



Identification of Destination Regions of Male Out-migration in West Bengal

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ABSTRACT West Bengal has a long history of out-migration even though it is rarely highlighted, and this is largely due to a predominance of short distance inter-district migration as compared to the long distance types. However, short distance migrations do reveal important regional characteristics often ignored by migration analysts. Secondly, it is equally important to note the important changes taking place in the regional pattern in out-migration in a state which reflects changing socio-economic realities in different regions of the state in recent times. West *Rarh* Plateau Fringe and North Bengal plain in the state have been traditionally mobility source regions whereas southern part of South Bengal plain and East *Rarh* plains are the main destination for the out-migrants. Using data available in successive census counts, this paper unravels the pattern of changes in destination of male out-migrants in the state.

INTRODUCTION

Identification of source and destination regions in migration analysis is of considerable significance for understanding regional characteristics in understanding pattern of out-migration. Movement between place of origin and place of destination was traditionally related to the attractiveness of places and inversely related to the distance (Oberai and Singh 1980). Different factors are responsible for determining the destination for migrants. Place of destination depends on a variety of complex factors including distance, cost, choice, information, communication, level of urbanization and time etc. (Connell et al. 1976). Place of destination depends on the nature of external and internal opportunities of any area. Chiswick (2000) argued that the selection of favourable destination of migrants depends on migration policies for both the destination and origin region. Riosmena and Massey (2012) worked on origin and choice of destination for Mexican migrants to the United States. Clark and Ballard (1980) hypothesized that decision of out-migration depends on decision to leave and choice of the destination. Shen (1999) worked on origin and destination attributes of inter-regional migration in China. Fleischmann and Dronkers (2010) argued that higher unemployment rate is the main reason for migration at the place of origin. Greenwood (1971) discov-

ered that urban areas are important destination for inter-regional migrants in India. Lowell and Findlay (2001) mentioned that India is a source region of high skilled workers to the developed regions. Cebula and Alexander (2006) argued that income, quality of life and cost of living play an important role in influencing decision to migrate. Most authors agree that out-migration is a significant livelihood strategy adopted by landless agricultural labourers and poor rural people (Haberfeld et al. 1991; Tiwari 1992; Keshri and Bhagat 2012). Better accessibility, employment opportunity and high agricultural wage rate constitute significant factors in rural to urban migration in any area (Bhattacharya 1998; Gupta 1993; Andrienko and Guriev 2004). Remittance is the most important component of migration in the farmer's household (Panda 2016). Out-migration is greater in areas of poor agricultural potential and particularly high among the landless farmers (Parganiha et al. 2009).

Thus, out-migration a complex phenomenon when viewed from different perspectives. One of the more important perspectives is a regional analysis as different regions display diverse economic potential and hence determine the propensity to out-migration depending upon their capacity to hold the potential migrant or encourage large scale out-migration. The present study examines the regional pattern in the process of out-migration, and identifies favoured destina-

tions of these migrants from different regions in West Bengal- a state in Eastern India characterised by extreme regional contrasts in physiographic, cultural and economic development. The study considers male out-migration only, for female out-migration is often marriage related or due to family movement. This of course is not to underestimate female out-migration for economic reasons.

Objectives

The following specific objectives are placed before the study

- i. To identify source and destination of out-migration in West Bengal
- ii. To find out factors that influence out-migration at the place of origin

METHODOLOGY

The study is based purely on secondary sources and data have been collected from the Census of India, Migration Table-D. In spite of inherent limitations, the present analysis uses Census data as inter-regional comparisons are less affected by the weakness of this source. The study classifies migrants on the basis of place of birth for the purpose of estimating the quantum of out-migration. On the other hand, migrant workers by place of last residence and industrial category have been used for analysing the reasons for migration in different regions in West Bengal. Both the 2001 and 2011 census of India, migration data at the district level are used for analysis as the 2011 Census has not yet published all tables.

Migration balance is the sum of the differences between inter-district outmigration and immigration (Sharma and Singh 1981). Migration rate has been calculated for out-migration, immigration and net migration, as well as specific subgroups of population on the basis of Clark's (1986) method. The formulae used for the purpose is as given below:

$$Or = \frac{O}{P} \cdot K$$

Where, Or=out-migrantsrate

O= number of out-migrants, P=Population,
K=constant (usually 1000 or 100)

Patterns in inter-regional migration have been analysed by classifying all the districts of the state according to diverse physiographic regions. The state has been divided into three broad regions (De 1990; Sarkar 2003; Sau 2009; NABARD 2015) such as, Northern Hills and *Terai*, Western *Rarh* and the Gangetic plain. These physiographic regions constitute the basis of regional analysis.

