A Report on

Causes and Consequences of Out-Migration from Middle Ganga Plain

By

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2021

(स्थापना / Established in 1956)
बेहतर भविष्य के लिए क्षमता निर्माण
Capacity Building for a Better Future

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FOREWORD

Over time, the migration streams have become diversified and complex. While the components of population dynamics, fertility and mortality head towards stabilisation but with emerging challenges, the migration component is likely to play critical role in all aspects of lives and livelihood. The importance of migration has been realised not only in determining the demographic structure and the spatial redistribution of population but also as an economic equalizer and for bringing socio-cultural and political change in both sending and receiving areas.

IIPS is pleased to bring out the report on the Institute-funded study on the Causes and Consequences of Out-Migration from Middle Ganga Plain (MGP). The study covers several important features of an economically deprived region but with its own specificities of migration. Data were collected from more than 4000 households spread across 68 villages during the year 2018-2019. This study is an important source of information to understand the causes and consequences of out migration from Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

I am confident that the study will help us to understand the extent of migration from MGP in general and sub-regions in particular. It will also enable us to examine the different forms of migration in particular, internal, international, seasonal, potential and return migration. The study focuses primarily on the migration process, migration history, push and pull dynamics of internal and international migrants and a detailed analysis of the return migrants. The assessment of vital issues of the left-behind families, women, children and elderly parents provide a comprehensive picture on the impact of migration on families. The outcome of the study will be a valuable source of information for policymakers and research scholars. I appreciate and congratulate the all coordinators and research team of the project for their dedication and enthusiasm for completing the study.

(Dr K S James)
Director and Senior Professor

Acknowledgements

Preface

International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) was established in 1956 under the joint sponsorship of Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, the Government of India and the United Nations. It is a premier institute for training and research in Population Studies for developing countries in the Asia and Pacific region. The institute, with an expansion of its academic activities, gained the status of Deemed to be University on 19 August 1985. The institute functions under the aegis of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India. It comprises seven departments, namely, Mathematical and Demographic Studies, Fertility Studies, Public Health and Mortality Studies, Migration and Urban Studies, Population Policies and Programmes, Development Studies and, Extra Mural and Distance Education. Apart from teaching activities, the Institute also conducts many research projects covering various aspects of population studies.

Research and teaching in the field of Migration and Urbanization have been one of the core areas of IIPS since the inception of the institute in 1956. The Department of Migration and Urban Studies was formed in 1984 when IIPS acquired deemed university status. Since the beginning, various studies related to migration and urbanization, including various cross-cutting issues, have been carried out by the department faculty. The department has expanded its academic horizon to include teaching and research on migration and development, migration and gender, migration and health, and urbanization and environment.

Two landmark studies, namely 'Historical Study of Internal Migration in the Indian Sub-Continent' and 'Migrants in Greater Mumbai,' have contributed immensely to understanding the dynamics of migration and planning of a mega-city like Mumbai. In the recent past, the department has undertaken region-specific migration studies and conducted large-scale surveys on international migration from Gujarat.

In continuation, the current study entitled "Causes and Consequences of Out-Migration from Middle Ganga Plain" was started in February 2016 to explore the various issues of migration in Eastern UP and the state of Bihar. The study focused on understanding the level and pattern of migration from MGP in general and regions in particular. It included an analysis of the causes and consequences of migration on the left-behind families, women, children and elderly in particular. The study which is based on information collected from 4056 households selected by a systematic random sampling method from 68 villages highlights the fact that male-out migration is the predominant livelihood strategy in the region. The women, children, and elderly who are left-behind face both the gains and pains of migration. This report covers a few selective important issues migration, migrants, and their left-behind families, however, the survey has covered various dimensions and issues of migration as mentioned in Appendix 1.

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Abbreviations

ANC	: Ante Natal Care
APL	: Above Poverty Line
APY	: Atal Pension Yojana
BPL	: Below Poverty Line
BRLP	: Bihar Rural Livelihoods Project
CAPI	: Computer Assisted Personal Interviews
ERB	: Ethical Review Board
Est. UP	: Eastern Uttar Pradesh
IGNOAPS	: Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme
IM HH	: International Migrant Household
IOM	: International Organisation for Migration
JSSK	: Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakaram
JSY	: Janani Suraksha Yojana
LBW	: Left-Behind Women
LM HH	: Locked Migrant Household
LPG	: Liquefied Petroleum Gas
M HH	: Migrant Household
MDG	: Millennium Development Goal
MGNREGA	: Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MGP	: Middle Ganga Plain
NCR Delhi	: National Capital Region Delhi
NEP	: New Economic Policy
NM HH	: Non-Migrant Household
NSSO	: National Sample Survey Organisation
OBC	: Other Backward Classes
OM HH	: Internal Migrant Household/ Out-Migrant Household
PDS	: Public Distribution System
PMJDY	: Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana
PMJJBY	: Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana
PMMY	: Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana
PMSBY	: Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana
PPS	: Probability Proportional to Size
PSU	: Primary Sampling Unit
RM HH	: Return Migrant Household
SC	: Schedule Caste
SHG	: Self Help Group
SM HH	: Seasonal Migrant Household
ST	: Schedule Tribe
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	: United Nations Children's Fund
UNIS	: UN Institute of Statistics
WELPMGP	: Women's Empowerment and Livelihoods Project in the Mid-Gangetic Plain
CSWs	: Commercial Sex Workers
NACO	: National AIDS Control Organization
HIV/AIDS	: Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

Executive Summary

Introduction

Migration tends to be a livelihood strategy commonly adopted by the rural poor in developing countries as a means for enabling the survival of their families. Even at its simplest, out-migration is a complex phenomenon that influences and is influenced by the geographical, socio-economic, cultural and psychological existence of people. Although migration may appear to be simply an economic process, it is attended by several gains and pains. While migration may enhance the family's economic condition, the absence of the son/ husband/ father undoubtedly has social and emotional repercussions for the family members who stay back in the village of origin. To build a complete, holistic understanding of migration, it is essential to examine not only the perspective of the migrant member but also the perspective of the members of the family that is left behind. The current study is designed within this framework to study the circumstances leading to migration and the consequent impact on those staying back, focusing specifically on the wives, children and elderly parents of the migrants.

People have been migrating for various reasons, but the high population pressure and lack of livelihood opportunities are perhaps the most important ones, with young people being compelled to migrate in the slightest hope of getting a job elsewhere, particularly to towns and cities in more developed parts of the country. Recurring droughts, floods and other natural disasters often add to the pressure to migrate. Agriculture in rural areas is facing a severe crisis with rising population pressure on land and falling profitability. Landholdings are getting smaller due to the division of land within the family. Distress sales of land are on the increase. The decline in numbers of cultivators and the rising number of agricultural labourers, as shown by the 2011 Census, is an indicator of the serious agrarian crisis.

On the other hand, off-farm jobs in rural areas have not expanded rapidly to accommodate additional labour force growth. Moreover, there is another section of the population, usually from a higher stratum within the rural society, that views migration as an opportunity for better education, skills and employment. Political and social factors such as ethnic conflicts, riots and tensions within the family and society also contribute to migration.

The new economics of migration emphasizes that migration is a household strategy, and the household allocates one of its members to an off-farm job as an instrument of insurance. This begs the question of how decisions are taken at the household level since there is a paucity of data on this in the Indian context. Understanding how other household members influence the decisions related to migration would be essential to develop a comprehensive picture of migration.

Other relevant questions include the impact of migration on poverty reduction in rural areas, the role of seasonal and temporary migration in perpetuating or uplifting rural households from poverty, the role of remittances, whether MGNREGA has reduced migration, the effect of migration on a large number of left-behind women, children and elderly in rural areas, the

comparative benefits of the different categories of migration (international, internal or seasonal/temporary migration), the role of return migration in the development of village society just to name a few. The current research seeks to answer these questions through the objectives given below.

Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are as follows:
- To study the nature and pattern of migration, including the return and potential migration.
- To understand the causes of migration and migration decision-making and its financing (self and non-self-action).
- To study the role of migration and remittances in economic mobility and poverty-reduction through international, internal and seasonal/temporary migration.
- To study the role of migration on empowerment/disempowerment of left-behind women.
- To study the consequences of migration on children and the elderly.
- To examine the consequences on health and health-seeking behaviour of left-behind families.
- To review the programmes and policies related to migration and livelihood at the place of origin and suggest policy measures to improve the condition of migrants and their left-behind families.

Methodology

Study area

The Middle Ganga Plain (MGP), which is the area of this study, has been a region of historical importance in India and is known as one of the most prominent regions of out-migration in the country. Lying between the foothills of Himalaya in the north of India and the peninsula in the south, it spreads approximately 144,409 sq. km covering 64 districts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (UP- 27 districts and Bihar- 37 districts). Both the regions of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have an identical cultural and economic pattern which provide unity and coherence to this region as well as a unique geographical personality despite minor differences in the socio-economic and cultural practices across the six physio-cultural regions within the MGP.

Historically, migration from this region dates back to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Due to persistent and widespread poverty and underdevelopment, livelihood migration from this region continued even after independence but was mainly directed toward the better developed western states of India. Post the Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG) reform period in the 1990s, internal and international migration and the role of remittances in household economy gained prominence. Innovations in information and communication technologies added new dimensions to migration studies. Recently, this region showed a significant rise in the trend of international migration towards destinations in the Gulf regions. Livelihood migration from this region, whether international or internal, is dominated by males, who leave their families behind in the villages. The continuum of two centuries-old associations between migration and poverty, which has led to the "culture of migration" in the Middle Ganga Plain, needs deeper exploration.

Study design

The study is cross-sectional in nature. Seventy households from each primary sampling unit (PSU) were selected through a multi-stage systematic random sampling technique. Both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection were used to develop an understanding of the phenomenon of migration while also assessing the consequences of migration on the economic and social well-being of families in general. Data was collected from different groups of respondents, including heads of households, women, elderly, adolescent, and return migrants. The quantitative data was collected with Computer Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI), which included nine schedules with pre-coded questionnaires.

The qualitative research tools consisted of focus group discussion with men and women separately to gain insights into gender dynamics, key informant interviews with village-level stakeholders such as the head of village and principal of the village school and case studies. Weight has been calculated to normalise the data set and make all the divisions, blocks and PSU's representative and simultaneously reduce error. Two weights (migration and normalized weights) were calculated at the three levels- divisions, state and regional levels to derive out-migration levels from each of the areal units.

The study reported on the levels and patterns of migration from this region, details related to the types of migration (short term or seasonal, long-term, and return), the effect of migration on the economy of the households at the origin and perceptions of family members regarding the same. The migration experiences of the return migrants and the expectations of potential migrants and migration history, push and pull dynamics of internal and international migrants were explored to gain insights into the understanding of the process, experiences and expectations related to migration from the region. In particular, the study assessed the consequences of migration on the household economy and the left-behind women, children, and elderly comparing them to their counterparts in the non-migrant households.

Key Findings

Level and pattern of migration
- Historically, migration from Middle Ganga Plain region dates long back to the first quarter of the nineteenth century as *girmitia* (contract) labourer transported to different island British and French Colonies. The continuum of two centuries-old associations between migration and poverty, which has led to the "culture of migration" in the Middle Ganga Plain, is continued in the region. More than 57 percent of the households have at least one member who had migrated for employment or business during the year preceding the survey. Of these, 50 percent of households have split families, where males in the household migrate to different destinations for employment and their wives, children, and parents stay back in the village, and the remaining seven percent of households were found locked due to migration of the entire family (visiting the village occasionally).

- Migration from the region is mainly directed towards the other states of India. Recently, this region has also shown a significant rise in the trend of international migration towards the Gulf destinations. The study finds that more than three percent of the households have international migrants in the region, while 38 percent of the households had internal migrants,

- The level of migration was not uniform across the sub-regions of MGP. The level of migration tends to be highest in the traditional pockets of migration in the region (Saran and Gorakhpur), where 7 out of 10 households had to send at least one migrant. Migration was also higher from the flood-affected divisions (Darbhanga, Kosi, Tirhut and Purnia). While in contrast, in relatively more urbanized and developed divisions (Patna and Faizabad), nearly 5 out of 10 households have out- migrant.

- A comparison across socio-economic groups revealed that migration levels tended to be higher from Joint family, Muslim communities, landless families, as well as from OBCs and Other caste groups. Landholding size, caste and family type play a crucial role in deciding migration. Joint/extended families provide support to the stay back family members in the absence of migrants, thereby facilitating the migration process.

Internal and international migrant
- Internal and international migration were the two fundamental forms of migration. At the individual level, there were 2045 long-term migrants (those who migrated for more than a year) from 1850 migrant households. The main reason for migration was seeking employment (92% of the migrants), followed by education (7%) and business (less than a percent). The majority of the migrants were younger in the age group of 25-35 and were illiterate/semi-literate. Approximately 90 percent moved to urban areas and were working mainly in private companies (58%), followed by casual labourers (28%) and self-employed (7%).

- Inter-state migration was the most common form of migration (90%), followed by international migrants (6%) and intra-state (4%). The stream of migration heads northward and westward toward the agriculturally and industrially prosperous states of India (Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra, Gujarat) and international to Saudi Arabia and UAE. Another emerging feature is that 10 percent of migrants are heading towards Southern states where the food, language, culture is entirely different from their native places.

- International migrants tended to Muslims (42%), from joint families (59%) and better educated than internal migrants. Internal migrants start migrating at a younger age and stay for a longer time. Both forms of migration are complementary to each other. Internal migration provides opportunities for adaptive learning in terms of living and working in a new environment while also enabling the development of technical and social skills and knowledge to handle different situations while international emigration provides better choices when it comes to financial growth.

Causes of migration

- Economic push (poverty, compulsion [to migrate], unemployment, landlessness, lack of sufficient food to eat) emerged as the main driver of both internal and international migration from the region. The possibility of a higher wage internationally serves as a pull factor for international migrants.

- In addition to economic backwardness, long history of migration and recurrent flooding in Ganga and its tributaries are other important drivers of migration from the region.

- Social networks comprising of family, relatives and friends play important roles in deciding the first move at the destination. Such networks, particularly for internal migrants, help new migrants adjust and enable them to fit into the entirely new context of a city or an industrial township, gradually encouraging help them to create a new niche for themselves.

- In a given situation of economic crisis, families play a role of catalyst in migration decision making. On the one hand, it stimulates migration (40%), and on the other hand, it retards migration (50%).

Seasonal Migrants

- Approximately one-tenth of the households have opted for short-term/seasonal migration, where they migrate for less than six months in a year. The seasonal migration tends to happen more from the flood-affected divisions of the region. Seasonal migration is seen as a preferred option by socio-economically marginalized groups and is dominated by male-only migration.

- Half of the total seasonal migrants move to only three north-western states- Punjab, NCT of Delhi and Haryana. One-fourth of them work in agriculture and one-fifth in the construction sector. Networks of friends play a significant role in the seasonal migration processes.

- Seasonal migration is preferred over long-term migration as it allowed migrants to easily manage their family and farm at the same time. However, their involvement in unskilled work, long work hours and no weekly offs make it challenging.

Return Migrants

- The data on return migration provides an opportunity to understand all phases of the migration cycle. Overall, seven percent of the households in the study area have return migrants, a usual household member who had migrated for employment in the past but had returned and had no intention to migrate in the near future. Family concerns were the most frequently reported reason for the return. Most indicated that they were satisfied with their family income post their return.

- Most of the return migrant in the study area acquired some skills at the place of destination. Since these earned skills have no demand in the agro-based economy of the villages, hence most of the returnees got engaged as cultivator or labourer in agriculture and allied activities. Migration hardly brought any vertical occupational mobility except the few.

- Return migrants, especially in the global context, are also usually perceived as bringing back resources that lead to the development of the place of origin; however, this was not the case with return migrants belonging to the Middle Ganga Plain. Much of the rural population perceive migration as an escape from poverty. Nearly thirty percent of return migrants feel that they may migrate in the future if a situation arises, and more than two-thirds would encourage their children to migrate in the future as there are no opportunities in the villages

Potential Migrants

- In areas where employment opportunities are limited, and migration is an important livelihood strategy, and potential migrants may be provided specialized skill-based training that is in sync with the demand at the place of destination. Understanding the aspirations of those likely to opt for temporary migration is an integral aspect of this study. Nearly all indicated that adolescents and youth hoped to migrate to other parts of India in search of better employment opportunities.

- Sixty-seven percent of those likely to opt for migration in the future are currently pursuing their education. Their aspirations included pursuing higher education, including professional degrees and white-collar jobs.

Remittance

- In poverty-driven migration, remittances sent by migrant are the sole source of income for 48 percent of the recipient households, while it is a means of diversifying the household income for the remaining 52 percent. A majority of the households in Bihar receive less than Rs 25,000 annually, which reflects the low earning capacity of migrants, most of whom are engaged in menial jobs. Both internal and international migrant households in Eastern UP receive substantially higher remittances than their counterparts in Bihar.

- Remittances received by the households are meagre; hence their use for long-term investment is limited. The most frequently mentioned use of remittances relates to daily household needs, medical expenses, social functions, and children's education. Thus, the families of migrants rely heavily on remittances for their survival. Despite the relatively low sums that are remitted, remittances keep families afloat, providing food security, educational opportunities to children, and access to health care for family members. Remittances are seen as the lifeblood for households. Without migration and the resulting remittances, the conditions of these families would undoubtedly be worse.

- Labour migration leads to significant changes in the origin area. The separation of male migrants from the family has profound implications for the left behind individual family members back in the village of origin. The study also examined the consequences of migration on children, the elderly, and women's autonomy and decision-making. Each of these is discussed separately in the following sections**.**

Consequences of migration on Children

- The Middle Ganga Plain is demographically a young region where 45 percent of the total sample population is below age 18 years. The study focuses on two groups of children, i.e., those under the age of five and those belonging to the 6 to 17 years age group. The place of birth (home versus institutional birth) and ANC provided to the under-five children, while educational attainments were the focus for the second group of children.

