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Understanding Educational Out-Migration: A Case Study of Himachal Pradesh

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Abstract

Efforts of the government to Universalize School Education have resulted in an increased demand for Higher Education on a large scale today. An outcome of which is very clearly visible in the large number of colleges and universities that have come up in the recent years. Students also move from one place to another to seek this education, evident in statistics pertaining to migration flows, where '*Education as a Reason to Migrate*' comes out an important reason for one to migrate out from the place of residence to new place. The focus of research on Migration of people has been mainly centered around economic causes and its outcomes. Education none the less is regarded as one of the main determinants of wages that one receives at both the source and the destination, but education as a reason to migrate has garnered negligible focus as far as research on migration is concerned. None the less it also forms a very important aspect of migration studies especially of the population below 25 years of age, as Educational Migration may pave the way to other forms of migration mainly economic, especially after the student has completed his/her studies at the current destination. Therefore it can also be suggested that educational migration as a prime mover precedes or leads to an economic cause in many cases as a student starts working at the place where he was studying. Although this may depend on external factors of opportunity and other related factors. This paper explores insights into such migration flows and tries to identify the causes that spur one to move out of one's native place for seeking education and implications of such a type of migration on the state of Himachal Pradesh. A case study of two districts has been undertaken to have an in-depth understanding of such migration processes.

Author

Statement: All the views expressed in the paper are of the author(s).

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Suman Negi

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration, along with fertility and mortality, is an important process of population change that influences the distribution, composition and size of population and generally could be attributed to various economic, social, cultural, political and geographic reasons. Education has also become an important causative factor for many people to move from one place to another, leading to mutations in the social, cultural and economic attributes of the place of destination.

The concept of mobility or migration concerns the movement of persons from one place to another. A considerable part of this movement is incidental to carrying on the activities of daily life which may include commuting to and fro to place of work, attending a school, shopping, travelling for business or leisure, etc. However, these are to be distinguished from the type of mobility that involves switching residence to place of destination. It is this latter type of mobility that is envisaged by the concept of Migration. A movement is termed as 'migration' if it involves change of residence from one village /town to another village / town. Therefore for a movement to qualify as migration it should involve crossing over from one administrative territory to another. Driving forces behind such movements could be marriage, employment, education, displacement due to construction of dams, roads, etc.

Migration is undoubtedly the most complex component of population change. According to Trewartha, migration is an indicator of racial, linguistic and nationalistic intermingling of earth's population. Hence one can easily infer that migration is a very complicated global issue and there are no standard criteria applicable at all units or scales which can provide a perfect definition of Migration.

1.2 Defining Migration: Migration as a process is complicated to define and measure; the definitions related to migration vary according to the objectives of various studies. Different agencies that collect data pertaining to migration have their own exact definition of migration. The two key indicators on the basis of which migration has been mainly identified are place of one's birth and the place of one's last residence. The United Nation (1970) defines migration as a move from one migration-defining area to another (or a move of some specified minimum distance) that was made during a given migration interval and that involved a change of residence. A migrant is a person who has changed his usual place of residence from one migration-defining area to another (or who moved some specified minimum distance) at least once during the migration interval.

The two main bodies that collect information on migration in India are the Office of the Registrar General of India (ORGI) and the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO). The ORGI conducts census every 10 years that captures information on migration and the NSSO collects data every five years approximately. Both these agencies have their similar definitions of migration with slight variations.

The Census of India defines a migrant as "a person who has moved from one politically defined area to another similar area. In the Indian context, these areas are generally a village in rural and a town in urban. Thus a person who moves out from one village or town to another village or town is termed as a migrant provided his/her movement is not of purely temporary nature on account of casual leave, visits, tours, etc." The Census also has two basic criterion – *Birth Place Migrant*: "If at the time of Census enumeration, there is a change in the usual place of residence of an individual with

reference to his/her birth place, he/she is defined as a migrant in accordance with 'birth place' concept' and Last Residence Migrant: 'If at the time of Census enumeration, a change in the usual place of residence of an individual is noted with reference to his/her previous usual residence, he/she is termed as a migrant in accordance with 'last residence' concept''.

The Census of India collects data on the movement of people across boundaries within the district, across the districts, within the state, across the states and also across national boundaries. The two criteria for collecting data as mentioned earlier on migration are by- Place of Birth and Place of Last Residence, which further has duration of stay associated with it. Data under these two categories that determine a migrant is collected for each individual in the country and is published in the D-Series Migration Tables, with further sub-classifications.

In spite of migration data of the Census being very detailed, time lag associated with the availability of the tabulated data comes across as one of the main challenges in the timely and more elaborate use of this data. The disaggregation of data on migration is at the District level therefore for research based on secondary data below the District is not possible. Also the State wise data that is available mainly pertains to data based on Place of Last Residence, which is given state wise for migration into the state, therefore to calculate the out migration flows, one has to do it indirectly with available data which is very time consuming and may lead to errors.

The NSSO in its 64th round has defined a migrant as "a household member whose last Usual Place of Residence (UPR), anytime in the past (six months) was different from the present place of enumeration was considered as a migrant member in a household".

