.82	14.31

## 10) TRIVANDRUM

Short Distance	R	79370 100%	33.31	64.28	2.41	106970 100%	19.74	67.00	13.26
	U	25450 100%	38.49	59.57	1.94	29525 100%	26.74	59.10	14.16
Medium Distance	R	11990 100%	42.04	56.80	1.17	11800 100%	27.20	63.22	9.58
	U	21530 100%	48.98	49.44	1.58	17905 100%	37.00	54.37	8.63

Source: Census of India, 1971; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Notes: 1. This table is based on PoLR criterion.

2. TM - Total Migrants (Total as in Total Males and Total females)

NM - Non-Married; M - Married; W & D - Widow & Divorcees

3. R - Rural and U - Urban indicates rural and urban areas at the place of destination.

4. Figures in parentheses indicate total.

If we look at the marital status of migrants in all the districts, in some we find a slightly different scene, i.e., in five districts (Kozhikode, Palghat, Malappuram, Trichur and



Kottayam) there were more migrants who were not married. In Kozhikode, and Palghat, in the rural sector, short distance male migrants who were not married were in the majority. In the urban areas of Malappuram, a larger proportion of male migrants who migrated between districts, were not married while in Kottayam's urban areas, male migrants in the short distance category were unmarried. In Trichur, in both rural and urban areas, a larger share of male migrants who migrated within the district where they had previously resided, were unmarried and in the urban areas, females who migrated between districts were mostly unmarried.

So in Kerala we find that those sections of the population who were married tended to be more migratory.

#### Characteristics of Migrants in Kerala, 1981

Here we analyse three characteristics, viz., age, sex and educational levels of migrants for Kerala as a whole, since the census does not provide information on these at the corporation and the district level. And even for Kerala, only migrants from rural areas within the state to urban areas within the state and between urban areas within the state, who reported employment as a reason for migration are given in the census. The census also does not provide information on industrial distribution of the migrant workforce and marital status of migrants.

#### Age Structure and Sex of Migrants in the Rural-Urban (R-U) and Urban-Urban (U-U) Streams in Kerala, 1981:

The gender aspect from the data (Table 3.12) informs us that in the R-U and U-U migration streams, among migrants who reported employment as the reason for migration, the migration process was

male selective as they constituted 74% and 77% of the migrants in the two streams.

Table 3.12  
Gender Composition of Migrants\* in the Rural-Urban (R-U)  
and Urban-Urban (U-U) Streams in Kerala, 1981 (in %)

	Total	Male	Female
R-U	113,611 (100%)	74.12	25.88
U-U	57,630(100%)	77.45	22.55

Source: Census of India 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala.

Notes: 1. T - Total; M- Males; F - Females.

2. \* Here the term migrant includes only those migrants who reported 'employment' as a reason for migration.

3. This table is based on POLR criterion.

The data on (Table 3.13) the age profile of migrants who moved for employment in the R-R stream tells us that migrants were concentrated in two age groups, namely 15-34 years (42%) and 40 and above years (41%). While females in the age group 15-34 years participated more in migrating for employment, in the case of males, those aged 40 and above (46%) were most likely to migrate for employment.

Table 3.13  
Age structure of migrants\* in Kerala, 1981

Rural-Urban Stream			
Age Group	M	F	T
All Ages	100% 84209	100% 29402	100% 113611
0-14	1471 (1.75)	2386 (8.12)	3857 (3.39)
15-34	31962 (37.96)	15564 (52.94)	47526 (41.84)
35-39	12102 (14.37)	3287 (11.17)	15389 (13.55)
40+	38670 (45.92)	8165 (27.77)	46835 (41.22)
Urban-Urban Stream			
All Ages	100% 44635	100% 12995	100% 57630
0-14	815 (1.84)	906 (6.97)	1721 (2.99)
15-34	16483 (36.93)	6170 (47.48)	22653 (39.32)
35-39	6513 (14.59)	1581 (12.17)	8094 (14.04)
40+	20819 (46.64)	4338 (33.38)	25157 (43.65)

Source: Census of India, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala

Notes: 1. This table is based on PoLR criterion

2. Here the term migrants include only those migrants who reported 'employment' as a reason for migration.

3. T - Total; M - Males; F - Females.

In the case of migrants who moved between urban areas, (U-U) and reported employment as the reason for migration, those in the age group 40 and above years (44%) dominated the migration flows followed by migrants in the age group 15-34 years (39%). Male migrants who moved for employment were mostly aged 40 and above

years (47%) while female migrants were found mostly in the age group 15-34 years (47%).

