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## **Emerging Migration Patterns vis a vis Industrialisation: A Sociological Analysis with Special Reference to the Industrial Zones of Odisha, India**

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### ***Abstract:***

*The phenomenon of migration plays an important role in the growth of urbanization in both developing and developed countries. It is a process that shifts the human resources from the lower to higher productivity areas as a result of capital assimilation and technological progress. It also ensures as well as balances labour power demands in different areas and sectors. The present paper tries to understand the significance of migration in relation to industrialisation and development as well as reflect upon the profile of migrant labourers working in the major industrial areas of Odisha. The area of study are the three major industrial districts of Odisha namely Jaipur, Keonjhar and Anugul. The paper is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the concept of migration and evaluation of prevailing literature, while the second section deals with observations from the field during research relating industrialization to the process of migration.*

***Keywords:*** Development, migration, industrialisation, urbanisation, modernisation

### **1. Introduction**

Developing countries today are primarily concerned with the social and economic conditions, emphasising on the aspects of population distribution between rural and urban areas and the level of access to available resources. In the name of development there is the prevalence of disparity in the levels of living, quality of life and increasing trend of migration from rural to urban areas. In the developing countries, urbanization and industrialisation are marked by expansion in size, structure and composition of urban population in the cities. Thus there is a relationship between growing urban-ward migration and socio-economic development, where migration of people from one area to another is an important component of economic development. This is because it shifts the human resources from the areas of lower to higher productivity as a result of capital assimilation and technological progress. Besides migration also ensures as well as balances labour power demands in different areas and sectors. Todaro (1976) describes the workers as a socially and economically beneficial process where workers shift from low productivity labour surplus areas to higher productivity and labour shortage areas. But this assumption has been questioned as recent studies conclude that high rate of population migration to cities leads to high rate of population growth thereby putting excessive pressure upon existing facilities i.e., housing, education, medical, water supply, sanitary services as well as environmental pollution and unemployment. Therefore migration from rural to urban areas adversely affects the social facilities available in urban areas.

Overall empirical studies carried out during the past reveal that rural to urban stream is the foremost component of migration in the developing countries. Especially in India, the contribution of migrants in urban areas, more so in big cities is more than the contribution of urban residents.

It is an axiomatic demographic fact that migration is a selective process. The selectivity in migration is rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban and the permutations of all streams together. The factors leading to a specific stream of migration differ from one another and thereby the characteristics of migration also differs from one stream to another. It needs to be mentioned that rural-urban migration involves relatively more drastic changes in the migrant's occupation than rural to rural streams. Broadly speaking migration encompasses both internal and external movement of human resources. Internal migration and migration in general are accepted as synonymous while migration and mobility are used interchangeably. In defining migration several studies invariably employ time and space criteria. Lee (1969) for instance defines migration as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence while Mangalam (1968) considers it a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity called migrants from one geographical location to another. In this context the United Nations multi-lingual demographic dictionary considers migration as a form of geographical mobility

or spatial mobility between one geographical location to another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival. But the main difficulty is that it is hard to be specific about the time and space criteria in defining the term. Precisely barring a few studies, there exists a sort of terminological ambiguity. Accordingly the studies denote migrants as movers, migrant as he/she who has changed residence for the last five years; a person is a migrant if he leaves the place of birth and so on (Ross, 1955; Goldstein, 1958; Musgrove, 1963; Shyrock, 1964).

Regarding the space criteria the census has always used a village or town as the smallest spatial unit for identifying migration. With regard to migration in the census, a village is defined according to its revenue boundaries, while the boundary of an urban area stretches as far as the administrative and service zone. Accordingly all persons normally residing at a place within the enumerator's jurisdiction during the enumeration period are eligible for enumeration. Thus a person is considered as normally residing there if he normally stays in that place during the enumeration period. If a person is away during that time he/she is not considered eligible for enumeration there. They will be enumerated wherever they are actually found during the enumeration period. Further it is mentioned that in case a person is out of his/her place of residence due to business, pilgrimage or tour then he/she is not deemed to have had a residence different from the place where he/she or his/her family normally resides. Such a person is not recorded to be a migrant. But migration includes all those persons whose place of residence at the time of census operation (i.e. during 20 days) was different from the place of birth or the place of usual residence even temporarily. It then implies that temporary or circular movers were considered as migrants. These temporary or circular movers may change their residence from one village or town to another village or town or from town to village, within the district or between the districts, within the country or outside the country, in last three months or more. Thus we may say that migrant is a person who moves from one administrative unit to another and so migrants are also called as movers. In the Indian context these administrative units are generally villages in rural areas and towns in urban areas. Thus a person who moves out from one village or town to another village or town is considered a migrant provided his/her movement is not purely temporary in nature. At a particular point of time, total population of a place or region may be divided into migrants and non-migrants, movers or non-movers. Thus migration takes place from an area of origin to one of destination and a group of migrants with the common origin and destination is called migration stream.