It is evident that the two components of migration "time" and "distance" both are inherently important in defining the process of migration. Hence migration can probably be best defined as the crossing of a spatial boundary by one or more persons involving a change of residence (Kok, 1999). Any attempt to define migration has to take into consideration both the spatial and temporal aspects.

2. WHY PEOPLE MIGRATE

According to census 2001, there were 314 million migrants based on the criterion of last residence, out of these migrants, 268 million (85%) were intra-state migrants, 41 million (13%) were interstate migrants and the remaining 5.1 million (1.6%) were international migrants. The Census also collects information on some of the main reason for their movement from the last place of residence. In 2001, the reasons behind migration were classified into seven broad groups namely - work/employment, business, education, marriage, moved at birth, moved with family and others.

Analyzing migration numbers along with reasons behind such migration gives us better insights into understanding the current migration scenario. It is observed that employment among males and marriage among females are the main reasons for migration. Associational reasons – movement on account of accompanying parents or any other member of the family is cited as the second most important reason among both male and female inter-censal migrants.

The table 1 below displays the distribution of migrants in terms of the seven broad reasons. In a total duration of 0 to 9 years, 98 million people moved and out of which around 44 percent of the total inter-censal migrants moved due to marriage. In terms of gender 65 percent of females have migrated owing to their marriages as compared to 2 percent among males. The overwhelming preponderance of marriage-related migration skews results on trends and patterns in certain directions. Excluding marriage-related migration, internal migration in India is comparatively more employment oriented, male oriented and long distance (Srivastava, 2011).

Table 1: Reasons for Migration by Last Residence (0-9 Years) India, 2001

Reason for migrations	Number of Migrants			Percentage to Migrants		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Work / Employment	144,46,224	123,73,333	20,72,891	14.7	37.6	3.2
Business	11,36,372	9,50,245	1,86,127	1.2	2.9	0.3
Education	29,15,189	20,38,675	8,76,514	3	6.2	1.3
Marriage	431,00,911	6,79,852	424,21,059	43.8	2.1	64.9
Moved after birth	65,77,380	34,28,673	31,48,707	6.7	10.4	4.8
Moved with households	206,08,105	82,62,143	123,45,962	21	25.1	18.9
Other	95,17,161	51,64,065	43,53,096	9.7	15.7	6.7
Total migrants	983,01,342	328,96,986	654,04,356	100	100	100

Source: Table D3, Census of India 2001.

Among male migrants, employment has continued to be the main reason for migration with about 37.6 percent of the migrants moving for work. Moving together with the household accounted for the second largest reason for movement at 21 percent. Education as one of the reasons for migration involved 3 percent of the migrant population, gender wise 6.2 per cent males migration for education as compared to females (1.3 %).

Analysing similar migration data for Himachal Pradesh for the same period in table 2 shows a trend similar to the national trend, although the inter-reason percentages vary. Marriage is the main reason for migration as 42.62 per cent of the total migrants move due to marriage out of which females account for 65 per cent of the movement in the state. The second highest proportion of migrants moved due to economic reasons, in which males account for about 51 percent of the total movement. The number of those moving to seek education had a higher percentage at 3.97 per cent to the total migrants as compared to the national average. In terms of gender, migration for education was higher for the males (6.64 %) and females (2.35%) as compared to the national average.

Table 2: Reasons for Migration by Last Residence (0-9 Years) Himachal Pradesh, 2001

Reason for migrations	Number of Migrants			Percentage to Migrants		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Work / Employment	1,74,542	1,55,103	19,439	21.81	51.35	3.90
Business	4,707	4,124	583	0.59	1.37	0.12
Education	31,766	20,052	11,714	3.97	6.64	2.35
Marriage	3,40,995	2,737	3,38,258	42.62	0.91	67.92
Moved after birth	22,377	12,126	10,251	2.80	4.01	2.06
Moved with households	1,51,192	58,426	92,766	18.90	19.34	18.63
Other	74,526	49,497	25,029	9.31	16.39	5.03
Total migrants	8,00,105	3,02,065	4,98,040	100	100	100

Source: Table D3, Census of India 2001

3. MIGRATION FOR EDUCATION IN INDIA

In a diverse country like India, educational progress varies along lines of social, economic and regional diversities. There exist inter-state disparities in terms of availability of basic educational services and provisions. Although this gap has been shrunk at the basic level of schooling but it still exists at the higher education level.

The efforts of the government to Universalize School Education have resulted in an increased demand for higher education on a large scale today. An outcome

of which is very clearly visible in the large number of colleges and universities that have come up in the recent years, wherein the total number of university-level institutions, both under public and private domain, have increased by almost threefolds in a span of 12 years from 265 Universities in 2002 to 711 Universities 2014. The total number of colleges increased from 7346 colleges in 1991 to 40,760 colleges 2014 (UGC 2015), reflecting an increase of 81 per cent. The number of private colleges has increased rapidly not only due to flexible government policies but also due to latent demand for higher education. In some specific areas like engineering and management, more than 90% of institutions are in the private sector (Tilak, 2014)

In a scenario where the government is making two pronged efforts to enhance seats in higher education institutions and also to increase higher enrolments at schools levels, students aspiring for better opportunities have begun to move locations. These movements are to areas where there are better educational services and opportunities available. Therefore, migration for education can be seen to deal with problems related to unavailability of courses and institutions of higher/professional learning along quest for better quality of education.

