

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION AND POVERTY: A CASE STUDY OF JHARKHAND

KIRAN SHARMA¹

ABSTRACT

The paper analyses the process of urbanisation leading to migration, and factors responsible for migration of tribal women from the tribal areas in Jharkhand to various towns and cities in search of employment. Further, the paper seeks to provide an understanding of key concepts and issues pertaining to urban poverty, its causes and the emerging challenges for the urban poor in the era of liberalization.

1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of persistence of poverty and migration has become a major concern for planners, policy makers, and researchers all over the world. Migration is increasingly a key livelihood strategy for households across the country. The World Migration Report 2013 focuses on the migrant, and on how migration affects a person's well-being. The report moves beyond the traditional focus on migrants moving from lower-income countries to more affluent ones, and presents four key migration pathways (from the South to the North, from the North to the South, between countries of the South, and between countries of the North), as well as their implications for development. Individual's decision to migrate may be motivated by a range of factors such as economic, governance and public services, demographic imbalances, conflict, environmental factors and transnational networks(IOM Report 2013: 33-4). Seasonal rural-urban migration has been an integral part of the rural life in northern India for a long time. Improvements in transportation facilities provided quick travel options and development in telecommunication infrastructure provided information about the employment opportunities at the destination, thereby causing a steep rise in the spread of people's movement in the last few years. It is estimated that nearly 30 per cent of Indians are moving internally (Datta et.al, 2012). Circular migration, or rural-urban migration, and distress migration are emerging as a dominant form of migration amongst Scheduled Tribes(STs)

¹ Assistant Professor of Sociology, Amity Institute of Social Sciences, Amity University, Noida, Uttar Pradesh.

in India as is evident from the four selected States of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha. Unemployment, poverty and lack of basic facilities of education, health and hygiene still continue to be major problems in the tribal areas forcing the inhabitants for out migration to various towns and cities. Migration of tribal population is a historical phenomenon. There exists distress migration of rural people from many pockets of Jharkhand. Lack of productive employment, low agricultural productivity, erosion of natural resource base together with improper functioning of government welfare schemes and programmes have forced the tribal men and women to migrate to other areas in search of wage employment. Common occupations are seasonal agricultural labour and works in brick kilns and industrial areas (IFAD/India-Jharkhand Report, 2012: 3).

Poverty is “pronounced deprivation in well-being” (WBI, 2005: 8). The conventional view links ‘well –being’ primarily to the command over commodities, so the poor are those who do not have enough income to meet their needs. This view explains poverty largely in monetary terms. Poverty may also be tied to a specific type of consumption; like someone might be house poor or food poor or health poor. These dimensions of poverty can often be measured directly, for instance by measuring malnutrition or literacy. The broadest approach to well-being and poverty focuses on the “capability” of the individual to function in society. The poor lacks key capabilities, and may have inadequate income or education, or be in poor health, or may feel powerless, or lack political freedom. Poverty in the human development approach draws the three perspectives to poverty- the income perspective, basic needs perspective and capability perspective (Parr & Kumar, 2003). The ‘income perspective explains a person as poor if his or her income level is below the defined poverty line. The basic needs perspective views poverty as deprivation of material requirements for minimally acceptable fulfilment of human needs, including food. It also recognizes the need for employment and participation. The capability perspective represents the absence of some basic capabilities to function- a person lacking the opportunity to achieve some minimally acceptable levels of these functioning’s. Gender constitutes the most profound differentiating division. A gender analysis of poverty reveals not simply its unequal incidence but also that both cause and effect are deeply gendered. Women face a greater risk of poverty than men. The gender disparity is most visible among female- headed households, notably lone mothers and single pensioners. Sixty percent of these are women, with limited access to basic needs. The greatest burden of human deprivation and poverty, illiteracy and health-related problems falls on women.

It is in this context, the paper analyses the process of urbanisation leading to migration, and factors responsible for migration of tribal women from the tribal areas in Jharkhand to various towns and cities in search of employment. Further, the paper seeks to provide an understanding of key concepts and issues pertaining to urban poverty, its causes and the emerging challenges for the urban poor in the era of liberalization.

