



Perceptions of Migration and Health among Migrant Workers in Lucknow, India

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Abstract: India is also currently experiencing rapid increases in obesity and diabetes. It is believed that migrants from rural to urban areas may be particularly vulnerable to developing obesity and diabetes, but little robust information to examine this hypothesis exists. Epidemiologists have traditionally hypothesised the health consequences of migration in terms of exposures experienced in the home country; exposures acquired in the new country; health or disease selection of those who migrate; and, exposures due to the process of migration itself. However, migration as an “exposure” is complex. The usual typologies of migrant – settler, contract worker, student, professional, illegal immigrant and refugee - are likely to be of less value in understanding health consequences than the process of migration. Age at migration and gender are likely to be key factors, but the speed, reasons for migration, together with the social disruption involved, might be expected to influence the health consequences experienced.

Keywords: Migration, Epidemiology, Health, Rural, Urban

Introduction

The relationships between migration and health are multiple. There is growing evidence, albeit incomplete, that the process of migration and health of individuals and communities are inextricably intertwined in complex ways, with implications for those who move and those who are left behind. (Jatrana, E.Graham &P. Boyle, 2006)

An epidemic of obesity and diabetes is unfolding in the developing world. The World Health Organisation (WHO) predicts that the number of adults with diabetes will increase globally from 135 million to 300 million over the next three decades,

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with India having more people with diabetes (57 million) than any other country, followed by China (38 million). Obesity is also expected to double in few years. Rapid urbanisation and associated westernisation are blamed for these epidemics.

The basic motivation for migration is predominantly economic all over the world. People move from one place to another in search of better opportunities for employment and income and for economic security. In short, migration is undertaken by people with the hope of raising resources necessary for improving the standard of living for themselves and their kinsfolk on a sustainable basis. (Zacharia, Mathew & Irudaya Rajan, 2003) Migration is one of the vital forces that contribute to rapid urbanization generally associated with development. It is a significant phenomenon throughout the world with high economic medical and human stakes. (Sarareh 2007) Rural-urban migration plays an important role in the economic development of developing countries and it is socially an advantageous process in which people with relatively low incomes in the rural sector will shift to relatively higher incomes in the urban sector. (T.Babi Reddy, 1998) In India, rural-urban labour migration is one of the most obvious and influential social factors profoundly changing the current system and the society as a whole. (Hang Ping Croll, 1995 & Huang Ping, 1996)

Methods

This is a study about migrant employees of HAL, of the capital city (Lucknow) of U.P. As HAL is one of the leading public sectors of Government of India so my intention was to locate the migrants by understanding their lifestyle in the city like Lucknow. The aim was to get an inner view of those migrant employees about their everyday life including their past and present experiences. In relation to these employees, there were naturally a large number of questions came to my mind. So before embarking into the field I had gone through some of the literatures so that I could able to understand and handle my research in a proper way. Basically, the study was exploratory in character to know as much as possible about the employees of the industry and the physical and social environment that they lived in.

Study design

Empirical study: In-depth interviews, Focus groups, Survey

Explorative study: In-depth interviews, Key-Informant interviews, Community mapping and observation (partial participatory and non-participatory)

Population Characteristics

- Migrant (RUM +UUM), Non-Migrant
- All class
- Migrated from other areas to Lucknow

Linked Trajectory of Method Triangulation

In-depth interviews (Personal experiences/observations)

Focus group discussions

Survey Formulation of questions

HAL Industries

Since the establishment of significant public sector industries within in Lucknow during early seventies. Lucknow and its neighbouring towns have burgeoned with population growth. Public sector industries like HAL in Lucknow particularly attract large scales of populations to move from India's poorest regions of U.P (especially eastern parts), Bihar and Uttaranchal. HAL industry provides accessories of fighter aircrafts for the India's defense system. More than three thousand employees work in HAL in Lucknow which is based in a campus close to the city (about ten km. from railway station). The campus was built in late seventies and provides housing for more than 2000 employees, health facilities (hospital with more than 25 doctors (15 part time + 10 regular) and three pharmacists), recreational facilities (parks, gardens, play ground, swimming pool etc.) and PCO, *kalyan mandap* (for organising parties, meetings and functions) market complex, temples, post office, bank (PNB with ATM facilities), canteen, schools (both English and Hindi medium) and the transport facilities (by bus) for those employees who are staying out side the colony.

