

SPATIO-TEMPORAL CHANGES IN INTERNAL MIGRATION IN INDIA DURING POST REFORM PERIOD

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India has a traditional society with relatively less mobile population. The existing literatures also support the fact that migration rate in India is one of the lowest in world. Till 1991 census, the migration rate in India showed declining trends but 2001 census, for the first time, marked a reversal. The internal migration rate was increased by 3 percent between 1991 and 2001. Scholars have linked it with the structural changes in economy adopted by India in 1991 due to severe economic crisis. Although, till 2001, it was too early to say that reversal in migration trends is because of process of economic reforms. But the recent 64th round of National Sample Survey (2007-08) which deals with migration in India also shows increasing trends and supports the idea that the economic reforms has further deepened the inter-regional inequalities and the gaps in the income levels of rich and poor is sharply widening. The whole process supports the neo-classical model of growth according to which increase in the inter-regional inequality promotes population mobility. In the light of the above the present paper endeavours to analyse the salient emerging features of the Internal migration in India specially during post reform era with the analysis of recent three rounds (49th, 55th and 64th) of National Sample Survey on migration till 2007.

Key Words: National Sample Survey, Streams of Migration, Regional Inequality, Net Migration Rate.

INTRODUCTION

Migration is a significant process of social evolution since time immemorial. People's movement from one area to another is always guided by the specific needs of their time. Each movement provides an important network for the diffusion of ideas and information, indicating the symptoms of social and economic change (Demko et al, 1970). From hunting stage to post-modernization period, it is a common feature of population that people migrate from less developed areas to more developed areas in search of fortune. In modern times, migration has become a universal phenomenon. Due to the expansion of transport and communication, it has become a part of worldwide processes of urbanization and industrialization. In most countries, it has been observed that industrialization and economic development has been accompanied by large-scale movements of people from villages to towns, from towns to other towns and from one country to another country (Lusome and Bhagat, 2006).

From the demographic point of view, migration is one of the three basic components of population growth of any area, the other being fertility and mortality. But whereas both fertility and mortality operate within the biological framework, migration does not. It influences size, composition and distribution of population. More importantly, migration influences the social, political and economic life of the people not only at the place of origin but also at the place of destination. The striking feature of migration is that while changes in the population size and structure caused by mortality and fertility are never drastic, migration may increase or decrease the size and structure of any population quite drastically at any point of time, especially when large numbers of people move into a particular area or move out of another (Bhinde and Kanitkar, 2010). The estimation of the population

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redistribution also depends upon the proper understanding of the pattern of migration. Due to its important role in the process of economic development and social transformation, migration has attracted the attention of academicians as well as policy makers.

In the context of India, it has been found that Indian population is less mobile and predominance of agriculture, strong community ties, lack of education, the rigidity of caste system, the diversity of languages, culture and food habits are the main reasons suggested by the scholars for the immobility of Indian population (Chandrasekhar, 1950; Davis, 1951). Studies on internal migration have indicated a decline in population mobility up to 1990s (Kundu and Gupta, 1996; Srivastava, 1998; Bhagat, 2009). Some changes has been found in the recent studies (Srivastava, 2012; Parida and Madheswaran, 2010; Mahapatro, 2012), such as internal migration in India has increased specially after economic reforms and multiple factors, both push and pull that are responsible for this increment are associated with these economic reforms. The low growth in non-farm employment sector, high levels of poverty, increasing gaps between rural and urban sectors in respect of employment, wages, education and health facilities can be counted as push and pull factors. The growth in transport and telecommunication facilities due to economic reforms is also an important reason cited by many scholars. The present paper is an attempt to analyse the changing trends and patterns of internal migration in India during post reforms period and identity the challenges and issues related to it.

