

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION: AGARGAON SLUM, DHAKA, A CASE STUDY

Captain M Amjad Hussain, (S),ndc, psc, BN

INTRODUCTION

Most of the developing countries of Asia, as in the South Asia, have adopted a development strategy aiming at rapid economic growth. In these countries, investments are concentrated in the large- scale, capital intensive industries usually located in a primate city or few metropolitan centers. The concentrated investment in these cities has expanded the scope and scale of opportunities for development creating competitive advantage over the vast rural area. As a result, rural to urban migration increases the size of urban population, which from the point of view of urban facilities and employment opportunities are extremely congested and strained. This is true for most of the low-income countries, but the situation in Bangladesh is graver than elsewhere in the developing world.

Broadly migration is a relocation of residence of various duration and various natures. A study of migration is of key importance in social science, particularly in population studies. The importance emerges not only from the movement of people between places but also from its influence on the lives of individuals and urban growth. The accelerating rate of urbanization is high among the least developed countries of Asia. For the period 1970 to 1990, the average annual growth rate of urban population was 6.5 percent for Bangladesh, 3.4 percent for India and 4.2 percent for both Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The urban growth rate is dominated mainly by rural-urban migration and it contributes between three-fifths to two-thirds of this growth.¹ Though the incidence of rural-urban migration in any developing country is higher, a distinct selectivity with respect to age, sex, caste, marital status, education, occupation etc., occurs and the propensity of migration differs significantly among these socio-economic groups.

Migration differentials have significant role in identifying the nature and strength of the socio-economic and demographic impacts of the population concerned. Many researchers have tried to establish some uniformly applicable migration patterns for all countries at all times. However, only migration by age has been found to be more or less similar for developed as well as developing countries. Determinants of migration vary from country to country, and even within a country, it varies depending on the socio-economic, demographic and cultural factors. High unemployment rate, low income, high population growth,

1. Hossain, M. Z. (2001), "Rural-urban Migration in Bangladesh : A Micro-Level Study", paper for presentation in the Session on Internal Migration at the Brazil IUSSP Conference in 2001, p. 01

unequal distribution of land, poor housing facilities, demand for higher schooling and prior migration patterns have been identified as some of the prominent determinants of rural out-migration.

The propensity of migration is usually influenced by a combination of push-pull factors. People migrated to cities and towns because they are attracted by livelihood opportunities. Regardless of skill, the migrated population can find diversified livelihood opportunities with various incomes in the towns and cities. Thus, the poor rural population considers migration a livelihood coping strategy. On the other hand, a considerable number of the population migrates to urban areas from villages for higher/better education, employment and investment opportunities.

In Bangladesh, adequate attention to migration aspects has not been given which may be due to lack of national level data. The existing micro-level studies mostly investigated the characteristics of migrants at destination places mainly in Dhaka city giving a little attention to the causes of out-migration from villages. Out-migration is generally higher from the villages characterized by land scarcity, unequal distribution of land, and high proportion of agricultural laborer. The census data of Bangladesh is not sufficient to study the causes and consequences of migration because only some information about place of birth is available in the census schedule. The studies carried out in Bangladesh are mainly destination based, and attention on causes and consequences of migration at individual or household level of a particular origin is ignored.

The aim of this paper is to focus on the causes of rural out-migration and its consequences at the destination level i.e. in-migration to the urban areas. Causes and consequences are analysed to understand the process of migration and urbanization respectively within the Bangladeshi perspective. Attempts are made to identify the factors that influence migration alongwith its differentials and determinants vis-à-vis its contribution and impact on urbanization.

Methodology

The study is based upon analysis of available secondary information and collected primary data. Primary data has been collected through structured questionnaire from one of the slums situated around Agargaon area of Dhaka city during May - June 2003. A cluster sampling was adopted to select the same slum area and covered 50 sample households. To cover the information on

migration, a household has been defined as a dwelling unit where a group of persons usually live together and takes food from common kitchen.

URBANIZATION AND MIGRATION

Trends and Challenges

Urbanization is a social as well as a cultural process of population concentration, which involves - (i) the multiplication of points of concentration, and (ii) the increase in the size of individual concentration. The obvious result is the proportionate increase of the population living in urban places. Level of urbanization denotes percent of total national population living in places defined as urban areas in the Census of Population by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. This definition of urban areas or urban centers remained consistent during the census of 1951, 1961 and 1974. According to 1981 and 1991 definition, there were 491 urban centers in Bangladesh of which at least 163 (33 percent) had population of less than 5000. While in 1974 out of a total of 108 urban centers only (3.7 percent) had population of less than 5000. If the 1974 definition were used, the level of urbanization in Bangladesh would have been only about 12 percent in 1981 instead of 15 percent.²

Rural - Urban Convergence

The interaction between urban and rural settlements in Bangladesh is increasing both in intensity and variety. Urban ways of living are completely divorced from the rural ways of living. The massive mobility of people, goods, services, capital and ideas have produced a considerable blurring of the distinction between urban and rural populations. Some degree of convergence has always been there as livelihood strategies of different groups and economic base of different enterprise straddled the rural- urban divide.