Sector and industrial category wise migration flow into respective regions is tabulated and analysed on the basis of place of last residence. Percentage share of the out-migrants in different industrial categories has been calculated and further aggregated into different sectors for different physiographic regions in West Bengal.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Different factors are responsible for determining the destination for migrants. Place of destination depends on distance and migration, distance and cost, distance and choice, distance and information, distance and communication, urbanization and time (Connell et al. 1976). Place of destination depends on the nature of external and internal opportunities of any area. Table 1 highlights the preference destination region in inter-regional pattern. It is evident that the South Bengal Plain (SBP) is the main destination for the migrants from all the regions. South and North 24 Parganas and Kolkata are the leading developed districts which attract largest number of migrants. The rural migrants move to SBP to engage in works available in different tertiary sectors, industrial activity and urban informal sectors in North 24 and South 24 Parganas, Kolkata megacity etc. South Bengal Plain (SBP) is the most preferred destination for migrants from Hills and *Terai*, East *Rarh* Plain and North Bengal regions. Large proportion of the male migrants from Hills, *Terai* and North Bengal come to South Bengal Plain region. The SBP is relatively far from Hills, *Terai* and North Bengal (Table 1). People moved far from their native place because of great pull factors present at the Southern parts of South Bengal plain region. Rapid urbanization, industrial and infrastructural de-

Table 1: Regional preference for out-migrants (in %), West Bengal, 2001

Regions (Place of Origin)	Place of destination (Preference regions in percent)			
	*1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th
Hills and Terai (H&T)	SBP 48.4	NBP 31.7	ERP 15.7	WRPF 4.2
North Bengal Plain (NBP)	SBP 42.4	H&T 41.1	ERP 14.7	WRPF 1.9
East Rarh Plain (ERP)	SBP 67.8	WRPF 29.0	H&T 1.8	NBP 1.4
South Bengal Plain (SBP)	ERP 78.1	WRPF 9.6	NBP 6.6	H&T 5.7
West Rarh Plateau-Fringe (WRPF)	ERP 60.4	SBP 38.1	H&T 0.9	NBP 0.6

*1st, 2nd ... Preferred destination regions for respective regions,

Source: Census of India 2001, West Bengal and migration table D: persons born and enumerated in districts of the state and data have been computed.

velopment and growing urban informal opportunities in Kolkata metropolitan city and its adjoining areas are the pull factors for migration into this region (Debnath 2017). Table 2 shows the proportion of male in-migrants to total male in-migrants in different regions. East Rarh Plain and South Bengal Plain regions show highest male in-migration in West Bengal.

Table 2: Percentage of in-migrants, West Bengal, 2011

Regions (Place of Origin)	% of MIM to TMIM	% of IM to TIM
Hills and Terai (H&T)	7.63	7.20
North Bengal Plain (NBP)	3.76	4.69
East Rarh Plain (ERP)	28.19	30.30
South Bengal Plain (SBP)	54.03	45.21
West Rarh Plateau-Fringe (WRPF)	6.37	12.60

MIM- Male In-Migration, TMIM-Total Male In-Migration (percentage of male in-migration to total male in-migration of the state), IM- In-Migration, TIM-Total In-Migration (percentage of in-migration to total in-migration of the state)

Source: Census of India 2011, West Bengal and migration table D: persons born and enumerated in districts of the state and data have been computed.

East Rarh Plain (ERP) is the first destination for migrants from SBP and West Rarh Plateau Fringe (WRPF) regions. Large parts of Bardhaman, Hoogly and Haora districts in ERP are agriculturally and economically prosperous which

attract large proportion of male migrants into this region. In summer season a large numbers migrate into this region as cultivators (Rogaly et al. 2001; Sengupta and Ghosal 2011; Debnath and Ray 2017a). Among all the regions in West Bengal, ERP and SBP have experienced most frequent migration between them. ERP is the first preference for SBP and *vice versa* (Table 3). East Rarh plain is the first preference destination for South Bengal plain region. In East Rarh plain, 75.8 percent males migrated from South Bengal plain. Similarly 77.1 percent male out migrants from East Rarh plain migrated into South Bengal plain region. These regions have absorbed most intra-regional migrants. A large proportion of male out migrants from northern part of South Bengal plain migrated into East Rarh Plain for agricultural activities (Rogaly et al. 2001).

