

# A Study of Migration Pattern in Bihar District



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## Abstract

The study area belongs to one of the greatest source area of outmigration in India. The state is located in the north which is endowed with Khadar soil deposited by largest tributaries of the river Ganga coming out of the Himalaya. In other words the state is full of natural resources but it is not able to utilize its full resources due to lack of technology and overpopulation. Insufficient agricultural growth & extreme poverty leads of huge consequences of migration. The changing pattern of migration among males and females is the concern area of the study. Industrial revolution has control the migration at some extent but still the scale of migration is far greater than any of the states in India. Despite of government and institutional efforts to improve the quality of population still not overcoming from its overwhelming poverties in terms of economic, social & educational. Day by day it is now becoming a land battle field for number of political parties due to its huge voting accessibilities. This paper tries to analyse the pattern of migration within state & outside the states and arising causes and consequences. The paper has used secondary data to support the conclusion of the research papers.

**Keywords:** Migration, Agricultural Growth, Population Growth, Overpopulation, Industrial Revolution, Population Growth.

## Introduction

Migration of population is a universal phenomenon. At this economic junction in the country, especially when many states are undergoing faster economic development, particularly in the area of manufacturing & service sectors, the migration profile of the region has become more important. One important facet of study on population is the study of migration arising out of various social, economic or political reasons. Human beings by nature are more dynamic and played an important role in the development of the region. In ancient times because of limited & inefficient transportation methods there was no or little migration but it was insignificant. Later, in 18<sup>th</sup> century at the time of Industrial revolution, the demand of labours and improvement in economic condition boost a large scale migration. For a large country like India, the study of movement of population in different parts of the country helps in understanding the dynamics of the society better. The Human migration is the base for cultural diffusion and unity in diversity & it is an essential process of equalization of population distribution over the earth surface. This process releases the burden of population from high density, low resource to low density and high resource areas. Consequently, it affect both the areas i.e., the areas of origin and area of destination in terms of demographic, economic, social and political relationships. Migration is also one of the most important determinants of population growth besides birth and death rate.

## Literature Survey

The word migration has been first time used by Ravenstein in 1885 in his research topic "the laws of Migration". According the census of India, when a person is enumerated in census at a different place than his / her place of birth, she / he is considered a migrant. Later so many scholars have defined the migration in different ways. According to Khan, the meaning of Migration is mobility which a changes from their residence (Khan Nazma, 1980). Zelinsky also has given a clear cut definition of migration. According to him, "migration is type of change from one village or city to other village or city, or it can be inter-regional or intra-regional". The moral of migration is that with the change of place, there would be change in political boundary, community, culture and sociological periphery. According to Gosal, "migration doesn't mean only a mobility from one residence to other but it do helps in understanding of a continual change in the elements of places and the space relationships" (Gosal G.S., 1961). Bog considers migrations are only those residential changes in which not only complete residential change but also the adjustment in other society

completely (Bog D.I. 1959). It is true that spatial mobility embraces all sorts of territorial movements but all forms of spatial mobility cannot be regarded as migration. In brief the migration is a change of residence for a long period of time. Local mobility, short period movement or change of residence or moving many places is not a migration. A migrator is that one who is enumerated not at the area of origin but to area of destination. Lee (1966, p.49), defined migration broadly considers it as a permanent or semi permanent change of residence with no restrictions on the distance involved in the movement. Bogue (1959, p. 489), limited the scope of the term migration to only those changes of residence that involve a complete change and readjustment of community affiliations of the individual. Thus, he extended the local mover who may move just across the street. The population geographers may restrict the meaning of the term migration to only those movements of people which involve a change in the place of normal residence of people from one settlement to another (Chandna, 2001).

### Objective and Methodology

The present research paper includes the general practices of migration in the state like Bihar. I agree about the facts like much of the work has already been carried out on migration. However, my study is concentrating to geographical pattern of migration of Bihar and with the other states of India. And also this paper is aimed to find out the causes and consequences arising due to migration. The study is based on the available secondary sources like published and unpublished articles and internet media. To analyse the general pattern of migration the Census of India, 2001 & 2011 also has been used wherever is necessary. The study has limitation due to inaccessibility of latest migration data particularly of Bihar district. However, for analysis NSSO, survey report, (2007-08, 2010), UNESCO report on internal migration in India (2011), is utilized.