- Institutional delivery provides better care to both mother and infant and plays a big role in their overall health and well-being. In Eastern UP, more children from migrant families were institutional deliveries than those from non-migrant families. It thus appears that the migration of fathers positively influences the health and education of children in Eastern UP while it has a negative effect on both for children in Bihar.

- The consequence of the migration of educational well-being of children is an important area of concern. However, the data indicate that the impact of fathers' migration on children's education was not uniform. The academic performance of left-behind children of migrants in Eastern UP was better than their counterparts in Bihar.

- The migration of fathers appeared to increase their sons' chances of staying on in school and completing their education in Eastern UP. However, it does not appear to influence daughters' education in either of the two regions. It seems to have a detrimental effect on Bihar children, resulting in higher dropout rates amongst children from migrant families.

- The major barriers to girl's education were cost, distance, the requirement at home to work. These barriers are structural or poverty issues that influence enrolment, and the continuation of education but all of these can be improved with effort. However, a substantial proportion of children not showing interest in education (29% boys in Bihar, 39% boys in Eastern UP, and 10% and 21% of girls in Bihar and Eastern UP) is a major cause of concern. Whether this is due to an indifferent curriculum or whether it is a result of social exclusion patterns needs to be explored in greater detail, possibly through a separate study.

- Children of return migrants display poor educational outcomes compared to migrant and non-migrant households in both Bihar and Eastern UP. This implies that the nature of migration influences the performance of the children.

Consequences of migration on Elderly

- Globally, the percentage share of the population aged 60 and above is increasing substantially. Meeting the financial, health, security, and care-related needs of the elderly is a major challenge for a developing economy. The migration of adult children puts the additional burden of managing the family in their absence firmly on the elderly shoulders. There is minimal information on the situation of the elderly affected by the migration of their children. In MGP, a relatively higher proportion of left-behind elderly indicated satisfaction with food and clothing. In comparison, a higher proportion of the elderly living in non-migrant households was satisfied with their sleeping arrangement.

- More than one-third of the elderly were engaged in gainful occupation. The migration of children provided relief to the elderly from the economic responsibilities of the family. Despite this, the major concerns of the elderly in general and left-behind elderly, in particular, were dependency on co-villagers, lack of timely support during emergency or crisis time, and loneliness.

- The majority opined that migration brought prosperity to the left-behind families in the villages. Migrants should migrate without a wife and children to save some money and send back to run the family in a village. Overall, the elderly living in non-migrant households faces more challenges than the left-behind elderlies.

Consequences of migration on Women's decision making

- If we see the consequences of migration, it is vividly found that due to male migration, women become *de facto* heads of their household. More than 52 percent of the migrant household were headed by women as against just 13 percent in non-migrant households.

- There were 1353 households with left-behind women. Interviews were conducted with the left behind wives from migrant households and women from non-migrant households belonging to the reproductive age group (15-49 years).

- The report focused on the decision-making powers available to these women. In comparison to 37 percent of wives of non-migrants, 70 percent of left-behind women received money from their husbands.

- More than half of left-behind women took decisions independently regarding the day-to-day needs of the households. However, only one-fourth of the left-behind women mentioned that they could take independent decisions on matters related to agriculture, home repairs and education (including payment of fees) of children.

- The level of decision-making power increased with an increase in the age of respondent women, irrespective of the migration status of their husbands. More than half of left-behind women aged 35 years and above took their decisions independently

- The migration of husbands may increase the household responsibilities of left-behind women, and they have to make many of the household decisions of their own. However, this increased responsibility may ultimately help empower these women.

Policies and Programme

- More than 250 government welfare programmes of rural development are running in the MGP. The study also aimed to examine the level and pattern of utilization of government welfare programmes by migrant and non-migrant households. These include programmes related to livelihood, nutrition, food security, and maternal health.

- MGP, despite economically being a poor region, the level of utilization of the MGNREGA, PDS and other welfare schemes are lower is a point of serious concern. Availing ration from PDS was the most utilized programme by household (70%) in the region. Jan Dhan and Janani Suraksha Yojanas were utilized by nearly one-fifth of the households. At the same time, only one-tenth of the households were benefitted from the livelihood programme, MGNREGA. For other schemes, the level utilization was very negligible. This points to a systemic failure and suggests a feeling of apathy towards these and other schemes.

- Compared to Bihar, the Eastern UP shows higher access to programmes related to food security, health, sanitation and public works under MGNREGA. The migration status of the household did not have any bearing on the utilization of this scheme; however, return migrant households are more dependent on PDS and public works provided under MGNREGA.

Conclusion

- Thus, labour migration from the MGP is adopted as a family livelihood strategy where men migrate to earn bread and women stick to hearth to manage the family affairs, children, and elderly in villages. Migration brings relief from poverty to families. Had there not been out-migration, the condition would have been worse. However, distress labour may be converted to a viable human resource if these labour migrants are given training related to the traits demanded at the destination areas.

- Migration in all its forms is a livelihood strategy that is going to continue for decades to come. There is a need to accept this and develop strategies that may encourage families to migrate together for better opportunities, maybe by assuring them of services and amenities at the destination sites.

- Skill development for youth and agriculture-based industries at the source areas also need to be developed. This will not only enable utilization of the natural resources of the MGP but also improve local employment opportunities and contribute to the economic development of the region and stop distress migration without family.

Recommendations

Migration in all its forms is a livelihood strategy that is going to continue for decades to come. There is a need to accept this and develop strategies to make migration safer as well as protect the interest of left-behind women and families

<u>Human resource development</u>
- **Skill development**: MGP is rich in human resources, and one way to harness this is through the provision of vocational training at the high school level. The vocational training that focuses on building skills in high demand in urban areas such as carpentry, welding, masonry, electric work and mechanical work would enable students to seek gainful employment in urban areas. In the present context where infrastructure is limited in the school, the linkage with nearby ITI colleges and polytechnic institutions would be helpful.

- **Financial literacy**: Imparting financial literacy to the rural population in the MGP would be useful as most migrants send remittances through online digital payment using various government and private service agencies. Challenges related to low education levels and lack of IT skills can be overcome through the training to be organized periodically by gram panchayats with support of the banks and/or local organisations to safeguard them cybercrime

<u>Management of migration</u>
- **Migration register**: The gram panchayats can ensure that the details of every migrant are noted in a migration register that is maintained in their office. The register could include the basic information of every migrant in terms of name, age and gender of migrant, the destination area, period of migration, work sector, details of employer, contact details of migrant/ employer as well as details of family members who either migrate or stay back. Such information may be helpful particularly during the situation like COVID-19 pandemic or disaster or emergency

- **Migration information centre/migrant helpline**: looking at the increasing trend of international as well internal migrants, the source state government should open/develop migration information centre/portal/app at block level to provide essential information on job availability, demand for labour, registration of migrants, counselling for the visa, emergency contacts and information and awareness on the destination countries of the migrants. This centre can also help in database creation for the demand and supply of labour.

- **Inclusion of return migrants:** The return migrants are experienced, and many of them are skilled to become an entrepreneur if financial and infrastructural support is provided at the place of origin or nearby towns.

- **Inclusion of left-behind women:** The initiatives taken Aajeevika under the National Rural Livelihood Mission should be replicated at a larger scale to create employment for women in general and left-behind women in particular

Structural change

- **Sectoral plan for structural change**: in order to bring systematic improvement, there should be a sectoral plan like agriculture, industry, water and irrigation, power and energy, health and education etc., some of the states are working in these lines. The findings from this study highlight that most of the migration from the MGP is distress led and the remittances that are sent back are barely enough to cover food costs for the stay back family. The findings also indicate that migration in the MGP area rarely contributes to the development of the area, and structural changes (mentioned below) are the need of the hour:

  - Rural industrialization: Medium and small-scale industries should be promoted to ensure the best utilization of the abundance of natural and human resources in the area. This will not only enable the utilisation of the natural resources of the MGP but also improve local employment opportunities and contribute to the economic development of the region and the country as a whole.
  - Revival of agro-based industrial units (sugar, food processing units, jute and bamboo crafts) and art and craft (terracotta, grass handicraft, brassware, wooden toys, glass beads) and handloom (Banarasi and Bhagalpuri silk, cotton, and handmade carpets) in the state which are either sick or shut.
  - The majority of the districts in MGP are drought-prone as well as flood-prone. A better water resource management programme should be developed and strengthened through rainwater harvesting structures and groundwater recharge.
  - Promotion and management of tourism: The MGP has numerous historical, archaeological, geographical and cultural sites which can be a potential for future job creation and economic growth

State-level migration policies and programmes

- The findings point to an urgent need for the State to recognize the contributions of their migrants and develop policies and programmes for the well-being of the migrants and their families both at the place of origin and destinations. Inter-state cooperation and convergence will be required for ensuring that migrants and their families are able to avail of all their rights and the services due to them as citizens of India.

Sex Ratio in Divisions of MGP (Female/000 Male)
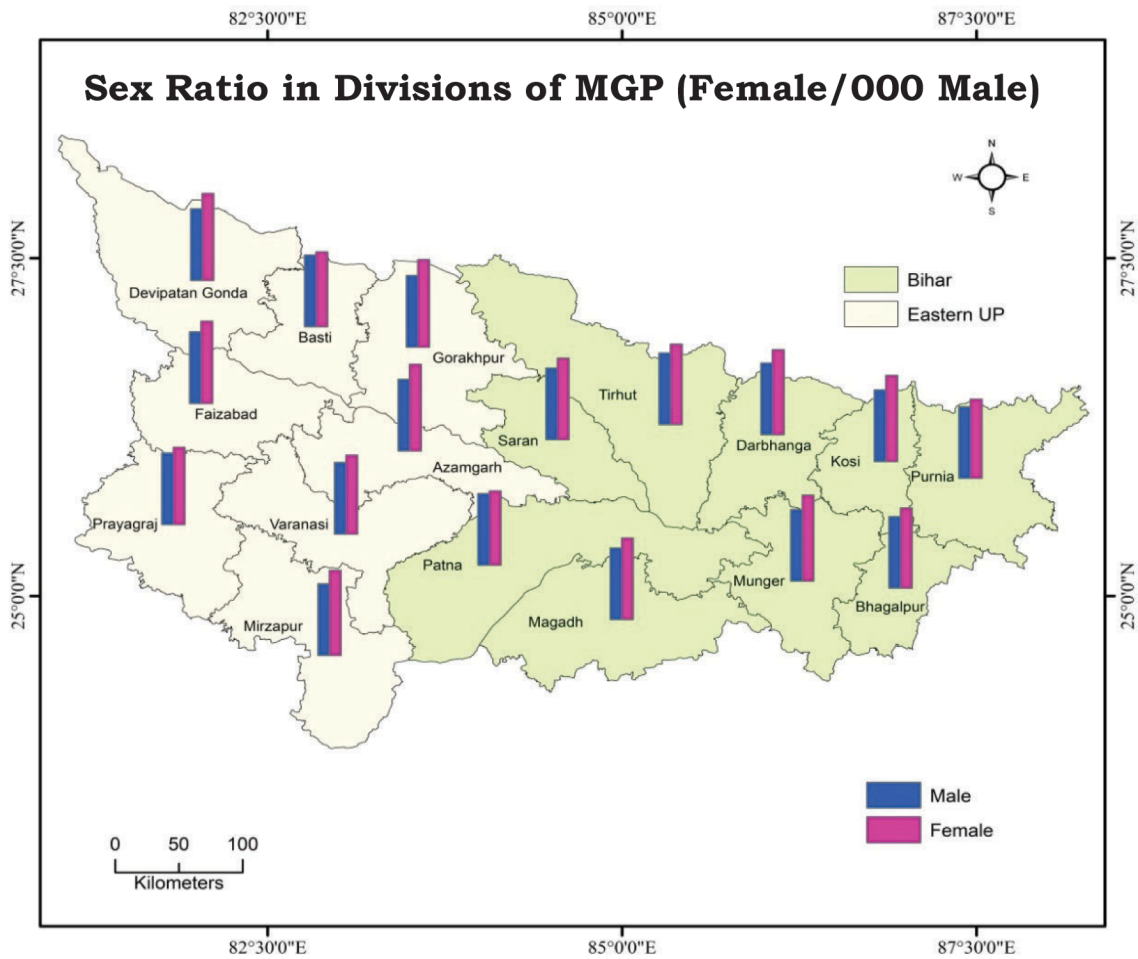
Map No. 1 depicts the number of females per 1000 males across the divisions of MGP. The sex ratio remains in favour of females across all the divisions, which indicates a high rate of male selective outmigration from the region. The sex ratio of more than 1200 females per 1000 males was seen in the divisions of Gorakhpur, Devipatan Gonda, Azamgarh, Kosi and Munger while it was lowest in Patna (1037) and Basti (1046).
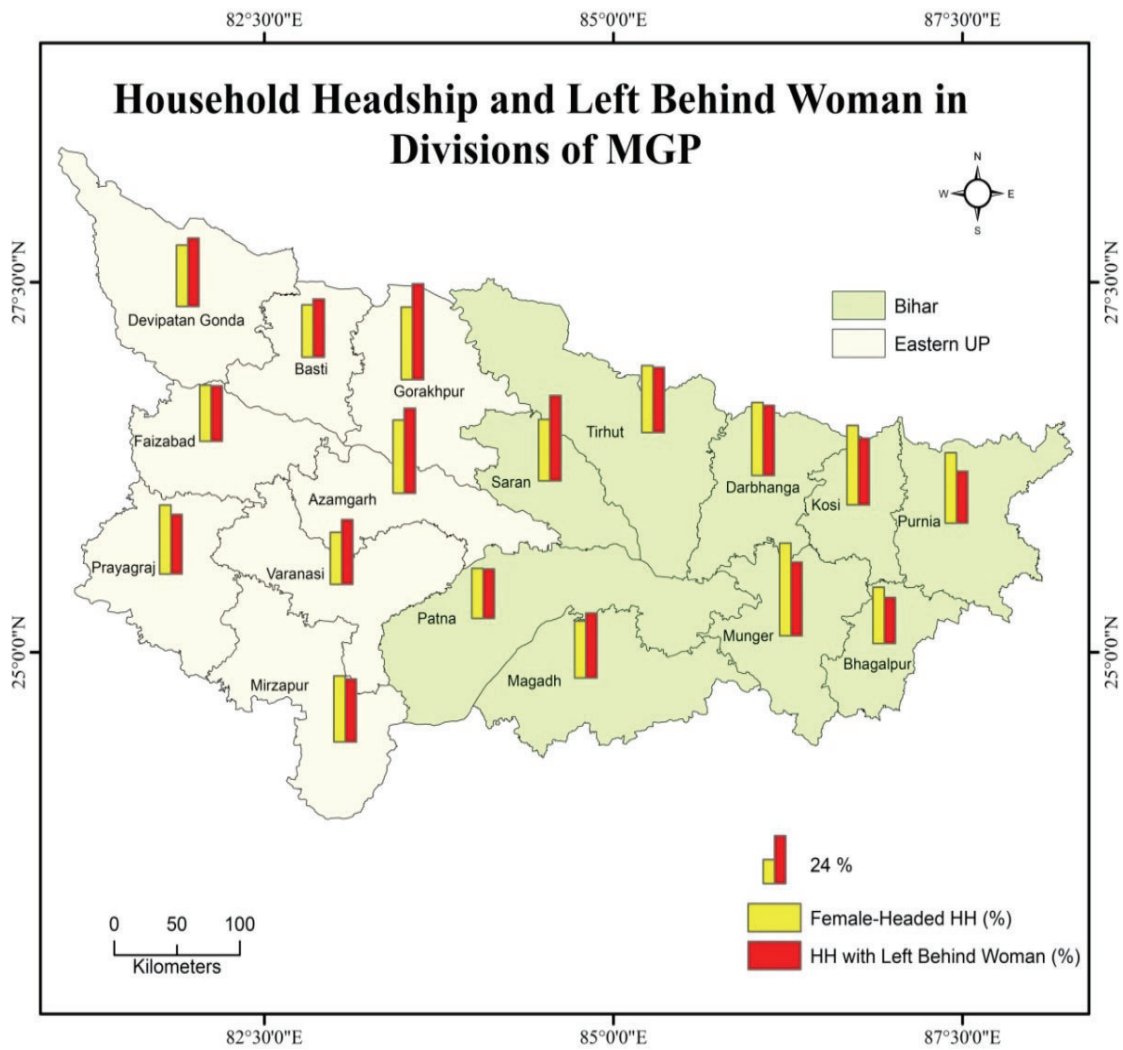
Map No 2 shows the female-headed households and percent of households with left-behind women, i.e., women who stay in the village while their husbands migrate out for employment. One in two households in Gorakhpur and one in four houses in Patna had at least one left behind women. Female-headed households were high in Munger and Kosi (more than 40%) and low in Patna, Varanasi and Basti Divisions (around 25%).