What emerged from the analysis on gender composition of migrants in the two streams, R-U and U-U, who reported employment as the reason for migration was that the migration process was male selective. The age structure of these migrants shows that in the R-U stream, migrants were concentrated in the age groups 15-34 years and 40 and above years. In the U-U stream, migrants were concentrated in the age group 40 and above years. In both the streams (R-U + U-U), male migrants were found mostly in the 40 plus age group while most females were of the age 15-34 years.

Educational Levels of migrants in the rural-urban (R-U) and Urban-Urban (U-U) streams in Kerala, 1981

Upon an examination of Table 3.14, we find that in the R-U stream, most migrants who reported employment as the reason for migration were literate with some educational level (73%) and this was so among both males (75%) and females (66%). It was in the age group 15-34 years in which we could find a larger proportion of migrants who were literate with some educational qualification (76%).

Table 3.14  
Educational levels of Migrants in Kerala, 1981  
R-U

Age Groups	Total Migrants	Illiterate	Literate with some education	U. Graduate P. Graduate	Technical Degree
All Ages Total	113611	10815	82395	15043	5358
	100%	9.52	72.52	13.24	4.72
Male	84209	5531	63116	11826	3736
	100.00%	6.57	74.95	14.04	4.44
Female	29402	5284	19279	3217	1622
	100.00%	17.97	65.57	10.94	5.52
0-14 Total	3857	1188	2669	0	0
	100.00%	30.80	69.20	0.00	0.00
Male	1471	421	1050	0	0
	100.00%	28.62	71.38	0.00	0.00
Female	2386	767	1619	0	0
	100.00%	32.15	67.85	0.00	0.00
15-34 Total	47526	2540	36206	6973	1807
	100.00%	5.34	76.18	14.67	3.80
Male	31962	1001	25208	4695	1058
	100.00%	3.13	78.87	14.69	3.31
Female	15564	1539	10998	2278	749
	100.00%	9.89	70.66	14.64	4.81
35-39 Total	15389	874	10724	2471	1320
	100.00%	5.68	69.69	16.06	8.58
Male	12102	426	8646	2073	957
	100.00%	3.52	71.44	17.13	7.91
Female	3287	448	2078	398	363
	100.00%	13.63	63.22	12.11	11.04
40 & Total	46835	6212	32784	5608	2231
	100.00%	13.26	70.00	11.97	4.76
Male	38670	3682	28199	5068	1721
	100.00%	9.52	72.92	13.11	4.45
Female	8165	2530	4585	540	510
	100.00%	30.99	56.15	6.61	6.25

U-U					
All Ages Total	57630	4180	40328	9699	3423
	100.00	7.25	69.98	16.83	5.94
Male	44635	2160	32340	7799	2336
	100.00	4.84	72.45	17.47	5.23
Female	12995	2020	7988	1900	1087
	100.00	15.54	61.47	14.62	8.36
0-14 Total	1721	617	1104	0	0
	100.00	35.85	64.15	0.00	0.00
Male	815	266	549	0	0
	100.00	32.64	67.36	0.00	0.00
Female	906	351	555	0	0
	100.00	38.74	61.26	0.00	0.00

(contd....)