As per the Census data West Rarh Plateau Fringe region in West Bengal constitutes one of the chronic out-migration regions since 1971. In this region, Bankura district has the highest rate of total and male out-migration since 1971 (Debnath et al. 2017a). This is one of the most economically backward regions in West Bengal. When viewed from physiographic perspective, Bankura, Purulia and western part of Medinipur districts are part of plateau fringe of the Chota Nagpur plateau. This region traditionally experienced high rate of out-migration due to a host of factors ranging from poor agricultural land, undulating plateau surface, relatively drier climate, forest cover to lack of industrial development etc. (Kumar 1997; Debnath and Ray 2016).

Table 3: Places of destination with preferred regions (for males), West Bengal, 2001

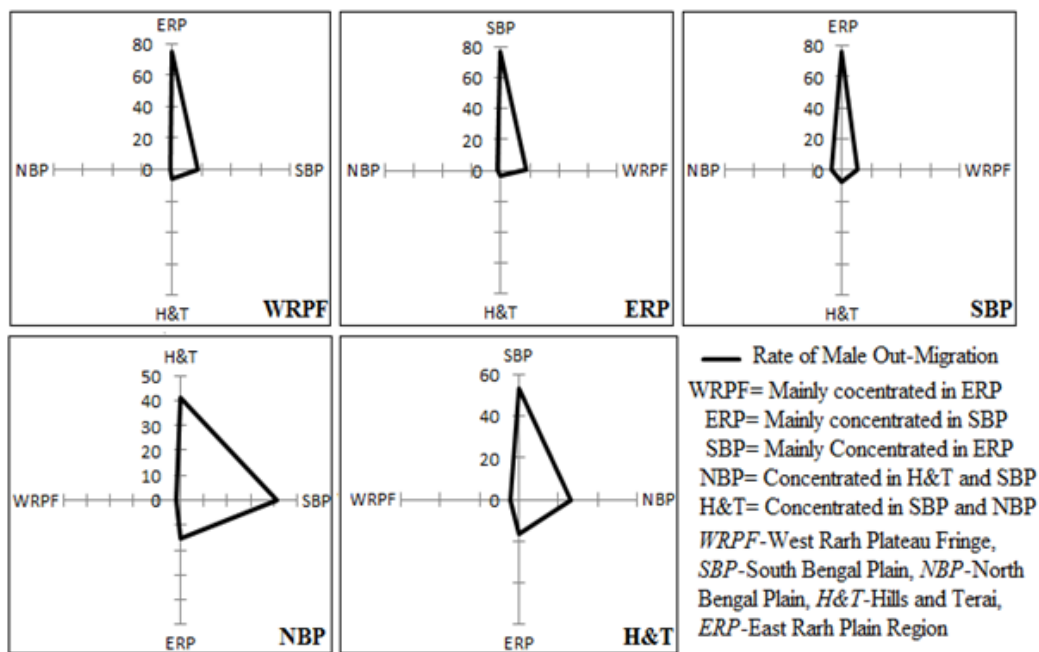
Regions (Place of Origin)	Place of destination (Preference regions in percent)			
	<i>*1st</i>	<i>2nd</i>	<i>3rd</i>	<i>4th</i>
Hills and Terai (H&T)	SBP	NBP	ERP	WRPF
	52.9	26.3	16.7	4.2
North Bengal Plain (NBP)	H&T	SBP	ERP	WRPF
	41.4	41.0	15.6	1.9
South Bengal Plain (SBP)	ERP	WRPF	H&T	NBP
	75.8	9.9	7.4	6.9
East Rarh Plain (ERP)	SBP	WRPF	H&T	NBP
	77.1	17.7	3.2	2.0
West Rarh Plateau-Fringe (WRPF)	ERP	SBP	H&T	NBP
	75.2	17.8	5.6	1.4

*1st, 2nd ... Preferred destination regions for respective regions,

Source: Census of India 2001, West Bengal and migration table D: persons born and enumerated in districts of the state and data have been computed.