Around 60% of employees of HAL are from rural backgrounds, around 59% were male employees and about 40% of workers live in Lucknow city. HAL industry was selected for study as it had previously been involved in research on factory workers conducted by our research group. The local medical colleges (K.G.M.C and S.G.P.G.I.M.S) were supportive of this work and provided us with the base to conduct the study. Basically, the study was intended to be exploratory in character and even started *ab initio* with an exploration on how to proceed. The field was largely uncharted. Since I did not have any hypothesis except some basic questions, so my study more or less come under the grounded theory where no means to set the

boundaries of the study or to inhibit the changes. Concomitant with the exploration in view, however, one of its integral parts was to be an attempt to synthesize in a systematic way the thoughts and observations gleaned in the process.

The migrants

Initially I started with a set of unstructured questionnaires but could not proceed beyond a few attempts for I realized soon that this was not going to meet in full the purpose that I had in view. For I was not so much looking for quantitative data as for an internal perspective of the inner world of the people under my study. I decided to study a few cases (about 10-20 families) deeply rather than a large number of them on the surface, an internal perspective and to gain by getting immersed in the system in an atmosphere of closeness, observing time to time details, routines and emotions of life of those under study and yet remaining detached as an observer. Maximum twenty numbers of migrant families were initially selected randomly according to the suggestion my best informant Dr. Lal and interviewed to ascertain main emerging themes regarding the health effects of migration with particular emphasis on cardiovascular disease and diabetes.

The non-migrants

Around 18% employees are non migrant but if we talk about their parents who most of them were migrants from different places. Out of these about 16% stay out side of the HAL colony. They are in the city since many years, some of them never seen their parents villages. Still they have in mind as an ideal structure of village life, where life is quite simple and easy unlike the city's complex and busy life. As Mr. Pandey, the fifty years old *Pandit* employee says "I have seen the city (Lucknow) from my childhood, when Lucknow was not like this what today. Lucknow was a small city with a very low population but today there is a sea change in every point of view. HAL is very recent to the city, only the *Nawab*, *Kawab* and *Chikan* are the old gifts of the city. I can say now Lucknow has turned to a city of migrants as other metro cities."

Results and Interpretation

Migrants

Themes

The initial interviews identified the following themes regarding migration:

- the perception of migration,
- reasons and experience of migration,
- met and unmet expectations of migration
- and the following themes on health and diet:
 - perception of what health is, diabetes and CHD
 - perception of diet and body image
 - exploration of met and unmet health needs

The perception of migration

For many being in the city is regarded as status symbol. Migration was often stated as not being a matter of choice but a state of mind that consumes body and soul which encourages migrants to take risks to fulfill their dreams. The migration from a village to the city involves a change not merely in the physical but also in the social environment. For, in many ways, the rural and urban environments are virtually poles apart. In the social setting of a village, an individual has an intimate and organic relationship with reciprocal control and obligations under a familistic atmosphere within the small groups of a family, kins and friends. In contrast, in the new environment of the city, the relationships are diffused, superficial and contractual as a part of a larger society in which the individuals have a larger degree of anonymity, isolation and individualism with exposures to and contacts with diverse sub-cultures. The impact of the new environment, thus different in many respects, slowly or rapidly induces a change in the culture of the migrants carry with them from their villages. Their tomorrows which grow out of their yesterdays get oriented by their todays through a series of adjustments in different degrees, without obliterating the yesterdays. The relative stability-instability in their ways of life and the pace of change get equated to the interactions between the cultural background they carry from the village and the intensity of new social forces in the city life.

The changes thus emanating is manifested in a short of a continuum in which different individuals, depending on their propensity to change and the differences in their exposures to change, occupy different positions, and can not be lumped together and described as a standard unit. While it is so, the directions of change for a large majority of them are quite clear. It is undeniably a journey towards a breakdown of old values and systems yielding place to new ones, with varying degrees of resistance, and concomitant stress and strain on the individual, the family and social life. The

traditions stubbornly maintained, somewhat like weathered rocks, and the series of changes noticeable in them involve the entire range of social institutions, behavioural patterns, social structures, belief systems etc. Broadly, the basic features of rural social system are generally attempted to be retained with varying degrees of success, and in the process of change, which affects the periphery at the most, some metamorphosed through a process of reinterpretation.

Reasons and experience of migration

The reasons and experience of migration were multifaceted and are categorised under the following headings: living conditions and opportunities, cultural relationships, children, returning to village life and experience of migration.