### Types of Migration

Human migration can be divided into many types. The Geographical factor plays an important role in migration. There may be two broad forms of migration, i.e. External migration and internal forms of migration. External includes all outside migration i.e., Intra-national or international migration, Intra-regional or Inter-regional migration, Intra-continental or Inter-continental migration. The internal includes local migration such as from rural to urban (most dominant) rural to rural, urban to urban, and urban to rural (modern society). On the basis of time there may be temporary & permanent migration. Seasonal migration may be from rural to rural when the bulk of labours migrate from eastern UP and Bihar to Punjab and Haryana during the transplantations of paddy. Even in the villages this migration is more prominent during off season where farmers move in nearby cities for construction work or other and return back before arrival of monsoon. In seasonal or temporary migration most of the migrants send some of the remittances back to the area of origin which balance the economy of both the region. Any migrant who crosses the international boundary & enters into any others boundary is known as Immigrants while from inside to outside boundary is known as emigrants.

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Recently, the force migration is fetching more attention to the researchers mostly in urban societies. Moreover, the push factor is more prominent factor operating in rural Bihar.

### Introduction to Study Area

The state of Bihar is relatively located in the Northern-Eastern part of the country. The state is extended from 24° 20" to 27° 31' N latitude & between 82° 20' to 88° 17' E longitudes. It is an entirely land-locked state. It lies mid-way between humid West Bengal and sub humid Uttar Pradesh, which provides it with a intermediary position with respect to climate, economy and culture. Nepal forms the northern boundary while Jharkhand forms southern boundary. Bihar plain is divided into North and South Bihar by the Ganges. On an average Bihar is elevated 173 feet AMSL.

Bihari languages are belongs to an Indo-Aryan cluster. Bihari speaks Magadhi, Bajjika, Bhojpuri & Maithili & other local dialects, as well as Hindi & Urdu.



In terms of distribution Bihari's can be found throughout North India, Assam, Maharashtra, Gujarat, West Bengal. Their contributions also seen in neighbouring countries of South Asia like Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh. Bihar's known for their travelling habit mostly for economic reasons to various parts of the world too. During partition many Biharis migrated to Bangladesh.

According to census of India report of 2011, the state of Bihar, with an area of 94,163 sq km approximately, had a population of 103,804,637 persons. Till 1991 Census, the composite state of Bihar was the second major populous state in the country i.e., slightly more than 10% of the country's total. However, after splitting state and creation of the new state of Jharkhand, the rank of Bihar (8.58% in 2011), among the states of India has slipped down to third, the states of Uttar Pradesh (16.49%) and Maharashtra (9.28%) occupying the first and the second position respectively.

The present Bihar, once was an ancient centre of power, education and culture where two world religions have their roots, (Hinduism & Buddhism) is now often recognized as one of the poorest in India. With more than 100 million, it is the

country's third most populous state in India. Located in eastern India with Nepal to its north, more than 40 per cent of the population live below the poverty line<sup>1</sup>, mainly in rural areas with inadequate access to health, education and other services. "Bihar's infant and maternal mortality rates are among the highest in India, as is the state's proportion of underweight, malnourished children younger than three years old. UNICEF and its government partners are currently making significant progress, however, with health and nutrition programmes like the innovative Dular ('care and love') Strategy. This initiative trains thousands of volunteer village women who counsel families on the benefits of exclusive breastfeeding and provide other information vital to the survival of children and mothers who are pregnant or nursing"<sup>2</sup>.

"Bihar is one of India's last few states where the deadly polio virus continues to cripple children for life"<sup>3</sup> UNICEF supports one of the world's most intensive immunization campaigns against the disease, ensuring 20 million children are now regularly immunized monthly in a range of places including homes, trains, transportation centres, brick kilns, markets, slum areas, schools, at religious and local festivals and even during annual floods in makeshift huts across Bihar. The state is prone to severe flooding during the monsoon season, resulting in hundreds of people killed and lives of countless others destroyed, along with their livestock, fields and other assets. UNICEF works with the State Government to build stockpiles of emergency supplies and helps communities to prepare and plan for disasters. UNICEF is also assisting Bihar with a range of other concerns, including its high rates of child labour, school dropouts, and low learning levels and illiteracy, particularly among girls, Muslims and scheduled caste children, who face discrimination in the education system and society in general.