Similarly Table 3 shows preferred destinations for male migrants in West Bengal. Most preferred destinations for the males are in contrast to those of the total out-migrants in different regions. SBP is the first preferred destination for the male migrants from H&T region and

ERP. On the other hand, ERP is the most preferred destination for the male migrants from SBP and WRPF regions. One third of the male migrants moved from ERP to SBP and SBP to ERP regions whereas 75.22 percent male out-migrants also moved to ERP region (Fig. 1). Tables 4 and

**Fig. 1. Destination regions of male migrants to respective regions, West Bengal**

Source: Census of India 2001, West Bengal and migration table D: persons born and enumerated in districts of the state and data have been computed

Table 5: Place of origin and destination regions of male migrants, West Bengal, 2011

Regions	Place of Destination Regions (Preference regions in Volume)			
	Prefer- ence	Desti- nation	No.	Remarks
Place of Origin (Dif- ferent Dis- tricts of West Ben- gal)	*1 st	N24 -North 24 Parganas	17	*This district received highest proportion of male in-migration in West Bengal (Table 4). *This district is one of the most preferred destinations in West Bengal (Table 4). This district is the best destination for 17 districts in West Bengal. *This district received highest proportion of male migrants in tertiary sector (Table 6). * It is an industrially and economically developed region (Sau 2009; Debnath et al. 2017a).
	2 nd	KOL - Kolkata	12	*This is the second most important destination for male migrants in West Bengal (Table 4). *This is the state capital, it is economically and industrially developed (Kolkata industrial area), and attracts male migrants to engage in urban formal and informal activities.
	3 rd	HO - Haora	9	*Third most preferred destination in West Bengal. * Partly developed both in agriculture and industry Barddhaman is known as the rice bowl of West Bengal; naturally, a large number of people mainly from Bankura, Birbhum, Nadia and Murshidabad are moved to Barddhaman to join the agricultural activities during peak summer season (Kumar 1997; Rogalyet al. 2001; Sengupta and Ghosal 2011; Debnath and Ray 2017b). *Asansol and Durgapur industrial belt is located in Barddhaman. *Main destination for those male migrants originating from south Bengal. Barddhaman district highly fertile for agriculture and Haora district developed in industry (Sau 2009).
	4 th	BAR - Barddhaman JAL -Jalpaiguri	8 5	* Main destination for male migrants originating from North Bengal (Northern parts of West Bengal). *Rich in tea plantation and tourism industry. *Urban areas like Jalpaiguri, Dubgram (Census town) and Siliguri urban agglomeration are the main destinations for male migrants (Debnath et al. 2017b).

Preference = 1st, 2nd ... Preference destination region/district for respective region/district,

Destination=Famous destination places according to number of districts.

No = Number of districts from which migrants are migrated in destination district.

Source: Census of India 2011, West Bengal and migration table D: persons born and enumerated in districts of the state and data have been computed.

West Bengal. This table also shows region wise reasons for male out-migration classified by industrial category and aggregated into sectors that is, primary, secondary and tertiary.

In Hills and Terai region about a quarter (24.0%) of the male migrants came seeking employment in the primary sector. A fifth (19.5%) of them worked in secondary sector while more than half of them (56.5%) got absorbed into the tertiary sector. Highest proportion of such male migrants (43.2%) is engaged in primary activity in NBP. On the other hand, 16.0 and 41.7 percent male in-migrants are engaged in secondary and

tertiary activities. Large proportion of male migrants is mainly engaged in activities such as cultivators and agricultural labourers (40.1%). Large proportion of the male migrants in South Bengal Plain region is engaged in tertiary (58.3%) and secondary activity (27.1%) whereas only 14.6 percent males are engaged in primary activity.