Mr. Singh is an engineer in the HAL since twelve years. He enjoys the job security and the prospect of comfortable retirement benefits that are promised to a selected minority India's public sector employee. Mr. Singh's secured economic position enables him to lead a life that straddles two cultural worlds: week days in Lucknow and most weekend at his native village in the Raibarelley district of U.P. where his younger brothers and their family members live. And he confesses that after his migration to city for the job, there is a great improvement not only his individual status but also his other family members those who live in village. Now they have better infrastructure and also having many household electronic materials what they did not have before. His brother's children are doing graduation and other professional courses like M.B.A and M.C.A. etc. This shows migration is neither an individual affair, nor does it entail a once- for –all break with the village: it is a part of wider family strategies of economic diversification, especially amongst property groups' with other family members. It is also seen that migrants come to the city with kin, or more commonly seek out kin for practical and emotional assistance. This symbolizes there is not a radical break from places of rural origin.

To a large extent, migration is a beneficial process, not only for individuals, but also for families, communities and nations. While new economic opportunities meet the livelihood needs of migrating individuals and their families, their remittances play a crucial role in strengthening the economy of their countries and host communities. Migrant remittances are indeed a major source of national income for the countries of the region. As Mr. Srivastava from Allahabad district has been working in H.A.L. since more than twenty years and now all his family members including his younger brothers are well established. In his words "I am the eldest son of my father, when I got the job in H.A.L my younger brothers were reading in college. I gave money to one

of my brother to take admission in Engineering course and other one who is a Bank employee whom I had given money for preparation. And now they are independently maintaining their family. Also I have spent lot of money for my sister's marriage." These statements clearly say how being an employee of an organized sector like H.A.L, a family's upward mobility in terms socio-economic as well as educational status.

Living conditions and opportunities

Rural-urban migration was considered a means of easing pressure on lack of resources and poverty and many local authorities encourage people to opt for non-agricultural work. As Mr. Suresh Yadav (brother in law of an employee) says "we get very less profit as comparison to our investment (both physical & financial) but if we can put this money for other business purposes or simply if we can put our money in share market then we can also earn more. Even the local Banks don't give loans easily for Agriculture purposes but they can give for other business purposes."

Lucknow has now become a region of migration like other cities; it draws migrants from different states and districts. Though the large scale movements from the areas of same state U.P. and other states like Bihar and Uttaranchal but public sectors like HAL attracts the people from all over India beyond U.P. and Bihar. The movement of people from rural communities into cities like Lucknow is considered to be the main cause of urban growth, especially in developing countries like India.

As the General Mnager explains it is not that HAL is a public unit so people perceive it differently but something beyond that because there are many public units all over India. Even the facility given to the employees is not also the sole reason that matters to the people or employee. In late sixties when HAL was established in the city of Lucknow there was not even a single public unit in the city and even today there is no such industry (public sector) which can dominant over HAL. Hence HAL is the trump card for the people of Lucknow and for the whole state that is U.P. Though there are two other units of HAL in the areas like Karwa and Kanpur but HAL of Lucknow unit has a different meaning to the people because it is situated in the capital city of U.P. and that matters to the people differently as told by the Chief Medical Superintendent of HAL Mr. Diwakar Singh, who was earlier posted in the Karwa division of HAL. According to him people prefer Lucknow unit of HAL because of the reason that city like Lucknow which gives better facilities in all sense that attracts more people. So HAL of Lucknow is like a magnet which attracts the people of U.P and Bihar in more numbers and there is hardly any reason which can let the employees go back to their natives even after their retirement. That is why

from Manager to the lower class employee of HAL has their own houses or flats in any where of the city.

For them city like Lucknow as a metaphor, which stands with a lot of meanings. Their rational way of thinking and constructing of everyday life has given significant meaning to HAL, where they work and earn and also have a dream for their future generation. As one of the employee from Bihar says village as an area of darkness, who is settled in Lucknow since more than two decades and there is no chance of looking back. Despite the major problems of village, mostly illiterate – older generation remain attached to the village, but young people idealize the city and its numerous attractions. Also City life regarded as more respectable and progressive and this type of mentality has encouraged migration to the city. Indeed, it is clear that most of the employees enjoyed better living conditions than in the rural areas they immigrated from. "...we are getting lot of facilities in this campus, no problems of water, electricity, it is a quiet and calm place". "... we are happy here and getting all facilities and privileges from education to electricity. Still yet my village has not been electrified and now a day's village politics is very much dirty and no more peace is there as it is expected"