The effect of urban-rural linkages in Bangladesh is noteworthy. The urban area provides employment, shelter and extends scope for income earning activities, education and health facilities in both the formal and informal sectors. Every year a large number of rural working population gets into the urban areas in search of jobs and enjoy some health, education and housing facilities in the cities. These in-migrants to the urban areas otherwise would have either remained as surplus labor force in the rural areas or stayed as disguisedly unemployed. Now, this chunk of working population is absorbed in the urban

2 . Task Force Report 1991, Vol-III, p.414

formal and informal sectors. A study on rural-urban interactions and linkages between villages and small towns in Bangladesh observed that the small towns and the urban centers play a significant role in providing employment to the non-farm working population. The study noted that Dhaka city provided employment to 17 percent of the non-farm working people in 1992. Smaller towns and upazilla/ thana centers provided employment to 4.13 percent and 10 percent of rural working population. The nearby towns of the study area provided employment to more than 15 percent of the rural working population in 1992.³ The people working in the upazilla/ thana centers and nearby towns are all not migrants to the urban area but use to derive benefits and advantages of urban areas staying in their village homes.

The land area of Bangladesh is approximately 56,977 square miles. There exist 522 urban centers according to the definition of 1991 Population Census. Influence of these centers to the entire rural community is obvious except for some very remote and offshore areas. However, influence of rural-urban convergence can be discussed in three different aspects: physical, economic and social (Figure-1).

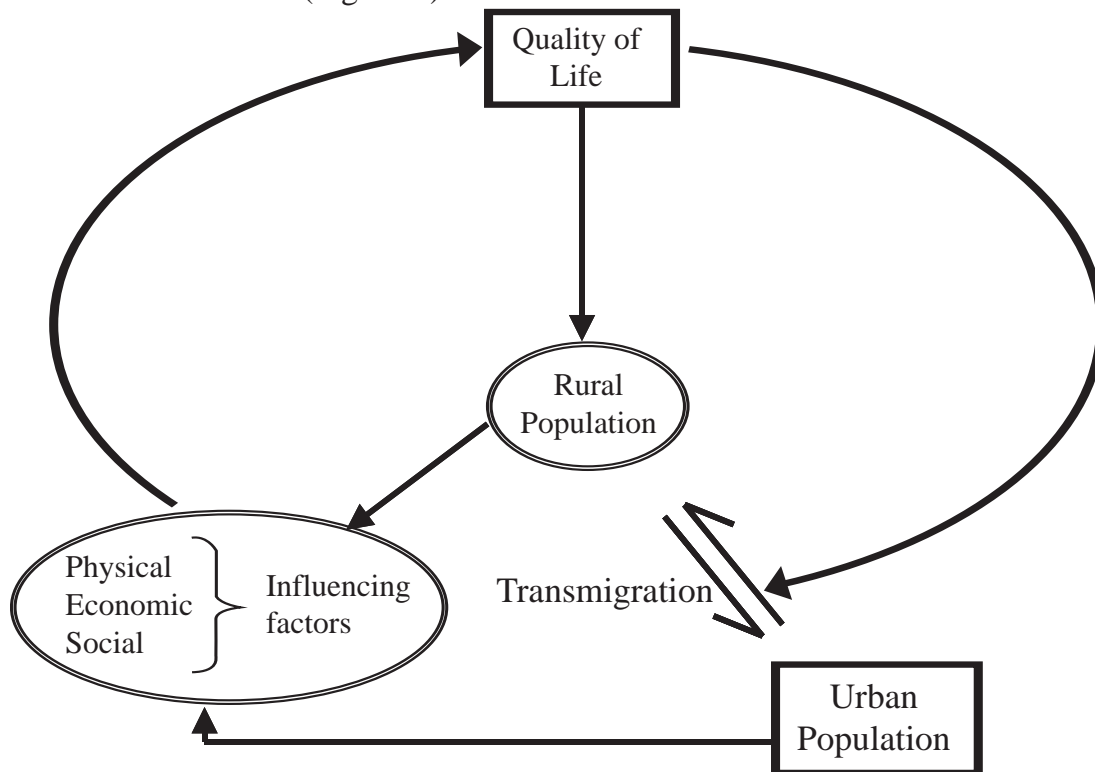


Figure - 1: Rural-Urban Convergence.

3 . Islam Nazrul (1997) - Addressing the Urban Poverty Agenda in Bangladesh, p.73

Physical. This aspect relates to the use of land. In Bangladesh, all the urban centers have grown up unplanned. To some extent, a picture of rural area is observed in almost all the urban center i.e. slums, squatters and huts etc. At the same time features of urbanization also exist in the rural areas, for example: metallic roads, electricity, better dwelling houses etc. Therefore, it can be termed as ruralization of urban areas and urbanization of rural areas.

Economic. Economic activities have increased both in the urban and rural sector. Communication network, especially the road-link has connected the rural areas with the urban centers. This has increased the volume of business both in the rural and urban areas. Influence of this form of rural-urban convergence is the strongest among all other aspects.

Social. Access to the better education facilities, employment opportunities, health care facilities etc. has become easier with the increased communication network and economic activities. Electrification and mass-media play also an important role in this respect.

Therefore, it is evident that the relationship between rural hinterland and the urban center is a two-way process - rural to urban and urban to rural. Between the two types of relationship of interaction, urban to rural one is more important. Findings of a qualitative sample survey reveal that all the respondents were influenced by strong 'push' factors of the place of origin, and 'pull' factors of the place of destination.

URBANIZATION IN BANGLADESH

Size, Trends and Patterns of Urbanization in Bangladesh

The developing countries of the world are undergoing a great urban explosion. As per 1998 United Nations World Urbanization Report, developing world registered six times increase in the urban population from 285 million to 1.7 billion over the period of 1950-1995. Forty six percent of the world's urban population amounting to 1.2 billion people lived in Asia in 1995. Table-A shows the clearly dominance of five large developing countries: China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh in determining Asia's demographic situation.⁴

4 . Afsar Rita - Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh, p. 21

Table - A: Size of Urban Population in Selected Asian Countries (1970-2015).