Similar to South Bengal Plain, East Rarh Plain region too experiences large proportion of male in-migration into tertiary and secondary sectors. Around a third (32.6 %) of the male migrants is engaged in secondary sector in West Bengal. In

Table 6: Percentage of male migrants by industrial category and sectors, West Bengal, 2001

Regions and category		Hills and Terai		North Bengal Plain		South Bengal Plain		East Rarh Plain		West Rarh Plateau	
IC		ICA	ST	ICA	ST	ICA	ST	ICA	ST	ICA	ST
PrimarySectors	A	11.9	24.0	22.1	42.3	6.0	14.6	4.5	16.4	10.3	26.2
	A	8.5		18.1		7.0		8.7		12.9	
	B	3.2		2.1		1.4		1.3		1.6	
	C	0.4		0.1		0.2		1.8		1.6	
SecondarySectors	D	2.1	19.5	2.7	16.0	3.0	27.1	2.6	32.6	1.9	23.8
	D	9.2		8.4		14.5		19.1		12.1	
	E	1.4		2.0		1.6		2.5		4.2	
	F	6.7		2.9		8.0		8.5		5.6	
TertiarySectors	G	19.3	56.5	13.1	41.7	17.6	58.3	17.5	51.0	10.8	50.0
	H	1.9		0.9		1.6		1.4		1.4	
	I	11.1		5.9		8.6		8.4		8.6	
	J-K	5.2		3.3		9.1		6.8		3.9	
	L-Q	19.1		18.5		21.5		16.9		25.3	
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

IC- Industrial category given by Census of India; ICA-Industrial Category Average (Districts wise average proportion of individual industrial category); ST- Sector Total (Regions wise total proportion of industrial category)
 Industrial classification given by Census of India (A- Cultivators and Agricultural labourers; B- Plantation, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and allied activities; C- Mining and Quarrying; D- Manufacturing and repairs (Household Industry and Other than Household Industry); E- Electricity, Gas and Water Supply; F- Construction; G- Wholesale and Retail Trade; H- Hotels and Restaurants; I- Transport, Storage and Communications; J- Financial Intermediation; K- Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities; L- Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security; M- Education; N- Health and Social Work; O- Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities; P- Private Households with Employed Persons; Q- Extra-Territorial Organisations and Bodies)

Source: Census of India, 2001, West Bengal, migration table D-8: migrant workers by place of last residence and industrial category

SBP, male migrants are mainly engaged in manufacturing and repairs, household industry and other than household industry (17.5%), wholesale and retail trade (17.6%) and cultivators and agricultural labourers' category (13.0%). In West Rarh Plateau Fringe region, 26.2 percent male migrants came for working in the primary sector. Around 23.8 percent of them joined the secondary sector and 50.0 percent in tertiary sector. Within the agricultural sector, the male migrants who came from other regions to this region mainly found engaged as cultivators and agricultural labourers (23.1 out of 26.2%).

East Rarh plain region appears to be the most attractive destination for male out-migrants from others regions to find employment in agriculture and allied activities. Except Birbhum, all other districts in the region including Bardhaman, Hoogly and Haora districts are well developed in agriculture. In contrast, migrants looking for employment in secondary sector prefer SBP and ERP regions. North 24 Parganas, Kolkata, Haora, Hoogly, South 24 Parganas and Bardhaman

districts are economically and industrially more developed compared to the other districts. These districts also have higher level of urbanization. Murshidabad and Nadia districts in this region are however notable exceptions as they are not industrially developed nor do they attract significant migrants (Sau 2009; Debnath 2017). Migration into the remaining more urbanised districts in the region appear to be driven by pull factors.

Overwhelming proportion of the male migrants, as pointed out earlier, migrate to different places in search of employment according to their own skill status. From table 6, it is clear that large proportion of males migrated for working in tertiary activity in all regions irrespective of regional differences (Singh 1984; Parganiha et al. 2009; Sengupta and Ghosal 2011). Large proportion of male in-migrants in Hills and Terai, North Bengal Plain and West Rarh Plateau Fringe regions are however concentrated in primary activity due to the absence of other employment opportunities. On the other hand, East

Rarh Plain and South Bengal Plain regions have experienced greater proportion of male in-migrants in secondary and tertiary sectors.