2. URBANIZATION AND URBAN POOR

India is urbanising. This transition, which will see India's urban population reach a figure close to 600 million by 2031, is not simply a demographic shift. It places cities and towns at the centre of India's development trajectory. In the coming decades, the urban sector is expected to play a critical role in the structural transformation of the Indian economy, and in sustaining the high rates of economic growth. Ensuring high quality public services for all in the cities and towns of India will be an end in itself, but it will also facilitate the full realisation of India's economic potential. With only one tenth of population classified as urban population, India entered the twentieth century as under urbanized. It was only after independence that urbanization started acquiring momentum. In absolute terms there has been a phenomenal growth in urban population since independence. During the period 1947-91, urban population of India has increased from 50 millions to 217 millions in 1991. It was 250 millions in 1995 (Bhasin, 2001: 13). While India was only one sixth urban at the time of Independence, in 1991, it was one fourth urban with 25.7 percent of the country's population living in urban areas. Today India has the world's second largest urban population. One characteristic feature of this phenomenal urban growth is that large and metropolitan cities are growing much faster than the small and medium towns. Twenty-three "Million cities" of India contain one third of the total urban population of the country. Due to the rapid increase in cities, the phenomenon has been termed "new urbanization" (ibid.). Provisional figures from the 2011 Census suggest that there has been a higher than projected growth in urban population, indicating an acceleration of urbanisation in India. Urbanization is closely associated with globalization, mass production and consumption. New markets need to be constantly explored and resources from the rural areas are drawn to urban centres. Production is increasingly global and city-centric. As a result more and more people move to urban centres for livelihood, and so, the pressure on urban infrastructures and habitats has increased tremendously in the last one decade. Experts estimated that by 2030 nearly 50 per cent Indians will be living in urban areas. Also, the share of the urban sector in the GDP, which was 62 per cent in 2010, is expected to increase to 70–75 per cent by 2030. This increased focus on the urban centres demanded increased policy attention. Rapid urbanization led to a rise in slum population, shelterlessness, and street population, and expansion of informal sector in the suburban areas. Urban poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon, and the poor suffer from various deprivations e.g. lack of access to employment, adequate housing and services, social protection and lack of access to health, education and personal security. Urban poverty, which is a cruel reality is considered to be the most demanding urban challenge and number one urban problem because it is poverty which leads to many other problems in the urban areas. Taking various dimension of urban poverty into consideration, De Souza (1978) says that the causes of slum formation and squatter settlements are neither industrialization nor the size of the city but urban poverty (De Souza, 1978, Bhasin, 2001: 15). Urban poverty is a complex, multidimensional problem with origin in both developing and

developed domains depending upon its nature and extent. In 2001, 924 million people, or 31.6 percent of this world urban population, lived in slum settlements. The majority of them were in the developing regions, accounting for 43 percent of urban population, in contrast to 6% in more developed regions. The quality of life of people is influenced by the phenomenon of urbanisation. The World Development Report 2000-2001, states that nearly half of the world's poor live in South Asia – a region that accounts for roughly 30 percent of the world's population. In many instances rural to urban migration has been the major factor in increasing urban poverty.

3. TRENDS OF MIGRATION

Dominance of rural–rural migration is slowly paving way for rural–urban migration, indicating an element of ‘step migration’ in India. ‘Step migration’ is a process where people first move to some rural or semi-urban areas and gain some skills and subsequently move to the urban or industrial centres for better income. As a result of their exposure to urban service sector and industrial sector, the awareness of the need for education and skill enhancement is very high. In the initial days of migration, due to the absence of skills, their earning capacity is low. Another important feature of migration is that the role of a labour contractor is replaced with social network. So some experts argue that the negotiation power of the labour is slightly better as he/she is informed about the nature of the work and scope of opportunities at the destination. It is found that the incidence of migration in India has shown an increase in 2001 as compared to consistent decline during 1961-1991. Increase in percentage of migration due to the new policy of liberalisation could not be established. Changes in administrative boundaries of various districts and states have also contributed to increase in percentage of migrants. Migration towards urban areas has increased in interstate analysis and rural to urban migration shows a sizeable increase among male and female migrants whereas urban to urban migration has shown declining trend. The economic motive remains the main reason for migration among male interstate migrants. Economically backward states keep losing people to developed states. The relationship between poverty and migration is not clearly established and it was observed that middle and higher income groups show higher propensity to move. Poverty incidence was found less among migrants as compared to non-migrants but it was higher among rural to urban migrants. The most successful group of migrants is urban to urban migrants in terms of type of occupation they have and their income levels due to better education and skills they possessed. Influx of migration towards metropolitan cities indicates that economic reforms have not been able to create much employment opportunities in small and medium towns and in rural areas. Hence migration will continue towards large and metropolitan cities. Although there are fewer studies on migration from Jharkhand, it features regularly in the news and in non-governmental organisation (NGO) discussions on migration and trafficking because of the high levels of mobility among its tribal population. Dayal and Karan (2003) studied 12 villages in Jharkhand, using household surveys and participatory