Further migration from rural to urban areas adversely affects the social facilities available in urban areas but on the other hand it is also true that the phenomenon of migration plays an important role in the growth of urbanization in both developing and developed countries. Empirical studies carried out during the past reveal that rural to urban stream is the foremost component of migration in the developing countries. Especially in India, the contribution of migrants in urban areas, especially in big cities is more than the contribution of urban residents. The most important problem faced in the city with regard to rural urban migration is unemployment coupled with low level of wages.

Thus migration takes place from an area of origin to one of destination and a group of migrants with the common origin and destination is called migration stream or current. Migration rates state the relating frequency with which migration takes place during a specific migration interval. The difference in the rates of migration between various demographic, economic and social group is called differential migration (Khan, 1983: 2).

There is no dearth of literature on migration studies both in general as well as specific, broadly dealing with size, direction, motivation and mechanism of migration, besides assumption relating to differential migration and connotation migration. To begin with way back in 1880 Ravenstein discussed the laws of migration in detail. After Ravenstein, researchers mainly concentrated on distance and opportunity as an explanatory factor for migration which gave birth to different models of migration followed by the theory of Push-Pull factors to explain the cause of migration. Ravenstein observed that when a great body of migrants proceed a short distance there takes place a universal shifting or displacement of population which produces, "current of migration", setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants. Migrants who move long distance generally go by preference to one of the greatest centres of commerce and industry. The second assumption was that the inhabitants of the town migrate less compared to those in the rural parts of the country.

Migration of population is also motivated by search for occupational opportunity and that its volume and direction are primarily influenced by job opportunities. Stonffer (1940: 845-67) in his theory of intervening opportunity observed that "the proposed number of persons going to a given area is directly proportionate to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities". However, in 1960 Stonffer modified his hypothesis and introduced a variable of 'competing migrants', according to which the number of migrants from city A to city B is a direct function of the number of opportunities in city B and inverse function of number of opportunities intervening between A and B, as well as the number of other migrants competing for opportunities in city B. Some studies on movement of labour consider "psychological distance" to be more important than the geographical distance as a determinant of migration (Burford, 1962: 77-81). In addition Burford constructed the index taking into account the

distance between a country seat and the nearest town of 25,000 population, number of secondary cities (10000 – 25000) within a radius of 30 miles and the of percentage level of unemployment in cities involved. One of the major factors which has not been given due consideration in this theory, is that the map of “opportunities actually available does not correspond with the “mental map”. The migrants are ignorant of the opportunities and perceive it in a distorted fashion. Moreover, their knowledge is accompanied by apprehensions about the actual costs associated with availing different opportunities. Therefore we hold that the type of information received is more important in determining the directional pattern of migration. As many studies point out that this directional pattern of migration is influenced by the ‘presence of friends and relatives’ at the place of destination as they are a major source of information on the potential job opportunities (Luebke and Harst, 1958; Schwarzweller and Mangalam, 1970). Thus it has been found that migrants in India have shown a strong tendency to migrate to localities which had previously attracted natives of their region

The second aspect of migration considers motivation and mechanism of migration which is not looked in by and large in all the studies while the size and direction of migration has been discussed and the works have largely remained descriptive. In this connection the push and pull theory emerged giving a series of explanations for the process of migration. The theory stresses the importance of the place of origin and destination. In case of pull factors migration occurs when the destination exerts a pressure and the migrant moves out in search of better work opportunities which is a positive situation. But migration can also occur as a flight from backward social and economic situations. Migration generally takes place when the positive pull factors at the place of destination are outnumbered by negative push factors at the place of origin. Here it needs to be mentioned that some experts in migration studies consider only push as a potent reason for migration (Myrdal, 1969; 2139) while others opine that migration occurs due to interaction of push and pull factors (Sovani, 1965; Bose, 1965; Trewartha, 1969). In this connection an ILO report (1960: 209) observed that “though the push factors of falling income and under development in agriculture in most of the less developed countries are also very strong, they do not in the absence of strong pull factors suffice to cause large shift in manpower..”. The difference between one’s achievement (present level of living) and aspired achievement (aspired to a particular level of living) generates migration. This denotes that greater the discrepancy higher the chances of migration. The push and pull theory is by far the most important theory in migration studies. However it does not explain why some migrate and some do not. Lee’s (1966) conceptual model on migration incorporates push and pull factors at both origin and destination, and has tried to overcome the problems in theorization.