Factors Responsible for Male Out-migration in West Bengal

Interplay of different socio-economic and demographic conditions are important in rural development which may create ideal situation for rural out-migration (Oberai and Singh 1980; Kundu and Gupta 1996; Rogaly 1998; Sengupta and Ghosal 2011; Kesari and Bhagat 2012). Correlation between male out-migration with different socio-economic variables reveals interesting results. Socio-economic variables considered for the purpose (Table 7) include- volume of male out-migration (V1), per capita income (V2), percentage of urban population (V3), gross domestic product (V4), net gross domestic product (V5), road length per sq. km (V6), daily wage rate of male (V7), area under forest (V8), percentage of cultivators (V9), current fallow land (V10), net sown area (V11), cultivated area (V12), per capita bank deposit (V13), per capita bank advance (V14), area under rice production (V15), area under jute production (V16), fallow land (V17), area not under cultivation (V18). Data pertaining to these indicators have been collected from different sources including district level household and facility survey, West Bengal (DL-HFS 2010), West Bengal development report, planning commission of India (WBDR 2010), state and district domestic production of West Bengal (SDP 2015) and economic review, West Bengal (2011-2012).

Tables 7 and 8 illustrate the correlation matrices between the volume of male out-migration and different socio-economic variables of inter-district out-migration. In this correlation matrix, among the seventeen independent variables, four variables are directly related to out-migration. These variables are area not under cultivation (V18), percentage of cultivators (V9), share of net domestic product (V5) and share of gross domestic product (V4). High positive correlation is found ($r = .712$, $r = .701$ at 0.01 significance level) between per capita GDP (V4) and per capita NDP (V5) with volume of male out-migration. Relation between percentage of cultivators (V9) and volume of male migration is positive ($r = 0.554$

at 0.05 significance level). It means that when percentage of cultivators increase, it creates huge pressure on man-land ratio leading to more rural male out-migration. Inter-district male outmigration is positively associated with the area not under cultivation (V18) with value of correlation coefficient being positive ($r = 0.511$ at 0.05 level of significance). This suggests that areas with greater proportion of land not under cultivation are experiencing more rural out-migration for lack of agricultural activities. That means if the cultivated land is increased the rate of male out-migration may decrease.

Negative relation exists between male out-migration and current fallow land (V10), net sown area (V11), cultivated area (V12), per capita bank advance (V14) and fallow land (V17). The value of correlation coefficient are $r = -.116$, $r = -.021$, $r = -.183$, $r = -.064$ and $r = -.273$ respectively (Table 7). These variables are not strongly related to volume of male out-migration. Variables such as daily wage rate (V7), per capita income (V2), area under jute production (V16), area under rice production (V15) and volume of male out-migration are positively correlated. The values of correlation co-efficient are $r = .45$, $r = .44$, $r = .03$ and $r = .30$ respectively.

The most significant factor for triggering out-migration appears to be largely driven by economic forces. Rural areas where a greater proportion of land is not available for cultivation or is not under cultivation, are experiencing economic stress leading to out-migration as these areas lack adequate economic opportunities of agricultural work. Correlation exercise reveals that the rural areas that lack available land for cultivation or where land is not under cultivation are experiencing economic stress leading to out-migration due largely to lack of agricultural activities.

CONCLUSION

Destination of the male out-migrants is governed by a web of socio-economic and demographic factors. Two of the physiographic regions are emerging as major destinations for the migrants from within the state. These are: South Bengal plain and East *Rarh* plain. South Bengal plain is more urbanised and industrialised with the location of Kolkata metropolitan area and

Table 7: Correlation matrix showing relation between volume of male out-migration and socio-economic variables in West Bengal, 2001

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17	V18
V1	1																	
V2	0.44	1																
V3	0.24	.69**	1															
V4	.71**	.59*	.65**	1														
V5	.70**	.59*	.66**	.99**	1													
V6	0.22	0.37	.65**	0.38	0.39	1												
V7	0.45	.77**	.63**	.59*	.59*	1.	1											
V8	0.14	0.20	-0.16	0.03	0.01	-.59*	0.47	1										
V9	.55*	.51*	.65**	.61**	.62**	.78**	0.30	-0.45	1									
V10	-0.12	-0.17	-0.22	-0.17	-0.18	-0.44	-0.36	0.14	-0.06	1								
V11	-0.02	-0.37	-0.17	-0.16	-0.16	0.31	-0.42	-.64**	0.05	-.57*	1							
V12	-0.18	-.54*	-0.26	-0.29	-0.29	0.16	-.73**	-.76**	0.02	-0.11	.84**	1						
V13	0.23	.84**	.89**	.56*	.56*	.48	.68**	0.05	.54*	-0.09	-0.34	-0.44	1					
V14	-0.06	.70**	.62**	0.25	0.25	0.12	.56*	0.29	0.06	-0.18	-0.34	-0.47	.82**	1				
V15	0.30	-0.15	-0.05	0.25	0.23	-0.05	-0.07	0.07	0.23	0.28	-0.11	-0.06	-0.10	-0.45	1			
V16	0.03	-0.23	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.36	-0.26	-.52*	0.03	-0.40	.58*	.53*	-0.23	-0.18	-.56*	1		
V17	-0.27	-0.16	-0.32	-0.32	-0.33	-0.41	-0.40	0.01	-0.09	.86**	-0.48	-0.01	-0.20	-0.19	0.06	-0.34	1	
V18	.51*	0.48	.64**	.60*	.61**	.78**	0.28	-.51*	.99**	-0.06	0.06	0.03	.52*	0.04	0.22	0.07	-0.08	1