Level of Migration in Divisions of MGP

Migration Status of HH

- Migrant HH
- Non-Migrant HH
- Return Migrant HH
- Locked Migrant HH

Bihar

Eastern UP
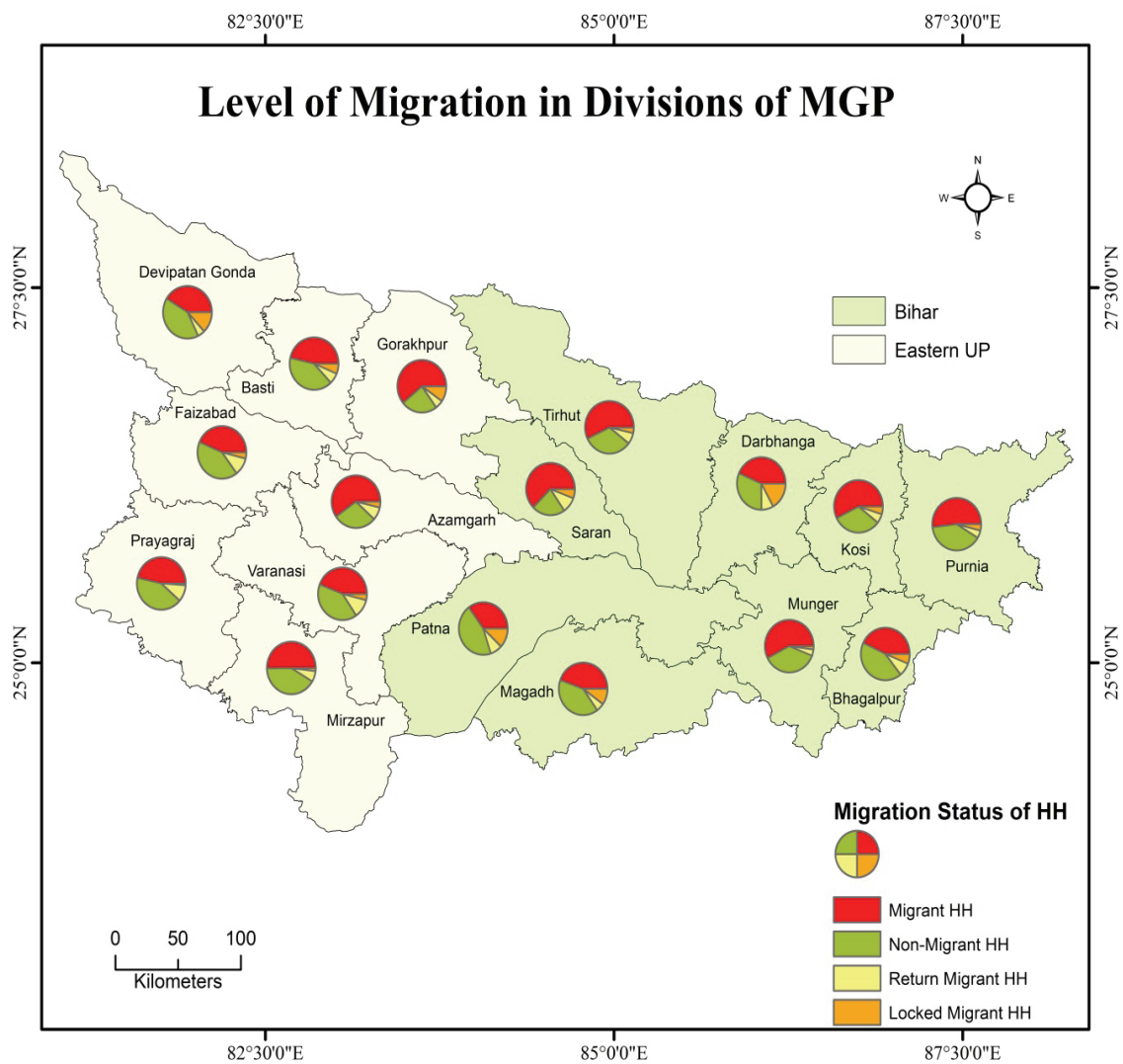
Map No 3 uses pie diagrams to shows the distribution of households by migration status across each division. Darbhanga has the highest share of locked households (orange segment) due to migration of the entire family (17%). In seven of the 18 divisions, more than 60% of the households were migrant households (Gorakhpur, Saran, Azamgarh, Kosi, Tirhut, Darbhanga, and Munger). On the other hand, in 10 division, 40 to 50percent of the households have no migrants. In four of the divisions, a tenth of the households have return migrants (Varanasi, Faizabad, Prayagraj and Saran).

Types of Migration in Divisions of MGP
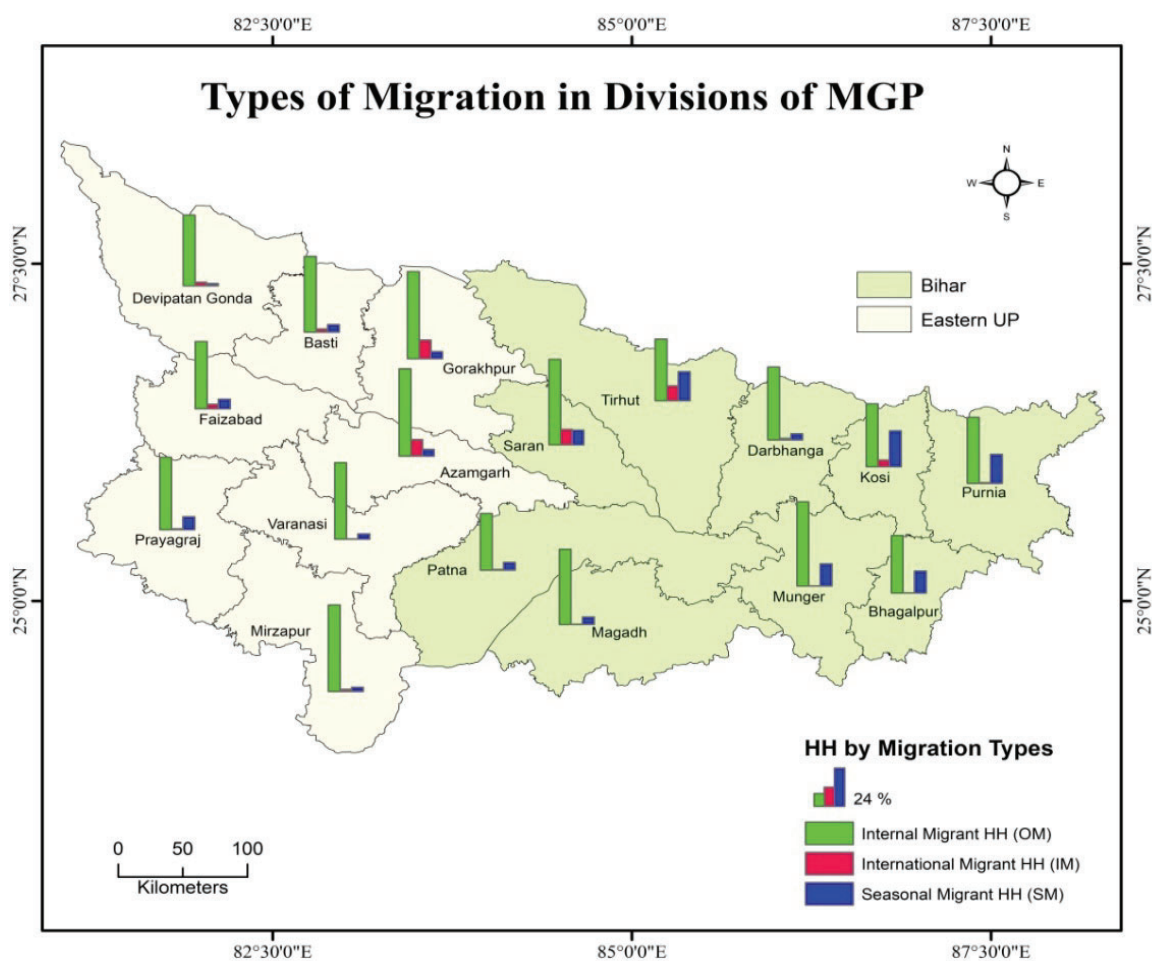
Map No 4 bar diagrams show the distribution of internal (green bar), international (red bar) and seasonal migration (blue bar) across respondent households. International migration tends to be higher from areas with a long history of migration. Seasonal migration is more prevalent in the divisions of Bihar. Some of the divisions like Tirhut, Saran, and Kosi have a noticeable percentage of households with all three forms of migration.

Migrants by Marital Status in Divisions of MGP
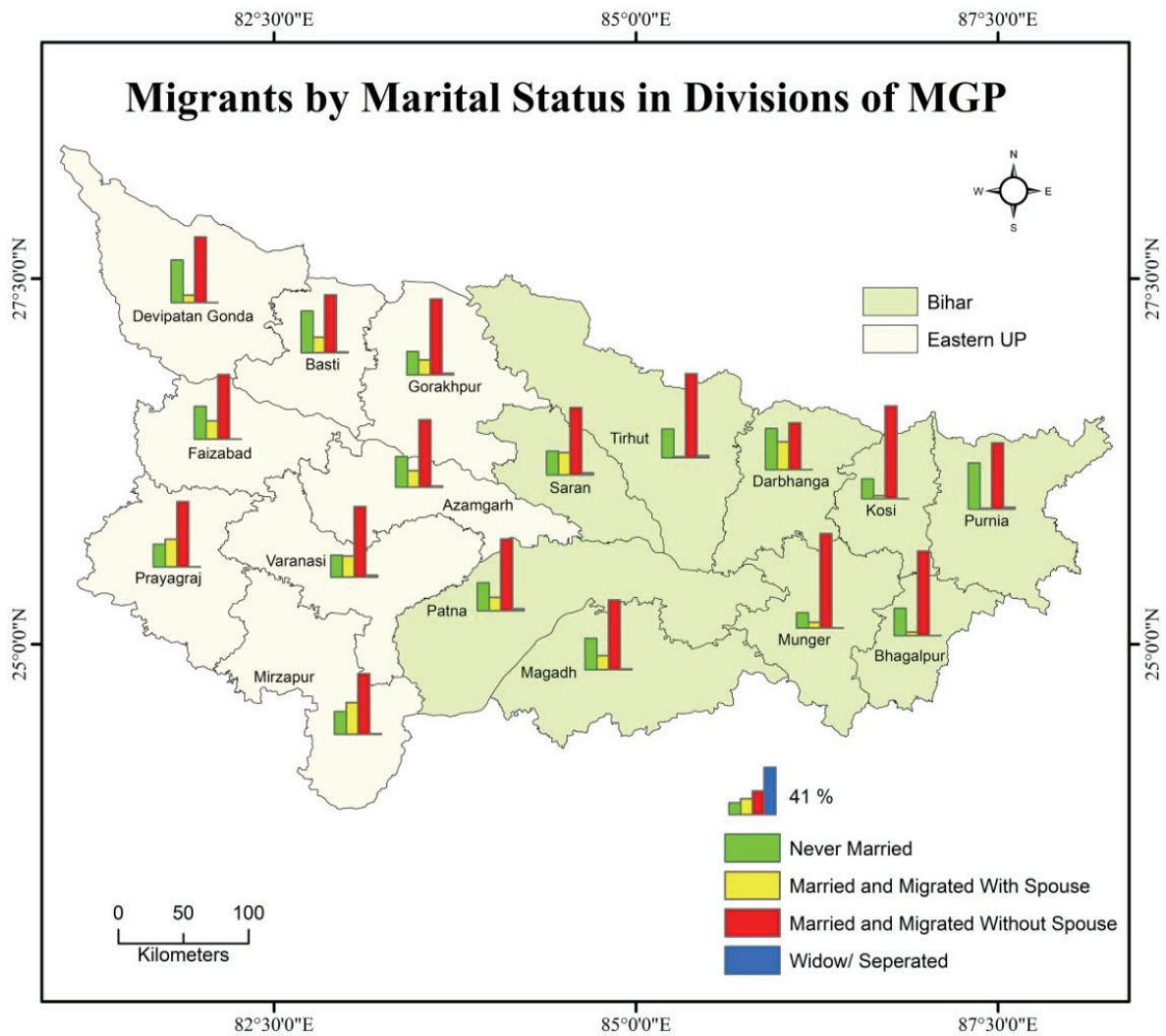
Map No 5 presents the marital status of individual migrants across the divisions of MGP. The prominently visible red bar indicates a very high level of married men migrating alone without wife and children, particularly in Munger and Kosi's divisions (more than 80%) and Bhagalpur and Tirhut (more than 73%). The migration of entire families was negligible in these divisions. It was interesting to note that in divisions of Mirzapur, Darbhanga, and Prayagraj, nearly one-fourth of the migrants were accompanied by their spouse. In the Purnia division, two of every five migrants were never married.

Remittances (Rs.) Recived by Household in Divisions of MGP
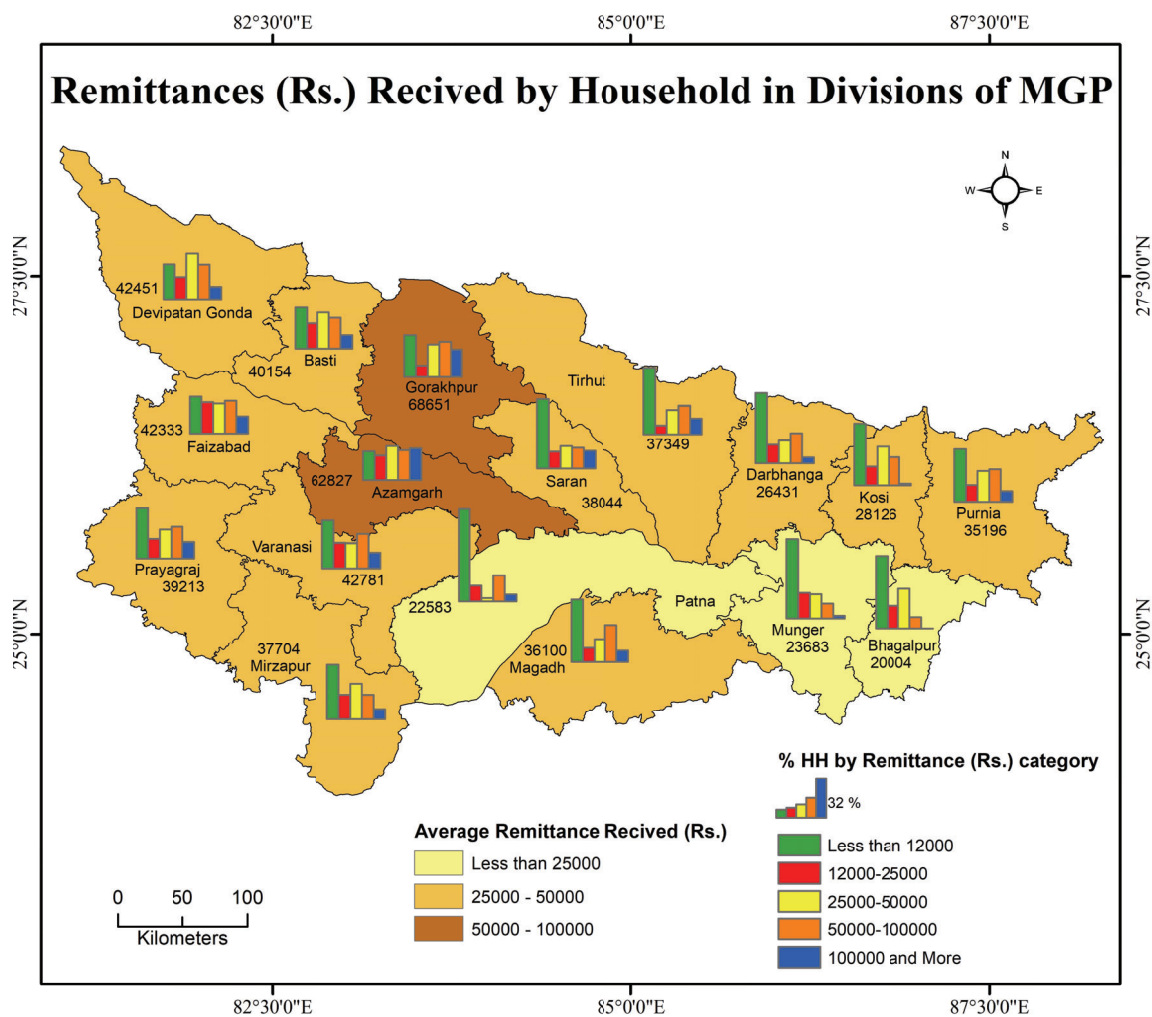
In Map No 6, the choropleth map in the background shows the annual average remittances of the households. The darker the colour grade; the higher the average remittances. The bar diagram presents the percentage distribution of the households across different categories of the remittances received annually. Notably, quite a large proportion of the households, particularly in Bihar, receive less than Rs 12000 annually.