Others stated that employment at HAL meant being able to support the relatives in their native places and those less advantaged than themselves. Mr. Singh is an engineer in the HAL since twelve years. He enjoys the job security and the prospect of comfortable retirement benefits that are promised to a selected minority India's public sector employee. Mr. Singh's secured economic position enables him to lead a life that straddles two cultural worlds: week days in Lucknow and most weekend at his native village in the Raibareilly district of U.P. where his younger brothers and their family members live. And he confesses that after his migration to city for the job, there is a great improvement not only his individual status but also his other family members those who live in village. Now they have better infrastructure and also having many household electronic materials what they did not have before. His brother's children are doing graduation and other professional courses like M.B.A and M.C.A. etc. This shows migration is neither an individual affair, nor does it entail a once- for –all break with the village: it is a part of wider family strategies of economic diversification, especially amongst property groups' with other family members. It is also seen that migrants come to the city with kin, or more commonly seek out kin for practical and emotional assistance. This symbolizes there Rural to urban migration has accelerated during the last three decades, although only a small minority has found work in the formal sector of economy like HAL.

“The moment I got the job in HAL, all my relations turned different, all became closer to me. It was not me but my job made them like this, all their expectations became fresh and I helped them a lot and they all became my well-wishers”. HAL campus was regarded as having its own scenic beauty and charm: “Our campus is calm and quite and having good plantations and having a park makes our life more beautiful.”

However, it was largely recognised that life inside HAL was quite different to the city life of Lucknow. From the words of one employee, “As we are concerned about the security of the Nation so Government concerns about our security”. This very sentence is ensuring the voice of all the employees, how they feel and experience about their everyday life despite their status of being migrant or non- migrant.

Overall, employees exhibited a pride in working for HAL that related to air force and above all Ministry of Defence. As the General Manager Mr. Agarwal, of HAL opines that HAL is the only industry working for the accessories of fighter aircrafts to the India’s defense system. It is something that matters a lot for the common men about the fact that related to aircraft, helicopter, air force and above all Ministry of Defense.

Cultural relationships

Faith in supernatural power that they carry with themselves from their villages or rural background continues to pervade the lives of migrants. Unabated in its fervour, religiousness to a large extent shapes their life styles and their behavioural patterns. They visit temples (inside colony & outside colony), spend on offerings, worship personal deities, and observe religious rites with sanctity. Some of the Muslim employees I have interacted , they say “ we go Mosque to read Koran all most all Friday even we are on duty. No body deny us to visit at that particular moment even the managers we are working under. And we don’t regret that there is no mosque in side the colony of HAL because we can worship *Allaha* (the God of Muslim) at any place at any time at any where.” Also it is seen that festivals like *Holi*, *Diwali* and *Dasahara (Durga puja)* which are being observed among all communities. One of the Muslim employee’s (Mr. Wasir Ahmed) house I have visited, he says proudly “my wife is a Hindu, who worships her God, in which she believes and I worship whom I do believe. We don’t interfere at each other in these cases. But certainly we believe in God, the almighty.” Lucknow city has a large Muslim population but it appeared that most of the employees of HAL were Hindus. On the HAL campus itself, a *Hunaman* temple was provided- *Hunaman* is regarded as a secular god cutting across caste, class and religion. Despite this, some prejudice existed among workers with different faiths.

One employee who lived off campus in Lucknow stated that at HAL:

“... the clash among the Shia and Sunni is worse than relation between Hindu and Muslim.” Another employee who is Sikh stated that he had been attacked twice and had accused some people from the Hindu community; however he had not sustained any physical injuries.

Particular groups of employees organised their own festivals; for example the employees of Orissa organise *Ganesh puja* and *saraswati puja* which some of the residents of Lucknow come to the campus and participate in. Of course in one hand one community tries to show their traditional unity where as other perceive it as a matter of regionalism because the programmes and food items made according to the orissan culture. Many employees accused contemporary village politics as destroying peaceful village life arguing that: “in the city, caste hardly matters and here we are the same under one roof that is HAL”.

Opportunities for children

It was widely perceived that Lucknow and city life in general is open and gives the ultimate educational atmosphere. Famous public schools like CMS (City Montessori School, Delhi Public School etc.), Universities (e.g. K.G.M.U, L.U. AMITY), Professional institutes like I.I.M, B.B.D and other research institutes like C.D.R.I, N.B.R.I, C.M.A.P. etc are the major factors to attract for the better education and professions. In some instances children had attained already professional positions. As Mr. Pandey's son (the employee of HAL), who did his B.Tech. from Babu Banarasi Das (B.B.D) Institute of Technology and now he is working in Infosys (the software company) and earning a very good salary. Despite a great many of daughters of employee being in full time education or in professional occupations, some traditional values prevailed. It was often stated that it was important to have sons as opposed to daughters in the belief that sons maintained generations.