rural appraisal (PRA) methods. They found that one-third of the households had at least one member migrating. Short-term migration was higher among poorer groups, involving over 80% of the landless and 88% of the illiterate. Furthermore, the study found that migration among SCs and STs was nearly twice the rate (15% of households) of upper castes (8%) and 3% of OBCs (Dayal & Karan, 2003, Deshingkar et.al., 2008). A range and combination of push and pull factors drive circular migration particularly of the tribals, and tribal women in particular. Circular migration, or rural-urban migration, is emerging as a dominant form of migration amongst STs in India. Earlier studies reported that, an estimated 30,000 labourers migrate from Bolangir District in western Odisha every year (ibid.). In Jharkhand, one study, which covered twelve villages, found that one-third of the households had at least one member migration. There are extremely high rates of migration among tribals from southern Rajasthan who migrate to Gujarat to work in seed cotton farms and textile markets. The incidence of migration was clearly growing in the area as a few years later another study in the same area found that in many villages up to three-quarters of the population were absent between November and June. The tribal migrant women families have informed that, about 60% of the migrant women are working as domestic help followed by wage labour (34%). More than three fourths of the tribal women of Jharkhand are working as domestic servant maids. Some women are also reported in the professions of private job and very few are also seen in government job, in shops/hotels, students and in other miscellaneous occupations. In such migrant women, the change of food habit is seen..

4. THE FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY

As Diana Pearce coined the term ‘feminization of poverty’ which implies a new phenomenon, “women have always experienced more poverty than men” (Pearce, 1978). The conceptualization of poverty in this way is also helpful from the perspective of understanding and combating women's poverty. The incidence of poverty among females tended to be marginally higher in both rural and urban areas in India. The percentage of female persons living in poor households was 37 per cent in rural and 34 per cent in urban areas in 1993-94, and 27 and 25 respectively in 1999-00. In contrast, the percentage of male persons living in poverty was 36 in rural and 32 urban areas in 1993-94, and 26 and 23 in 1999-00. The female persons accounted for slightly less than half of the poor, about 49 per cent in both rural and urban areas in both the years. The lower percentage of female persons among the poor despite higher female poverty ratio was due to adverse sex ratio. It should be noted that the above measure of gender poverty ignores intra-household inequalities in consumption. There are other dimensions of poverty such as food insecurity, malnutrition and health associated more with female members (Radhakrishna & Ray, 2005). The role of women as producers and providers of food is often overshadowed by their primary role as care-givers. However, in most of the developing countries, including India, large numbers of women are engaged

in agriculture, primarily the production and processing of food. With male-selective migration from rural areas on the increase, women are often left behind to take care of both family and farm on their own. With women-headed households being more prone to poverty, wages are unfavourable to women in general and access to financial, technical and other support services being denied to them, the poor nutritional status of the rural population is common. As per the Census of India 2001, 27.5 per cent of cultivators in the rural areas are female, while in the case of agricultural labour, as much as 46.9 per cent were women. Of the rural female workforce, an overwhelmingly large proportion, i.e. 80 per cent are employed in the agricultural sector. About 36.5 per cent (40.6 million) work as cultivators on their own/family land holdings, while about 43.4 per cent (48.4 million) are engaged as hired agricultural labour. It is therefore, obvious that women play a vital role in food production and agricultural activities. According to the Census 2011 report, India has a population of 1.21 billion with 72.2% living in rural areas and about 27.8% living in urban areas. Literacy rate has gone up from 64.83 per cent in 2001 to 74.04 per cent in 2011 showing an increase of 9.21 percentage points.

5. WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

Women play an indispensable role in farming and in improving the quality of life in rural areas. However, their contributions often remain concealed due to some social barriers and gender bias. Even government programmes often fail to focus on women in agriculture. This undermines the potential benefits from programmes, especially those related to food production, household income improvements, nutrition, literacy, poverty alleviation and population control. Equitable access for rural women to educational facilities would certainly improve their performance and liberate them from their marginalised status in the society. Other areas where women's potential could be effectively harnessed are agricultural extension, farming systems development, land reform and rural welfare. Landmark improvements have been recorded in such cases as the extension of institutional credit and domestic water supplies where women's potential have been consciously tapped. The NSS disaggregated data on employment and unemployment bring out the gender disparities. In 1999-00, the female workforce participation rate as a percentage of the male workforce participation was 55 in rural areas and 27 in urban areas; 85 per cent of rural female workforce was engaged in agriculture and allied activities in contrast to 71 per cent of rural male workforce engaged in those activities. In rural areas a larger percentage of female workers (46 per cent in 1999-00) were casual workers compared to male casual workers (37 per cent); female wage rate as a percentage of male wage rate was 70 for casual labour in agriculture and 63 in non-agriculture. Census 2001 data shows that the proportion of marginal workers was as high as 46 per cent for females compared to 15 per cent for males. Naila Kabeer (2003) argues that household poverty is determined by poor women's highly unequal role in the labour market. Female labour force participation is highest among the poorest households in countries such as India,

Pakistan, and Bangladesh, where social norms mainly constrain women to very insecure and poorly paid work in the informal sector. India suffers severe deprivations in education and health - especially in the Northern states, where caste, class, and gender inequities are particularly strong. Human development cannot be achieved without taking the role of women into account. Poverty often hits women and women-headed households the hardest, and women have fewer economic and political opportunities to improve their well-being and that of their families. The social composition along with the inability to buy food also plays a role in food insecurity. The SCs, STs and some sections of the OBCs (lower castes among them) who have either poor land-base or very low land productivity are prone to food insecurity. The people affected by natural disasters, who have to migrate to other areas in search of work, are also among the most food insecure people. A high incidence of malnutrition prevails among women. This is a matter of serious concern as it puts even the unborn baby at the risk of malnutrition. A large proportion of pregnant and nursing mothers and children under the age of 5 years constitute an important segment of the food insecure population. Since maternal undernourishment is causally linked with gender bias against women in general, it appears that the penalty India pays by being unfair to women hits all Indians, boys as well as girls and men as well as women'. Eventually, gender empowerment alone is likely to be the key to the resolution of the hunger challenge amongst women in India (Ramachandran: 2007). Seemingly, the discriminatory practices associated with the rigid social norms and the excessive demands made on the time and energies of women join hands with the usual determinants in blighting women's nutrition. However, one of the usual determinants, namely poverty, seems equally important: not only is poverty one of the basic causes of malnutrition, but also malnutrition is considered to be both an outcome and a manifestation of poverty. Hunger in India has gender and age dimensions too. Women, children and the old people are less likely to get full nutritious meals needed for their development. Half of the country's women suffer from anaemia and maternal undernourishment, resulting in maternal mortality and underweight babies. There are important seasonal variations in nutritional and health status depending on the cycle of agricultural work (Saxena: 2009). As a health indicator, female anaemia results from inadequate diet among a particularly vulnerable segment of the population and indicates potential barriers in food availability, access, or utilization. Gender is equally important, particularly when considering the "feminization of poverty" and the intersection of gender and class as barriers to human well-being. As a group, women throughout the world are widely discriminated against, and accessing food is no exception to this as girls and adult women are more likely to experience malnutrition and related health consequences than their male counterparts (ibid.). This is the case, despite the fact that women are responsible for most of the world's food production, processing, and preparation, and that they work land they cannot own, or even be legally entitled to in many cases. Stratification and inequality are essential sociological considerations for food security. Hunger research that includes race, class, and gender considerations will best capture the most

critical barriers to food access and distribution. Hunger is largely about poverty, and examining inequality in this form will reveal the true famines that exist for people throughout the world.