Women's Decision Making: Daily Household Chores (%) Divisions of MGP
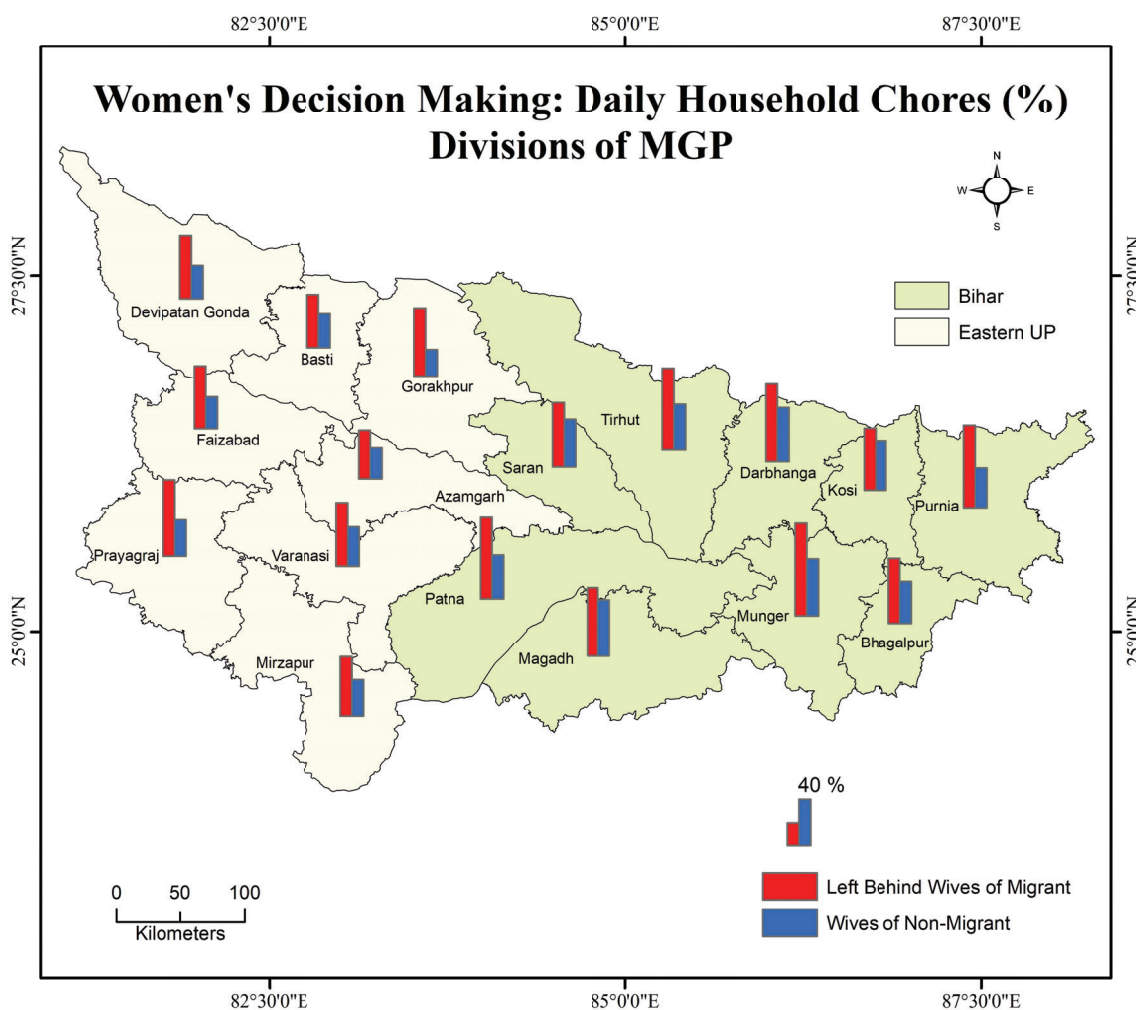
Map No 7 presents a comparative picture of women's decision-making powers concerning daily household chores. In comparison to wives of non-migrants (blue bar), a higher proportion of left-behind women (red bar) take the household decisions on their own.

Women's Decision Making: Children's Healthcare (%) Divisions of MGP
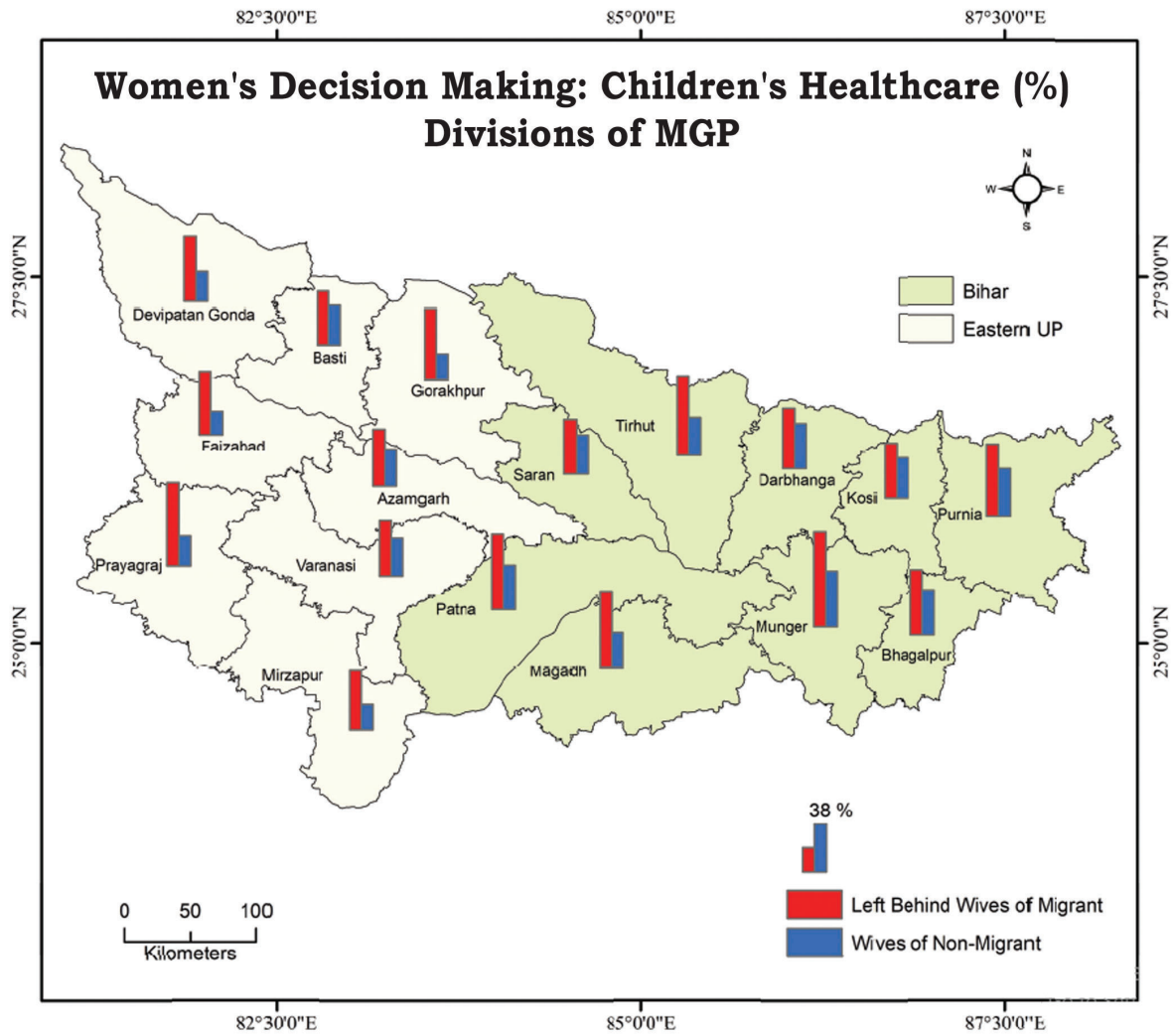
Map No 8 presents a comparative picture of women's decision-making powers in respect to the health care of children. In comparison to wives of non-migrants (blue bar), a higher proportion of left-behind women (red bar) take decisions regarding their children's health care independently. Kosi was the exception where involvement of women from non-migrant households was equivalent to that of women from migrant households

Women's Decision Making: Purchasing for Self (%)
Divisions of MGP
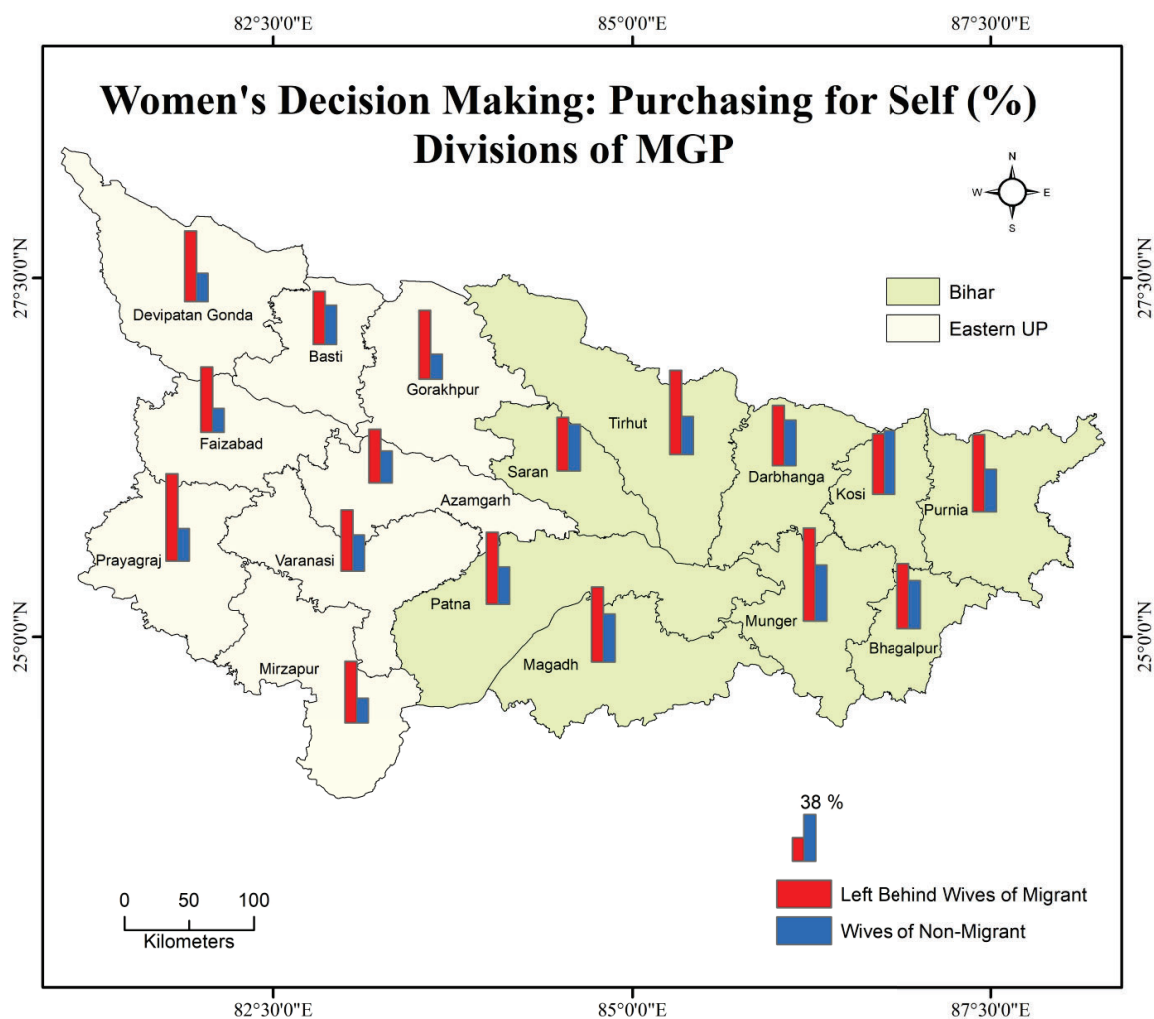
Map No 9 presents a comparative picture of women's decision-making powers with respect to purchasing items for themselves. In comparison to wives of non-migrants (blue bar), a higher proportion of left-behind women (red bar) take decisions on purchasing for themselves on their own. In Bihar and especially in Kosi, the involvement of women from non-migrant households was greater than that of women from migrant households.

SECTION **1**

Chapter 1 Introduction and Review of Literature

The Middle Ganga plain has been a region of historical importance in India and is known as one of the most prominent regions of out-migration in the country. It is one of the core areas where the caste system consolidated in ancient India and diffused to other parts of the country (Sharma 1996). It forms part of the Gangetic valley divided into three main parts, namely Upper Ganga Plain, Middle Ganga Plain and Lower Ganga Plain. Historians believe that the Middle Ganga Plain has been the linchpin of migratory movement, state formation and urban development since the middle of the first millennium BCE (Jha 2014).

The Middle Ganga Plain lies between the foothills of Himalaya in the north of India and the peninsula in the south. It spreads approximately 144,409 sq. km, covering 64 districts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Historically, migration from this region dates long back to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Due to persistent and widespread poverty and underdevelopment, livelihood migration from this region continued even after independence but was mainly directed towards the better developed western states of India. Recently, this region showed a significant rise in the trend of international migration towards destinations in the Gulf regions. Livelihood migration from this region, whether international or internal, is dominated by males, who leave their families behind in the villages. The continuum of two centuries-old association between migration and poverty, which has led to the "culture of migration" in the Middle Ganga Plain, needs deeper exploration.

Internal migration has been an area of considerable interest within the broader field of migration. In India, the pioneering work of (Davis 1951) and (Zachariah 1964) have shown the importance of interstate/interprovincial migration as linked to the development and emerging disparities in India during the colonial period. The factors that exacerbate migration from the areas of the Middle Ganga Plain are attributed to the introduction of the Permanent Settlement Act by the East India Company in 1793 recognizing Zamindars as owners of land and bestowing on them the power to dismiss tenants in the case of their inability to pay the high amounts of rent. This led to the impoverishment of rural masses and an increase in landlessness among peasants. Further, the commercialization of agriculture also increased without any increment of income for peasants and increasing their poverty leading to out-migration of the rural people from present-day Eastern UP and Bihar to different parts of the country, particularly towards the eastern region of India and even to foreign countries, for their survival (Sharma 2005). Out-migration from the Middle Ganga Plain during the colonial period started as mostly non-permanent migration for wage work, separated into two important streams: interstate and international (Davis 1951). The mainstream of overseas out-migration from the Middle Ganga Plain started only after 1834, after the abolition of the slave trade. Out-migration of labourers from the Middle Ganga Plain was seen as a means of replacing the no-longer-available slave labour in plantations in Africa, the Caribbean, and Central America and hence promoted and encouraged by the colonial rulers (Kondapi 1951; Mangat 1969). Inter-state migration

continued and intensified in subsequent years, particularly after independence. According to the Census of India 2011, the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are responsible for the highest number of out-migrants, with approximately 20.9 million people migrating out of these two states. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) loosely defines a migrant as "a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons."

The ongoing trend of migration is a strategy adopted commonly by the rural poor in a bid for the survival of their families significantly in developing countries. Such migration may appear a simple process but is attended by several gains and pains that befall a lot of the migrants and their families. The gains are in terms of remittances resulting in better access to food and health care facilities, clothing and improved socio-economic status etc., which was difficult to come by without these vital inputs. In deep contrast, however, where the pains felt at both ends of the migration stream – by wives stayed back and by the migrating husbands at the work destinations.

The process of out-migration encompasses aspects of the geographical, socio-economic, cultural and psychological existence of a people. These need to be analysed in tandem to have a holistic understanding of the circumstances leading to migration and the consequent impact on those left behind, i.e., their wives, children and elderly. It is essential in understanding the equation of migration and consequent development, keeping in this perspective. The present study is carried out with the following objectives:

1.1   Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- To study the nature and pattern of migration, including the return and potential migration.
- To understand the causes of migration and migration decision-making and its financing (self and non-self-action).
- To study the role of migration and remittances in economic mobility and poverty-reduction through international, internal and seasonal/temporary migration.
- To study the role of migration on empowerment/disempowerment of left-behind women.
- To study the consequences of migration on children and the elderly.
- To examine the consequences on health and health-seeking behaviour of left-behind families.
- To review the programmes and policies related to migration and livelihood at the place of origin and suggest policy measures to improve the condition of migrants and their left-behind families.

1.2 Review of Literature

Migration in the era of globalization
Migration when seen from the "globalisation as revolution" perspective – becomes more or less a symbol of fluidity, impermanence and complexity in an era of time-space compression

(Munck, 2008). In developing countries, it is pred ominantly distress-led occurring as a "spatial" manifestation of poverty, underdevelopment, and spatial disorganization (Mukherji, 1991; Mukherji, 2013). Due to lack of employment opportunities and insufficient income from farming in rural areas, migrating to the urban areas or overseas for work is one of the limited options available to poor villagers (Oda 2007). Fast-growing economies are manifested in a rapid rural-urban migration process that accompanies the shift from agriculture to the industrial economy (World Bank 2009). In general, migrants from rural to urban areas are male selective and belong to the 15 to 35 years age group (Population Reports, 1983).

According to (Goldscheider 1984), migration is a vehicle of change for those who move and as a factor responsible for the redistribution of the population from rural to urban areas. He brings forth the analysis of the effects of migration on rural areas stating it to be at the core of the demographically less developed countries and holds it responsible for the social, economic, and political correlates of their population processes. Goldscheider (op cit) identified four major ways of examining the linkage between migration and change in a rural structure as, a) size and composition effect, b) diffusion effect, c) demographic-behavioural response and d) social organization and uprooting effect.

The larger understanding of migration shows that though migrants tend to face problems at the place of destination; they play, nevertheless, a most crucial role in improving the standards of living of the place of origin through remittances to the recipient households. While remittances sent in internal migration, or rural-urban migration situations are relatively poor and intermittent owing to the lower-earning capacity of migrants (Connell et al. 1976). Rural to urban migration is visualized not only as a survival strategy but also as the main poverty alleviation strategy adopted by the migrants (Skeldon 1997). However, the relationship between poverty and migration is likely to be highly dependent on how poverty and social exclusion are measured.

Dynamics of internal and international migration

The dynamics of internal and international migration have been theorised by (Skeldon 2008) and (King and Skeldon 2010) who maintain that the most problematic aspect of migration research is to link the internal and international migration streams of migration. These two are almost entirely separate in existing literature, written from different conceptual, theoretical, and methodological standpoints, which rarely talk to each other (op cit). Ronald Skeldon argues that both types of movement influence one another in various ways, but most notably in creating job openings that attract new migration. Primarily citing examples from east and south Asia, he points out that movement within a country, from the countryside to cities, or from inland to coastal areas can enable migrants to gain access to jobs, savings, and networks that facilitate subsequent migration abroad. Then after integration of internal and international migration dynamics, many types of related issues evolved like network, social behaviour, structure and cost. Then a systematic model is needed to formulate the influences of migration networks on migration decision-making. As social networks can be seen as a push or a pull factor, it needs to be established exactly how social networks affect migration, and an integrated model needs

to be developed. One important step in this direction involves the concept of social capital (Haug 2008).

Out-migration: destination, reasons and characteristics

Previous research on migration, especially out-migration points to a lack of clarity and understanding regarding the causes and consequences of out-migration (Becker 1962; Vanderkamp 1970; Muth 1971; Greenwood 1975; Clark & Ballard 1980; Clark & Ballard 1980) discuss the reasons for migration and how our migration affects regional growth/ decline. They postulate that out-migration of an economically active population from a region may have a detrimental effect on the financial situation of the region as a whole. Morrison (1972) adds that migration tends to be towards high-growth regions irrespective of economic conditions of the place of origin.