(Table 3.14 continuing)

Age Groups	Total Migrants	Illiterate	Literate with some education	U. Graduate P. Graduate	Technical Degree
15-34 Total	22653	937	16280	4250	1186
	100.00	4.14	71.87	18.76	5.24
Male	16483	425	12320	3067	671
	100.00	2.58	74.74	18.61	4.07
Female	6170	512	3960	1183	515
	100.00	8.30	64.18	19.17	8.35
35-39 Total	8094	333	5472	1488	801
	100.00	4.11	67.61	18.38	9.90
Male	6513	222	4502	1217	572
	100.00	3.41	69.12	18.69	8.78
Female	1581	111	970	271	229
	100.00	7.02	61.35	17.14	14.48
40 & Total	25157	2289	17471	3961	1435
	100.00	9.10	69.45	15.75	5.70
Male	20819	1243	14968	3515	1093
	100.00	5.97	71.90	16.88	5.25
Female	4338	1046	2503	446	342
	100.00	24.11	57.72	10.28	7.88

Source: Census of India, 1981; Migration Tables, Kerala

Note: 1. This table is based on PoLR criterion.

2. Here the term migrant include only those migrants who reported 'employment' as a reason for migration.

In the U-U stream, a larger share of migrants who moved for employment, were literate with some educational qualification (70%) and this was so among males (72%) and females (61%); and they were concentrated in the age-group 15-34 years.

Basically, we find that both male and female migrants in the R-U and U-U stream who migrated for employment were literate with some educational level and this was very strong in the age group 15-34 years.

## Summary

While we cannot compare the characteristics of migrants, namely, age, sex, educational levels, marital status and industrial categories; in the city corporations/municipalities in Kerala for the three years 1961, 1971 and 1981, still we can briefly summarise some impressions which we gained in this analysis. With respect to sex, we found that in 1961, migration was female selective in two city corporations/ municipalities viz., Ernakulam and Alleppey while it was male selective in the other two city corporations/ municipalities, Calicut and Trivandrum. In 1971, migration was selective of females in four city corporations/municipalities, viz., Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey and Quilon while in Trivandrum it was male selective. In 1981, for Kerala as a whole, migration from rural and urban to urban areas within the state was male selective. Regarding age profile, in 1961, migration was selective of young adults in the age group 15-34 years in all the four city corporations/ municipalities, viz., Calicut, Ernakulam, Alleppey and Trivandrum. While in 1971, migrants to the five city corporations/ municipalities were mainly found to be of the age, 30-59 years. And in 1981, in the two streams, R-U and U-U in Kerala, male migrants were more visible in the age group 40 and above years, while females were mostly bunched in the age group 15-34 years.

Considering the educational levels of migrants, in 1961 migration was selective of the literate sections of the population and in the two city corporations/municipalities Trivandrum and Ernakulam there was a larger share of migrants who were literate with some educational qualification like primary or junior basic,

matriculation or higher secondary, technical diploma not equal to degree and non-technical diploma not equal to degree, while in Calicut and Alleppey a larger proportion of migrants were just literate without any specific educational qualification. In 1971, majority of the migrants to the five city corporations/municipalities, viz., Trivandrum, Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey and Quilon were literate and they possessed some educational qualification like primary or junior basic, matriculation or higher secondary, technical diploma and non-technical diplomas not equal to degree. In 1981, migrants in the two streams, R-R and U-U were mostly literate and possessed some educational qualification. Looking at the classification of the population into workers and non-workers and also the distribution of the workers among the three industrial categories, primary, secondary and tertiary, we found that in 1961 more than half the migrants to the four city corporations/municipalities, viz., Trivandrum, Calicut, Ernakulam and Alleppey were non-workers and this was due to the overwhelming presence of female non-workers though most males were classified as workers. As for the industrial categories in 1961, most migrants were occupied in the tertiary sector in these four city corporations/municipalities. This was very strong in the case of female migrants in three city corporations/municipalities, Trivandrum, Calicut and Ernakulam. In 1961, in all the nine districts of Kerala there were more non-workers than workers in the rural and urban sectors of these districts and this was so among females and not males. Migrants were represented more in the primary sector in the rural areas and in the tertiary sector in the urban areas in the nine districts in Kerala which corresponds to the general understanding; and female migrants were dominantly