The University Grants Commission has also highlighted the issue of a tremendous increase in the demand for higher education which is leading to a situation where demand has outstripped the existing capacity of universities and colleges. Therefore, a shortage in the number of institutions and lack of desired courses can be seen as a challenge for students residing in these areas. The desire to overcome these challenges leads to migration of students from these deficient areas to places that offer better educational facilities – evident from the statistics on migration flows due to ‘education as a reason to migrate’. This paper through its course will try and capture some of these migration trends and patterns and outcomes of such migration flows.

The association between education and migration in most available researches has been examined more from the context of the educated or educational qualification being the catalyst for economic (skilled) migration, as many studies/ reports have cited that in the last few years migration has been increasingly seen among skilled professionals and scholars (Khadria 1999).

The focus of research on Migration of people has been mainly centered on economic causes and its outcomes. Education none the less is regarded as one of the main determinants of wages that one receives at both the source and the destination (Wills, 1989), but education as a reason to migrate has garnered negligible focus as far as migration research is concerned. Nonetheless it also forms a very important aspect of migration studies especially of the population below 25 years of age, as *Educational Migration¹ may pave the way to other forms of migration mainly economic, especially after the student has completed his/her studies at the current destination. Therefore it can also be suggested that educational migration as a cause precede or lead to an economic cause in many cases as a student starts working at the place where he was studying. Although this may depend on external factors of opportunity and other related factors.*

Processes of educational migration can also be contested from the perspective of large scale educational movements, reflecting on the poor or insufficient quality and quantity requirements in the given education system of a region. These further having consequences at the place of destination where local students in many cities find it difficult to get admission as there are no seats left in the desired educational institution or the increased competition a lower ranked institution. Consequently such migration processes may have deeper rooted outcomes than that is anticipated and visible. Further making it a very pertinent issue to be researched so that the underlying facts can be identified and policy and planning requirements can be directed accordingly.

Although migration as a process and a domain of study has been researched at great lengths but as far as Educational Migration is concerned there is meager research available. While education as a reason to migrate has often been examined more from a perspective of international migration, its Internal educational migration of students from one Village, Town, District or State to another lacks research in India and therefore needs focus.

3.1 Internal Migration for Education in India:

This section with the help of available Census 2001

¹ Educational Migration in the study has been defined as Education being the main reason/cause of Migration from one place to another.

data makes a modest attempt to study the patterns of student out-migration from one State to another. The D3 tables of the migration data from the Census gives details about educational outmigration within India for different periods. Table 3 below describes migration patterns of those moving for education (0 to 9 years) by place of last residence. It is clearly visible that inter district migration has the highest share of migrants at 3.56 per cent as compared to intra-district (2.8 %) and inter-state (2.6%) relatively showing lower proportions of movements. Males represented a higher proportion of migrants, where intra-district migration share was the highest at 7.3 percent followed by inter-district and inter-state migration. The number of females that moved for education was lesser as compared to males and the distances they covered was highest within the states where they were residing (1.7%). These figures overall reflect that those who move for education from their place of residence mainly like to confine themselves more to the state that they belong.

Table 3: Proportion of Out- Migrants for Education to Total Migrants (0-9 Years) India

Last Residence	Persons	Male	Female
Intra District	2.8	7.3	1.2
Inter District	3.6	6.8	1.7
Inter State	2.7	3.8	1.4

Source: D3 Census of India, 2001

3.2 Rural and Urban Variations: The following table shows the proportion of educational migrants to total migrants for duration of less than 4 years recorded at various destinations. This duration has been captured mainly with the aim of understanding these educational movements in the later part the decade due to paucity of data. Table 4 represents the rural and urban migrants moving out of their place of residence for education. The rural migrants moving out for education signified a higher proportion of intra-district and inter-district movements, as compared to a higher proportion of inter-district and inter-state movement by the urban migrants. Males overall represented a higher proportion of movements but looking at the gender trend in the urban areas there is relatively a higher proportion of females who are moving out to study, wherein inter-district migration accounted for 4 percent of the movements followed by inter-state migration where 3.9 per cent females moved. This could mainly be

associated with better facilities and transport system available in urban areas.

Table 4: Proportion of Out- Migrants for Education to Total Migrants (0-4 Years) India

Last Residence	Total (Rural)			Total (Urban)		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
Intra District	4.5	12.1	1.9	3.6	5.3	2.1
Inter District	4.6	9.0	2.0	6.6	9.7	4.0
Inter State	2.1	3.1	1.0	6.4	8.8	3.9

Source: D3 Census of India, 2001

We could therefore conclude that a higher proportion of those living in urban areas move longer distances. On the contrary those residing in rural areas that represent a higher proportion of short distance movements. Males move more than females for education and males also move longer distances when compared to females for education.