Kumar and Bhagat (2012) opine that poverty and under-development in Bihar may be the principal reason for out-migration along with the heavy dependence on agriculture, institutional conditions, lower agricultural output, lack of industrialization, and other socio-economic conditions. Migration is a well-established phenomenon and most of the migration is directed towards the north-western and western parts of India to states like Maharashtra, Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat, Delhi and West Bengal. Studies in Eastern Uttar Pradesh highlight that out-migration of young males leads to a decline in fertility at the place of origin (Singh, Yadava, and Yadava 1981). People between ages 0-14 years and above 60 years are less likely to migrate because of their dependence on their families (Singh et al. 2013).

Agrarian reform and migration

The changes in agrarian relations started with the abolition of the Zamindari system from 1859 to 1885 with the Bihar Tenancy Act (Das 1983). Bihar was the first state in the country to do away with the zamindari system. The four upper castes of Bhumihar, Brahmin, Rajput and Kayastha with political and economic influences managed to gain control of much of the land after the fall of the feudal system, giving rise to a semi-feudal caste driven land ownership system kept in power by political affiliations. Even with the Land Ceiling Act in 1962 and its subsequent amendments in 1972 and 1973, the loopholes made illegal land possessions easy and prevalent. A collaborative study by the A N Sinha Institute of Social Science (ANSISS), Patna and, and the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1981-82 and then by the Institute for Human Development, New Delhi in 1999-2000 (Basu 2010) revealed that there was a strong interrelationship between caste and land ownership. The surveys also showed that the middle castes of Yadav, Koeri and Kurmi had significantly improved their economic position and as a result affected the pattern of land distribution in the countryside. Only a third of the agricultural labourers were attached to the land.

Family types and household size

Family is a complex social institution and has been the subject of many research studies across the decades. The joint family system which tends to be more common in the higher castes has been the most frequently studied (Mandelbaum 1968). A study on Bihar (Singh et al. 2013) revealed that the main occupation of the region is agriculture. Most of the households are

involved in agricultural activities with 51percent of the head of the households in south Bihar were engaged in agriculture, and 31 percent were agricultural labourers. The study further revealed that that 69 percent of the families in that region were nuclear families and the scheduled castes recorded highest number of households with nuclear families (78%). Muslim households recorded the highest percentage of joint families (39%).

Remittance and its impact on household
The increased out-migration from rural Bihar has resulted in a "money order" economy and the remittance sent by the migrants to their families provides security to the dependents and at a social level has resulted in "a dissociation of family life" (Das 1983).

Deshingkar et al. (2006) discuss the findings of the World Bank funded Bihar Rural Livelihoods Project (BRLP) and the *International Fund for Agricultural Development* (IFAD) funded Women's Empowerment and Livelihoods Project in the mid-Gangetic Plain (WELPMGP) which focuses on the effects of out-migration from the mid-Ganga Plain. While analysing the out-migration from the region, the authors opined that the migration and remittances have improved the standard of living of thousands of families in the poorest districts of Bihar. In the case of the poorest of migrants, the phenomenon of migration helps in income accumulation, improves food security, helps with the cost of children's education, and sometimes assists in asset accumulation. Migrants remit a large portion of their incomes back home and often try to generate additional income to send home. This has been collaborated by other researchers (Haan 2000; Mitra and Pradhan 2016) who point out that migration is the dominant livelihood strategy and that remittances play a leading role in providing substance to economically challenged families.

Yet other researchers (Adams 1991; Stark and Lucas 1988) conclude that the households in developing countries which receive remittances are financially better off than those that do not receive remittances. Studies have also highlighted that the international remittances sent back home countries have a profound impact on the household's well-being in various parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. International remittances are also found to be the second most important source of external funding in developing countries (World Bank 2004; 2011).

According to (Kumar and Bhagat 2012) remittances comprise almost half to a third of the household expenditure. It is mostly spent on food, health care, children's education, and other consumer goods. The remittance received through migration thus provides a basis for upward economic mobility.

Consequences of migration on families, left-behind women, children, and elderly

Elderly
According to the United Nations, in many developing countries the aging population is marked in rural areas, owing to the migration of young adults. Older persons may be left behind without traditional family support and even without adequate financial resources (United Nations 2002). The migration of the active family member leads to disrupted personal care for the dependent

members i.e., the children and the elderly leaving them with the responsibilities for livelihood. Migration also results in lower self-reported health status among elderly parents (Démurger 2015). Left-behind families often face challenges when accessing social welfare benefits for the elderly. A study by Evandrou et al. (2017) points out that elderly family members who have been left-behind are more vulnerable to hypertension, diabetes, and heart disease when compared to those who live with their families and reasons that this is due to the change in their lifestyle.

Women and Decision Making Power
Willis and Yeoh (2000) comment that migration can be seen as an opportunity. Just like women migrating for employment can be empowering, male out-migration can provide opportunities for restructuring of gender relations in the households. Women may be provided with greater opportunities for influence within the household in the form of responsibilities. However; the authors also warn of the dangers of leaving women behind without remittance. Desai and Banerji (2008) opine that women in Bihar who live in nuclear families have far more responsibilities and autonomy than women living in joint families. Paris et al. (2005) in their case study on women left-behind in Eastern UP found that women who stay back have to perform tasks traditionally handled by the men of the household. These tasks usually involve preparing the land and other agricultural-related work. Mascarenhas-Keyes (1990) revealed that women become de facto heads of their households when the men were absent for prolonged periods of time on a regular basis. Datta & Mishra (2011) found that male migrations have been a catalyst in enhancing a woman's mobility and autonomy in conservative communities of Eastern UP. Singh's study (1989) opined that the normalisation of out-migration has transformed social conditions and attitudes in rural areas. Migrants in urban areas are mover vulnerable to extramarital affairs. While migration of men has brought about incredible changes in the lives of women at a personal level, patriarchy and caste systems continue to define gender roles at a large scale in rural Bihar. In the absence of the men in the household, women were mostly involved in religious activities like "*pooja path, shiv charcha, bhajan, kirtan,* etc" for entertainment in Bihar (Datta and Mishra 2011).

Women and Economic Well-being
A few research studies have explored the well-being of left-behind families of internal migrants. Research from Nepal (Gartaula, Visser, and Niehof 2012) shows that the migrant status of husbands makes a difference to the left-behind wives' "subjective" sense of wellbeing. The women may experience greater well-being if they become the de facto head of the household, in their husbands' absence. On the other hand, subjective well-being may not improve and may decline if, for example, women have to live with their in-laws during their husbands' absence, and/or when the pre-migration financial situation was comfortable enough that remittances resulted in only a small financial improvement. Findings from Ecuador further reinforce the conclusion that the benefits of remittances are often outweighed by the costs of separation (Borraz, Pozo, and Rossi 2008). By contrast, a survey in Latin America found that households with a remitting migrant abroad were happier than those without (Cardenas, DiMarco, and Sorkin 2009). However, in matrilineal and weak patriarchal societies of developing countries like Zaire, Indonesia, Kenya, etc., women often experience an increase in autonomy and

decision-making responsibilities (Findley and Williams 1991). In contrast, despite the receipt of remittances, left-behind women of Gulf migrants in Pakistan experienced hardly any change in the role of decision-making (Gilani 1988), and wife's continued dependency on other kinship ties, in the absence of her husband, is a common occurrence (Arnold and Shah 1984)

Women and Psychological Stress
Other than these, many "left-behind" women experience heightened psychological stress resulting from their husband's absence. Some of them fear that their husbands may never return or may develop a parallel family at the place of destination. Such fears along with added responsibilities in the absence of the husband might contribute to psychological disorders among left-behind women. Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) in her study on left-behind Mexican women found that many of these women feared being abandoned by their husbands while they were away at the place of destination. Studies in Pakistan show that these women suffer from a variety of psychological illnesses (Arnold and Shah 1984). They hardly communicate with their migrant husbands. The wives of Turkish workers, who had not accompanied their husbands abroad felt high insecurity, anxiety about the future, and loss of social status (Engelbrechtsson 1978). In fact, many studies have found that the overall health of left-behind women deteriorates.

However, the actual impact of male-out migration on the autonomy and decision-making of left-behind families and women depends upon the society they belong to and the type of male migration (whether internal or international). The rise in self-esteem seems to occur more frequently among the left-behind wives of international migrants who are absent for long periods of time (Arnold and Shah 1984). However, in the case of internal migration, where the amount of remittances is relatively low, the autonomy of left-behind women is occasionally observable (Colfer 1985).

Some studies have also highlighted that feminisation of agriculture has started to fill the gap caused by the migration of agricultural labours (Connell et al. 1976; Singh 2000). Left-behind women of internal migrants living in a joint family get some relief from workload as they got physical support from other family members (Connell et al. 1976) although this is mainly due to the region-specific social stigma attached to women taking up jobs outside the home (Roy 2011).

STIs and Reproductive health
As far as the relationship between migration and the spread of HIV/AIDS is concerned, several studies notice that migrants who live in big cities, far away from their wives, visit commercial sex workers (CSWs) or develop relations with other women and raise parallel families in the city (Gupta and Singh 2002; Mishra 2002). A study in Bihar by Roy and Nangia (2005) finds that likelihood of reporting any reproductive morbidity among left-behind women was significantly higher than that of women who lived with their husbands. A study conducted by Population Council (Saggurti et al. 2011) with support from UNDP and NACO finds that the percentage of women who reported HIV in India increased from 25 percent in 2001 to 39

percent in 2009. More than 90 percent of the new infections among females occurred among non-commercial sexual partnerships, mostly within marriage.

Migration and children

A survey conducted by Singh, Singh, and Jha (2012) in Bihar found that remittance sent by the migrant parent for their children has a positive impact on their educational achievement. There also was a difference in the percentage of resources dedicated towards children's education with women in migrant households dedicating more resources than those from non-migrant households. However, there are two sides to the same coin, where the girl child has greater responsibilities in migrant households than in non-migrant households. The girls have to help with the household work since the women are generally engaged in agriculture-related work due to the absence of male family members.

Paris et al. (2005) report that out-migration from Eastern UP resulted in higher tendencies of saving money received in the form of remittance for children's marriage and children's education. Children often grow up by themselves or in the care of their older siblings due to the absence of their parents. Usually, the male family members have migrated for employment, and the women are engaged in household or other economic activities leaving them little time to actively care for their children.

Jetley (1987) adds that older children from migrant households are often given responsibility for caring for their younger siblings. He pointed out that often money received through remittances is utilized for food leaving little for education. Moreover, migrant males are seen as role models and influencers that children especially boys seek to emulate. The sons and nephews grow up to become migrants involved in unskilled labour perpetuating the cycle of poverty. In conclusion, the author points to the dichotomy; on the one hand, remittances may benefit the education of the male children and on the other hand, a migrant is expected to spend more money on the daughter's wedding than non-migrants.

Thus, the literature shows that migration tends to be a livelihood strategy commonly adopted by the rural poor in developing countries as a means for enabling the survival of their families. Even at its simplest, migration is a complex phenomenon that influences and is influenced by the geographical, socio-economic, cultural, and psychological existence of people. Although migration may enhance a family's economic condition, the absence of the son/ husband/ father undoubtedly has social and emotional repercussions for the family members who stay back in the village of origin. In order to build a complete, holistic understanding of migration, it is essential to examine not only the perspective of the migrant but also the perspective of the members of the left-behind family, focusing specifically on the wives, children, and elderly parents of the migrants. This is the framework within which the current study has been conducted.

The existing literature raises many questions and points to the dual nature of migration. The relevant questions include the impact of migration on poverty reduction in rural areas, the role of seasonal and temporary migration in perpetuating or uplifting rural households from poverty

(Deshingkar and Start 2003), the role of remittances, whether MGNREGA has reduced migration; the effect of migration on a large number of left-behind women, children and elderly in rural areas (Datta et al. 2014; Paris et al. 2005), the comparative benefits of the different categories of migration (international, internal or seasonal/temporary migration), the role of return migration in the development of village society just to name a few. This study seeks to find answers to these questions while focusing on the Middle Ganga Plain region.

1.3 Overview of the report

Chapter 1 provides the background and context to migration while raising the issues that the current study will address. It provides a comprehensive literature review along with the objectives and rationale for the study.

Chapter 2 details the methodology, the research questions, operational definitions, sampling strategy, and analysis plan while Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive picture of the study area.

The findings are presented from Chapter 4 onwards. Chapter 4 focuses on understanding the variation in forms of migration in terms of level/intensity and patterns of migration at the household level whereas Chapter 5 discuss the characteristics and patterns of migration while also exploring the diversity in causal factors related to migration, including exploring the reasons that prompt some families to migrate while other families with similar characteristics chose not to migrate.

Chapters 6 and 7 focus on seasonal migrants and return migrants, respectively. Chapter 8 deals with the perceptions of potential migrants, while Chapter 9 discusses data on remittances in terms of amount, details of persons receiving, frequency, mode of transmission, and utilization.

Chapters 10, 11, and 12 examine perceptions of family members who stay back when the male members migrate, focusing on left-behind children, women, and the elderly.

Chapter 13 examines respondent awareness regarding the programmes and schemes provided by the government and the extent of utilization of these programmes.

Chapter 2 Data and Methods

Migration is a dynamic, fluid, and complex process that has evolved across space and time. One of the three important components of population dynamics, migration, is likely to increase when the other two components of fertility and mortality stabilize and plateau. Migration plays a pivotal role in determining the demographic structure of a location, the spatial redistribution of a population while serving as an economic equalizer (Munck 2008), and triggering socio-cultural and political change across the place of origin and place of destination.

This present study focuses on the causes and consequences of migration from the Middle Ganga Plain (MGP), which consists of the state of Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh (Eastern part of the state of Uttar Pradesh). The report discusses levels and patterns of migration from this region, the types of migrants (short term or seasonal, long term, and return), the effect of migration on the economy of the households at the origin, and perceptions of family members regarding the same. The study focuses especially on the changes arising as a result of the migration process through a comparison of migrant and non-migrant households. In particular, the study examines the lives of the wives of the migrants who were left behind at the place of origin to ascertain the degree of autonomy experienced as a result of male out-migration. The situation of dependents namely children and the elderly has also been studied. The migration experiences of the return migrants and the expectations of potential migrants are explored to provide insights into experiences and expectations related to migration.

2.1 The study area and rationale of selection

The study area, Middle Ganga Plain is located in between the foothills of the Himalayas in North and Peninsula and covers an area of 144,409 sq. km (Figure 2.1). It is a contiguous geographical region spread across the two administrative divisions, i.e., Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh. The cultural and economic patterns provide unity and coherence to this region and contribute to the creation of a geographical personality (Singh 1971).

Rationale for selection of study area
Out-migration from the region of MGP has been a historical phenomenon; migration from this region dates back to the second quarter of the nineteenth century with the end of the slave trade from Africa and the introduction of the Indian Indenture System also known as *Girmitya* after the English term "agreement" (Tinker 1974). The states of Uttar Pradesh (26.9 lakh) and Bihar (17.2 lakh) have the highest number of out-migration according to the Census of India (2001). The New Economic Policy (NEP) of 1991 led to an acceleration in the rate of male out-migration from 4.2 percent in 1991 to 5.9 percent in 2001 in UP and from 3.7 percent in 1991 to 7.4 percent in 2001 in Bihar. As per Census 2011, 20.9 million people migrated out of these two states. The last decade also bore witness to a significant rise in international migration to the Gulf countries, a response to the changing global economic conditions.

Location of Middle Ganga Plain and its divisions
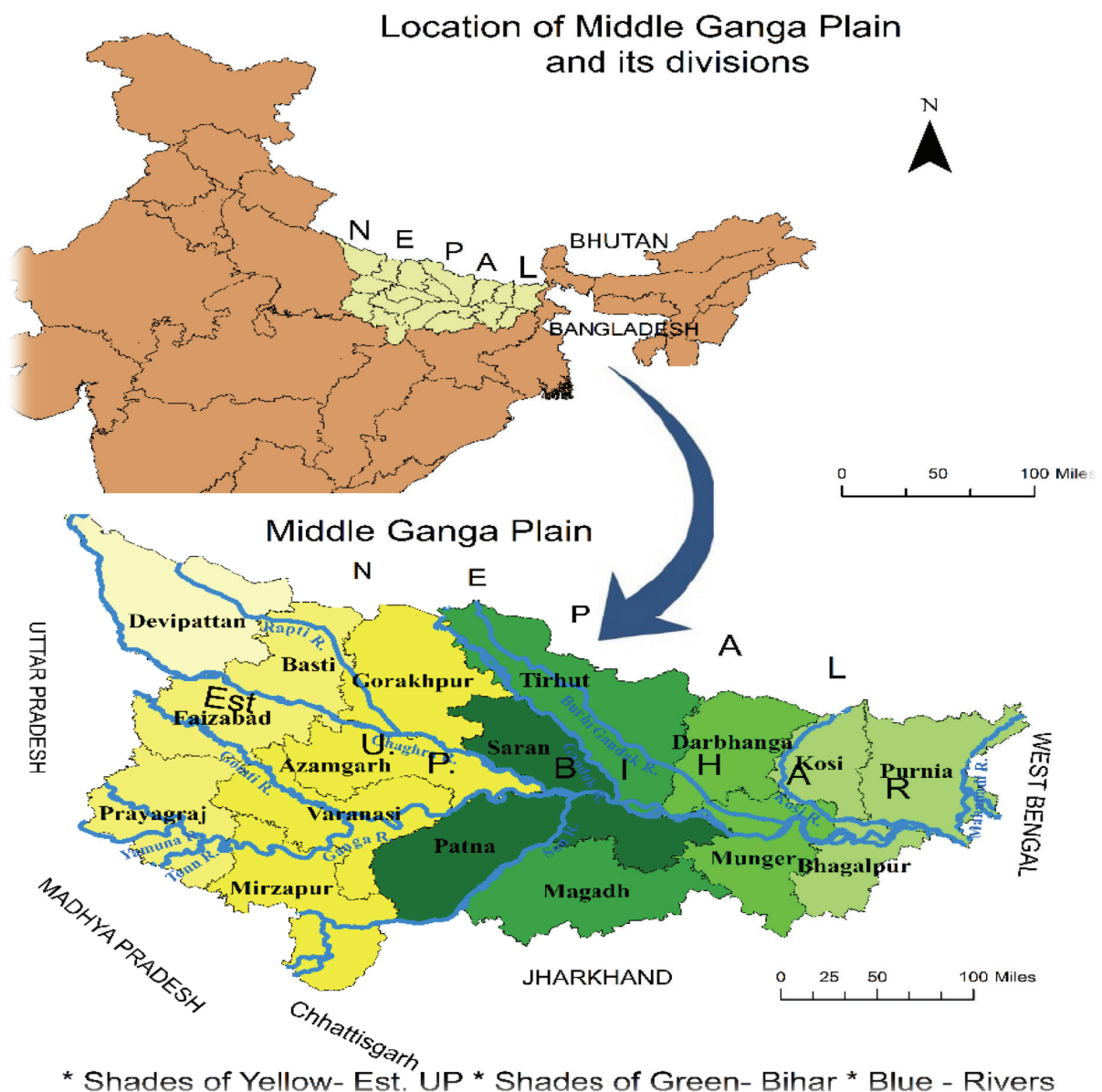
Map No. 2.1: Relative location of Middle Ganga Plain in India and its administrative divisions/commissionaires. Divisions of Bihar are shown in green shades and divisions of Eastern UP are shown in shades of yellow. Blue lines present the major river networks in the region.