Against this backdrop the present paper tries to understand the pattern of industrialisation in Odisha and the emerging migration patterns in the industrial zones. The area of study are the three districts of Odisha which are Keonjhar, Jajpur and Anugul. All the three districts have a distinct place in the industrial map of the state.

Orissa is predominantly an agricultural state where nearly seventy per cent of the working population depends on agriculture. With respect to the marginalised groups, the state has nearly 40% of Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) population, which together make 9.78 million, apart from the people belonging to the Other Backward Castes (OBC). On the other hand, the state has some rich deposit of mineral resources that includes 5,428 million tonnes of iron ore deposit which is one-third of the total iron-ore deposits of the country. It also has one-fourth of the coal deposit of the country as well as huge deposits of chromites and bauxite thereby giving the state an important position on the mineral map of the country. Orissa’s rich mineral reserves constitute 28% Iron ore, 24% coal, 59% Bauxite and 98% Chromite of India’s total deposits. What makes the process of industrialisation favourable is the available infrastructure which includes water in plenty, power at a cheap rate, 480 kms of coastline with one large port at Paradip and two proposed ports at Dhamra and Gopalpur.

The state’s comparative advantage on this account has attracted the attention of many mining and metallurgical companies. In Orissa, industrialization started shortly after independence. The oldest mines in the state were coalmines at Talcher and Ib valley. After nationalization of coal in 1975 and the national policy on energy sector, many power plants have come up in the state. In order to bring about economic development, the government launched massive programmes of industrialization and in 2005 the state government signed as many as 43 memoranda of understanding (MOUs) with various corporate bodies to set up their industrial units at an investment of Rs. 1,60,000 crores and since then multinationals like POSCO, Vedanta and indigenous companies like TATA, Jindal have made inroads to the state.

Large scale planned development in Orissa by the state government has required the acquisition of land, primarily agricultural land, over the last five decades. Such acquisition has been necessary for the extraction of resources, as well as project construction, and the construction of related infrastructure such as residential complexes, roads, processing and marketing units, etc. Projects such as Rourkela steel plant, Hirakud, Upper Kolab, Indravati and Subarnarekha multipurpose dams. Following the processes of liberalization, privatization and globalization there has been a shift in priorities where attention has moved to the private sector especially multinationals. The strategies, however, continue unchanged where the role of the public sector has been shrinking, assigning an important role to the private sector including foreign investors. The corporate houses both private and public are the primary agencies to carry on directly the

programme of industrialization. Whatever the changes are, the state functioning within a system of competitive politics and democratic framework, continues to be the prime mover and guardian of the entire process of industrialisation. Major industries in Odisha at the moment include integrated steel plants at Rourkela, Kalinga Nagar, Jharsuguda and Angul; NALCO (National Aluminium Company Ltd.) with its Alumina Plant at Damanjodi and Aluminium smelting complex at Angul, thermal power plants at Talcher area, in addition to fertilizer plants, pulp and paper industries, ferro alloys plants, cement plants elsewhere in the state. The industrial growth in the state has mostly taken place in the areas where raw materials, water and power are available in abundance and on the basis of which the state can be divided into twelve industrially active zones or areas based on minerals and available resources.

In the present study the three industrial districts have both public and private sector enterprises. They are Keonjhar for mining industry as well as Kalinga Iron Works, Jajpur for steel plants, having industrial houses like TATA, Jindal, Neelachal Ispat Nigam Limited and Anugul district having thermal power industries like National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) in Talcher and National Aluminium Company (NALCO) as well as private entrepreneurship of Jindal power and steel. Here is a brief glance at the three districts.

*Keonjhar* is one of the premier mineral producing districts in Odisha and occupies a prominent place in the mineral map of the country. Iron ore formations occupy most part of the district which can be traced from the Bihar border in the north to the Jajpur border in the South along with extensive deposits of Manganese ore in Thakurani and Joda East hills of Barbil. Good deposits of Chromite, an important and strategic mineral are found in Boula area near village Nuasahi of Anandapur sub-division. There are also some other mineral deposits in the district such as Quartzite, Bauxite, Gold, Pyrophyllite and Lime stone. The two important mineral based industries in the district are the "Kalinga Iron Works" Barbil and the "Ferro-Manganese Plant" at Joda as well as mining industries by many private entrepreneurs.