	Size of Urban Population (million)			
	1970	1990	1995	2015
Bangladesh	5.07	17.20	21.63	50.07
China	144.53	302.71	368.72	647.12
India	109.61	217.25	248.87	435.11
Indonesia	20.53	55.92	69.94	135.56
Pakistan	16.35	37.98	46.73	104.74
Total of five countries	296.54	626.12	760.93	1455.23
Asian total	481.73	974.26	1197.97	2158.56
Share of five countries as percentage of the total urban population of Asia	61.56	64.27	63.5	67.4

Source: Rita Afsar, 2000

Highly urbanized countries experience steady urban growth and low-level urbanized countries experience rapid urban growth. As per Dhaka migration survey report of 1991 and UN urbanization report of 1995, Bangladesh had 20 percent urbanization level compared to 34.7 percent in Pakistan, 26.8 percent in India and 22.4 percent in Sri Lanka in 1995. Table-A shows that from 1970 to 1995 the size of urban population in Bangladesh increased more than four times. As per the Asian Development Bank, Bangladesh Resident Mission Report of August 2002, total urban population in Bangladesh was about 30 million in 2001. This was approximately 23 percent of the national population. The Report also says that urban population grew at an annual rate of about 3.5 percent during 1991-2000 against the national population growth rate of 1.5 percent. The growth rates of secondary towns ranged from relatively low growth rates i.e. about 2 percent in most towns, to moderately high growth rates upto 4.5 percent in a few cases. The growth of urban population in Bangladesh was, and still is, mainly due to the growth of metropolitan cities.

According to the 1991 census, Bangladesh had 522 urban centers or urban areas. Considering the population size, only Dhaka and Chittagong had attained

the million-city category in 1991. A third city, Khulna recorded a population of 0.9 million in the 1991 census. Rajshahi, the fourth largest city recorded a population of about 500,000 in 1991. Dhaka emerged as the only such city in 1974 having 1.7 million populations. There were 23 urban places in 1991 with their populations ranging between one lac and one million. There were only two such cities in 1951, 4 in 1961, 5 in 1974 and 14 in 1981.⁵ The Statistical Metropolitan Areas (SMA) and several of the cities had recorded rapid growth during 1974-91 (Table-B). Dhaka experienced a growth of 227 percent during this period while Rajshahi, the fourth largest city experienced a growth of 281 percent.

Table - B: Growth of Major Urban Centers (1974-91).

Urban Center	Population Size		
	1974(000)	1991(000)	Growth 1974-1991 (%)
Dhaka (SMA)	1980	6487	227.62
Chittagong (SMA)	945	2080	120.11
Khulna (SMA)	437	921	110.75
Rajshahi (SMA)	133	507	281.20
Mymensingh	76	189	148.68
Comilla	81	135	56.68
Barisal	98	170	73.47
Sylhet	57	114	100.00
Rangpur	73	191	161.64
Jessore	76	140	84.21
Pabna	62	103	66.13
Sirajganj	74	102	37.84
Dinajpur	62	128	106.45
Bogra	47	120	155.32

Source: Nazrul Islam, 1997

5. Islam Nazrul (1997), Ibid, p.49

About 21 million people were added to the country's urban population from the beginning of the last century to 1991. This resulted thirty times increase in the urban population as opposed to only three times increase in rural population (Table-C). The urban population grew at an annual rate of one to two percent during the British period and about four percent during the Pakistani period with two noted exceptions. Higher growth rates of urban population were noted between the 1931 and 1941 censuses. These two censuses were conducted on the eve of the idea of Indian sub-continent partition. This high rate of urban population growth was believed to be politically motivated.

Table - C : Inter-Censal Growth Rates of Population by Residence (1901-1991).

Census year	National Population (000)	Growth rate (%)	Urban Population (000)	Growth rate (%)	Rural Population (000)	Growth rate (%)	Percent (Urban)
1901	28928	-	702	0.00	28226	0.00	2.40
1911	31555	0.94	807	1.40	30748	0.90	2.60
1921	33254	0.60	878	0.80	32376	0.50	2.60
1931	36501	0.93	1073	2.00	35428	0.90	3.00
1941	41997	1.70	1537	3.60	40460	1.30	3.70
1951	44166	0.50	1820	1.70	42346	0.50	4.30
1961	55223	2.26	3111	5.40	52112	2.10	5.60
1974	76398	2.48	7390	6.70	69008	2.20	9.70
1981	89912	2.32	14089	9.20	75823	1.30	15.70
1991	111455	2.01	21560	4.20	89895	1.50	19.34

Source: Rita Afsar, 2000

Components of Urban Growth

Urban growth takes place through a combination of three major components. These are:

- Natural increase of the native urban population.
- Area redefinition or reclassification or annexation.
- Rural-urban migration.

Natural increase is defined as the excess of birth over deaths. Reclassification refers to changes in the urban boundary by the addition of new areas, declassification of the existing urban areas and alteration in the territorial jurisdiction of urban areas. Whereas the term migration encompasses diversified forms of territorial mobility.

It is difficult to demarcate between internal migration and natural increase. For example, the children born to migrants after their arrival in the city which contribute significantly to urban population growth and is attributable to natural population increase. Both migration and natural increase should be seen as complimentary and not as competing factors. The other factor i.e. redefinition/ reclassification/ annexation also plays a key role in the urban growth.

Migration contributed about 40 percent to the urban growth in Bangladesh during 1974-1981. For some large cities, this share could even be higher, upto 70 percent as in the case of Dhaka.⁶ The variable contribution of migration to urban growth by cities is evident from Table-D.

Table - D: Components of Population Growth in 6 Major Cities in Bangladesh (1961-74).