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level, ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

Source:

Database for Planning and Development in West Bengal, 2010
 District Level Household and Facility Survey, West Bengal, 2007-08
 West Bengal Development Report, Planning Commission of India, 2010
 State and District Domestic Production of West Bengal, 2013-2014
 Economic Review, West Bengal, 2011-2012

Table 8: Relation between male out-migration and socio-economic variables

<i>Dependent variable</i>	<i>Independent variable</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Relation</i>	<i>Meaning of relation (explained in the text)</i>
<i>Volume of Male Out-migration (V1)</i>	Per capita income (V2)	.44	Positive	More per capita income, more migration
	Percentage of urban population (V3)	.24	Positive	More urbanization, more migration
	Gross Domestic Product (V4)	.71**	Positive	High GDP, high out-migration
	Net domestic product (V5)	.70**	Positive	High NDP, high out-migration
	Road Length per sq. km (V6)	.22	Positive	Good road condition, more migration
	Daily wage rate of male (V7)	.45	Positive	High wage rate, High migration
	Percentage of cultivators (V9)	.55*	Positive	More cultivators, more migration
	Per capita bank deposit (V13)	.23	Positive	More bank deposit, more male out-migration
	Area under rice production (V15)	.30	Positive	More rice production area, more male out-migration
	Fallow land (V17)	-.27	Negative	Less fallow land, more migration
	Area not under cultivation (V18)	.51*	Positive	Less cultivated area, more male out-migration

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

Hooghly industrial regions (Largest industrial region in the Eastern India) which naturally attracts a disproportionate share of rural male migrants from other regions of the state. East Rarh plain region forms the nucleus of a second region which attract people from South Bengal plain and West Rarh Plateau fringe region. This region is relatively more developed partly in agriculture and partly in industry. Industrial establishments like Asansol, Durgapur, Kulti and some mining activities are located in East Rarh plain that provided employment opportunity for the male migrants. Though negligible in terms of total volume, the Hills and Terai region constitute a destination for a section of the male migrants from North Bengal plains who engage in tea industry and Siliguri urban areas which provide some opportunities to these rural out-migrants. West Rarh plateau fringe region continues to be the most important sending region. Bulk of these rural migrants moved to East Rarh region to engage in agriculture perhaps due to slightly high wage rate. However, as the analysis revealed, most of the out-migrants now increasingly seek works available in the informal works in the tertiary sector that has weak economic base and suffers from insecurity of a high order. More emphasis must be given by the government to improve the infrastructure facilities and provide more employment opportunities to

the depressed areas where people migrate to other places.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The fact that urban industrial areas are the most preferred destinations for the rural male out-migrants is nothing unusual in a state where the rural economy is stagnating. It is different matter however that these receiving regions too have limited capacity to absorb migrant population beyond a limit. Excessive migration into these regions is only bloating the informal sector and problems of housing and infrastructure development remains a serious concern. It is necessary for the policy makers therefore to increase/improve infrastructure facility in the existing/emerging urban centres and industrial townships. Slums appear to be more frequently under such conditions and efforts must be made to limit this process through employment opportunities and through diversification of the economy. Urban sprawl is another area that requires serious attention. In a nutshell, urban planning is the most felt necessity in the regions experiencing immigration while the rural areas require diversification of agricultural sector to arrest out-migration at the present level. Finally, emphasis should be given to strengthen physically and socio-economically depressed areas and provide infrastructure facilities.

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