The trend of increasing migration continued into the second decade of the millennium. The Middle Ganga Plain with a record of high internal and international out-migrants presents the most suitable ground for exploration of dynamics between internal and international migration because it provides a comprehensive spotlight on the causes and consequences of the migration process. Livelihood migration from this region, whether international or internal, was predominantly by men who left their families behind in the villages. Despite the welfare programmes like the Mahatma Gandhi Employment Guarantee Act (MGNEREGA)[1], Pradhan

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[1] implemented from 2005 onwards to create local employment opportunities

Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (2014)[2], and schemes for food security, including the Public Distribution System; men continue to migrate out of their villages in search of employment to provide their families with a better future. Several empirical studies (Singh 1986; Sharma 1997; Roy 2011; Singh 2014) suggested that married males are more likely to move out without their wife or family in this region. Figure 2.1 presents the age-specific sex ratio in the age group 15 to 49 for rural areas of Eastern UP and Bihar for the year 2011. A high sex ratio of more than 1000 in favour of females in the age group 25 to 39 indicates that migration in these areas is dominated by single males and females are left behind in villages. These factors make the Middle Ganga Plain the most appropriate location for a study on the consequences of migration on left-behind families.
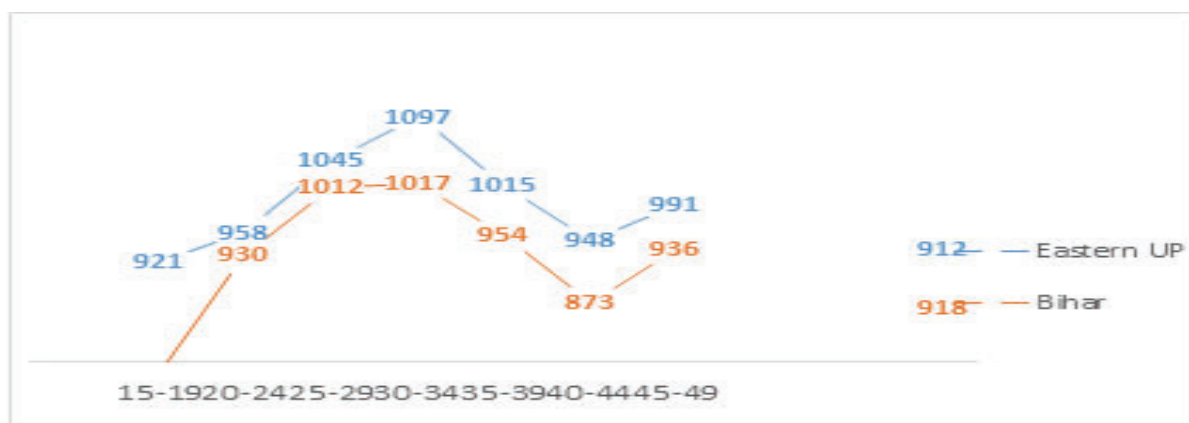
Figure 2.1: Age-specific rural sex ratio for 15-49 age group, 2011

Within the above mentioned framework, the current study explores several issues related to migration. Additionally, the study explores the perceptions of return migrants to develop a holistic understanding of their experiences at the place of destination including the dynamics of migration and their life post-return. It also examines the changes in family dynamics vis-a-vis the role of women during their husband's absence. Other aspects that the study touches upon include expectations of potential migration, causal factors of migration, factors that influence the decision to migrate, sources of finance for the first move, the role of migration and remittances in economic mobility and poverty reduction, as well as the process of international, internal and seasonal/temporary migration. Finally, the study examines the role of migration on the empowerment of left-behind women in terms of their decision-making powers as well as the impact of migration on children and the elderly.

2.2 Operational Definitions

Migration is defined as a change of residence from one administrative division to another administrative division. This study defines a **migrant** as any member of the household, who has ever changed the usual place of residence to any other district within India or outside India for the purpose of employment, business, or education for a duration of more than one year of residence outside the usual place of residence. **Current Migrant** was defined as a member of

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[2] to facilitate money management through the provision of better banking systems

the household, who was residing at another district within India or outside India for the purpose of employment or business for a duration of more than one year at the time of the survey.

Based on this typology, this study categorises migrants into five different and distinct groups viz. internal migrant, international migrant, seasonal migrant, return migrant, and potential migrant. In general, internal migrants are also termed as **out-migrant or domestic migrants** and are defined as those who migrated to any other district within India for employment or business for a duration of more than one year at the time of the survey. In the case of **international migration**, the reference period for residing in a foreign country is only six months. International migration involves greater planning and cost and considering six months as the reference period would permit the inclusion of international migrants into the study. Internal and international migrants are also considered to be **long-term migrants**. **Temporary/seasonal migrant/short-term migrant** is defined as a household member who migrates out frequently for a short span of time or seasonally for employment for 15 days to six months in a year. **Return migrant** refers to a member who had migrated for employment or business for at least one year in the past, and has returned and has been residing in the household for more than a year with no intention of migrating in the near future. The **potential migrant** is a household member aged between 10-24 years, who have never migrated in the past but intends to migrate for employment in the future. Thus, based on the type of migrants, households were classified as follows:

Non-migrant household (NM HH) is a household from where no member has ever changed the usual place of residence for the purpose of employment or business. While the m**igrant household (M HH)** is the household that has at least one member who is a migrant; this member could be an internal (out-migrant) or international or seasonal migrant. **An international migrant household (IM HH)** is a household from which at least one member has migrated to destinations outside India for employment or business for a period of more than six months. While **Out-migrant household (OM HH)** is the household from which at least one member has migrated out to other districts in India (but no international migration) for employment or business for a period of more than one year. A household from which at least one member migrates out frequently for a short span of time or seasonally for employment that lasts between 15 days to six months in a year (but no long-term migration) is considered a **Seasonal migrant household (SM HH)**. Any household that has a member who is a return migrant is a **Return migrant household (RM HH)**. These households are neither considered migrant nor non-migrant households. Some of the houses were locked temporarily, as the entire household had migrated to some other place [for employment]; these households visit the village as and when required. These households are termed **Locked migrant households (LM HH)**.

The definitions of concepts used in the study are presented in Appendix 2.
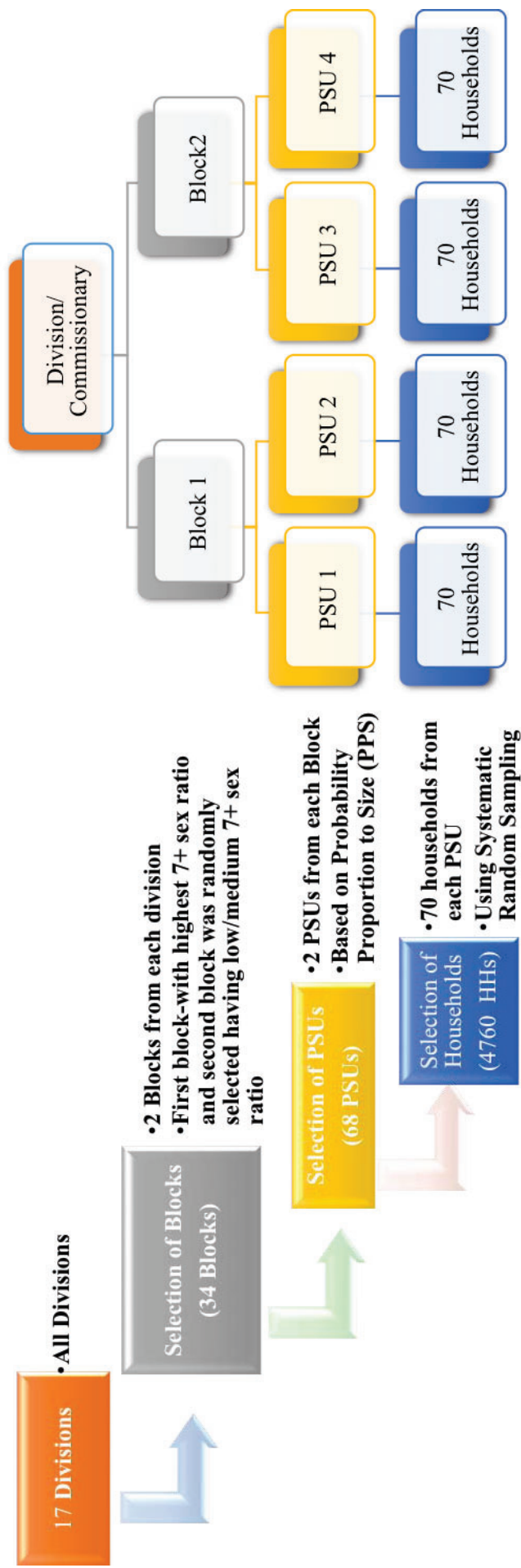
Figure 2.2: Sampling design of the study

2.3 Study Design

The study is cross-sectional in nature, designed for the whole Middle Ganga Plain (MGP). It employs both qualitative and quantitative methods as these approaches complement each other and offer different perspectives that enable a thorough exploration of the various **dimensions** of migration. While the quantitative data focuses on facts, the qualitative data allows for exploration of perceptions of the respondent groups on issues related to migration and its consequences for their family and village.

2.4 Sampling Design

The study area, Middle Ganga Plain comprises of two geographic divisions: Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar which have been divided into 17 administrative commissionaires (08 in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and 09 in Bihar) with varied socio-economic composition. In order to ensure coverage and representation of the whole region, a multi-stage stratified random sampling technique has been used to arrive at the potential respondents, which is depicted in Figure 2.2 below.

Commissionaires/Divisions
The study area, Middle Ganga Plain comprises 17 administrative commissionaires that include Allahabad, Azamgarh, Basti, Devipatan, Faizabad, Gorakhpur, Mirzapur, and Varanasi in Eastern UP, and Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Kosi, Magadh, Munger, Patna, Purnia, Saran, and Tirhut in Bihar (Map 2.2). The name of the commissionaires by constituting districts are given in Appendix 3. The migration estimates are calculated for each of 17 administrative commissionaires.

Selection of Blocks
Two blocks from each commissionaire were selected using the sex ratio as an indicator of male out-migration. The blocks were arranged in descending order based on the sex ratio of persons aged seven and above. Two blocks, one with the highest seven and above sex ratio and the next block in the array were selected randomly for the study. The location of the selected blocks is depicted in Map 2.2.

Selection of Primary Sampling Unit (PSUs): Two villages (PSUs) from each block were selected randomly using the probability proportional to size (PPS) method to ensure an equal chance of probability to each village and also to ensure an equal spread of population across the selected blocks. The use of this technique also helped reverse the sex ratio-based sample selection of the blocks. A total of 68 villages/PSUs (36 from Bihar and 32 from Eastern UP) were selected for data collection. In the block of Nawada, due to security reasons, one PSU was replaced by a neighbouring village having matching characteristics.

Map No. 2.2: Location of selected blocks for survey within the commissionaires of MGP

Selection of households

A mapping exercise was carried out to get an understanding of the layout of each of the villages and a house listing was done to create a comprehensive listing of all households within each village. The selection of respondent households (70 per village) was done in one of three methods depending on the size of the village.

- In villages with less than 350 households, the 70 households were selected using systematic random sampling techniques.

- In the case of villages with less than 100 households, a neighbouring village/ village segment was considered and merged with the originally selected village. A total of 70 respondent households were selected from the merged villages using systematic random sampling techniques.

- The large villages with more than 350 households were divided into segments, each segment comprising approximately 150 households. Systematic random sampling techniques were used for the selection of two segments from the list. After completing the house listing of the selected segments, a total of 70 respondent households were selected.

2.5 Research Tools

Both qualitative and quantitative tools were used to gather information from the study area. The quantitative data was collected with Computer Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI)[3] which included nine sections of pre-coded interview schedules. The flow chart in Figure 2.3 presents the different types of interview schedules executed by types of households. In the present study, households were further divided into three groups based on the status of migration, viz, Non-migrant households, Migrant households and Return migrant households. Migrant households were further divided into three categories: out or internal migrant households, international migrant households, and seasonal migrant households.

Quantitative research tools
The roster provided a roadmap to identify each household member and place them along with the household within the larger study. There were three types of rosters- Household roster, Migrant roster, and Married Daughter roster. The basic information related to demography, education and employment and migration status (only for seasonal and return migration), women's status in relation to the migration of their husbands was collected in the roster. Information about long-term migrants (internal and international) was collected separately in the migration roster. The daughter's roster aimed to understand the propensity of the marriage of a daughter of migrant households to a migrant and in their migration status. The household schedule provided detailed information on the socio-economic condition of the households. The schedules for internal, international, return, seasonal and potential migrants focused on the cases and process of migration.

Additionally, the questionnaires for women, and the elderly sought to understand the consequences of migration. Information on children was also collected to explore the effect of migration on children as part of the household schedule and women's schedule. Data on the health and mental well-being of the respondents was collected through the use of scales (for mental health) and self-reported symptoms for physical health (See Appendix-1 for schedule content). All the questionnaires were developed and translated into Hindi in-situ. All the schedules were tested in the local area.

Qualitative research tools
The Qualitative research tools consisted of group discussion, key informant interview, and case studies. The group discussions with different stakeholder groups such as villagers, wives of migrants, wives of non-migrants, elderly men and women as well as adolescents were conducted separately to gain insights into different aspects of migration dynamics.

Qualitative data was collected using guidelines created for the key informant interviews, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions. Guidelines, as the name suggests, provide a list of the high-level topics and questions that need to be covered with sub-points and probes where needed. These provide greater flexibility than a structured interview and allow for the collection

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[3] All the quantitative tools were developed and converted in CS-Pro for CAPI use by the Project IT and research team.

of richer qualitative data from the respondents. The qualitative data were audio-recorded post consent of the respondents, transcribed, and analysed for emergent trends that either supported or disputed the findings from the quantitative data. Key informant interviews with village-level stakeholders such as the head of the village and principal/teacher of the village school sought to develop an understanding of the profile of the village and issues that exist at the village level. In-depth interviews were conducted with women from both migrant and non-migrant households to understand their perceptions regarding migration and their roles within the family.