4. EDUCATIONAL MIGRATION IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

4.1 Why Himachal Pradesh?: Based on the D3 Tables of the Census of India data for 2001, the proportion of educational out-migrants from the states of India were calculated, by *Place of Last Residence*. Table 5 represents the ten states that had the highest proportion of educational out- migrants, wherein Himachal Pradesh represented a relatively higher share of 5 percent of the total migrants in comparison to a national average of 3 percent to total migrants. It represented the third highest proportion to total migrants only after Kerala and Jammu and Kashmir excluding the UT's and North-Eastern states. Consequently implying that, Himachal Pradesh has a relatively higher proportion of people migrating out for education. Himachal Pradesh becomes interesting to study also because when we talk of education in general the state is regarded as one of the educationally developed states of India. Therefore to dwell deeper to understand the trends and patterns of these movements and some reasons associated with such a form of movement may be valuable to get an in-depth understanding of migration.

The NSSO 64th round on Employment and Unemployment and Migration Survey (2008), also represents 130 per 1000 Out-Migrants reported '*Studies*' as a reason to migrate in the state in comparison to the

national average of 78 per 1000 out-migrants. These statistics only indicate that irrespective of the state being relatively developed on the education front, out-migration to seek education is clearly visible from the available statistics. The reason why these people move out to seek education is not clearly depicted and explored in these statistics but there could be various factors involved. Therefore paucity of available research and data pertaining to migration in general and educational Migration in particular marks out the importance of research on this theme in the state of Himachal Pradesh. The study will try to dwell deeper and try and identify some of the reasons as to why people move.

Table 5: Proportion of Educational Out Migrants with their Duration- 2001

Rank	Last Residence	Less than 1 year	1-4 Years	5-9 Years	0-9 Years	
						<i>Proportion to total Migrants</i>
	Last residence elsewhere in India	4.1	4.6	0.9	3.0	
	Intra-State	4.7	4.7	0.9	3.0	
	Intra-District	5.1	4.3	0.7	2.8	
	Inter-District	4.0	5.5	1.3	3.6	
	Inter-State	2.3	3.9	1.1	2.6	
	Out Migration from Major States					
1	Kerala	10.1	12.5	2.4	8.7	
2	Jammu & Kashmir	4.7	8.8	2.9	6.5	
3	Himachal Pradesh	7.6	7.0	1.8	5	
4	Uttarakhand	4.1	4.1	1.4	3	
5	Assam	3.9	4.3	1.3	3.1	
6	Delhi	3.6	4.6	1.0	3.2	
7	Andhra Pradesh	3.4	5.6	1.2	3.8	
8	Punjab	3.3	3.8	1.0	2.6	
9	Haryana	2.9	3.4	0.8	2.3	
10	West Bengal	2.8	4.0	1.0	2.8	

Source: D-3 Tables Census of India, 2001.

When we try to explore data on educational migration from the Census of India, there are various concerns, especially in relation to out-migration, as data is not provided directly. The D3 Tables that gives information on the reasons for migration, which also includes education at the state level, gives it with relation with the place of last residence from where the migrant has moved. Therefore if we take information from the tables on Himachal Pradesh, it represents migration into Himachal Pradesh from other states and countries and gives its duration. On the contrary if one requires data for out-migration from Himachal Pradesh one will have to calculate it in an indirect manner, wherein

you visit the page of every state and take the out-migration from Himachal Pradesh into that particular state and likewise collate the data for all the other states. This is an indirect measure of putting together out-migration data from Himachal Pradesh to the different states of the country. This study also follows a similar methodology to capture the out-migration data that has been represented in the tables below.

4.2 Proportion of Total Migrants and Educational Migrants from Himachal Pradesh: Table 5 below represents the total (urban + rural) distribution of total migrants and educational out-migrants from Himachal Pradesh for all duration to top 10 major destinations states in the country. In the total migration, the maximum people are migrating out to the states of Punjab (37 %), U.T. of Delhi (17.9%), U.T. of Chandigarh (12.4 %) and Haryana (11.3%). There is still significant out-migration to Uttar Pradesh (4.1 %), Uttaranchal (4.4 %) and Maharashtra (3.2 %) and the least degree of migration is to the states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Orissa. Out-migration of males and females show a similar trend to that of total migration and the highest proportion of these migrants move to the states of Punjab and Haryana that are located closest to Himachal Pradesh.

The table also shows educational out-migration from Himachal Pradesh to various states in India, wherein out of the total out-migrants who are going out for education the highest proportion of people are going to Chandigarh (32.6 %), followed by union territory of Delhi (15.3%), Maharashtra (12.4 %), Punjab (11.5 %) and Karnataka (10.7 %). Chandigarh, Delhi and Punjab received the highest migrants. Another factor that could be influencing this choice amongst the student population is that these places are relatively bigger urban centers with a large number of educational institutes and colleges offering a large array of courses. Maharashtra and Karnataka receive significant educational migrants from Himachal Pradesh as these states have a lot of professional degree colleges for engineering, medical and management.