OBJECTIVES, DATA BASE AND METHODOLOGY

The main objective of this paper is to examine the recent changes in the internal migration in India by gender and place of residence. The analyses of different streams of migration i.e. Rural-Rural, Rural-Urban, Urban-Rural, Urban-Urban is also done with the distance traversed by migrants i.e. intra-district, inter-district and inter-state. The regional pattern of internal migration in India is also discussed in the present paper. The focus is drawn on the recent changes especially after economic reforms. The migration data from Census of India, D-Tables, 1971-2001 and three rounds of National Sample Survey (49th, 1993; 55th, 1999-2000 and 64th, 2007-08) has been used for the analysis. In census of India 'place of last residence' criteria has been used according to which –“if the place of last residence of a person is different from the current place of residence (place of enumeration) then he/she is migrant for the place of enumeration”. National Sample Survey defines migrants as 'If the last usual place of residence (the place where person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more) of a person, any time in past is different from the present place of enumeration then he/she is considered as Migrant'. Migration Rates and proportion is used as main techniques to fulfill the above objectives. Some formulas used in the paper are as follows:

$$\text{Migration Rate} = \frac{\text{Total Number of Migrants}}{\text{Total Population}} * 100$$

$$\text{Net Migration Rate} = \frac{\text{Total Inmigrants} - \text{Total Outmigrants}}{\text{Total Population}} * 100$$

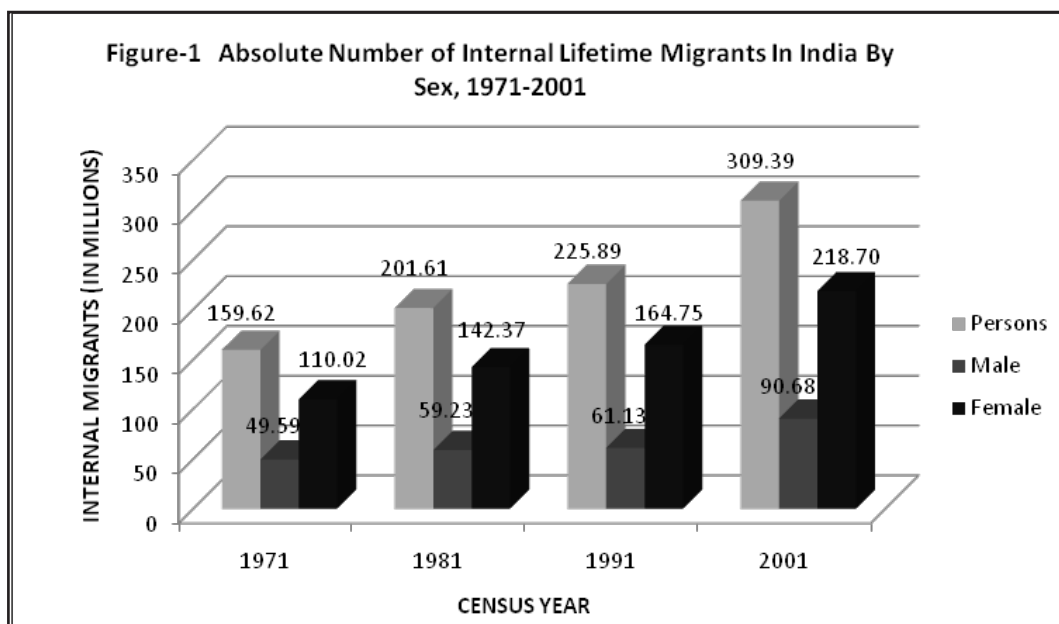
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The recent data from census of India 2011 show that urban population has increased to 377.11 million which is 31.16 percent of total population. At the time of independence only 62.44 million persons were living in urban areas which were only 17.97 percent of the total population. Although these figures show that pace of urbanization in India is not as fast as often assumed but still it is

increasing and for the first time since independence urban population growth has exceeded the growth of rural population. Migration has always played a major role in the processes of urbanization and story of urbanization in India is not very different. The contribution of migration in India's urbanization cannot be underemphasized. With the increasing inequalities between rural and urban areas, especially after economic reforms, people from rural areas are migrating towards urban centres in search of fortune. The temporal changes in the magnitude of internal migration in India are discussed in the following section.