Figure 2.3: Type of the schedule executed in migrant, non-migrant and return migrant households
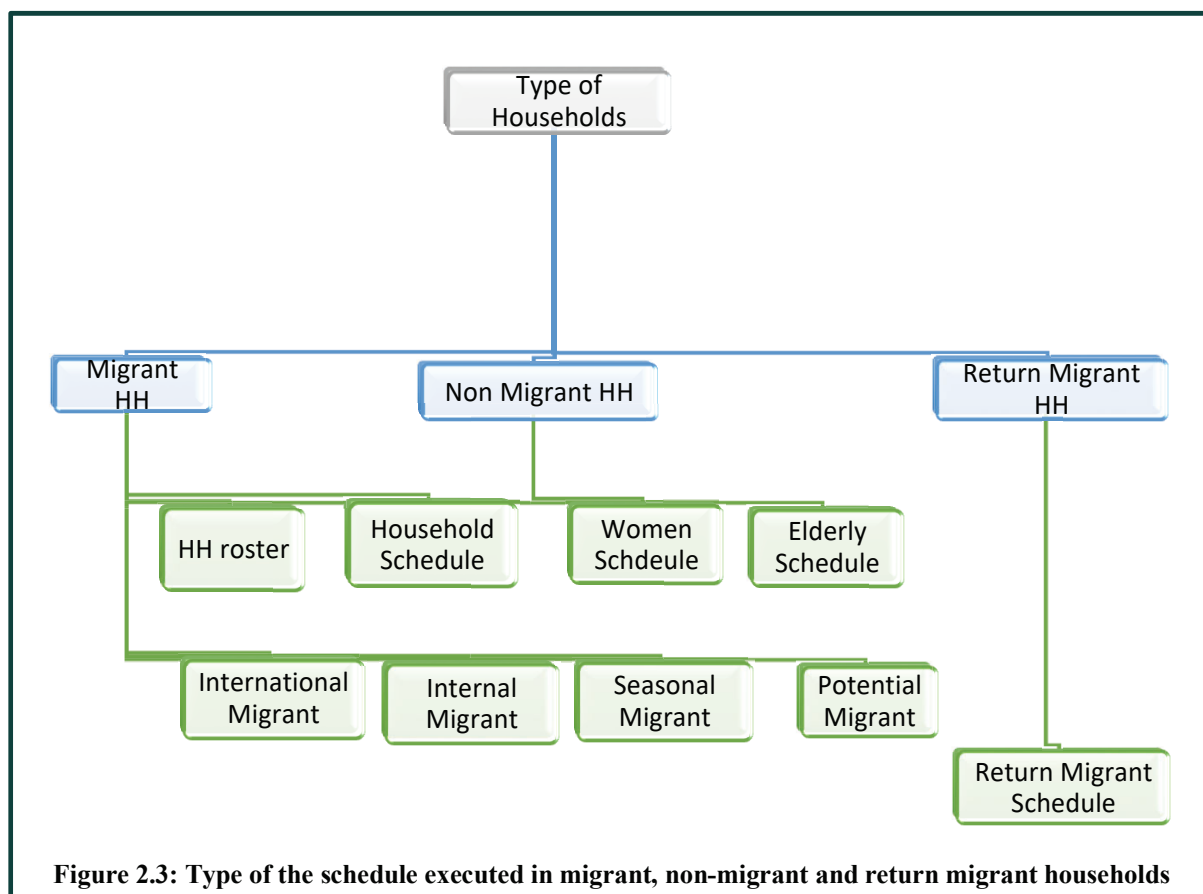
Respondents

Quantitative data was collected through interviews with five types of respondents: head of the household, women, elderly, return migrants, and youth. The head of the household was interviewed to collect information related to the roster, household, internal and international migrants, seasonal migrants. Wives of migrants and non-migrants were interviewed to understand the consequences of migration on women and children. Children, adolescents, and youth were interviewed to provide information regarding potential migrants. Elderly and return migrants present in the households were interviewed using specific schedules created for these groups to gain insights into their views and perceptions on migration and its consequences. Figure 2.4 provides a diagrammatic representation of the respondents across the different types of schedules.

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                                    ┌──────────────┐
                                    │ Respondents  │
                                    └──────────────┘
      ┌──────────────┬──────────────┼──────────────┬──────────────┐
┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐ ┌───────────────┐ ┌───────────┐
│ Head of the│ │  Women    │ │  Elderly  │ │Potential migrant│ │  Return  │
│ household  │ │(15-59 age │ │(60+ years)│ │(10-24 age group)│ │ migrant  │
│            │ │  group)   │ │           │ │               │ │          │
└───────────┘ └───────────┘ └───────────┘ └───────────────┘ └───────────┘
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Head of the household

HH Roster

Married daughter Roster

HH schedule

(in all households)

&

Migrant Roster

Internal migrant Schedule

International migrant Schedule

Seasonal migrant Schedule

(in migrant household)

Women

Women schedule

(Wife of migrant

Wife of non-migrant)

Elderly

Elderly schedule

Potential migrant

Potential migrant schedule

Return migrant

Return migrant schedule

Figure 2.4: Category of Respondents by types of schedules

2.6 Training for the survey

Recruitment of field-based project staff and investigators was done in the states of UP and Bihar itself. All appointed staff were provided comprehensive training by the Project Coordinators and research staff to ensure that they were well versed in all aspects of collecting data, both qualitative and quantitative. The training lasted 13 days in Bihar and 07 days in Eastern UP. The components of the training included the questionnaire, CAPI training, and field practice which enabled the investigators to gain hands-on experience of the tools and the field equipment.

2.7 Data Collection

Investigators were divided into groups of four under the guidance of a field supervisor who ensured the quality of the data collected. Each group comprised both male and female investigators to enable respondents to be at ease and comfortable during the process of data collection. Two such groups were assigned to a village at a time and were instructed to give three call-backs to each selected household before marking them for non-response. Electronic encrypted data files were transferred daily to the MGP project office at IIPS, Mumbai after an

initial spot-check by the field supervisors. The data was then subject to an initial monitored by the support staff at the project office in Mumbai.

Response Rate

The response rate in this study refers to the number of households where the interview was completed as compared to the expected number of households that were to be interviewed. The non-response includes the households which were found locked and those that refused to participate in the interview. The survey design was such that each village (PSU) was supposed to yield data from 70 selected households.

Table 2.1 shows a response rate for the survey conducted as part of this study in the Middle Ganga Plain and its regions. As is visible from the table that both the Migration Response Rate (considers households locked due to full family migration as a response to out-migration from the Middle Ganga Plain) and Normal Response Rate are high which will thus yield a clear picture of the situation in the region.

Table 2.1: Normal and migration adjusted response rate across the study region

Response Rate (RR)	Bihar	Est. UP	MGP
Normal RR	82.46	86.83	84.52
Migration RR	87.98	92.41	90.06

Sample size

After considering the non-response, the total number of households in the sample is 4056, which includes 1579 non-migrant households, 2164 migrant households, and 313 return migrant households. The migrant household includes a sample of 125 international migrants, 1728 internal migrants, and 311 sample households of seasonal migrants. The final sample size in each category is- Women -2716, Elderly -1080; Potential migrants - 66; International migrants -109; Internal migrants -1530; Seasonal migrants -276 and Return migrants -390.

2.8 Sample Weights

Weight has been calculated to normalise the data set and make all the divisions, blocks, and PSU's representative and simultaneously reduce error. Weights help in re-calibrating data so that the data can accurately reflect the sample population which projects to a larger universe.

During the weight calculation process, a difference was derived between migration level weight and normal level weight. This difference was observed during the data collection process where some of the households selected for the survey were found to be locked either due to the entire family migrating to the place of destination (information derived from neighbours and key informant interviews) or the entire household had gone out to visit relatives, adults had gone to work at a farm (as Feb-March-April was a peak agricultural season). Since one of the main objectives of this study was to determine the level of out-migration from the region, households locked due to full family migration have been considered as a migrant household when calculating the migration level weight. Migration level weight has been used to study the levels and patterns of out-migration from the region and normal level weight has been used for all other parts of the study.

The weights have been calculated at three levels i.e., divisions, sub-regional and regional levels to derive the levels of out-migration from each of the areal units. Two weights for each level were computed – 1) the Migration Weight for each level was calculated considering the locked household (where the entire family had migrated, LM HH[4]) as migrant households and 2) the Normal weights for each level considers the locked migrant households (LM HH) as non-response. Migration weight had been used for estimation of the levels of out-migration from the regions, while the normalized weight has been used to study all other dimensions of migration. Therefore, the following six types of weights as is depicted in Figure 2.5 below are used in the study:
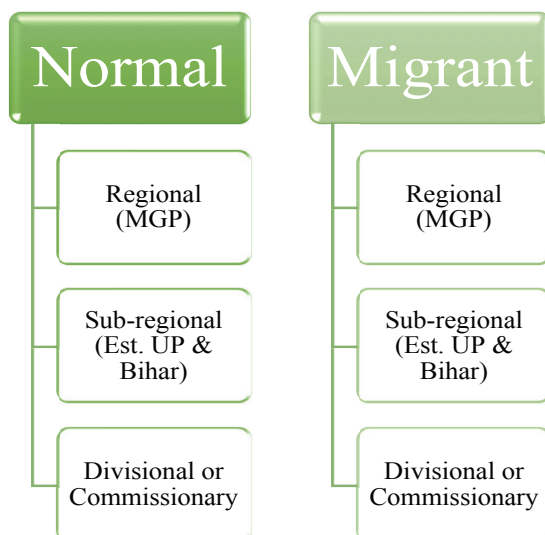
Figure 2.5: Types of the weightage used in the study

All six weights have been normalised with their individual variables. The weight was calculated as the inverse of Total Probability of selection of a particular household from the region. Total probability was calculated separately for Normal weight and Migration weight as given in the following Box 2.1.

Box 2.1: Formula for weight calculation

All six of the weights were normalised with their individual variables, the general formula for normalisation was:

a. Normalised Migration Weight $= \dfrac{(\text{Village Weight}) * (\sum \text{No.of HH Interview Completed} + \text{HHLFFM})}{\sum (\text{Village Weight} * (\text{HH Interview Completed} + \text{HHLFFM}))}$

b. Normalised Normal Weight $= \dfrac{(\text{Village Weight}) * ((\sum \text{No.of HH Interview Completed})}{\sum (\text{Village Weight} * \text{HH Interview Completed})}$

The weight was calculated as the inverse of Total Probability of selection of a particular Household from the region. Total probability was calculated separately for Normal weight and Migration weight. Thus, the Total Probability was calculated as:-

c. Total Probability for Migration Weight=((Block Selection Probability)*(Village Selection Probability)*(Segment Selection Probability)*(HH Selection Probability)*(Probability of Interview Completion considering HHLFFM))

2.9 Analysis

This study explores out-migration as the cause of precipitating various changes and its consequence on the lives of people related to a particular migrant from the household. The levels of migration have been examined at the commissionaires/divisional level to understand the strength and flow of migration from the MGP and Bihar and Eastern UP separately. Similarly, the pattern of migration has also been studied to assess the volume of out-migration from each region and to understand if there is a preferred destination. The consequences of out-migration on people related to migrants, such as wives, children, and the elderly who were left behind have been compared to their counterparts i.e. the wives, children, and the elderly family members from non-migrant households. The non-migrant groups in the study served as a reference group to study the effects of migration in the region. Uni-variate and bi-variate analysis have been carried out on specific data to arrive at the consequences of migration with non-migrant households and its members serving as a control group.

2.10 Ethical Considerations

This study was carried out as a part of the International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS, Mumbai) institute's internal project from 2016 -2021. Ethical clearance for this study was obtained from the Ethical Review Board (ERB) of the institute before the survey (in 2017). The study respondents were informed about the survey and the conduct of interviews by the researcher and investigators in their local dialect or Hindi. All ethical norms including informed consent (oral) and assurance of confidentiality were followed. The study did not involve any direct health risk or any other risk to the respondents.

Chapter 3 Profile: Study Area and Sample Household

Introduction

Although the MGP region covers Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the shared cultural and socio-economic patterns across the two states, provide unity and coherence along with a unique geographic personality emerging from similar physiographic conditions (Singh, 1971) which gives credence to its being treated as a single unit. This chapter presents the profile of the study area i.e., Middle Ganga Plain followed by sample households and household amenities.

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Section A
Profile of Study Area

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3.1 Physical Settings

Location

The Middle Ganga Plain is a meso-level region of the Northern Indo-Gangetic Plains of India. It is differentiated from Upper Ganga Plain on the basis of isohyets of 100 cm (Stamp 1928), rice dominant cropping pattern (Spate 1954), a contour of 300 feet, population growth, and historical patterns (c.f. Singh, 1971). Its eastern boundary follows the state boundary of Bihar and West Bengal. Situated between the foothills of Himalaya in the north and the edge of the Peninsula in the south, the Middle Ganga Plain (24° 30′ and 81º 47′ E 87º 50′ E) encompasses an area of approx. 144,409 sq. km. Extending 600 km from east to west and 330 km from north to south, the region has immense human, cultural and economic significance for the country. The north-western part of MGP is Terai, the central part is the Gangetic Plain, and the southern part is the Plateau region.

Rivers

The River Ganga flows from west to east through the middle of the Plain dividing the region into North and South parts. The tributaries of the Ganges which flow across the region include Ghaghra, Gandak, Budhi Gandak, Kamla, Bagmati, Kosi, Kali, Sone, and Punpun. The Rivers originating from the Himalayas are perennial (all season) rivers. These rivers deposit alluvial soil over the vast flood plain. The region also has few large ox-bow lakes named Anupam Lake, Kharagpur Lake, and Kanwar Lake.

Physiographic divisions

The vast flat alluvial plain is interrupted by several tributaries of river Ganga which form physiographic divisions. The major units of this plain are Ganga-Ghaghara doab, Ghaghara-Gandak doab, and Gandak-Kosi doab (Mithila Plain). Some rivers join the Ganga from the south also, the Son being the most important. The Magadh Plain lies to the east of the river Sone (Singh 1971). This region has been divided into two first-order, and six second-order groups as given below:

1. Middle Ganga Plain North
   a. Ganga-Ghaghra Doab
   b. Saryupar Plain
   c. Mithila Plain
   d. Kosi Plain

2. Middle Ganga Plain South
    a. Ganga Son Divide
    b. Magadh–Anga Plain

Forest and mineral resources

The Middle Ganga Plain is a belt of moist deciduous forests in the sub-Himalayan foothill of Someshwar and Dun ranges in the Champaran district, which also has grass, reeds, and shrubs. The region receives an annual rainfall of above 1600 mm. Moist deciduous forests are found in Gaya, Kishanganj, and Kaimur, while dry deciduous forests are found in Kaimur, Purnia, and Raxaul. The Middle Ganga Plain also produces minerals like Quartzite, Limestone, Crude Mica, Steatite, and Pyrites, Bauxite Cement Mortar, Glass sand, and Dolomite in small quantities.

Natural Calamities

Almost all the rivers keep shifting their courses making this area prone to frequent floods. The Kosi River which is notorious in this respect has long been called the 'Sorrow of Bihar'. In addition, the region also faces natural calamities in terms of drought and cyclonic rains

3.2 Socio-economic settings

Population

As per Census 2011, the population of the Middle Ganga Plain is 1,822 lakhs (988 lakhs in Eastern UP and 1,033 lakhs in Bihar) with a rural population of 1617 lakhs (701 lakhs in Eastern UP and 916 lakhs in Bihar) and an urban one of (287 lakhs in Eastern UP and 117 lakhs in Bihar). Thus, 89 percent of the population in Bihar and 71 percent in Eastern UP were living in rural areas. The purely agrarian and under-developed regional economy faces a severe strain due to the high population density.

Socio-economic and demographic characteristics

Table 3.1 shows the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the study area. As per the Census of India 2011, while the sex ratio in Eastern UP at 951 is higher than that of the country (940), Bihar's sex ratio is much lower at 918. Both Bihar (62%) and Eastern UP (66%) have a literacy rate lower than the national one (74%). Similarly, male and female literacy levels are also lower across Eastern UP (77% males and 55% female) and Bihar (71% male and 51% female) when compared to the national average (82.14% male and 65.46% female).

The work participation rate in both Bihar (11.4% females, 41.0% males) and Eastern UP (12.4 % female and 39% male) remains poor in comparison to the country (25% female and 53% male nationally). Nearly two-fifths of the population are marginal workers with more women (60% in Eastern UP and 58% in Bihar) being involved in marginal work than men (35% in Eastern UP and 32% in Bihar). The percentage of female agricultural labour in both Eastern UP and Bihar is higher than their male counterparts although when it comes to agricultural cultivation which involves farming in own farms, the percentage of men is higher than the

women across both states. The unemployment rate is also relatively higher in this region due to chronic economic under-development and lack of basic infrastructure.

The root of the poor economic performance of this region lies in British colonial policy that not only created a vulnerable class through permanent settlement but also destroyed local knowledge-based industries providing livelihoods to urban and rural artisans. Post-independence, the zamindars who became the landowners continued the exploitative processes initiated by the British; their antipathy towards the use of technology and agricultural reforms further decreased land productivity (Banerjee & Iyer 2005).

Table 3.1: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the study area, Census 2011

	Est. UP	Bihar
Demographic Characteristics		
Total Population (in lakh)	798	1033
Male Population (in lakh)	409	539
Female Population (in lakh)	389	494
Sex Ratio (F/1000 M)	950	918
Social Characteristics		
Social profile (%)		
%SC	24.2	19.6
%ST	1.7	1.6
Total literacy rate	66.2	61.5
Male literacy rate	77.0	71.0
Female literacy rate	54.9	51 3.
Economic Characteristic		
Work participation (%)		
Working Population (Total)	39.0	41.1
Working population (Male)	27.6	29.7
Working population (Female)	12.4	11.4
Marginal workers (Total)	42.5	38.9
Marginal workers (Male)	34.9	31.9
Marginal workers (Female)	60.2	57.8
Agriculture labourers (Total)	25.7	44.1
Agriculture labourers (Male)	23.6	42.3
Agriculture labourers (Female)	33.5	51.2
Cultivators (Total)	35.1	26.3
Cultivators (Male)	36.9	28.1
Cultivators (Female)	28.2	18.0
% wasteland to total land	20.5	23.6
Unemployment rate (2017-18) (rural)*	5.4	6.8

Source: *Economic Survey 2018

3.3 Migration History

Another common characteristic of this region is a long history of mass migration in form of indentured labour during 1824-1924 to British colonies followed by port cities and agriculturally developed regions in post-independent India. Historically, migration from this region dates back to the second quarter of the nineteenth century with the end of the slave trade from Africa and the introduction of the Indian Emigration Act (*Girmitya Act)* in 1824. During 1834-1916, more than four lakh people from India migrated as indentured labourers to different

European colonies like Caribbean islands, Mauritius, Fiji, Jamaica, etc. ((Tinker 1974) to work in rubber, sugarcane, and coffees plantation. A majority of them were recruited–from the Indo-Gangetic Plain, mainly from the western part of Bihar, the eastern part of the United Province (now UP), and the Chotanagpur. It is justifiably presumed by linguists that most of these emigrants must have been native speakers of the various dialects of Bhojpuri, being spoken in some part of MGP (Cohen 1991).

Due to persistent widespread poverty and underdevelopment, migration from this region continued even after independence although it was mainly confined within the national boundary. Many moved to Kolkata to work in jute mills and ports, and to tea gardens of Assam. However, in the 1970s, there was a shift from east to west from Kolkata to the developed western states of India.