Table 5: Total Educational Out-Migration from Himachal to 10 Major Destinations

S.No	Current Place of Residence	Proportion of Total migrants			Proportion of Educational Migrants		
		T	M	F	T	M	F
1	Punjab	37.0	30.6	42.4	11.5	10.9	13.5
2	Delhi	17.9	21.8	14.6	15.3	15.5	14.9

3	Chandigarh	12.4	15.7	9.5	32.6	31.0	37.1
4	Haryana	11.3	9.9	12.6	4.8	3.9	7.3
5	Uttaranchal	4.4	3.9	4.8	4.8	4.5	5.8
6	Uttar Pradesh	4.2	3.2	4.9	2.1	2.0	2.5
7	Maharashtra	3.2	4.1	2.3	12.4	14.2	7.0
8	Jammu & Kashmir	2.3	2.3	2.3	0.9	0.6	1.8
9	Gujarat	2.0	2.2	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.7
10	Rajasthan	1.8	2.1	1.6	1.0	0.8	1.5
	Others	3.7	4.2	3.2	13.0	15.1	7.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: D-3 Tables Census of India, 2001

Analyzing the Male and Female educational out-migration patterns, a similar trend was observed. Although the proportion of females that moved to the Punjab and Chandigarh was higher than the males, a higher proportion of males on the other hand moved to states located at higher spatial distances. The states of Jharkhand, Orissa and Chhattisgarh witnessed the least number of educational out-migrants, and this could be due to these areas being relatively backward with fewer educational opportunities available for students in these states.

5. CASE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL OUT-MIGRATION FROM HIMACHAL

The previous segment with the support of limited secondary data available focused on migration in general and educational migration in particular. Consequently to fill this information gap a primary survey was conducted in the two districts of Hamirpur and Kullu of Himachal Pradesh from households those who send their wards out of the place of residence to peruse a course. The districts of Hamirpur and Kullu were selected on the basis of highest and lowest availability of educational institutions respectively in relation to the population in the relevant age group of 18-24 years. This was done with the rationale to get a comprehensive understanding of migration for education and its related controlling factors with regards to the state of Himachal Pradesh. This study is a part of a research project and the field survey was conducted in November, 2014.

5.1 Sample: The sample size selected for the study included a total number of 370 households. The households for the study were selected on the basis of the presence of atleast one member who is between the

age groups 18-29 years of age, with a member in this age group studying outside the place of residence. Such types of households were difficult to find as they were scattered and also most households did not send their wards out to study. Therefore more than a proportional representation to the number of households present in the village or town, the number of households selected was mainly on the basis of availability of such households that send their wards out of the present village or town to study. There were a total of 485 students from these 370 households who were enrolled outside the place of residence.

Information on the whereabouts of those who had moved out for education was collected from the respondents of these household. These migrants were further classified based on their place of study into these categories of-Same District: Rural/ Urban; Same State but another District: Rural/ Urban; Another State: Rural/Urban and another country. This was done with the purpose to identify the movement patterns these students followed for education from their native place. Various indicators pertaining to the socio-economic background of the student, courses selected by them, reasons associated with their movement etc. have been analysed keeping these four movements in the background.

5.2 Main Findings: The *socio-economic* background of migrants can form one of the main determinants for their movement and also the distance that they undertake to study. The 370 sample households that were surveyed comprised of 71 per cent general population 13 per cent scheduled caste, 12 per cent scheduled tribe and 4 per cent OBC population. Males represented 52 per cent of the total population as compared to 48 per cent females. Hinduism was the most dominant religion (87 %) followed by Buddhist (11%) and Sikhs (2%). The main activity of those residing in the rural areas was agriculture whereas service and business were predominant activities in the urban areas.

The probability of movement of any nature outside ones place of residence is higher amongst its male members; this could mainly be due to our social, cultural and economic setting of our country. Taking the case of educational migration also a higher number of males migrated as compared to females, where the ratio was approximately 60:40 respectively. Female showed a higher intra-state movement compared to movements outside the state and the case was vice versa for males. Caste although did not have a very significant role to

play as far as movement patterns were concerned, but the OBC's and ST's moved shorter distances within the state as compared to the general population.

Table 7: Educational Out-Migration by Caste and Gender

Type of Movement	Caste				Gender		n
	General	SC	ST	OBC	Male	Female	
Intra District	8.7	8.6	4.8	4.8	7.8	8.4	39
Inter District	29.1	34.5	43.5	47.6	31.2	34.2	157
Inter State	60.2	56.9	50.0	47.6	60.0	54.7	281
Another Country	2.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.0	2.6	8
<i>n</i>	344	58	62	21	295	190	485
Total	70.9	12.0	12.8	4.3	60.8	39.2	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Examining the pattern of movements of these educational out-migrants it is evident in Table 6 that Inter-State migrants (57.9%) represented the highest proportion of educational migrants, followed by Inter District (32.4 %) and Intra District (8 %) migrants. Inter Country migration accounted for the lowest proportion (1.6 %). Comparing the two districts, Kullu which had a lower share of institutions represented a higher proportion of shorter distance movements as compared to Hamirpur which had better availability of institutions but still people moved longer distances. This pattern of movement only confirms that even if educational institutions are available the aspiration to move to another place to study exists. These aspirations could be relative to those who move, which we will explore in the course of this study but most people reported that the choice in the desired course was the main reason.