City	Population 1961	Population 1974	In-migrants (in %)	Annexation (in%)	Net Increase
Dhaka	521,034	1,679,572	74	8	18
Chittagong	364,205	889,760	43	29	28
Khulna	175,023	437,304	73	-	27
Narayanganj	162,054	270,680	17	42	41
Mymensingh	53,256	182,153	25	58	17
Rajshahi	56,885	132,909	36	34	30

Source: Nazrul Islam, 2003

6. Islam Nazrul (2003), "Urbanization, Migration and Development in Bangladesh: Recent Trends and Emerging Issues", In: Demographic Dynamics in Bangladesh: Looking at the Larger Picture, Center for Policy Dialogue-Bangladesh, p. 130

URBANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH

Economic Growth

According to the United Nations Center for Human Settlements, over 50 percent of GNP of developing countries is generated by towns and cities.⁷ In the backdrop of the accelerating urbanization in Bangladesh it is expected that the urban sector will play a significant role in the country's economic development. 23.39 percent of the population of Bangladesh lived in more than 500 urban areas in 2001. More than half of the urban population (52 percent) live in four metropolitan areas, about one-third in the municipal towns numbering 250 and the rest, about 15 percent live in the small non-municipal urban centers. Urbanization in Bangladesh has contributed to the development of the world's 22nd largest mega city, Dhaka, home to about 10 million people in 2001. By the year 2015, Dhaka is expected to rank as 5th largest city with about 19 million people.⁸

The importance of the traditional rural sector in the national economy has declined, whilst that of the urban sector has increased. Despite the fact that agriculture is still the largest single contributor to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country, the share of this sector in National GDP has come down from 60.10 % (in 1972-73) to 19.49 percent (in 1999-2000). The rapid urbanization has contributed to the growing share of the urban sector to overall economic growth. Asian Development Bank, Bangladesh Resident Mission, Dhaka Report of August 2002, stated that over 40 percent of the country's GDP is now derived from the urban sector. Fifth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) projected the growth of urban sector GDP at around 14 percent. It is a well-established fact that urbanization process contributes positively to the national economy. As per the Task Force Reports of 2001, average household income in the urban areas was found to be nearly double that of the rural areas in 1999 (on an average Tk.6256.00 in the urban areas and Tk.3855.00 in the rural areas). However, it is also true that, while the average income in the urban areas is higher than rural income, inequality is also higher in the urban areas. Over the years such inequality has accentuated itself in the urban areas compared to the rural areas.

The twenty first century is deemed to be a period of globalization associated with the move towards a free market economy. Its impact is also evident in the case of urban Bangladesh. Metropolitan areas in Bangladesh serve

7. Task Force Report 1991, Vol-III, p. 411

8. Task Force Report 2001, p. 266

as peripheries of metropolitan centers or global cities of the developed world. The products of industries that are set up in our cities will be exported to the developed world. This may serve to enhance employment opportunities and eventually national income.

Urbanization and Employment

The urban sector plays an important role in providing employment to the labour force. Basic elements for employment i.e. industry, formal and informal sectors are mainly situated in and around the urban centers all over the world. Urban centers are the main sources of innovation, technological programme and culture. This sector has always acted as the 'pull' factor for in-migrants. In Bangladesh, the urban sector's contribution to employment was 17 percent in 1991,⁹ which has been increasing over the years steadily (Table-E).

Table - E: Contribution of the Urban Sector to Employment (1961-91).

Year and source	Bangladesh	Urban	Rural
1961 Census	16.9(100)	1.0(6)	15.9(94)
1974 Census	21.9(100)	2.1(10)	19.8(90)
1981 Census	25.9(100)	3.3(13)	22.6(87)
1983-84 LFS *	28.5(100)	3.9(14)	24.6(86)
1984-85 LFS	29.5(100)	4.1(14)	25.4(86)
1985-86 LFS	30.9(100)	4.7(15)	26.2(85)
1989 LFS	50.7(100)	5.7(11)	45.0(89)
1990-91 LFS	51.2(100)	8.7(17)	42.5(83)

Source : Nazrul Islam, 1997 * LFS - Labour Force Survey.
Figures in parentheses indicate percentage.

It is evident from the Table above that in 1961 the contribution of the sector to employment was only 6 percent while in 1974 it increased to 10 percent and to 15 percent in 1985-86. Although absolute contribution of the sector to labor absorption increased in 1989, its relative contribution declined to 11 percent.

The urban informal sector in Bangladesh is an important component that provides employment and generates income for a large section of people. The in-migrants to urban areas from both 'Push' and 'Pull' factors have been provided

9. Islam Nazrul (1997), *ibid*, p.65

with shelter and employment in the urban areas and are getting absorbed in the informal sector. Only 8 percent of respondents of qualitative sample survey are engaged in the low-level formal sector activities as compared to the 92 percent in informal sector activities (see Table-L).

Social Impact of Migration

The process of migration is an important aspect of social change. The social change that migrants experience in the urban centers are significant. Migrants are faced with certain aspects of urban life about which they were unaware of in the villages. The study of social adjustment is, therefore, vital in understanding migrant's adaptation to the urban environment because it indicates their behavioural and attitudinal change. The rural and urban social environment is very different in Bangladesh.