6. STATE PROFILE: JHARKHAND

As per Census 2011, the state of Jharkhand with an area of 79714 sq. Km, has a population of 32,966,238. Out of a total population, males are 1,69,31,688 and females 1,60,34,550. According to the provisional population totals of Census of India 2011 Jharkhand occupies the 13th position by population among all states and UT's of the country. There were 18 Districts in the state of Jharkhand at the time of 2001 census. The number of districts in the state has gone up to 24 by census 2011.

6.1 Economy and Demography

Jharkhand, which came into existence in the year 2000, was earlier a part of Bihar. Jharkhand is known for its vast reserves of natural resources in terms of forests as well as minerals and it accounted for more than 70 per cent of Bihar's domestic product before the state was bifurcated. However, it has not been able to capitalize on this immense potential and is still one of the most backward states in India, a status, which it has inherited from Bihar. Its per capita NSDP is well below the national per capita income, and its comparatively slow growth rate (4.2 per cent) compared to the national per capita income growth rate (5.4 per cent) is further increasing the gap. Jharkhand's demographic profile shows a large share of ST, SC, and Muslim populations in the state at 21 per cent, 19 per cent, and 11 per cent, respectively (IHDR, 2011). Jharkhand accounts for 10 per cent of STs, 4 per cent of SCs and 3 per cent of the Muslim population in the country (Table 2). Three-fourths of the state's population lives in rural areas, including 95 per cent of STs and 91 per cent of SCs. Since these three social/religious groups are economically disadvantaged, it is evident that this disadvantage shows up in all aggregate development indicators.

Table 2 Distribution of Social and Religious Groups, Jharkhand, 2007–8 (per cent)

Across States			Within the State		
ST	SC	Muslim	ST	SC	Muslim
9.6	3.8	3.4	20.8	19.1	11.1

Source: NSS 64th Round. Central Statistical Organization.

Jharkhand accounts for close to 4 per cent of the total population of India, but it has not contributed even 2 per cent of the country's GDP in the last five years. In terms of sex-ratio, Jharkhand with the ratio of 947 females per 1,000 males is slightly better than the all India ratio of 940 females per 1,000 males in 2011. With regard to child sex ratio, Jharkhand (943) is again better than all India average (914), but still marginally lower than overall sex-ratio of the state (Census 2011). The state has one of the highest Total Fertility Rates (TFRs) in India (at 3.2). The TFR is even higher in the rural areas, where its value was 3.5 in 2008. With a slower growth rate of NSDP per capita and a very high TFR, the economic gap between the state and the nation is going to widen further. It may provide fodder to rise in Naxal activities in the state.

7. IDENTITY POLITICS IN JHARKHAND

Throughout much of the twentieth century, local politics within the Jharkhand region of India were strongly influenced by a movement demanding the creation of a separate State of Jharkhand. At first, this movement was dominated by tribal people (*adivasis*) and called for a separate State for the region's tribal population. From the 1960s onwards, the movement had to broaden its scope as *adivasis* declined as a proportion of the region's population. Thereafter, support hinged around the grievances created by economic transformation, which united otherwise disparate groups in opposition to exploitative and locally insensitive 'dikus' (outsiders). State sponsored natural resource exploitation and economic development more generally, thus created the 'social pressures that led to the creation of a politically meaningful Jharkhand region and repeated demands for a separate Jharkhand state'. For many years, these demands were rejected because of the central state's unwillingness to generate a 'domino effect' in other areas of ethno-regional tension. During the 1990s, however, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) sought to consolidate electoral support in the region by advocating the Jharkhand cause, and on 15 November 2000 (32 months after the BJP came to power at the centre) Jharkhand became India's 28th State. The relationship between dynamics of the implementation of development policy and the crystallisation of an ethnic identity using the Modified Resource Dependence Model has yielded significant insights into the avenues by which state action influences the formation and/or crystallisation of ethnic identities. The Jharkhandi identity draws upon cultural differences based on the collection of selected historical facts and constructs and is rooted in the political discourse, which emerged in colonial and post-colonial India under the influence of national thought. The autonomous forms of community formation by the nationalist leaders during the anti-colonial struggle had repercussions for sub-national ethnic communities. In the post-colonial India they used cultural premises and symbolism at the national level to create a pertinent political identity. In the same way, the educated elite created the Jharkhandi identity, which was based on the uniqueness of tribal cultural heritage and way of life. The Jharkhandi identity unlike the linguistic identity in many parts of India which sought political recognition.