Table 6: District-wise Place of Educational Out-Migration

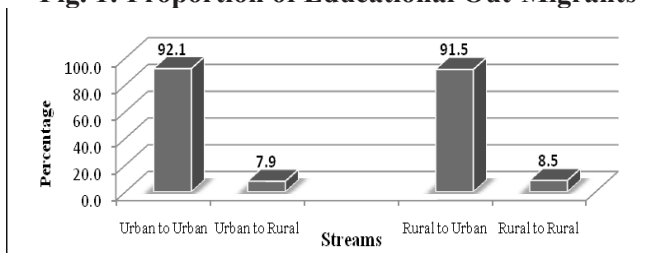
Type of Movement	Kullu	Hamirpur	n	Total
Intra District	82.1	17.9	39	8
Inter District	49.7	50.3	157	32.4
Inter State	45.9	54.1	281	57.9
Another Country	50.0	50.0	8	1.6
Total	50.1	49.9	485	100

Source: Field Survey

The *Streams of Migration* with relation to education may not be very significant, taken the conjecture that educational institutions are mainly centered around urban spaces and the main supposition would be that the direction would follow an urban trend. The rural

inhabitants in the state of Himachal comprises of 90 per cent of the total population, hence even strengthening the assumption of an urban movement. Figure 1 below represents the urban and rural migration streams that the sample population followed. In both rural and urban cases though a marginal fraction, the population did follow a rural stream, this was mainly due to some technical institutions both under the government and private management located in rural areas mainly to due easily available and cheap land. Such a steam of movement to rural areas, especially from urban areas also signifies the value the course or degree hold for the individuals, irrespective of where it is located.

Fig. 1: Proportion of Educational Out-Migrants



Source: Field Survey

The *Course* a student desires to pursue and its related aspects such as availability, structure, institution, quality, recognition, placements, standing etc. forms an important factor to choose the place of destination. To get a comprehensive understanding of the spatial movements these migrants follow to pursue the course of their choice, investigating the course along with the type of movement becomes imperative. The respondents who were mainly parents of those who had migrated out for education were questioned on the course their ward is perusing at the place of destination.

Table 8: Educational Out-Migration by Course Enrolled in

Type of Movement	Course Currently Pursuing				n
	Coaching	Diploma/Certificate Course	Graduate	PG & Above	
Intra District	0.0	29.0	7.4	5.3	39
Inter District	22.2	35.5	32.8	31.6	157
Inter State	77.8	35.5	58.5	60.2	280
Another Country	0.0	0.0	1.3	3.0	8
n	9	31	311	133	9
Total	1.9	6.4	64.3	27.5	484

Source: Field Survey

The responds were compiled and categorized into four

broad groups viz. coaching, diploma or certificate courses, graduation and post graduation and above; these were tabulated with the place where they had migrated to. Hence based on these categories, table 8 signifies that distance of travel increases with the level of course one is perusing for example 35 per cent of the migrants moved to another state for a certificate or diploma course, 58 per cent for a graduation programme and 60 per cent to peruse a course at the post graduate level or above. Intra district movements were highest amongst those who moved for a certificate or diploma course (29%) as compared to most of those going abroad were for post graduation or above. Taking course wise average movement 64 per cent of the sample population moved for graduation as compared to 27 per cent that moved for post graduation.

Household Income comes across as another important determinant that could have a huge bearing on the place selected for migration along with the course one is perusing. Migration also involves a variety of costs and more distant a place greater will be the travel cost (Prakash and Mohanty, 2005). Migration for an economic purpose the monetary exchange by the migrants is between the place of origin and place of destination, where he may be remitting money from his place of work to the place where his family is (place of destination). On the contrary educational migration is a dependent form of migration, dependence on the family or anyone who is financially supporting the student at the place of origin or elsewhere. Therefore the economic standing of the family comes as the main factors for choosing the destination as well the course and institution. Analysing the distribution of migrants with the family income groups it is clearly visible in Table 9 most of the students (37.7%) who moved out for studies belonged to households having an average monthly income between Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 50,000, the second largest group (35.7 %) of students belonged to households with monthly income above Rs. 50,000. Therefore, suggesting that more than 70 per cent of the sample population who moved out to study belonged to households with an average monthly income over Rs. 25,000, as compared to 5 per cent who belonged to households having an average income of Rs. 10,000 or less.

Table 9: Family Income Categories of Educational Out-Migrants

Type of movement	Monthly Family Income in Rupees				
	Less than 10000	10000-25000	25000-50000	More than 50000	<i>n</i>
Intra District	5.2	33.3	17.9	43.6	39
Inter District	7	22.9	37.6	32.5	157
Inter State	4.3	19.2	40.6	35.9	281
Another Country	0.0	12.5	37.5	50.0	8
Total	25	104	183	173	485
	5.2	21.4	37.7	35.7	

Source: Field Survey

Examining the movement patterns amongst educational migrants with the household income, one fact that is evidently visible from the data given in the table above is that income does not necessarily come as the main determinant of distance with this sample population. As the highest proportion (43.6 %) of migrants who had covered the shortest distance through intra-district movements, belonged to the highest income group of Rs. 50,000 and above, as compared to little over 5 per cent had moved who belonged to the income groups below Rs. 10,000. While examining the courses these students had undertaken it was B.Ed for which most had enrolled that too in private Institutions. There were 8 people who had traveled abroad to pursue a professional course, only 4 of these belonged to families having an average monthly income of more than Rs. 50,000.

One feature that emerges out from these figures is that most of those who sent their children out of their place of residence to study were not very wealthy and comprised of middle class families which again affirms that aspirations drive these households for a better economic well being that further motivates them to send their children to another place to study.