Returning to village life

Different views were expressed regarding returning to village life. Employees who had migrated from Bihar and U.P. did appear not keen to return to their own cities or villages even after the retirement. Almost all had their own home in Lucknow city. When asking about wanting to return to the place from where they migrated from one employee stated: “Lucknow has become my life. This city [has] witnessed my major period of life.” This would indicate that staying in the place of migration the ‘*Karma Kshetra* (work place)’ is beyond the issue of this group of migrants.

In contrast, employees from southern states such as Orissa and Bengal indicated that after retirement they would return to their own native lands. They missed their families and friends, village life. This would indicate that both these states have lacked the minimum facilities specially the rural areas. On the whole, children were not encouraged to learn native languages and upon being prompted some children stated that they did not like to visit their parents' native places.

Experience of migration

For most of the employees interviewed, the negative aspects of migration were minimal compared with the benefits it brought. These included a better livelihood and better prospects for their children.

The experience of migration to the city of Lucknow appeared to have made the subjects more ambitious and broadened their vision.

Most of the employees were favour of city life rather than the village life. Despite ideologically and emotionally favouring village life many rejected it in real and practical terms because: "village life lacks the minimum facilities even after more than fifty-five years of independence".

Unmet expectations of migration

Some of the employees from southern states such as Orissa and Bengal complained about life in Lucknow itself- a city with various problems such as water and electricity shortages, pollution and bad politics and little development. They complained that HAL provided only a limited world with few prospects.

Health and Diet

I would say from my experience among the HAL employee that they are very much conscious about their health. Also it would be right to say that they have been made conscious because of their sound life style and free medical facilities given by central government for the employee and their family members. Huge numbers of projects by WHO and other NGOs have been interfering into the life of HAL employees especially on health issues. One employee Mr. Wasir Ahmed (45years old) says, we don't need or we are not supposed to get any health check up from any projects of WHO's or NGO's. Because central government is giving complete free medical facilities for us. He had by pass surgery just some years back. More than one lakh rupees, he had spent

for this but he got back through reimbursement from the government. I think this is the reason they are sincere and very much aware of their health. I have marked many times from the Dr. Lal's (the part time doctor) chamber that some patients are regularly visiting the health center even for minor reason which can be cured by just natural way.

Another employee Mr. Pati (51 years old) says health problems are everywhere and it can turn into any shape whether you are migrant or non-migrant or city dwellers or village dwellers. But the form of disease and health behaviour and access varies according to age, sex, class and areas. The sound financial condition has made the employee less tensed family life but eventually this led to the problem of obesity. Mental peacefulness is not the sole reason for obesity but also less stress physical work, oily and fatty foods so called fast foods are the major reason for the problem of obesity. Some old aged employee opine that they don't like fast food like *namkin*, *chowmin*, *nodules*, *berger* etc but due to their children's choice they do take and consequently it became tasty for them and it is very less time consuming to prepare it. Still they go for jogging, exercise to minimize their obesity problem. Some of the employees walk to the factory and some others use bicycle to reduce the problem and lose their weight. I have seen most of the housewives like Mrs. Pati (48 years old) are in such an uncontrolled stage of obesity that they are unable to move freely and work comfortably. Even they try to minimize their problem by various ways. Again this led to sit idle and watch T.V., hardly they are able to do any physical activity, so they are bound to depend on regular medicines. Still Doctors suggest them to do some physical activities regularly like washing of clothes and walking some miles everyday.

Perceptions of health

Non-communicable diseases constitute a fast growing public health problem in most parts of the world. They account for over a half of all deaths that occur each year, and from the perspective of care and treatment they constitute a heavy technological and economic burden on health care systems and families. Non-communicable diseases are in general linked to life style factors such as diet, stress and the coping mechanisms that people use to deal with it. Of all non-communicable diseases one of the most significant in terms of its impact on individual, family and community life is cardiovascular disease (CVD). Highly disabling and costly-to-manage, CVD is a leading cause of mortality and burden for families. The migrant contribution to the CVD load reflects the role of factors such as ethnic pre-disposition, diet, lifestyle and stress. (Jaiswal, 2007; 2011; 2012; Global Commission on International Migration, September, 2005).