During the early 1950s, Jaipal Singh campaigned for the creation of a province in Jharkhand as the only solution to the region's problems. While endeavours were underway to woo the non-tribal residents of the Chota Nagpur area, simultaneously, the support of the tribals was sought under the slogan: "*Jharkhand abua, daku diku senoa*"(Jharkhand is ours and all robbers, exploiters and dikus will have to leave).

8. CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN POVERTY

Jharkhand as a state is known as a vast reservoir of natural resources in terms of forest areas as well as minerals. However, in spite of this immense potential, it has not been able to utilize them properly and is thus counted among the backward states in the country. Its inheritance is considered to be one of the major reasons for this backwardness, which is reflected in the development backlog over the years. The state has about 2.69 crore population living in 24 districts. The housing problem is quite serious in urban areas, especially for the people of middle or lower income groups. Improvement of housing facilities is an important objective of the State Government. It is responsible for laying out an overall policy framework and co-ordination of activities of different agencies. It works primarily through the Jharkhand State Housing Board, which has been constituted to provide schemes to needy persons at affordable prices. The Board acquires land at the district headquarter to develop plots and construct houses/flats for different groups and distributes them as per actual need of the locality. Apart from this the Housing Department undertook in the last quarter of the Financial Year 2008-09 as well as in the subsequent financial year a programme of housing for people below the poverty line in rural areas as well. In spite of these schemes and programmes implemented, the target group has not got the benefit out of it, and the development initiatives have not in fact trickled down to the poor in spite of high economic growth. Economic growth is a necessity, but not a sufficient condition for alleviating poverty. An inclusive paradigm of growth is necessary to alleviate poverty and promote development in the country and in the poorest region like Jharkhand. Hence, accountability and transparency in economic institutions and civil society organizations play a significant role in implementing these programmes to deliver the development package to the poor to alleviate poverty and empower the weaker sections in the state.

9. THE URBAN ISSUES

Poverty in the city means a lower income and tougher time finding a job that pays a living wage. It also means that political access and a chance to influence the institutional and political processes are restricted. In addition, it means a greater proximity and vulnerability to crime, both in the greater likelihood of becoming a victim and the greater risk of becoming actively engaged in committing crimes (Flanagan, 2010:308). Lack of access to infrastructure can be measured in terms of: (1) under-provisioning relative to the rest of India; and (2) highly

unfulfilled demand in key areas such as transportation, telecommunication, power, water supply and irrigation. The extent of deprivation is higher in Jharkhand as compared to the rest of India and higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Jharkhand (along with Bihar) has one of the poorest road connectivity among all Indian states, resulting in high transportation costs. Development of infrastructure is a key to poverty alleviation. In terms of road density the state ranks third lowest in this sub-sample, better than Bihar and Arunachal Pradesh, but much worse than other states such as Odisha and West Bengal. The lack of telecommunication places the rural poor in Jharkhand at a clear disadvantage compared to other states. This is especially true as a third of the population lives in difficult high terrain where it is not easy to build routine road networks. The power sector in Jharkhand has good business potential. The state is well endowed with coal and has the potential for low-cost power generation, particularly if power plants can be set up in the vicinity of coalmines. Despite the good business potential, access to power in the state is very low, as judged from per capita availability, community connectivity, and household access. The annual per capita power consumption in Jharkhand (2009-10) is 750.46 kwh as against the national average of 778.63kwh.

The gap between the state and the rest of India is even more striking at the household level. Only 23 percent of households have access to electricity compared with the all-India average of 59 percent, while in rural areas access is less than 10 percent (World Bank, 2007). Although about 98 percent of the state's rural communities have access to basic water supply (80 percent through hand pumps) compared to the all-India average of 80 percent, poor maintenance results in lower sustained water supply coverage. Sanitation coverage is far lower, at about 7 percent compared with the Indian average of 21 percent; though actual usage may be lower still. Lack of local management and ownership, weak service support and a weak-financing system are among the reasons for this sector's present state.