Women's Changing Role and Status

The role of rural urban population mobility in changing the traditional roles and status of women constitutes a priority area for systematic study. In spite of the liberal values, family in Bangladesh continues to be a hierarchical organization characterized by the domination of parents over children and men over women. One significant feature of recent urbanization in Bangladesh has been the large-scale migration of rural poor women to major cities, particularly to Dhaka. Women in the past would only migrate to cities as spouses or female members of the family. Now they also come as unmarried singles. In the last 15 years nearly a million women have joined the garment industries in Dhaka and also a large number in Chittagong. The total number of female workers is more in the rural sector than the urban sector. But urban sector's absorption of female labor increased by more than 20 times by 1990-91. This trend indicates increasing job opportunities in the urban areas for the female labor force since the mid-eighties. Table-F presents the pattern of absorption of labor force by sex and residence.

Table - F : Civilian Labor Force by Sex and Residence (1961-91)

Year and Source	Urban			Rural		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961 Census	0.9(90)	0.1(10)	1.0(100)	15.1(95)	0.8(5)	15.9(100)
1974 Census	2.0(95)	0.1(5)	2.1(100)	19.0(96)	0.8(4)	19.8(100)
1981 Census	3.1(94)	0.2(6)	3.3(100)	21.3(94)	1.3(6)	22.6(100)
1983-84 LFS	3.7(95)	0.2(5)	3.9(100)	22.5(91)	2.1(9)	24.6(100)
1984-85 LFS	3.6(88)	0.5(12)	4.1(100)	23.2(91)	2.2(9)	25.4(100)
1985-86 LFS	4.1(87)	0.6(13)	4.7(100)	23.6(90)	2.6(10)	26.2(100)
1989 LFS	4.2(74)	1.5(26)	5.7(100)	25.5(57)	19.5(43)	45.0(100)
1990-91 LFS	6.6(76)	2.1(24)	8.7(100)	24.5(58)	18.0(42)	42.5(100)

Source: Nazrul Islam, 1997

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate percentage.

Population , Amenities and Pollution

The positive correlation between economic development and urbanization is well recognized. The rapid growth of population and consequent landlessness alongwith other factors of population displacement in the rural areas lead to rural unemployment. This generates a growing number of potential migrants. This seems to be an inevitable process where the urban sector absorbs the surplus rural populace. Besides, urbanization plays a significant role in changing the quality of life for many people at the individual or household level. The scenarios in Bangladesh especially in urban areas do have some aspects in common with other developing countries. Rapid pace of population growth in Bangladesh is most severely felt in urban areas. Migration for various reasons, from rural to urban is one of the main causes of the increase of population in urban areas. As per the population census of 2001, the current urban population growth rate is 6 percent and 23.39 percent of total population live in urban areas of Bangladesh. If the pace of growth continues this way, urban population would exceed 50 percent of the total population by the year 2025.¹⁰

10. Bangladesh Environment 2002, Vol-2, by Bangladesh Poribesh Andolon (BAPA), p. 585

Such rapid and alarming increase in urban population surely creates immense pressure on the amenities, and a lack of which often results in extreme pollution. There are deficiencies in all urban services. Dhaka Water and Sewerage Authority (WASA) everyday supplies 1.3 billion liters against the demand of 1.6 billion liters of water for all purposes of water use in Dhaka WASA areas. So is the case of solid waste. Dhaka city produces 4500 metric tons of municipal solid waste per day. But Dhaka City Corporation can dump only half of it.¹¹ Supervisory Control and Data acquisition (SCADA) report shows that on 20 July 2003 DESA supplied 1286 mega watt electricity to its customers against the demand of 1393.29-mega watt. This is the common picture of electricity supply to all the urban centers round the year. This deficiency certainly deprives considerable number of city dwellers. On the contrary, it was found that all the respondents of this sample survey are using water and electricity from WASA and DESA sources through illegal connections. Only 30 percent of urban households use tap water for drinking and less than 20 percent have their own house connections. Only 25 percent of urban households live in dwellings with permanent structure.¹² In most urban centers, ambient air and water quality is extremely poor.

Inspite of the entire adverse situation, migrants are able to secure their survival by themselves. They believe that migration in the city is a tangible solution to their poverty situation. On the other hand, urbanization is also considered as an index of development. In this pretext, it is justified to agree that urbanization and urban growth due to migration and other factors have both positive and negative consequences.

Therefore, the positive consequences of urbanization may be summarized as follows:

- Economic benefits: employment opportunity, better income etc.
- Socio-cultural benefits: modernization.
- Political benefits: empowerment.
- Improved access to information technology.

The negative consequences can be grouped as the following:

- Environmental consequences.
- Extreme pressure on urban services and growth of slums.
- Economic consequences leading to income inequality and poverty.
- Social consequences resulting in increased violence, crime and social degradation.

11. BAPA. Ibid. p. 587 and 733

12. Asian Development Bank, Bangladesh Resident Mission, Dhaka Report of August 2002, p. 02

SURVEY ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

An empirical study was conducted to collect migratory information. Fifty (50) households were interviewed through structured questionnaire in order to identify the differentials and determinants of their migration. The migration differentials at individual level have been discussed into four aspects of migration: a) selectivity of migrants, b) factors active for migration, c) place of migration, and d) nature of migration. The findings are discussed categorically according to these four features of migration.

a. Selectivity of Migrants

Migration is selective i.e. migrants are not random samples of the population at the origin. The individual characteristics like age, marital status, education and occupation of the migrants have been studied to understand the selectivity of migration process.

i) Age of the Migrants

Analysis of migration differential by age reveals the impact of migration on socio-economic and demographic structures at both the places of destination and origin. Table-G shows the distribution of migrants according to current age and the age at migration. The rate of migration was found significantly higher for the people who belonged to the age groups of 16-25 and 26-35 years (about 70 percent, and 24 percent respectively), followed by age group of 1-15 years (6 percent). It was found out that the proportion of migrants remarkably decreased with increased age group.