occupied in the primary sector in rural areas and male migrants in the tertiary sector in urban areas in all the nine districts. In 1971, in all the five corporations viz., Trivandrum, Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey and Quilon, most of the migrants were non-workers and other than Calicut in the other four, male migrants were mainly workers. And as for the distribution of migrants in the three industrial categories, we found that in all the five city corporations/ municipalities, migrants were mainly represented in the tertiary sector and this was very pronounced in the case of females. In 1971, in all the ten districts of Kerala, the proportion of non-workers among migrants in the rural and urban sector were high and while this was true for females, among males there were more workers. And migrants in all the ten districts were mostly occupied in the primary sector in rural areas, especially females and in the tertiary sector in urban areas with males and females almost on par. On analysing the marital status of migrants in the ten districts in Kerala in 1971, excepting Kozhikode, Palghat, Trichur, Malappuram and Kottayam, we found that the migrants in both the short and medium distance categories in the rural and urban sector were mostly married. So other than in the five districts mentioned above migrants within Kerala were mostly married and this was very dominant among females than males.

## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study we attempted to analyse internal migration in Kerala, during 1961-81 period, using the census of India 1961, 1971 and 1981, Migration Tables, Kerala, as our data base. We tried to address two issues, namely spatial patterns of intra-state mobility and characteristics of migrants in Kerala. For an-insight into the causes of migration and the implementation of migration influencing policies, an identification of the spatial patterns of migration coupled with information on the characteristics of migrants are necessary as these would be the target areas and groups.

In analysing the patterns of intra-state mobility in Kerala, our first step was to identify the extent of mobility or migration in 1961, 1971, and 1981. For Kerala as a whole, out of the total population, the proportion of those classified as intra-state migrants were 23% in 1961, 21% in 1971 and 25% in 1981 bringing to light a decline in the proportion of population classified as migrants in 1971, which again rises up in 1981. We see that the extent of internal migration in Kerala was small, but the volume involved was 3,943,830 people in 1961, 4,389,558 people in 1971 and 6,438,823 people in 1981. The district-wise picture in all the three decades, 1961, 1971, and 1981 revealed that the proportion of population classified as migrants ranged between 15% and 35%.

We were able to identify some patterns of intra-state mobility from 1961-81. The Northern and Central districts of Kerala had a

larger proportion of population classified as migrants than the Southern districts. The districts with a larger share of in-migrants were Cannanore, Kozhikode, Trichur, Ernakulam and Kottayam, the former two lying in the Northern region and the latter three in the Central region. Our search for a plausible explanation for this pattern proved to be difficult as no single factor was able to tell us why. We looked at a multitude of factors like urbanisation, number of working factories, an index of development, population density, population growth rate and migration growth rate in all the districts. We found that Trichur, Ernakulam, Quilon, Cannanore and Kozhikode had the largest number of working factories. As per the development index for the period 1975-85, Ernakulam, Quilon, Trichur, and Cannanore are the most developed. Whereas Alleppey, Trivandrum, Ernakulam, Kozhikode, Trichur and Kottayam were the most densely populated districts. Cannanore, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Malappuram, Ernakulam and Idukki had high population growth rates from 1961-1981. As for migration growth rates, Cannanore, Ernakulam, Malappuram, Palghat and Trichur had the highest growth rates from 1961-1981. So in the case of the districts with a higher share of in-migrants, (namely, Cannanore, Kozhikode, Trichur, Ernakulam and Kottayam), while Kozhikode and Ernakulam were highly urbanised; Trichur, Ernakulam, Cannanore and Kozhikode had the largest number of working factories; Ernakulam, Trichur and Cannanore were the most developed going by the composite index and Cannanore, Ernakulam and Trichur had high migration growth rates. We finally conclude that it was difficult to find a single explanatory factor, i.e., different districts had different factors.

While we analysed the spatial patterns, certain dimensions emerged. These were the gender aspect, sectoral (rural-urban) dimension, the distance aspect and the streams of migration. We found that internal migration in Kerala was mainly a short distance phenomenon with females proving to be more migratory especially in the case of migration from one rural area to another. The rural sector had a slightly higher share of in-migration than the urban sector and in both females were more migratory. As for migration streams, the rural to rural stream was pre-dominant followed by the rural to urban stream, especially in short distance migration; and the dominance of the former reduced and the latter increased through time (1961-81).