Human migration from Bihar to other states of India has a larger significance in India. Almost a migratory chain has been created where if one family member is in migration the others follow same path mostly at same place. In Bihar the emigration, immigration and international migration all is dominant. Migration from the state to both rural and urban destinations is very high and it is believed to have increased over the last decade, and the rural people have become more mobile (*Deshingkar et al., 2006*). In the state of Bihar mostly in rural areas the emigration activity is used to be in a large scale while in large cities the immigration is more high up. The rural areas are predominantly agriculture oriented and because of lack of mineral resources the Industries are not well flourished. Most of the rural area migration is dominated by short duration. Now upper caste and Muslims report more long-term migration compared to other Castes (*Ministry of Rural Development*). The state falls among 5 densest populated region in India which leads to fragmentation of agricultural land and consequently the land is intensively cultivated. Due to lack industrial development the employment opportunity is lacking. Because of these reasons the state is now becoming a major area of outmigration. Thousands of State's migrants move to West Bengal, Assam, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Maharashtra and

Madhya Pradesh to find jobs in Tea garden, Industries, constructions, ports and mining sites. Except in The state capital every districts of Bihar receives the rural migrants to work in government or semi government offices, educational institutes, Health centres, trade and commerce centres and road and railway industries. Other than this, The Barauni, Dehri & Jamalpur-Munger Industrial complexes also have received the in-migrants. According to the recent data, Bihar also has attracted so many Nepali migrants.

#### Causes of Migration

There are many influencing factors of migration. In general the push (area of origin) and pull (area of destination) factors are the two most dominant. Opportunities in urban areas for employment, education, etc. have been a pull factor calling out-migrants from rural to urban areas and from smaller towns and cities to larger urban areas. About 6 million migrants went to rural areas from urban areas in India. "The Maharashtra stands at the top of the list with 2.3 million net migrants, followed by Delhi (1.7 million), Gujarat (0.68 million) and Haryana (0.67 million) as per census. Uttar Pradesh (-2.6 million) and Bihar (-1.7 million) were the two states with largest number of net migrants migrating out of the state"<sup>4</sup>. There is also migration in the opposite direction from urban to rural areas due to various reasons. Poorness, unemployment, illiteracy, poor health conditions, unhappiness, non-availability of agricultural land etc. are some of the push factors mostly arise from rural areas. Chaudhary et al., (2004) has rightly observed about the seasonal migration from the backward areas of the state, and argue that migration is high due to lack of employment and agricultural development. While just opposite to that the lust life of urban centres becomes the pull factors, which includes higher wages, cheaper land, standard life style and economic development etc. Every year lacs of people migrate to Mumbai, Delhi Ahmedabad and Kolkata like metro megacities in search of better life. The census report of India has first time enumerated the migration data in India in 1981 and they kept the employments, educations, marriages etc. are to be major cause of migration. According this data in Bihar 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the migration was due to marriage. Family migration accounted for 9%, employment 7% and only 2% is for education purpose. Other 6% migration occurred due to other reasons. There is a big gap between male and female migration and this is because of the characteristics of age and sex selective migration. The main reason for male population migration is employment (39%) while the family migration with 27% come later. 89% migration of females is due to marriage and almost all females migrate due to marriage. 5% females migrated due to family migration and rest of female migration is due to job, education and other causes. There are various reasons for migration as per information collected in Census 2001 for migration by last residence. Most of the female migrants have cited 'Marriage'<sup>5</sup> as the reason for migration, especially when the migration is within the state. For males, the major reasons for migration are<sup>6</sup> 'work/employment' and 'education'. The human trafficking is also one another type of force migration from Bihar. According

to the State of the Girl Child India Report, compiled by Plan International, point out that "more than 1/4<sup>th</sup> of girls in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh feared being sold off or trafficked after a disaster." Bihar is declared as a flood prone area so chances of force migration, especially young boys and girls are more prominent after disasters.