Table - G: Distribution of Migrants According to Age.				
Age Group	Age at Migration (No)	Present Age (No)	Percent	
			Age at Migration	Present Age
1-15	3	-	6	-
16-25	35	1	70	2
26-35	12	31	24	62
36-45	-	14	-	28
46-55	-	4	-	8

Source: Survey Sample Data

ii) Marital Status of the Migrants

The migration decision of an individual is influenced by marital status. It was found from the qualitative sample data that the percentages of married and unmarried migrants were 66 percent and 34 percent respectively (Table-H).

Table - H Distribution of Migrants according to Marital Status.		
Marital Status (at the time of migration)	No	Percentage
Married	33	66
Unmarried	17	34
Source : Survey Sample Data		

iii) Education of the Migrants

As mentioned earlier, selectivity of migration varies according to education of the migrants too. It has been observed from the studies that larger number of migrants are comparatively more educated than non-migrants with respect to the place of origin. Table-J shows the distribution of migrants according to their educational attainment. Sixty (60) percent migrants reached upto below Secondary School Certificate level, whereas about 6 percent attained Secondary and Higher Secondary Certificate level. The percentages of illiterate migrants were about 34 percent. Thus, an increased rate of migration was found in people with medium level of education

Table - J : Distribution of Accompanied/ Unaccompanied Family According to Education.						
Education (at the time of migration)	No	Percent	Family joined at the time of migration (No)	Percent	Family joined later (No)	Percent
Illiterate	17	34	1	9.09	16	90.91
Upto Primary Level	8	16	2	25	6	75
Upto Secondary Level (VI to X)	22	44	-	-	15	100
S S C Qualified	2	4	-	-	-	-
H S C Qualified	1	2	1	100	-	-
Source: Survey Sample Data						

Highly educated people have better scope and opportunity for having formal jobs of permanent nature. Therefore, highly educated married migrants mostly tend to be accompanied by family members as compared to less educated or illiterate migrants. It is also observed from Table-J that the greater percentage of migrant's family did not accompany during migration belongs to illiterate and less educated group.

iv) Occupation of the Migrants

Whatsoever might be the quality, but availability of job opportunities at the place of destination plays a very important role in regard to the process of migration decision. On the other hand pre-migration occupation also helps to understand the causes i.e. push factors behind migration. Here migrant's profiles are discussed according to their occupation opted at the place of destination as well as pre-migration occupation.

The distribution of migrants according to their occupation both at the place of origin (before migration) and at the place of destination (after migration) are shown in Tables-K and L respectively. The findings indicate that 34 percent of the migrants were unemployed and 22 percent were involved with small business before migration. Further, 24 percent of the migrants were engaged in agriculture (landowner) and 12 percent were engaged in labour selling, mostly in agricultural sector. However, the rate of migration was observed to be the highest (34 percent) among the population who were unemployed and lowest (8 percent) with those who were engaged in other jobs other than the above-mentioned categories (Table-K).

Table - K: Distribution of Migrants according to Pre-migration Occupation.

Pre-migration Occupation	No	Percent
Unemployed	17	34
Small business	11	22
Day Laborer	6	12
Rickshaw Puller	1	2
Carpenter	1	2
Employed in own land	12	24
Sales man	1	2
Mechanic	1	2

Source: Survey Sample Data

Table - L: Distribution of Migrants According to Post-migration Occupation.

Post-migration occupation	No	Percent
Rickshaw Puller	20	40
Small business	5	10
Security Guard	3	6
Govt Job	3	6
Private Car Driver	3	6
Tea Stall owner	2	4
Van Puller	2	4
Maid	2	4
Rickshaw mechanic	1	2
Rickshaw Garage	1	2
Sales man	1	2
Tube-well Mechanic	1	2
Painter	1	2
Carpenter	1	2
Restaurant owner	1	2
Grocery shop owner	1	2
Construction worker	1	2
Garbage cleaner	1	2

Source: Survey Sample Data

As far as occupation opted at the place of destination in concerned, it was found that 40 percent were working as rickshaw pullers, 10 percent were engaged in small business, 22 percent were employed in service/ job and the rest 28 percent were engaged in different other activities (Table-L). It was also found that this 10 percent small business occupied migrants are from 22 percent pre-migrants of the same occupation. For example, the migrated rural carpenter and mechanic (Table-K) are engaged in their original occupation even after migration to the city (Table-L).

b. Factors Contributing to Migration

The causes of migration are usually explained by using two broad categories, namely, push and pull factors. People's decision to migrate from one place to another may be influenced by many economic and non-economic factors. Anwara Begum in her "Destination Dhaka" tabulated these factors in the following manner:

Table - M: Reasons for Migration to the City

Economic	Quest for Better Job/ More Income in City	Structural problem/ Lack of Enough Land	Lack of Employment	Present Income cannot Maintain Family	Release Mortgaged Land/ Repay Loan/Child's Marriage	Treatment for Parent's Illness/ Sister's Marriage
Social	Family Quarrel	Tricked by Relative/ Middleman Out of Land	Social Tension/ Threat to Life	Incapacitated/ Begging is only alternative	False Charge/ Rage at being Victimized	Intense Grief on Losing Son
Physical	River Erosion by Floods	Livelihood Lost due to Storm at Sea	House Destroyed by Fire	Land Lost Due to Salinity		
Psycho-logical	More Amenities in City : Less in Village Job	Is not Satisfying				
Political	Political Problem: General Lack of Law and Order					
Educa-tional	Better Education for Children					

Source: Begum, Survey 1993

The qualitative data of the survey sample and the findings of this study, however, show that it is the economic opportunity that play dominant role in migration decision. 100 percent of the respondents reported that they migrated due to poverty. Out of that 34 percent migrants were pushed off due to the influence of their family members i.e. their marriage and members of joint family (Table-H). Therefore, poverty was the main push factor and job searching was the main pull factor for migration out of these respondents.

c. Place of Migration

In developing countries like Bangladesh, migrants of a particular origin follow some established routes because resources (opportunities) are disproportionately distributed to a few cities. Where options for migration places are available, the social factor (reference) plays an important role in selecting the destination. The survey findings show that 78 percent of migrants took shelter in this particular place at the reference of known people (Table-N).