Magnitude of Internal Migration in India

The data on migration has been collected from the early census in 1872 onwards on the basis of "place of birth (POB)" but first time in 1961 census the scope of the data on migration was widened when rural-urban status of the place of birth was included in the census. In next census "place of last residence (POLR)" criterion was added along with place of birth which provides better estimates of migration. If POB or POLR of a person is different from the place of enumeration then he/she is considered as migrant on the place of enumeration. In 1981 census reason of migration and the duration of stay at the place of enumeration was also included in the census. The total lifetime migrants in India based on the "place of last residence" criterion is given in figure 1.



Source: Census of India, Migration Table, Table D-2 for various years.

In 1971 census, the total volume of lifetime internal migrants was 159.62 million comprising of 49.59 million males and 110.02 million females which had been increased to 309.39 million comprising of 90.68 million males and 218.70 million females. The percentage figures of lifetime internal migrants in India give a clear picture of temporal changes in the process of internal migration in India.

Table- 1 Internal Lifetime Migrants in India by Gender and Residence (in Percentage),1971-2001

Census Year	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
1971	30.60	18.90	42.80	27.18	12.89	42.25	36.92	35.00	39.16
1981*	30.30	17.22	44.30	28.29	12.06	45.34	36.80	33.24	40.84
1991**	26.75	13.96	40.53	25.38	9.66	42.10	30.71	26.10	35.87
2001	30.07	17.04	44.05	27.98	11.14	45.78	35.51	31.98	39.44

Source: Computed from Migration Tables, Census of India, (1971-2001).

* The figures for 1981 do not include Assam as the Census could not be conducted there.

** The figures for 1991 do not include Jammu & Kashmir as the Census could not be conducted there.

Note-unclassified migrants are included into total, urban and rural figures.

The migration statistics up to the early 1990s shows consistent decline of internal migration especially for males. The decline in the percentage of female migrants is not as consistent as males and this is true both for rural and urban areas. A sharp decline was found in internal migration in urban areas in comparison to rural areas in total as well as for both male and female. In 1971, the percentage of internal migrants to total population was 30.60 percent which declined up to 26.75 percent in 1991. In the case of males, it declined from 18.90 percent to 13.96 percent while in the case of females it declined from 42.80 percent to 40.53 percent. In rural areas, total internal migration declined only around 2 percent during 1971 and 1991. In the case of males it declined from 12.89 percent (1971) to 9.66 percent (1991) and for females, only decimal decline was found. As mentioned earlier, the decline was sharper for urban areas in which internal migration declined around 6 percent during 1971 and 1991. In case of males it declined up to 9 percent from 35 percent in 1971 to 26.10 percent in 1991 and it was more in comparison to rural areas. The female migration in urban areas also declined up to 3 percent during this period. The percentage figure for female migration both in rural and urban areas was high in comparison to male migration but this is because of the socio-cultural setup in India in which females generally migrate after marriage to their husband's place of living and are often accompanied to their husband's place of work (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003).

The predominance of agriculture, strong community ties, lack of education, the rigidity of caste system, the diversity of languages, culture and food habits are the main reasons suggested by the research scholars for the immobility of Indian population (Chandrasekhar, 1950; Davis, 1951; Kundu and Gupta, 1996; Hassan and Dasguptanayak, 2007). The another reason behind the declining trends of internal migration is the underestimation of the total number of internal migrants by Census of India, because from three type of population mobility- commuting, circular or seasonal migration and permanent migration, it covers only permanent migration while it has found that seasonal migration and commuting are the most significant pattern of internal migration in India (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003).

The figures for internal migration in India of 2001 census mark a reverse trend. It recorded 3-4 percent increase in the internal migration in India both for males and females. First time total internal migration increased from 26.75 percent in 1991 to 30.07 percent in 2001. This increment was more in urban areas in which internal migration rate increased around 5 percent during 1991 and 2001. For males it increased to 31.98 percent from 26.10 percent in 1991 and for females it increased to 39.44 percent from 35.87 percent. The rural areas also show increasing trends in which internal migration increased around 2 percent during 1991 and 2001. The male migrants increased from 9.66 percent in 1991 to 11.14 percent in 2001 while the female migrants increased from 42.10 percent to 45.78 percent in 2001. The main reason for this reversal and increasing trend of internal migration could be explained in the context of economic reforms adopted by country in 1991 which has linked Indian economy to global economy with the underlying principles of liberalization, privatization and globalization. Because of the economic reforms, the mobility of capital and labour has started to increase and the private investments both domestic and foreign would go to the areas which are already developed and well endowed with infrastructure facilities and this has widened the trench of inter-regional inequalities. The situation in some lagging states has drastically worsened and this is resulted into high mobility from backward areas to developed areas (Hassan and Dasguptanayak, 2007; Mahapatro, 2012).