Almost all types of migration have occurred in Bihar such as International, national, regional, intraregional etc. The Bihari migrants has migrated almost all parts of the country. Every state of India represents the Bihari migration. Not only that the people from outside also has migrated to Bihar. The first migrations from Bihar is said to be dated back to 1834. The British used to describe the Bihari migrants as physically and mentally strong. It was the Bihari migrants who laid the first roads in Mauritius," said Srikant, a journalist with *Hindustan* studying migration from Bihar<sup>7</sup>. Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam was the prime minister of Mauritius<sup>8</sup> from 1961 to 1982. A nine-foot bronze statue of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, was unveiled near Gandhi maidan in Patna on February 18. Ramgoolam's ancestors had

left Bihar more than a century ago to work on sugar plantations in Mauritius. Almost every family in the state today is sustained by migrant workers who form the backbone of the country's workforce.

**Growth of Population**

The growth of population is one of the indicators to understand the migration pattern of any state, region or nation. With reference to the population distribution, Patna (5.77%), East Champaran (5.08%) and Muzaffarpur (4.78%) are the three top most district of Bihar. These three districts have retained their rank and position vis-à-vis 2011 Census. Patna is the most populous district of the State. The three districts at the base are Arwal (0.69), Sheohar (0.66%) & Sheikhpura (0.63%). All these three districts are newly formed districts, carved out of the old districts. Sheikhpura is now the least populous district of the state. The average population of a district in Bihar works out to be 2239967. It is noteworthy that, "11 out of the top 13 districts in order of population are from the North Bihar region, Patna and Gaya being the two exceptions which belong to the Bihar Central region"<sup>9</sup>.

**Table-1 Population Distribution, Percentage Decadal Growth, Sex Ratio, Population Density and Literacy Rate**

India/ States/ Union Territ.	Population 2001			Percentage Decadal Growth		Sex ratio		Density		Literacy Rate 2001		
	Persons	M	F	1991-01	2001-11	2001	2011	2001	2011	Persons	M	F
India	1210569573	623121843	587447730	21.54	17.64	933	943	325	382	73	80.9	64.6
Bihar	104099452	54278157	49821295	28.62	25.07	919	918	881	1106	61.8	71.2	51.5

Source: census of India 2001 & 2011.

**Table- 2 Migration of Youth by purpose by Current and Last usual Place of Residence**

Purpose	Same district		Other District		Same State		Other State	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Education	56.6	0	25.3	14.8	81.9	14.8	0	3.2
Employment	33.6	4	34.8	7.6	68.4	11.6	8.5	11.5

Source: Article: Internal Migration for Education and Employment among Youth in India (2014), by S Chandrasekhar, Ajay Sharma, pg-12

**Table- 3 General Pattern of Migration in Bihar**

Statement C: Variation in Migration Profile between 1991-2001 for A Few Important States Based on Migrants by Last Residence (Duration 0-9 years)			
State	2001 census Persons	1991 Census Persons	Variation (%) (1991-2001)
Bihar (includes Jharkhand for 2001 census)			
-in-migrants (from other states)	963,546	319,927	201.2
-in-migrants (from abroad)	60,033	43,190	39.0
-Total in-migrants	1,023,579	363,117	181.9
-Out-migrants	2,857,573	1,226,839	132.9
Net migrants (+/-)	1,833,994	863,722	112.3

Source: Census of India, 2001

According to census of India 2001, in Bihar the rural to rural migration is more prominent and the data reveals that out of total migration in Bihar 79.9% (Data highlights: migration tables 2001, pg-17) is for rural to rural areas in which the state tops among top ten. In other format of migration pattern such as rural to urban, urban to rural and Urban to Urban the state doesn't compete any of the state of India and would not even fall under top ten states.

From Table-1 it can be clearly make out that the out-migrants out-numbered the in-migrants. There is a consistency in the number of persons out-migrating while there is a large variation in the persons in-migrating to the state. Even the rates of migration per 100 persons are also higher in the Bihar (2.7) as compare to India's total (0.9) migration rate in 2001 (Table -2). The growth of population of Bihar state is also not far away from the India's total growth rate.