Table - N: Distribution of Migrants According to Factors Relating Site Selection.

Factors contributed to select this site	No	Percent
Through Known Source	39	78
Own Initiative	11	22

Source: Survey Sample Data

d. Nature of Migration

Migrant's futures plans for settlement are used as a proxy of their level of commitment to the place of destination or the origin, and thus identify the nature of migration. On the other hand, the nature of migration gives an idea about the employment status of the migrants at the place of destination. Their decisions are influenced mainly by the following reasons:

- Employed in Govt/ regular service oriented jobs.
- Established in their present work.
- Engaged in their original occupation.
- Employment of other members of the household.
- Marriage of the grown up daughters.
- No shelter or lack of housing at the place of origin.
- Unemployment at the place of origin.
- Establishment of male members of the household.
- Social/ internal family factors.

As it has been mentioned earlier that the level of education of migrants also influences nature of migration, it can be seen that usually illiterate and less educated migrants occupy temporary job/ services resulting temporary nature of settlement. Increased level educative migrants occupy permanent job/ services resulting permanent nature of settlements.

Determinants of Migration

The determinants of migration at individual, family and community levels provide a better understanding as to why some families participate in migration process while others don't. Analysis of the information given by the respondents reveal that the common determinants are- (a) education (b) occupation (c) agricultural land and (d) adult male member of the household.

Landholding of a household plays an important role in determining rural out-migration in an agrarian economy as people are mostly dependent on land for their livelihood. From the empirical study it was found that out-migration from rural areas is closely associated with unequal distribution of resources, particularly land. A higher propensity of out-migration from the households with more than one adult male member may be due to the fact that it is easier to spare some persons to migrate outside and remaining members can look after the household's work.

Push/Pull Factor. According to Everett S. Lee, all origin and destination areas are hypothesized to contain both push (negative) factors, which repel the inclination to stay and pull (positive) factors, which attract people to them. In Bangladesh the rural out-migration is basically influenced by factors of strong push and pull patterns.

a. Push Factor. In the last few decades population growth rate of Bangladesh has been phenomenal. This growing population is creating pressure on the limited cultivable land. On the other hand, fewer laborers are required for more production with the introduction of modern technology in the agricultural sector.

b. Pull Factor. Largely constitutes of employment opportunity, availability of other basic facilities and luring of new vicissitudeness life.

Determinants of Migration to Dhaka

Economic activity of the urban area provides 55, 70 and 85 percent of National Income of the low, medium and high-income group countries respectively. 16.4 percent of the total population in 1991 and 22.9 percent (estimated) in 2000 are living in the urban area. The rate of increase in the urban and rural population is 6.14 percent and 1.90 percent respectively during 1990-95 periods. If the trend continues, 34.2 percent of the total population will live in urban area by 2020. The percentage of the migrated rural people is 40 out of the total urban population and 70 percent of the total population of Dhaka city

consists of rural migrated people. About 35.20 percent of the total urban population of the country is living in the Dhaka city alone.¹³ In other words, we can say that in the case of Bangladesh, rural-urban migration is mainly rural-Dhaka migration.

CONCLUSIONS

Migration has been an unavoidable continuous process from the very beginning of civilization. The pattern and source of migrations is almost similar throughout the world. Rural-urban migration is considered to be one of the most important patterns of internal migration in Bangladesh. The process of urbanization and dynamics of urban growth of urban centers in Bangladesh have their unique features. Growth of urbanization observed both pre and post liberation period. Though, reclassification has contributed much but the rural-urban migration remains the main factor for the growth of urbanization. Rapid urbanization has contributed to the growing share of the urban sector to overall economic growth and source of employment in the country.

A study of migration differentials at individual level indicated that persons involved in the process of rural out-migration are adult and both literate and illiterate. Most of them were engaged in different occupations or unemployed before migration. Migration took place with a common objective. Comparatively literate migrants tend to be changed into permanent type, whereas temporary type of migration mainly associated with illiterate migrants. The migration rate was found significantly higher for the people belonging to the ages 16-25. Employment opportunity is very limited in the rural area, where lives the majority of the population. Poverty, job searching and family influence are the push factors for out-migration. On the other hand, better opportunity and job availability are the pull factors behind in-migration towards the urban centers especially the big cities.

This study gives an overview of the people and system involved in rural out-migration and urban in-migration process to identify the root causes of migration at individual/ household level, and also shows the consequences at the destination level. It is hoped that the findings of this study may help the planners and social scientists to some extent for better understanding, implementing and extending the rural and urban development programmes.

13. Shafique-uz-Zaman (2001), Rural-Urban Migration in the Era of Globalization : Perspective Bangladesh, p. 69

RECOMMENDATIONS

The impact of rural to urban migration is diverse and deep both at the rural origin and urban destination end. In Bangladesh like other developing countries, migration is taking place mostly due to the consequences of strong push and pull factors at the origin and destination respectively. In the present frame of economic, socio-political and environmental conditions the rural poor of Bangladesh might have high rate of rural-urban migration in future unless the scenario is changed by undertaking radical measures. Therefore, the measures must address both the urban as well as the rural poor.