It can be argued that migration data from Census of India up to 2001 is not sufficient to describe the temporal changes in internal migration in India after economic reforms because there is only one census after this phenomenon. Therefore further analysis in this paper has been done with the help of National Sample Survey (NSS) data of migration because it provides the latest picture on Internal Migration up to 2007-2008. These specially designed surveys by National Sample Survey Organization, no doubt, provide better alternative for in-depth study of people's mobility. After economic reforms, three round of National Sample Survey related to migration has been carried out and these three rounds can be used in the proper analysis of the internal migration in India. National Sample Survey follows UPR (usual place of residence) criterion. If the UPR where the person had stayed continuously for a period of *six month or more* is different from the place of enumeration then the person is considered as migrant on place of enumeration.

Table- 2 Total Internal Migration in India by Gender and Residence (in Percentage)

NSS Rounds	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
49th Round (Jan-June,1993)	24.40	10.51	39.35	22.53	6.22	39.86	30.22	23.47	37.73
55th Round (July 1999- June 2000)	26.29	11.54	41.87	24.06	6.77	42.10	32.85	25.22	41.18
64th Round (July 2007-June 2008)	28.32	10.65	46.98	25.90	5.24	47.56	35.08	25.57	45.33

Source: computed from Unit Level data of NSS 49th, 55th and 64th Rounds.

NSS data shows clearer picture of the effects of economic liberalization on the pattern of internal migration in India. A consistent increase in internal migration has been found in the post reform era from 24.40 percent in 1993 to 28.32 percent in 2007-08. Although overall migration trend is increasing in both rural and urban areas but significant differences have been found in the patterns of migration of males and females. Female migration is continuously gone up since 1993 both for rural and urban areas while the trend of male migration is a complex one. Except a marginal increase in 1999-2000, percentage of male migration is continuously declining as a total and it is more in rural areas while in urban areas, it is increasing with stagnant rate. One possible reason for the decline of male migration in rural areas could be employment generated through Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) which provide employment in the same village and reduce the rural to rural migrant flow which in turn influence the overall rural male migration (Mahapatro, 2012). The other reason for the deceleration in male migration can be explained in terms of jobless growth of Indian economy (De Haan, 2011). Although the percentage of male migration to urban areas is increasing with stagnant rate but these migrants are playing important role in the economy of the urban areas which are supposed to be the engine of growth.

Some scholars (Kundu and Sarangi, 2007) have argued that the increase in urban migration is attributed to more liberal definition of migrants adopted by NSS. It may be one factor but the impact of globalization, privatization and liberalization on Indian economy cannot be ignored. On one hand, this whole phenomenon has generated new jobs in the formal and informal economy and on the other hand; it ultimately negatively affected rural economy by hampering the handicrafts and other household industries. The first side *pulls* the rural population towards urban centres while the second side *pushes* the rural poor towards urban centers and therefore a slight increase has been noted in the urban male migration during post reform era.

Streams of Migration in India by Distance Traversed:

The total internal migration in India can broadly be divided into four different streams viz., rural to rural, urban to rural, rural to urban and urban to urban. In which rural to rural and urban to rural constitute total internal rural migrants while rural to urban and urban to urban constitute total internal urban migrants. Similarly from the point of view of distance traversed, it can be classified as intra-state (intra-district and inter-district) and inter-state migration. Table-3 depicts the percentage distribution of internal migrants in different streams by gender and distance traversed during post reform era.