**Table-4 Causes & Consequences of Migration with Reference to Bihar  
Out Migration from Bihar to Four Important States (2001)**

Reason of Migration	To Maharashtra Migrants (duration 0-9)			To Delhi migrants (duration 0-9)			To Punjab (duration 0-9)			To Uttar Pradesh (duration 0-9)		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Work/emp	142833	140811	2022	215416	209772	5644	99642	94631	5011	56689	48578	8111
Business	1165	1094	71	1249	1110	139	771	627	144	1351	974	377
Education	6078	5425	653	14035	12774	1261	580	468	112	12385	11327	1058
Marriage	15576	216	15360	29357	297	29060	8476	291	8185	79258	880	78378
Moved after birth	6984	3652	3332	8185	4279	3906	1486	803	683	1266	658	608
Moved with households	39046	14961	24085	129445	46311	83134	27835	10772	17063	55556	22048	33508
Other	16881	11866	5015	26406	19020	7386	10585	7510	3075	18444	11491	6953
Total	228563	178025	50538	424093	293563	130530	149375	115102	34273	224949	95956	128993

*Source: Data highlights Table D1, D2 & D3, Census of India 2001.*

From the above table it is clear that the higher percentage of population migrating from Bihar to other states due to Work or employment, except in Uttar Pradesh where maximum migration recorded for females that is for marriage purpose. The second highest percentage of outmigration goes to the people migrating with households, while Education and business record for low percentage of migration. The Delhi received highest incoming population from Bihar as compare to other major states and mostly is male to join workforce. The Delhi, Maharashtra absorb large group of migrants because of Industrial development which provided higher per day wages, while migration to Punjab is mostly seasonal during rice cultivation and other agricultural activity. Migration to Uttar Pradesh is mainly either for marriage or in search of employment. One of the major reasons of migration to Uttar Pradesh is its nearness and easy accessibility.

These different causes and types of migration from Bihar state has now become a general foot chain of migration to other states. Every year in every season, in every festival crores of people from Bihar migrate to & fro between their homelands to destination. This is nothing but diversion of youth class working class qualitative population who move out in search of better opportunities over the years. This is indeed that this type of population increasing day by day because of strong migratory chain followed within the families. I would also like to mention that demographically it is good because this could release the enormous pressure of population in Bihar state with increasing population which would absorb the all economic gains. In turn the remittances would definitely benefit the area of origin in terms of development. But every process also has some consequences also whether it is demographical, Economical, Social, Psychological or Physiological.

The over-crowding consequences was mainly observed in the state of Maharashtra, where in 2008, thousands of them found themselves forced to return from Maharashtra following the Maharashtra Navnirman Sena's sons-of-the-soil campaign<sup>10</sup>. After decades serving people by selling food or fast food items on Mumbai's Chowpatty or working as construction labour, they were shocked to find themselves treated like outsiders in their own land. It was an irony of sorts that Patna was busy in respecting the success of Bihar's original migrants to the island nation of Mauritius while many of suffering

Bihari migrants were forced to flee the city of Mumbai and other cities in Maharashtra in February 2008.

Here is a small story told by some of migrants. "It was not exactly a happy homecoming for the hundreds arriving in Patna by train from Maharashtra. "Extreme poverty forced us to leave Bihar and go to Maharashtra. Now threats to leave Maharashtra have compelled us to return to Bihar," said Aadesh Kumar Paswan, 37, who hails from a village in Bihar's Samastipur district. He was waiting at railway station to catch the next train to his village, was how one can be treated like a foreigner in one's own land. "We were treated worse than Bangladeshi refugees," he said. At Patna railway station, Biharis recalled the sordid tales of violence unleashed on the streets of Mumbai and other cities of Maharashtra against migrants from the northern Indian states. One night, a group of local politicians arrived at Paswan's doorstep and demanded that he leave the place. He was lucky compared to the others. Srikrishna Singh, 37, who made a living selling bhajias on a handcart in Pune, landed up in hospital in his native Siwan, after his hands were reportedly chopped off by a mob targeting migrants. There were other horror stories. Nagma Bano, who was fleeing Nashik, gave birth to her child in a toilet aboard a train to Patna. "Our only crime was that we spoke Hindi and came from Bihar," said an injured Omprakash, 52, who fled Mumbai for Patna. Curious onlookers seeking to know the latest situation in Maharashtra surrounded him on the platform"<sup>11</sup>.