In light of the above, following measures are recommended:

- a. Since very little studies had been conducted on the urban poverty situation, detailed studies should be undertaken immediately based on primary surveys.
- b. The policies and programmes of the government in alleviating urban poverty need targeting the beneficiaries.
- c. The urban poverty alleviation programmes and the projects should have an integrated approach to achieve desired results. Such integration should cover infrastructure, housing, education, health and family planning services and social and recreational facilities.
- d. The role of both local and foreign NGOs in the alleviation of rural poverty in Bangladesh has been very significant. There is a need for much greater NGO involvement in urban areas as well.
- e. There is a need for formulating a National Human Settlements Policy. This policy will lay down principles and suggest measures relating to long-term solutions with regard to urbanization pattern and rural-urban migration process.

As man-land ratio is decreasing with the increase of rural population, agriculture sector cannot accommodate the increased population. On the other hand, non-farming activities are also very insignificant in the rural area. Therefore, employment opportunity has become very limited resulting much scale migration. Following measures are recommended to control the rural out-migration :

- a. Infrastructure and service facilities to be extended upto union and thana/upazilla level through integrated rural growth centers. These centers may include small and medium size agro-base industries, cottage industries, vocational training institutes, hospitals and utility services.

- b. Decentralization of administrative, industrial and commercial activities to the divisional headquarters in order to promote balanced growth instead of capital based polarized growth. It will facilitate comparatively easier access of rural people to necessary development support and also to ease the pressure of migration to the capital.
- c. Diversification of agriculture sector and initiative for agro-based industrial action plan in order to create employment opportunity at the grass-root level.
- d. Extension of rural electrification and gas distribution network.
- e. Powerful disaster management infrastructure for disaster prone areas and strengthening of security arrangements.
- f. Distribution/ leasing of government khas land and fishing grounds to the actual landless farmers and fishermen. Arrangements for proper training also to be made to involve them into production oriented activities with adequate credit facilities.
- g. Creation of social infrastructure under government arrangement for child welfare, mother and health care centers at the village level.
- h. Extension of support to the unemployed rural educated youths for attaining their self-reliance. This can be done through proper training on computer, poultry, pisciculture, dairy as appropriate along with adequate credit facilities at the local level.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1. Hossain, M. Z. (2001), "Rural-urban Migration in Bangladesh : A Micro-Level Study", paper for presentation in the Session on Internal Migration at the Brazil IUSSP Conference in 2001.
- 2. Ydava, K. N. S. (1988)", Determinants, Patterns and Consequences of Rural-Urban Migration in India", Independent Publishing Company, New Delhi, India.
- 3. CUS (1990), "The Urban Poor in Dhaka", Center for Urban Studies, Dhaka.
- 4. Rita Afsar (2000), "Rural - Urban Migration in Bangladesh: Causes, Consequences and Challenges", The University Press Limited, Dhaka.

5. Nazrul Islam (1997), "Addressing the Urban Poverty Agenda in Bangladesh: Critical Issues and the 1995 Survey Findings", The University Press Limited, Dhaka.
6. BBS (1993a), "Working Paper on Urbanization", Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Dhaka
7. Nazrul Islam (2003), "Urbanization, Migration and Development in Bangladesh: Recent Trends and Emerging Issues", In: Demographic Dynamics in Bangladesh: Looking at the larger Picture, Center for Policy Dialogue-Bangladesh.
8. Report of the Task Forces on Bangladesh Development Strategies for the 1990s, Vol. III, Dhaka-1991.
9. Developing a Policy Agenda for Bangladesh Civil Society's Task Force Reports-2001.
10. Asian Development Bank, Bangladesh Resident Mission, Dhaka Report of August 2002.
11. Hugo G.J. (1991), "Rural-Urban Migration, Economic Development and Social Changes: Some Important Issues", Paper presented in the Workshop on the Urbanization and Urban Poor, Dhaka: Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, July 27-29.
12. Bangladesh Environment - 2002, Vol-2, A compilation of technical papers of the 2nd International Conference on Bangladesh Environment (ICBEN-2002) by Bangladesh Poribesh Andolon (BAPA), Dhaka.
13. Singh, S.N. and Yadava K.N.S. (1981), "On some Characteristics of Rural Out-migration in Eastern Uttar Pradesh", Society and Culture, vol. 12(1).
14. Singh, S.N. and Yadava K.N.S. (1981b), "Dimensions of Rural-Urban Migration in India and their Impact on Socio-economic and Demographic Factors", In: Urbanization and Regional Development, edited by R.B. Mandal and G.L. Peters, New Delhi.
15. Anwara Begum (1999), "Destination Dhaka, Urban Migration: Expectations and Reality", The University Press Limited, Dhaka.
16. Shafique-uz-Zaman (2001), "Rural-Urban Migration in the Era of Globalization: Perspective Bangladesh", Edited by Golam Abu Zakaria, Bangladesh Studies and Development Center, Germany.

Author:

Captain Amjad Hussain (S), ndc, psc, BN was commissioned in the Bangladesh Navy in September 1976. He obtained his Masters Degree in Accounting from the University of Dhaka in 1976. He attended a good number of training courses both at home and abroad. Some are Defence Services Command and Staff Course in 1987, Long Logistics and Management Course in India in 1984/1985, Naval Staff Course in Naval War College, New Port, USA in 1989.

Captain Amjad served in various capacities in Command and Staff appointments including as a Director General of Defence Purchase and in the Naval Headquarters. He also held a diplomatic assignment in the Bangladesh Embassy, Beijing, China as Naval Attache during 1998 -2001.