A modest attempt has been made to study *Expenditure on Education* incurred by the families of those who had moved, although it was a complex task to extract information regarding the money that they spent for the education of their children, as most did not keep an accurate account of expenditures yet some did give approximate figures. Hence these costs incurred were tabulated along with the type of movement undertaken by the student to understand if there was any sort of association. Examining some heads of expenditures made by the parents of these households it is evident

that distance may have not played a very important role as far as the income of the family was concerned but it definitely had an association with the expenditure that incurred on the family. Expenditure on education increased with distance, where the average annual expenditure on intra district-movements were Rs. 45,003, inter districts movements were Rs. 50,686, inter State expenditures were Rs. 89,353 and average expenditures of sending a child abroad approximately exceeded Rs 10 lakhs. Taking into account the different head of expenditure tuition fees accounted for the highest share to the total expenditure, this could mainly be due to most of the institutions being under the private control and students fees account for 100 per cent of the total cost in these institutions (Tilak, 2014).

Table 10: Average Annual Expenditure by Educational Out-Migrants

	Fees	Hostel/Rent	Total	
			Expenditure	<i>n</i>
Intra District	37,219	23,185	45,003	39
Inter District	43,349	22,244	50,686	157
Inter State	75,405	40,412	89,353	281
Another Country	-		10,52,857	8
N	366	321	451	485

Source: Field Survey

Reason for sending child outside the village: Sending a child out to study could be a very complex situation and process as it involves aspiration that would determine their economic well being. Most of these families who send their children were first generation senders; therefore their aspirations were even higher. Most sent their children outside (the place of stay) to study because of the lack of better educational opportunities and quality education at the place of stay. Most respondents were not content with a limited number of colleges and courses available, as they said this limits the economic prospects of their children. One aspect that emerged out from most cases is the desire to admit their wards into a professional course, the nature of which was very relative to these rural respondents as they felt it was directly linked to the job market. Ironically many had sent their children to undertake professional courses only because a relative, neighbor or friend has sent their child, for example there were cases where some

sent their children abroad (China/Russia) to peruse a medical courses, totally on trust through an agent, only because their relatives had done so. Many spent more than they could afford for the education of their children, by even selling off their land in the hope to get a well paying job. Therefore to send children outside for higher education included better opportunity for future outside especially in big urban centers.

Reason for choosing present destination: The choice of selecting the place of destination mainly was done by the parents of the students who migrated and in most cases it was directly associated with the place where one got admission in a desired course. These courses as discussed before mainly included professional and technical courses. Some of the students also arrived at the current destination because they qualified competitive examinations and managed getting admission in a reputed institution or college at the national level. Parents said that they mainly chose destinations which were relatively closer to where they lived and Punjab, Chandigarh, Haryana and Delhi came as some of the common destinations to most migrants. Another reason that came out as a factor for selecting a particular destination was having someone known to the parents or the migrants themselves. This according to the parents gave them an assurance of the security of their children. Students also selected destinations where someone they knew was already studying before, and in such cases they even followed the course that the other person was doing, for example many students from Kullu district had migrated to Shimla and Solan districts of Himachal Pradesh following someone known and had enrolled in the private institutions to do a B.Tech course that have come up in the last few years.

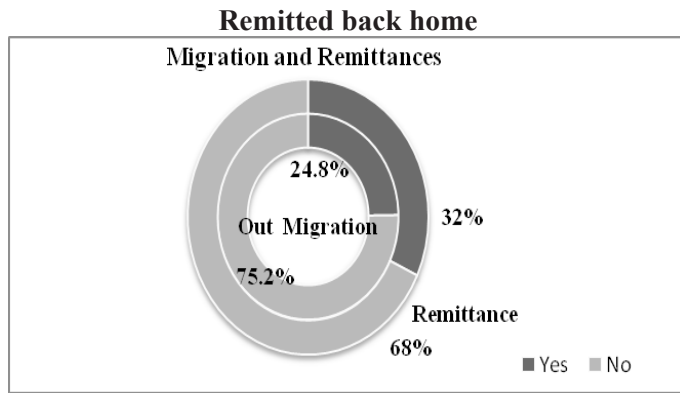
How can the existing Higher Education System be enhanced?: Parents were also questioned as to what they think about the existing situation of higher education in their area, to which most of them showed their dismay. We further asked them on their suggestions on how to strengthen and improve the existing higher education system in their area for which they gave some very valuable suggestions. Apart from the generic issues related to quality, facilities, number of seats, teacher qualifications and recruitment, some of the other inputs given by the parents included expansion and upgradation of existing colleges and technical institutions especially under the government

ambit and good private institutions can also be set up as the existing ones are not of required standards. Courses offered in most of the existing colleges was limited, hence contemporary courses which are directly linked to employability should be set up. Some also said that existing private colleges charge students more than the fee structure provided by the government, hence issues like this should be regulated. Hamirpur district relatively had higher number of institutions but still parents reported that their children found it difficult to get admission due to tough competition and limited seats for domicile residents.

Consequences of Out –Migration: The outcomes of processes as complex as migration can be very difficult to capture, because once the migrant leaves his/her place of residence, then to trace the whereabouts can be a difficult and an expensive exercise. One way of to capture some basic indirect information could be through the household which sent these migrants, in some cases the households were not be able to give information as desired by the survey team as they were not aware of the details of these migrants. Therefore using these households from the study who had sent their children out to study an attempt has been made to identify some basic outcomes.