The district of *Jajpur* also is rich in mineral deposits and has huge potential for industrial growth and skilled labour. Kalinganagar is situated in Jajpur District of Odisha, India. It is a planned industrial and modern town which is rich in iron ore. Recently, after high global demand for steel, Kalinganagar has become a major global hub in steel, power and ancillary products. A large number of steel plants including projects by Tata Steel are in various stages of implementation. It is also called Steel City of India. The city has been a main contributor to Odisha's economy, human resources and fast growing urbanization and industrialization. As a major industrial center of Odisha it houses companies like Tata Steel, NINL, Jindal, VISA, MESCO and many more. Government of India has given in-principle approval to develop Kalinganagar complex as National Investment Manufacturing Zone under the National Manufacturing Policy. While these projects have greatly benefited the State's economy, they have also led to the loss of livelihood of poor communities from agriculture and forests, and the displacement of marginalised peoples from their lands.

The district of *Anugul* has witnessed a steep rise in the economy with the setting up of the various public sector undertakings like National Aluminium Company Limited (NALCO), Mahanadi Coal Fields Limited (MCL), National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) and Talcher Thermal Power Station (TTPS). There has been an increase in the total production of power from 15.5 MT to 36.5 MT, with the revenue increasing by a staggering 400%. The present power operational levels of NTPC and NALCO are 1960 MW and 840 MW respectively, with strong possibilities of this figure increasing in the near future.

The District Industries Center functioning in the district promotes various industrial activities. Bauxite mines, Alumina Refinery, Aluminum Smelter, Captive Power Plant also contribute to the district's economic growth. One of the major coalfields is the Talcher coalfield, which contains huge reserves of power grade non-coking coal. NTPC is India's largest energy conglomerate with roots planted way back in 1975 to accelerate power development in India. From fossil fuels it has forayed into generating electricity via hydro, nuclear and renewable energy sources. To strengthen its core business, the corporation has also diversified into the fields of consultancy, power trading, training of power professionals, rural electrification, ash utilisation and coal mining. NTPC became a Maharatna company in May 2010, one of the only four companies in India to be awarded this status.

National Aluminium Company Limited, abbreviated as NALCO, (incorporated in 1981) has its units in Angul and Damanjodi of Odisha. It was incorporated as a public sector enterprise by the Ministry of Mines, Government of India in 1981. It is Asia's sixth largest, integrated aluminium complex, encompassing bauxite mining, alumina refining, aluminium smelting and casting, power generation, rail and port operation. Commissioned during 1985-87, NALCO produced as well as exported alumina and aluminium.

The present study is based on the three mentioned districts covering 500 respondents. An attempt was made to understand the socioeconomic profile of the labourers as well as understand the different sociological aspects relating to migration pattern in the context of Odisha.

Given the rural-urban inequalities migration usually occurs from the disadvantaged rural to urban areas as the field data substantiates. Migration is a selective process characterised by three features especially with regard to socio-economic background, age and gender concerns which determine the prospects in the city and thereby affect the decision either to

move or stay (Gilbert and Gugler, 1992: 74). Generally migration is selective in terms of age as the youth are relatively more inclined towards mobility because the “propensity to migrate varies inversely with age. Persons in their late teens, twenties and early thirties are more migratory than those in other age groups of 20-29 years” (Shaw, 1975: 133). Most of the migrants leave their village at the lower end of their working age period which of course is relative by nature. Migration is thus associated with a specific phase of a person’s “life-cycle”. This phase of life combines economic rationale, the nature of integration in the family, and the prevalence of independent attitude in the young propels them to migrate. Usually women migrate more often to join their already migrated husbands. Single women rarely migrate as in our Indian culture the prevailing patrilineal pattern expects the subordination of the female to the needs of the male.

In the present study, out of the total number of 500 respondents 90% are males and only 10% are females. These female workers stay with their families in the new place of work. It is also a normal pattern in migration that single males dominate more than the married ones. Interestingly out of the total, 82% are married with families either at the workplace or back in village, and only 16% are unmarried. The age group where more than 55% belong to is from 18-45 years, which is the age of maximum productivity. The type of family reflects that the respondents mostly live in are nuclear families. Out of the total of 500 respondents, 88% live in nuclear families and only 8% live in joint families and 4% live in extended families. The type of family reflects that the respondents have migrated with their families to the new place of work.