10. URBANIZATION IN JHARKHAND

Because of the industrial and mining activities, Jharkhand is more urbanized than many of the major states. Even then the level of its urbanization is less than the national average and almost half that of the most urbanized states like Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. Most of the districts in Jharkhand have a very low level of urbanization. Only four of the districts of this state are highly or moderately urbanised. Purbi Singhbhum (55 per cent), Dhanbad (52 per cent), Bokaro (45 per cent) and Ranchi (35 per cent) are the districts with more than one fourth population inhabiting urban areas. A comparison across districts reveals that the level of urbanization in the highly urbanized districts is comparable to the most urbanized states, while the least urbanized are comparable to the least urbanized states of the country. Urbanization offers opportunities for a variety of livelihood options. Migration is

also influenced by the extent of urbanization. Households, which have temporary or seasonal access to work in nearby towns have higher incomes than those which lack that access (World Bank, 2007). Unfortunately not only is the level of urbanization in the state low but the pace of urbanization is also very slow. Annual urban population growth was 2.9 percent between 1991 and 2001 in Jharkhand compared to 3.1 percent at all India level. Dhanbad, which is a highly urbanized district marked by a high level of mining and industrial activities, has a very small proportion of its geographical area under agricultural operation besides being a very small part of the net sown area as irrigated. As a result, the per capita value of agricultural output of Dhanbad district is very low, which in turn has made it insecure in terms of food availability, but the district being comparatively more urbanised attracts the flow of food materials from outside ensuring a secured access to food.

11. CONCLUSION

Migration of the tribal population from Jharkhand has been taking place since the last three centuries and more. In the 18th and 19th Centuries, the migration was forced as the British employed tribal labour to work in the Assam tea gardens. However, since the latter half of the 20th Century, tribal people from these areas have started migrating voluntarily to earn their livelihood. In the last century, a noticeable change was visible in the nature and pattern of tribal migration. Another new feature of tribal migration from these states in recent years has been the large - scale migration of single women to cities in search of livelihood, which is a subtle change from the earlier migration patterns when only the men migrated to urban centres. Tribal families nowadays are driven by poverty to send unmarried daughters to cities in search of work. The trend of migration from rural to urban places in search of jobs and the process of urbanization have subsequently created the slum problems in urban settlements in the region. The emerging social problems in the cities are primarily related to lack of basic amenities such as housing, sanitation, drinking water, and health services for the urban poor. Economic factors such as the nature of employment and the absence of social security aggravate the urban poor. Urban poverty reduction requires different kinds of approaches, because it is different from rural poverty in many respects - the urban poor are affected by the highly monetized nature of urban living, which forces them to spend more on accommodation, food, transport and other services than the rural poor. Unlike rural poverty, urban poverty is characterized by the regulatory exclusion of the poor from the benefits of urban development. The dimensions of poverty such as lack of regular income and employment, productive assets, access to social safety nets; lack of access to services such as education, health care, information, credit, water supply and sanitation; and political power, participation, dignity and respect are important in understanding urban poverty. Moreover, the nature of urban communities is distinct and urban poverty is not easily addressed by the community-based approaches developed for rural poverty reduction. As the urban population of in Indian cities is growing, so is urban poverty. Thus, while

designing the urban poverty alleviation policies, policy makers at the national and local levels require a comprehensive understanding of the basic causes, trends and dynamics of urban poverty in the poorest region like Jharkhand. Economic growth will not reduce poverty, improve equality and produce jobs unless it is inclusive. The four major deficits that the country is facing are - deficit of development, legitimacy, governance, and democracy (Kumar, 2011). In the case of Jharkhand, political instability and unplanned exploitation of its mineral wealth without benefitting the tribal population clearly indicates that the state suffers from the deficit of governance and development. At the policy arena, the state faces significant challenges in overcoming the growing weaknesses of implementation capacity. The effectiveness of implementation is affected by four sets of factors - high micro-risks such as insecurity relating to extremist violence, problem of corruption, inadequate administrative capacity and low beneficiary participation.

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