The results from the table-3 show a considerable decline in the proportion of intra-district migrants both for males and females, whereas share in inter-district and inter-state categories are increasing during post reforms era. It can be explained by the phenomenal changes which have occurred after economic reforms. After economic reforms, in each state, a few large cities emerged as a development centres as they received a large chunk of subsidies provided for industrial and infrastructural development through their state governments and central government both and that attracted the elites, professionals and industrialists to invest in these centres. This whole process has changed the pattern of development in which inter-regional disparity increased enormously and better education, medical facilities and job opportunities concentrated in few centres which is either capital cities or other major industrial hubs. Therefore people from backward districts are forced to migrate toward these centres in search of jobs, better education and medical facilities (Kundu and Sarangi, 2007).

Table-3 Percentage Share of Migrants in each stream into total Internal Migration by Gender and Distance traversed

Migration Categories	Persons			Male			Female		
	49th	55th	64th	49th	55th	64th	49th	55th	64th
Intra-District Level									
Rural-Rural	49.52	46.62	44.70	22.74	21.95	17.25	57.21	53.79	51.27
Urban-Rural	2.90	3.06	2.76	3.68	3.96	2.87	2.68	2.80	2.73
Rural-Urban	8.97	8.22	8.02	13.27	12.15	12.74	7.73	7.08	6.89
Urban-Urban	3.84	4.63	3.67	6.15	7.05	5.09	3.17	3.92	3.33
Sub-Total	65.23	62.53	59.14	45.84	45.11	37.95	70.79	67.59	64.21
Inter-District Level									
Rural-Rural	11.01	12.16	14.29	7.66	7.21	6.72	11.97	13.59	16.11
Urban-Rural	2.45	2.14	1.91	4.49	3.58	3.38	1.86	1.72	1.56
Rural-Urban	5.76	6.82	6.55	11.14	12.69	12.17	4.21	5.11	5.20
Urban-Urban	4.81	5.70	6.46	8.63	10.23	12.72	3.71	4.39	4.96
Sub-Total	24.01	26.81	29.21	31.93	33.70	35.00	21.74	24.81	27.83
Inter-State Level									
Rural-Rural	2.80	2.97	2.74	3.08	3.53	3.21	2.72	2.81	2.63
Urban-Rural	1.06	1.31	0.99	2.81	3.26	2.68	0.56	0.74	0.58
Rural-Urban	4.00	3.82	4.91	10.17	9.33	14.12	2.23	2.22	2.70
Urban-Urban	2.89	2.56	3.01	6.18	5.07	7.03	1.95	1.83	2.04
Sub-Total	10.76	10.66	11.64	22.23	21.19	27.04	7.46	7.60	7.96
Grand-Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
All Distance Categories									
Rural-Rural	63.33	61.74	61.74	33.47	32.70	27.19	71.90	70.19	70.01
Urban-Rural	6.41	6.50	5.65	10.98	10.79	8.94	5.10	5.26	4.87
Rural-Urban	18.73	18.86	19.47	34.58	34.16	39.03	14.17	14.41	14.79
Urban-Urban	11.53	12.89	13.14	20.97	22.35	24.84	8.82	10.14	10.34
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Calculated from the Unit Level data of NSS 49th, 55th and 64th rounds.

At the same time, expansion of communication and transport facilities provided better information to rural folks and this resulted into migration from less developed states to more developed states and therefore inter-state migration has increased during post reform period (Lusome and Bhagat, 2006).

Rural to rural migration is the most dominant stream at the national level but its share has been declining over time both for males and females in all distance categories. The decline is more in males in comparison to females. There is a large share of female intra-district rural to rural migration which is generally explained through the custom of marriages to the nearest areas while high share of rural to rural intra-district male migration can be explained through the migration from areas of low agricultural productivity to sparsely populated areas with new developmental activities (Gosal and Krishnan, 1975; Quoted in Premi, 1990). With the increasing distance categories, the share of rural to rural migration is decreasing both for males and females and for inter-state migration category its percentage share to total internal migration is less than rural to urban migrants for both males and females. The percentage

share of urban to rural migrants is very less and it is declining over the period of time in all distance categories both for males and females.