The respondents were questioned on whether any members migrated out prior to the current migrant. Out of the 370 respondents who were asked this question 75.2 per cent responded no preceding movements from the family as compared to 24.8 per cent who reported that someone from the household had moved previously. These respondents were further asked if those who had moved out remitted any money back home, to which 32 per cent said yes, although 68 per cent said no money was remitted. The reason for not remitting money they explained was these individuals had taken their spouse and children along to the place of migration. What one can infer from these figures is that the proportion of migrants has increased, wherein the number of educational migrants in this generation as compared to the total migrants who had moved before from these households had increased by almost 75 per cent. Another key finding could be that most of these households were not economically dependent on the migrants.

Fig. 2: Proportion of Out Migrants and Money



Source: Field Survey

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Higher education in our country today is growing at a very fast pace. This rise in educational participation can be attributed to economic growth, increasing economic returns from professional and technical courses and growing middle class aspirations further creating a demand for higher education. The public sector has not been able to meet with this demand in many pockets and regions of India, therefore those aspiring to pursue a degree in higher education have begun to move from their locations to places where these opportunities are available. This study explored this theme of educational migration for higher education and attempted to locate the main factors associated with such a form of migration.

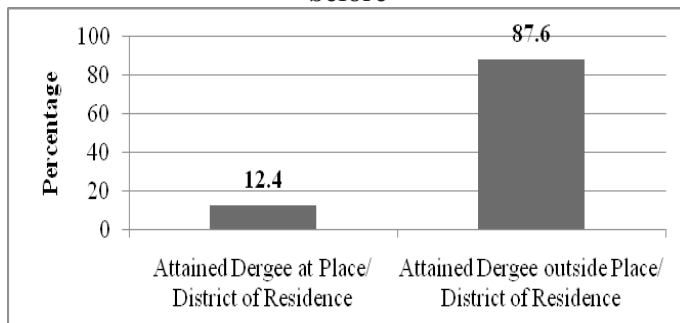
The proportion of those migrating out for education from the state of Himachal Pradesh is relatively high when compared with the other states of India. Findings of secondary data revealed that out of all those who moved out for education a higher percentage signified an intra state movement as compared to those who moved within the state. Urban migrants for education were higher than rural migrants; this also comes out as an interesting fact because availability of higher educational institutions is higher in urban areas. The data also revealed that the proportion of migrants and distance was inversely related, where longer the distance lesser the proportion of migrants and shorter the distance larger the proportion of migrants. Another interesting fact that emerged from the data for the state was that the gender differentials for educational out migrants were relatively low and ironically females signified a higher proportion of migrants to states located closer to Himachal Pradesh and the case was vice versa for males.

The primary study dwelled deeper into the complex process of migration and explored reasons as to why people migrate for education. Facts gathered revealed that this was mainly an outcome of shortage in availability of institutions of higher learning offering professional degrees in the area. Existing institutions do not have adequate number of seats available obligating

One interesting observation that was made during the survey was that some of the migrants who have returned lately after completing their education are finding it very difficult to get employed. Parents of some of these graduates complained that even after spending so much money on a professional course, their children are sitting at home without a job. These are common problems that many graduates in India are facing and research illustrates issues such as these to the quality of graduates that most of the private professional institutions that are producing low employable graduates.

In order to understand the outcomes of educational out-migration from these household, the place where one had completed his/her higher education was asked for those who had migrated before. Although a very crude measure, this was done with the aim to get the proportion of those who had migrated citing education as a reason and had not returned. Out of the total that had migrated, 86.6 per cent had migrated to attain their degrees also, implying that after receiving the degree they continued working outside the place of residence, as compared to 12.4 per cent who had migrated but had completed their education in the same place or district of residence.

Fig. 3 Place of Education of those who had migrated before



aspirants to choose a different location where there are seats available. Many families also sent their children out only because someone who they knew had done so before, decisions were mainly those of parents and most of those who migrated were for professional and technical courses. Households that sent their children out to study comprised of different income categories, but the cost of migration is directly related to the distance one travels, shorter distances were covered mainly by the lower income categories.

Therefore we could conclude that internal out-migration for education is a rare area of research as compared to international educational mobility and migration for economic reasons, therefore more focus is required in this area. Paucity and untimely availability of data comes as the biggest challenge for research on this theme. Based on some of the preliminary findings recommendations could include that the cost a family bears for the higher education of a child relatively high, especially in the private domain. In many cases the rate of return may not be similar or as expected due to low levels of skills acquired, therefore the government needs to regulate the quality input of teachers and facilities and needs to accredit institutions regularly for better outputs, with a string regulatory authority. The number of professional and technical institutions in the study area needs to be increased as per the demand.

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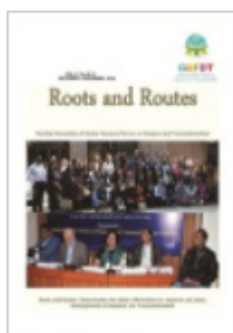
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GRFDT NEWSLETTER

***Roots and Routes* disseminates the latest information on research and policy developments in Diaspora and trans**

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