According to an estimate, there are around 2.5 million migrants (from Bihar) working in Mumbai, and nearly half in many other cities of Maharashtra. These numbers will fast decrease if the present situation lasts much longer, say some in Patna. "A majority of Biharis are seething with anger at the humiliation and violence they were subjected to in Maharashtra," said Professor Binoy Kumar, who ran a welfare camp for fleeing migrants at the Patna railway station<sup>12</sup>. Paswan said his village in Samastipur typifies the situation in the state, surrounded by poverty, filth and violence. "It has no road, no electricity, no education, no health facilities," he said. Barring a handful of states, the entire country relies on them in construction of infrastructures like roads, railways and many other helps in transportation of basic needs. They forms the backbone of the nation's workforce.

In a study by Institute of Human Development (IHD) in 18 villages of north Bihar,

migration for employment has been a substantive rise. The study reveals that there was rise of 21% of migrant workers within 20 years i.e. between 1980 & 2000. The most important destinations were rural areas of Punjab and Haryana. Although by 90s, the Bihari migrants began opting out urban destinations, mainly to metropolitan cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Guwahati, Hyderabad and Surat. The IHD study also indicates that migrants contributed significantly to Bihar's economy in terms of new knowledge in technical fields and learned how to save remittances, which were crucial to the state's economy. The large-scale migration from rural to urban resulted in shortage of labour in the villages, particularly during the peak agricultural season, says the IHD study. This report also indicates that Bihar ranked at the bottom in the Human Development Indicator (HDI), which was about 20% lower than the national HDI<sup>13</sup>. With an estimated population of 90.2 million 536.91 lakh<sup>14</sup> people live below the poverty line in the state<sup>15</sup>. "Low wages combined with employment uncertainty, lack of educational institutions combined with lack of industry, and absence of market and investment opportunities means the Bihari migrants, whether educated or not, and their progeny, cannot come back, even if they want to," said Srikant. The main problem of Bihar's this worse position was considerably since the process of economic liberalisation in the 1990s. The time when the Indian economy was growing approximately at the rate of about 6%, the Bihar's economy was just half the national rate. One of the reasons could be continuation in increase of population growth as compare to the rest of the country. This confirms that the income levels of the average Bihari worsened compared with average Indians elsewhere," Dr Datta explained.

#### **Few Measurements to Minimise Migration Consequences**

Whatever measurement has been done so far to stop out-migration from Bihar state has been not up to the mark. This is a small piece of great news that I read in the Times of India today that there is 40% reduction of migration of workers from Bihar. As per the Labour resources department minister Janardan Singh Sigrival, the migration of unskilled workers from Bihar to other states has fallen by around 35-40% compared to what it was in 2005. Two years back this percentage was 30%. But this change could not change the mindset of Bihari migrants. In this context Dr. Datta believes that, "Bihar has historically suffered from a development deficit due to the lopsided economic policies of the British and subsequent Indian governments at the Centre, and needs special attention to catch up with the rest of the country". The state has to reform its demographic, economic and social policies. The increasing growth of population is creating major problem in the state and the government has to intervene seriously in controlling the birth rate & improving educational status of the state as a whole. From the Economic point of view the new agricultural technologies & the processing industries (both large and small scale) and healthier wages would definitely minimise the economic consequences and vice-versa out-migration. The provision of primary education (Surve

Shiksha Abhiyan) for each child would make them understand the positive and negative impacts of migration.

#### **Conclusion**

From the above study it can be make out that the out-migration from Bihar is very general phenomena. It is also be true that a few thousand people may have or might be planning to return to their homes following the violence in Maharashtra, but it is not going to change the real migration pattern from Bihar. There is barely any household without a member who has migrated outside the state. There is nothing wrong in Bihari's migration because they have contributed immensely to the economic growth of Maharashtra, Delhi, Punjab & Uttar Pradesh. It is also true that there is a great demand of Bihari labours in in Punjab mainly in bicycle industry. In all cases the lowest to highest jobs done by these people only. Bihar needs actually a true economic & social & cultural empowerment, because without social & cultural development such as in the fields of education and human welfare, one can't achieve the economic development. A metro for Patna will not make any difference. The other important step will be improving human capital. They need good education and healthcare, which would lead to improved living conditions and will reflect in skill-formation and increased productivity in all sectors. This will lay foundation for the basis for industrialisation, urbanization and employment-generation in Bihar. Otherwise, the Biharis themselves admit, the desperate dilemma of the Bihari in major cities in India.

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