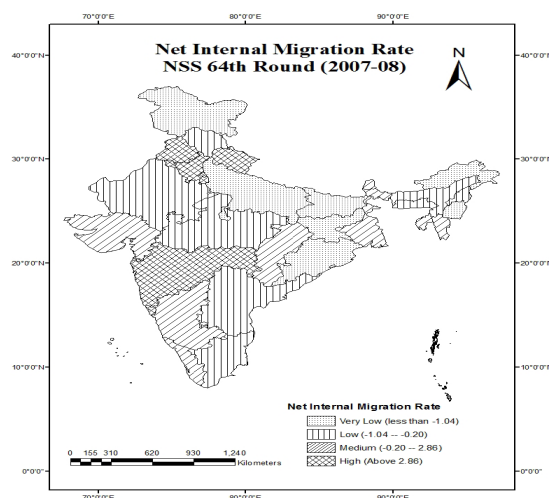
On the other hand, the share of rural to urban migrants into total internal migration has been increasing over the time period in inter-district and inter-state category. In intra-district migration category, a declining trend has been found both for males and females. These trends are attributed to the increasing communication and transports facilities and can be explained through the processes of social networking because of which people have started to migrate towards mega-cities and big urban centres with their relatives and neighbours and other rural folks who are already living in these centres. The share of urban-to-urban migration is decreasing for males in the intra-district stream, but it increased substantially in the inter-district and inter-state categories. As institutions of higher learning, particularly professional and technical institutions, are not available in each district, an urge for higher education motivates urban dwellers as well as some of the rural folks to migrate over long distances. This is also partly due to the creation of high paid jobs in the modern sector in major metropolises and big cities (Premi, 1990 as quoted in Lusome & Bhagat, 2006).

Combining all the three distance categories of migration (i.e. intra-district, inter-district and inter-state migration), it has been found that percentage share of rural to rural migration into total internal migration has decreased substantially. The decline is greater in case of males as compared to females. While the share of rural to urban and urban to urban has increased, both for males and females.

Spatial Pattern of Internal Migration in India

The high level of inequality in the level of development among different states of India leads to significant variation of Net internal migration rate which is differences between in and out migration and in which the migration to abroad or other country is not included. The lower net internal migration rate shows that there is high out-migration from the state while high net internal migration rate shows high in-migration. The spatial patterns of net internal migration rate in India closely follow the neo-classical models of growth that envisages a flow of people from the underdeveloped areas to developed ones.

Figure-2



Source: Unit Level data of NSS 64th round.

The net internal migration rates from figure-2 show that Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, Jammu and Kashmir, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur are the states in which net internal migration rate is very low that indicates high out-migration from these states. Historically it has been found that these states are lagging behind in industrial development and could not attract the investors to invest in the development process. In contrast, Maharashtra, Delhi, Punjab and Haryana have high net internal migration rate which show high in-migration in these states. In the process of economic development, these states have achieved high level of industrial and infrastructural development. In case of Punjab and Haryana, agro-based industries and developed agricultural economy attract migrants from backward states to migrate in these states. Other states like Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Chhattisgarh etc are experiencing increasing rate of in-migration rate with medium net internal migration rate. The spatial pattern of net internal migration rate supports the earlier studies in which this pattern was more or less same during 1991 census and 2001 census (see Hassan and Dasguptanayak, 2007 and Mahapatro, 2012).

CONCLUSION

The internal migration in India during post reform period shows a significant departure from the past trends. The recent rounds of NSS show that internal migration in India has increased both in rural as well as in urban areas. The increase in migration rate is more in urban areas as compare to rural. In other words migration to urban areas in form of rural to urban migration and urban to urban migration has accelerated during post reform period. This is explained by high inter-regional inequality among rural and urban areas. The female migration rate is more in comparison to male because of Indian traditions while in case of male, migration rate is increasing in urban areas while a slight decline has been seen in rural areas because of MGNREGA and other employment schemes. During reform period, a sharp improvement has been found in telecommunication and transports facilities because of which the long distance migration i.e. inter-district and inter-state migration rate has increased for males and females both. The spatial pattern of internal migration in India is largely affected by the new economic policy because of which the inequalities in the income levels has widened between developed states and backward states and a significant percentage of migrants are coming to mega cities in search of better jobs, education and other facilities. The urban planners and policy makers should focus on these migrants before making any development policy because these migrants are playing important role to boost the urban economy.

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