One old aged (around 54) *pandit* Mr. Sharma doesn't see obesity as a problem and proud for his big belly and says that having big belly is a symbol of status. "*khandan ki pet hai*" he also opines like this " even in past like *jamindar* period , all most all *jamindari* people were having big belly, which shows their status. The more bigger your belly the more you have knowledge, wisdom, wealth like Lord Ganesh. He also says disease like obesity; blood pressure and heart related diseases are the disease of aristocrats, which are very common among high-class people.

Perception of diet and body image

Modern family life was blamed for some of the CHD risk factors such as high blood pressure and obesity among the wives of the HAL employees: "...mothers do not work even in home. They sit, sleep and watch TV, this makes them fat. Some even, do not wash their clothes because of washing machines. So only morning walk and evening walk can't reduce their problems." Exercise was recognised as a means to reduce obesity but also seen as a difficult task. Morning and evening walk were common and a number of sports tournaments were on offer on the campus. A number of employees took the opportunity to engage in these events "to limit being over weight" and to "maintain their body mass index in a balanced position" Children and young adults participated to have fun, to dream about being future sportsmen at a national and international level and because to have: "a physique is a good symbol to impress girls". Also it is observed that among the young masses attending gymnasium classes, regular exercises are very common. They think that having a good physique is also one of the important reasons to add our personalities. Also today in corporate era we need to have a sound mental and physical health to impress the interview board and the boss too. Smoking and bad diet was regarding as bad habits but the young people interviewed. Eating takeaways and smoking blamed on peer pressure. A young man, Mr. Singh who is around 25 years, who has been smoking and drinking since his engineering career and he does it despite the strict guidance from his family members. He says like this "I didn't know it will happen to me, none of my family members take these but during my B. Tech. most of my friends take all these and convinced me to do so easily and now I am addicted and its very difficult to give up this but I am trying to reduce these habits and also now a days I do it out side my home when I am with my friend circle."

Exploration of met and unmet health needs:

The health facilities were regarded as an urgent and important privilege for the employees of HAL. One senior supervisor argued that returning back to his native

place would be inimical to his wife's problems with heart disease- because his village lacked necessary health facilities. Where as another employee blames on the medical facilities given to the employees and families as "though we get free medical check up and medicines from the HAL hospital, but we are not satisfied with all the doctors diagnosis and prescriptions (some few 3/4 are very good) and also we get very low quality of medicine that put us in another danger, sometimes turns into other disease and then the doctors refer to K.G.M.C or P.G.I. etc. Even the pathology lab is not satisfactory, so most of us take our samples to outside private clinics (of course the money is reimbursed) and as you know for measuring Blood Pressure, we usually sent to WHO (IMS) ongoing project clinic."

Traditional views on maintaining health also prevailed, as one of the employee Mr. Satyarthi who is around 48 says "I don't take medicines for the simple diseases like cold and cough or fever but I do Yoga (follower of Baba Ramdev) everyday and I am very much feet about my health and I don't have any other problem to take such Yellowpathic medicines even it is free for us."

Conclusion

There were mixed responses on migration. For some city life was regarded as stressful and busy, industrial life as tense and hazardous, and beyond reach for some: "city has no place for the poor man like us".

"I have seen some people work hard in their field but they don't feel it is harder than city life." One of the young man Kamal says " in village we get time to laugh, play cards, share some time with each other but in city nothing is important than money" this is the reason they feel comfortable in simple village life. For others the city is a dream place where everything can be gotten, including earning more money. "If someone has money then he or she can buy anything in his life." But the reality lies between life and money. Also in migration there is an element of emotional cost. It is not easy to leave one's friends, relatives and familiar surroundings to take up residence in a different area. As one of the employees of HAL, Mr. Khare says "my parents are not willing to come to the city to stay with us but they come for a limited days and miss the village life and local relatives. They feel happy here for some days and they don't feel comfortable to stay here for long period of time or forever."

Adequate access to basic services, particularly services such as water and sanitation, is vital to the health, economic productivity and general quality of life experienced by urban residents (Danieri and Takahashi 1999). The urban poor are no exceptions to

this rule; rather, poorer households are hit hardest by lack of access to basic amenities. In the case of shortfalls in safe municipal water supply for instance, the risks of contamination faced by them are compounded since they can least afford alternatives, better means of storage or purification. Migration may be linked to social structural changes through the diffusion of new ideas, attitudes and behaviour. The majority of HAL employees are from rural background but after being in the city for years their thought and ideology has a great change over time. Here migration may be viewed as a vehicle or mechanism of moving “traditional” people into contact with “modernity” and there is a sea change in their life style.

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