The study reveals that migrant workers have moved from less developed districts like neighboring Mayurbhanj due to lack of job opportunities at their place of origin. Some of them have been displaced from their homestead land as a consequence of industrialisation, and have been deprived of the “Jal (water), Jungle (Forests) and Zameen (land) which provided them with a livelihood. These are the two major reasons for migration into the industrial areas in all the three districts of Anugul, Jajpur and Keonjhar of Odisha.

Thus we see that a wide variety of personal factors operate to determine who migrates from rural areas. The evidence on age and sex selectivity in different migration flows suggests as Bedford (1973) observes: “the balance of economic, political, social and personal factors favouring the decision to move will vary consistently with a person’s stage in life” and the stage most consistent with is entry into adulthood when both the responsibilities and rights of the villagers undergo a shift and become more pronounced.

It is also a fact that certain structures encourage and facilitate migration and hence the rate of migration from a particular social strata of the village social structure may be more due to the interplay of socio-economic and political factors upon their lives. In Indian structure, caste system is the base of our society and thus socio-economic and political privileges are largely determined by the hierarchy of the caste system in rural areas. Accordingly the upper caste people are socially, economically and politically the privileged section and falling on the other extreme are the under-privileged lower castes. These lower caste people do not have equal access to wealth, power or social status. Coming in the third category are the middle castes or classes who though not deprived and exploited like the oppressed castes, yet do not enjoy the affluence and hegemony in the village like the upper castes enjoy. But they are usually ambitious, willing and trying to move up in the social ladder to gain political and economic power. As a result, this category forms a sizeable portion of the migrant population. A clear cut finding in the present study is that almost 45% of the labourers engaged in skilled and semiskilled jobs are tribals. It has been found that more than 60% of the workers have low educational background i.e. upto high school and an average of 23% are illiterate. Tribal migration is seen more probably due to lack of job opportunities as well as displacement factors already mentioned. Next to the tribals are the scheduled castes who constitute 27% and other backward castes who comprise 24%. The general castes comprise only 4% while the rest comprise SEBC and minority groups.

This trend in migration is significantly rural-urban migration and the continuity of the phenomenon is largely due to the fact that it is embedded in social relations (Gilbert and Gugler, 1992: 69). Migration is therefore not a solitary affair rather a socially inter-related issue. Thus as mentioned earlier the decision to migrate is not an individual affair but a family decision. By and large urban migration of individuals is part of family strategy to ensure the viability of the rural household (Van Velsen, 1960; Arizpe, 1981). Migrants also receive a good deal of assistance when they adopt to the urban environment while securing a foot hold in the urban economy. In the present study the maximum assistance is provided by the friends and relatives who were in the place of work earlier. It has also been found that there are very few seasonal migrants unlike other patterns of migration. They are mostly landless and it may be construed that the reason partly could be due to the poverty of the respondents which is mostly prevalent in tribal areas. It appears more logical why we see more nuclear families than single male industrial workers. Rather wherever there are single male workers they are mostly interstate migrants who have migrated from neighbouring Jharkhand, West Bengal and Chattisgarh. The latter are engaged in skilled jobs as technicians, drivers or supervisors.

In terms of the housing patterns the workers who are mostly tribals stay together in row of houses called ‘huttings’. They reside in unauthorised government land or few in forest land. Some of the companies have supplied housing facilities

which is mostly seen in Jajpur district especially for the skilled workers. Those residing outside without the company accommodation live mostly in small thatched houses usually with single room. The common source of water which is either a tube well or a pipe water supply is provided by the company along with electrification. On the other hand more than 70% of the migrants use open space as there are no sanitary facilities provided in the residential areas.

As part of the rehabilitation policy the displaced people are rehabilitated in company provided colonies with concrete housing, sanitation, water supply and required infrastructure like schools, hospitals and market facilities. The displaced are both tribals and non tribals who have been promised jobs once the industries start commissioning. Example of such township is the TATA Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Policy that includes housing, infrastructure and fulfillment of all the basic needs of the tribals.

## 2. Conclusion

Having seen the patterns of migration in the industrial pockets of Odisha it is apparent that this sort of spatial mobility i.e. large-scale migration leading to urbanisation is considered largely a necessary pre-requisite to economic transformation. The history of industrialisation suggests that in the process, majority of the people particularly from the lower economic range has become factorised.

More often it is assumed that migration has direct bearings on modernisation and industrialisation, particularly in developing countries where both are processes and products. As a result of modernisation, distance is shortened by speed of machines, there is self-sustaining economic growth and taste for consumer goods becomes more diversified, where occupation becomes more skilled while specialised impersonal labour relations dominate. Odisha is a clear example of development unfolding in the name of industrialisation, modernisation and urbanisation and the main catalyst for it is the process of migration.

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