Having analysed the spatial patterns of intra-state mobility in Kerala from 1961-81, we tried to find out who migrated, i.e., were the migrants male or female, young or old, literate or illiterate, workers or non-workers and married or unmarried? As we analysed the information or characteristics, besides identifying the migrant selectivity with respect to certain characteristics, what emerged was that there were some regional differences probably indicative of the different levels of development, urbanisation and occupational structure in these regions. The gender composition of migrants to the city corporation/municipalities of Kerala in 1961 revealed that in Calicut and Trivandrum migration flows constituted males mainly, while in Ernakulam and Alleppey migration was female selective. In 1971, migration to Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey and Quilon was female selective while in Trivandrum it was male selective. But in 1961, migration from rural and urban areas within the state was male selective. The age structure of migrants

in the city corporations/municipalities of Kerala in 1961, brought out that migration to Trivandrum, Calicut, Cochin and Alleppey was selective of young adults in the age group 15-34 years. But in 1971, migrants to the five city corporations/municipalities, viz; Trivandrum, Cochin, Calicut, Alleppey and Quilon showed that they were mainly middle aged migrants, i.e., in the age group 30-59 years. While in 1981 most male migrants in both the R-U and U-U streams were aged 40 years and above and female migrants were mostly young adults in the age group 15-34 years. In the case of educational level of migrants, in 1961 while a majority of migrants to the four city corporations/municipalities were literate, we found that in Calicut and Alleppey a larger proportion of migrants were literate but they did not possess any educational qualification, while in Trivandrum and Cochin migrants had some educational qualification like primary or junior basic, matriculation or higher secondary, technical and non-technical diploma not equal to degree. In 1971, in Trivandrum, Cochin, Calicut, Alleppey and Quilon most migrants were literate with some educational qualifications as mentioned above. In 1981, the two migration streams, R-R and R-U selected the literate section of the population who had some level of educational attainment as in 1961 and 1971. The information on classification of migrants as workers and non-workers revealed that in 1961 there were more non-workers than workers in all the four city corporations/municipalities, viz; Trivandrum, Calicut, Cochin and Alleppey and this was so among females but not males; and this pattern was observed for rural and urban areas in the nine districts in Kerala. Regarding the industrial categories of the migrant workforce, in 1961 we found that migrants were mostly absorbed in the tertiary sector in the

four city corporations/ municipalities, namely, Trivandrum, Calicut, Cochin and Alleppey. In the nine districts, in the rural areas most migrants were occupied in the primary sector especially females; and in the urban areas in the tertiary sector, especially males. In 1971, there were more non-workers than workers among migrants in the five city corporations/municipalities, viz; Trivandrum, Cochin, Calicut, Alleppey and Quilon., but other than Calicut, in the other four there were more workers than non-workers among male migrants. This pattern was prevalent in all the ten districts too. The industrial distribution of the migrant workforce to the five city corporations/municipalities showed that migrants especially females were mostly occupied in the tertiary sector. The district-wise picture reveals that in the rural areas migrants, especially females were more represented in the primary sector while in the Urban areas, both male and female migrants were represented in the tertiary sector. The marital status of migrants in the rural and urban areas in ten districts in Kerala showed that except in five districts (Kozhikode, Palghat, Trichur, Malappuram and Kottayam) migrants in both short and medium distance categories were mostly married, especially females.

In conclusion we find that internal migration in Kerala from 1961-81 was conditioned mainly by social factors in the case of females and economic factors in the case of males. This view is substantiated because of the fact that migration in Kerala was mainly a short distance phenomenon dominated by females and mobility between rural areas were by far the most commonest. Besides, female migrants were less educated than males and predominantly non-workers and a high proportion of females were

married possibly indicating that they migrated because of marriage. As for male migrants, though a majority of them had some level of education and were workers implying economic mobility, yet there are indications that they could have been absorbed in low skilled professions. We can tentatively conclude this as a very few percentage of male migrants possessed professional qualifications and were mainly middle aged. The relatively lower skill levels of the migrants and the growth of the tertiary sector with respect to absorption of migrant labour force could probably be indicative of the mushrooming of lower grade occupations in the informal sector of the urban economy in Kerala.

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