After 1990, the new economic policy of India (adopted in 1991) accelerated the rate of male out-migration from 4.2 percent in 1991 to 5.9 percent in 2001 in UP and 3.7 percent in 1991 to 7.4 percent in 2001 in Bihar. At the same time, this region also showed a significant rise in international migration towards the Gulf destinations in response to global economic changes. Although migration to the Gulf countries began in 1974 due to the oil boom, this trend took off in UP only from 2001 making it a comparatively newer phenomenon that has not been studied extensively as yet.

Livelihood migration from this region whether international or internal is dominated by males leaving their families behind in the villages. Evidence shows that migration without family is mainly confined to the northern and eastern states of India. Bihar (1338) has the highest sex ratio of the inter-state migrant i.e., the number of males who migrate per 1000 females as per Census 2001 followed by UP (1153) demonstrating that migration in these states is dominated by single males and females who are left behind in villages. Moreover, (Desai and Banerji (2008) indicate the phenomenon of women whose husbands lived elsewhere is highly geographically clustered; with nearly nine percent of the ever-married women from the mountainous state of Uttarakhand reporting husbands living elsewhere, as do eight percent of the rural women in the central plains of UP and 11 percent in Bihar. In contrast, in the more prosperous southern states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, few women reside away from their husbands. Thus, the separation of husband and wives due to migration appears to be an accepted behavioural and social norm in UP and Bihar.

Section B
Profile of Sample Household

A total of 4056 households were surveyed across the MGP region. Based on the migration status, households were classified into three groups, viz; non-migrant households (no one has migrated for employment or education), migrant households (any short/long term migrants), and return migrant households (at least one migrant who has returned and does not plan to migrate again). More than half of the households that were surveyed are migrant households

while nearly two-fifths were non-migrant households and the remaining eight percent are return-migrant households. Similar trends have been noted in Bihar and Eastern UP.

This section presents the comparison of the characteristics of the migrant households with non-migrant and return-migrant households. It also sheds light on the characteristics of the households across the different forms of migration in Bihar and Eastern UP. A comparison of the socio-economic conditions of non-migrants is vital to comprehend the relative impact of migration on 'left behind' members of the families and to enhance our understanding of the root causes of migration.

3.4 Socio-economic Characteristics of Households

It is widely found that migrant households have some distinct features when compared to non-migrant households. Table 3.2 presents the distribution of respondent migrant, non-migrant and return-migrant households by religion, caste categories, landholding, and family type. In the MGP, more than 80 percent of the sample household are Hindus, and the remaining are Muslims. More than half of the households in the sample belong to OBC, followed by SC, and other castes; and the migration status of the households does not appear to have any bearing on this. However, no significant difference has been observed in caste composition in migrant and non-migrant households.

Although a majority of the households across the MGP are either landless or possess less than one acre of land, a comparison with migration status shows that a relatively higher proportion of migrant households are landless (58%) than non-migrant (54%) and return migrant households (45%). Bihar has a higher proportion of landless households than Eastern UP. One striking feature is that in Eastern UP, a higher proportion of non-migrant households (44%) are landless when compared to migrants (38%) and return migrant households (39 %).

Nuclear families are the norm rather than the exception in the 21st century as is confirmed by the data in this study. Nearly three-fourths of the non-migrant households (76%) and return migrant households (77%) have nuclear families. However, a higher share of the migrant households belong to joint families than non-migrant and return migrant households. Nuclear families are more common in Bihar than in Eastern UP.

A majority of migrant households are headed by females in comparison with non-migrant and return migrant households (Table 3.2). Nearly two-thirds of the migrant households across the region have left-behind women; where the male migrates and his spouse stays back in the village.

Age and sex-selective migration is distinctly reflected in the age-sex pyramid for the migrant and non-migrant households (Figure 3.1). In reference to non-migrant households, the proportion of men in the 20-49 years age group is lesser than that of women of the corresponding age group.

Table 3.2: Socio-economic characteristics of the migrant, non-migrant, and return migrant households in Bihar, Eastern UP, and MGP (%)

BC	Bihar			Est UP			MGP		
	HH by Migration status			HH by Migration status			HH by Migration status		
	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH
Religion									
Hindu	86.1	79.1	87.1	91.6	87.5	93.5	87.6	81.3	88.5
Muslim	13.9	20.9	12.9	8.4	12.5	6.5	12.4	18.7	11.5
Caste Category									
ST	2.2	2.1	1.9	4.3	2.3	1.8	2.7	2.1	1.9
SC	23.9	21.4	17.9	35.6	33.0	35.3	26.5	23.9	22.1
OBC	55.3	56.0	61.1	45.0	46.9	44.9	53.0	54.1	57.3
Others	18.6	20.5	19.1	15.1	17.7	18.0	17.8	19.9	18.7
Landholding Size									
Landless	56.6	63.6	46.3	44.2	37.5	38.7	53.8	57.7	44.7
< 1 Acre	26.8	26.9	37.8	27.8	34.5	35.7	27.1	28.7	37.0
≥ 1 acre	16.6	9.5	15.9	28.0	28.0	25.6	19.1	13.7	18.3
Family Type									
Nuclear	77.7	65.9	81.0	68.8	46.3	64.3	75.6	61.8	77.0
Joint	22.3	34.1	19.0	31.2	53.7	35.7	24.4	38.2	23.0
Headship									
Male	87.7	46.6	98.8	85.3	51.9	95.8	87.4	47.4	97.8
Female	12.3	53.4	1.2	14.7	48.1	4.2	12.6	52.6	2.2
HH with LBW	NA	60.9	NA	NA	67.4	NA	0	61.7	0
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	**806**	**1143**	**149**	**773**	**1021**	**164**	**1579**	**2164**	**313**

Note: NM: Non-migrant household MHH- Migrant household RM- Return migrant household

Age-sex structure of non-migrant's households

Age-sex structure of migrant's households
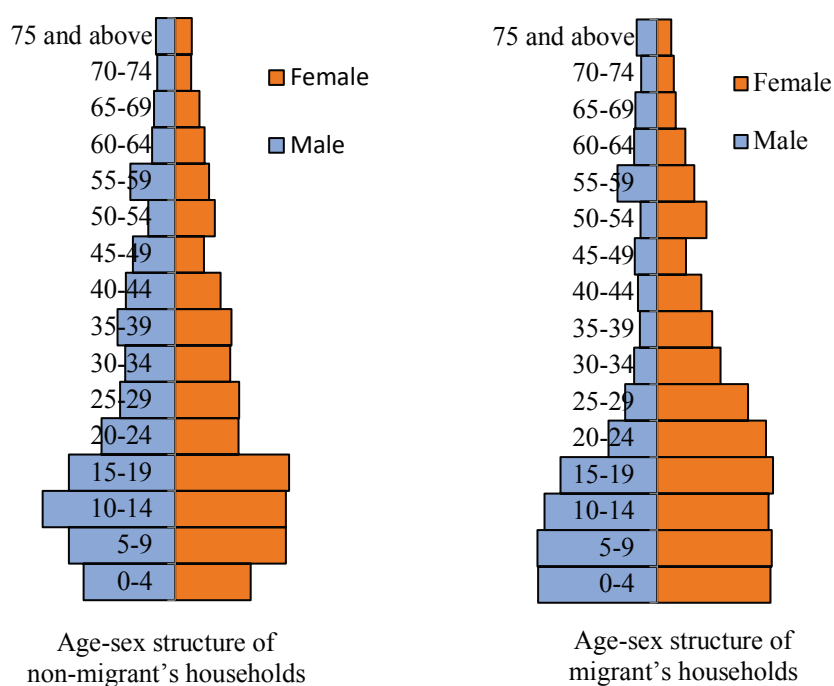
Figure 3.1: Age sex structure of non-migrant and migrant households

3.5 Characteristics of Internal, International and Seasonal Migrant Households

Based on the different types of migrants in the region, three types of classification were made; international migrant household, internal/out-migrant household, and seasonal migrant household. More than 40 percent of the total households in the MGP region are out-migrant households (OM HH) followed by seasonal migrant households (exclusively SM HH, 11%) and international migrant households (IM HH, 3%). Compared to ten percent of the seasonal migrant households in Bihar, only four percent of the households in Eastern UP had seasonal migrants. Three percent of households across the MGP mentioned having at least one international migrant.

The socio-economic characteristics show that in MGP, a majority of international, internal, and seasonal migrant households are Hindus, OBCs, and landless. There is no difference in distribution across the two regions. The OBCs are the dominant caste group across all categories of migration. However, there is a significantly higher representation of seasonal migration from SCs (34%) and landless classes (69%). Another striking feature is that the share of 'others' caste group household (45%) is higher in international migration than the internal migration (20%). Data concerning family type indicates that long-term and long-distance migrants mostly belong to joint families whereas most seasonal and internal migrant households have nuclear families. In Est. UP, the share of international migrant households is higher from OBCs (53%) whereas, in Bihar, it is from the 'others' caste group.

Table 3.3: Socio-economic characteristics of the international, internal and seasonal migrant households in Bihar, Eastern UP and MGP (%)

	HH by type of migration								
	Bihar			**Est UP**			**MGP**		
Background characteristics	**IM HH**	**OM HH**	**SM HH**	**IM HH**	**OM HH**	**SM HH**	**IM HH**	**OM HH**	**SM HH**
Religion									
Hindu	61.5	80.0	84.9	74.4	89.6	93.8	56.0	82.3	85.8
Muslim	38.5	20.0	15.1	25.6	10.4	6.2	44.0	17.7	14.2
Caste Category									
ST	9.0	1.6	2.3	2.8	2.1	3.8	6.7	1.7	2.5
SC	3.0	19.9	32.6	18.1	33.1	46.3	7.5	23.1	33.9
OBC	37.3	58.3	53.2	52.8	47.3	38.8	41.0	55.7	51.6
Others	50.7	20.3	11.9	26.4	17.6	11.3	44.8	19.6	12.0
Landholding Size									
Landless	64.8	61.1	72.5	34.4	37.8	40.7	54.5	55.4	69.3
< 1 Acre	25.9	28.6	21.6	33.9	33.6	45.7	27.6	29.8	23.8
≥ 1 acre	9z3	10.3	6.0	31.7	28.5	13.6	17.9	14.8	6.8
Family Type									
Nuclear	56.0	65.5	72.0	35.4	47.2	61.3	45.5	61.0	71.2
Joint	44.0	34.5	28.0	64.6	52.8	38.8	54.5	39.0	28.8
Headship									
Male	42.6	37.5	83.5	57.5	49.1	69.1	41.8	40.3	82.0
Female	57.4	62.5	16.5	42.5	50.9	30.9	58.2	59.7	18.0
HH with LBW	84.4	73.8	NA	78.3	71.4	NA	88.1	73.2	0.0
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	**62**	**846**	**235**	**63**	**882**	**76**	**125**	**1728**	**311**

Note: IM-International migrant household SM- Seasonal migrant household OM-Internal migrant household

Source of Income

Figure 3.2 shows the different sources of household income in migrant, non-migrant, and return migrant households. Most households rely on agriculture which is seasonal in nature. The reliance on agriculture is highest among return migrant households (46%) followed by the non-migrant household (38%) and lowest for migrant household (32%). The second source of income for a non-migrant household is from labour, both agricultural and non-agriculture (16% each) which was slightly higher in return migrant households (17% agricultural and 23% non-agriculture) and lower in a migrant household (11% and 13% respectively). Income from the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) and artisan and household industry are extremely low across all three household types. Almost one-tenth of return migrant households generate income from business and trade which is higher than migrant (3%) and non-migrant households (6%). Less than 15 percent of households across all three categories generate income from livestock. In migrant households, remittances add to the household income with nearly three-fourth of the migrant households indicating that they receive income from the remittance.

The household income was estimated at the household level. As far as the share of income from different sources to the total income of households is concerned, Figure 3.3 depicts that remittances are the largest source of income in migrant households while agriculture is the main source of income across other households. In migrant households, 63 percent of the total income comes from remittances followed by agriculture (13 percent) and non-agriculture labour (9 percent). This signifies that migrant households are dependent upon the remittances sent by the migrant labours. However, in non-migrant and return migrant households, where no remittances are received, the pattern of share of income from different sources to total income remains similar. Almost 40 percent of the income comes from agriculture, followed by non-agricultural labour work (20% in non-migrant and 25% in return migrant household).
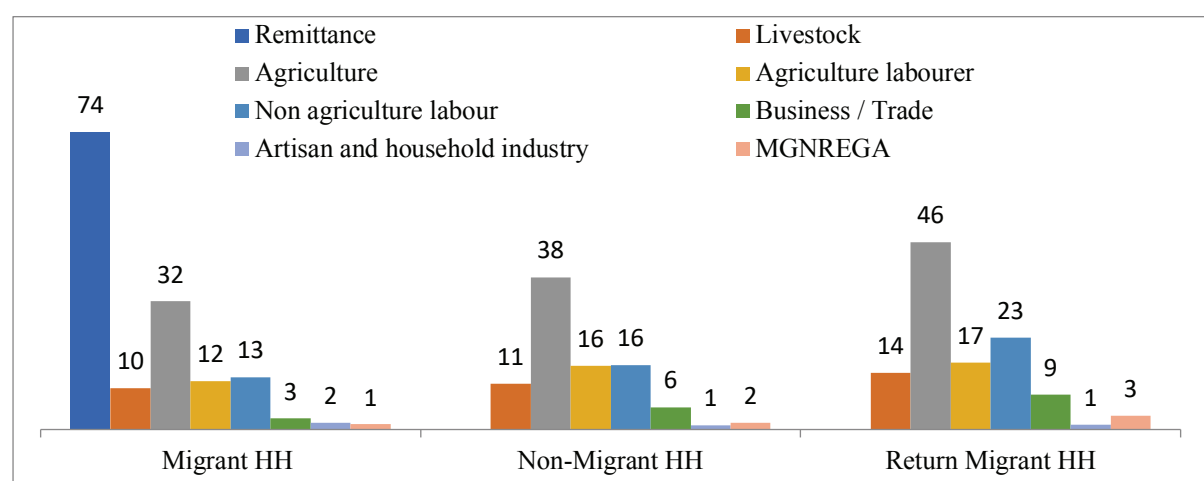
Figure 3.2: Percent households by sources of income and status of migration
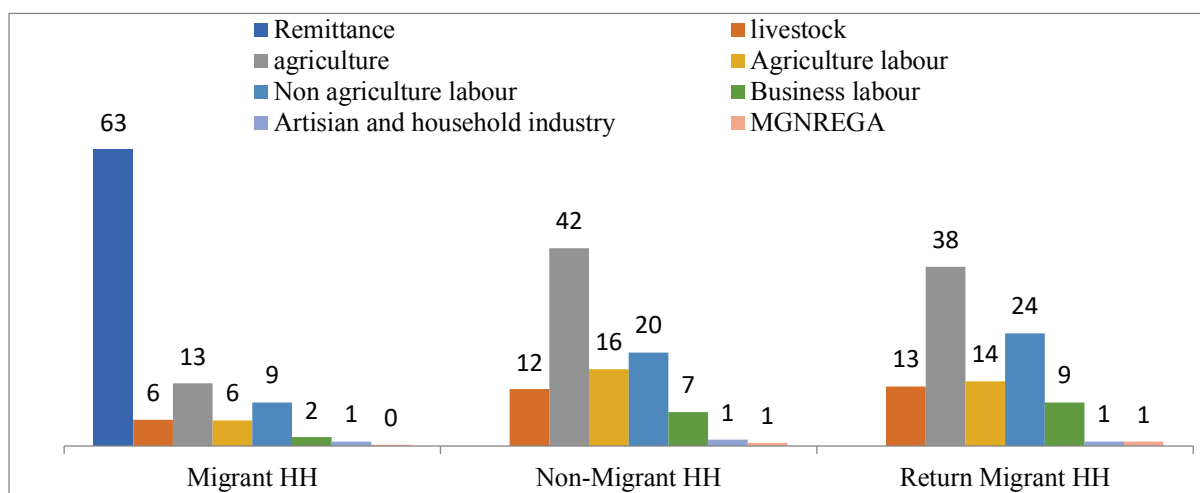
Figure 3.3: Percentage share of income from different sources to the total income of the household

MGNREGA appears to have an almost negligible share in the total household income across all three categories of households. The share of business income is also low among non-migrant (7%) and return migrant (9%) households and it almost negligible (2%) in migrant households.

Access to Mobile Phone
The mobile phone has become an essential item not only for communication but also as an interface between beneficiaries from the government schemes and programmes. Nearly 90 percent of households are having ordinary mobile phones, which is slightly more in migrant and return migrant households. Two-fifths of the households have either a smartphone or a feature phone. In Eastern Uttar Pradesh higher percentage of migrant households (41%) have a smartphone than non-migrant (29%) and return migrant households (32 %). In Bihar, the situation was quite different, a higher percentage of non-migrant households are having smartphones than migrant (14 %) and return migrant households (12%).

Table 3.4: Percentage of households having phone facility and by types of phone

	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	Total
Household having phone	87.5	95.7	94.3	92.4
Landline facilities	0.9	1.3	0.7	1.1
Ordinary mobile facilities	87	86.3	86.0	86.5
Smartphone with internet facilities	19.8	20.1	18.1	19.8
Feature phone facilities	19	22.6	19.4	21
Total	1368	2033	295	3696

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Section C
Housing and household amenities

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This section provides the housing and household amenities in migrant, non-migrant, and return-migrant households. The household amenities include the type of house, number of rooms, kitchen, bathroom and toilet facilities.

3.6 Housing

More than 99 percent of the houses are owned by the people living in them across the MGP. Bihar and Eastern UP show similar trends irrespective of the migration status of the households. However, a larger number of households (HH) in Bihar live in kuccha houses (43%) as opposed to Eastern UP who live in pucca (39%) and semi-pucca (38%) houses.

In Bihar, the percent of households living in kuccha houses are nearly the same across migrants (44%) and non-migrants (41%), followed by both groups living in semi-pucca houses. In Eastern UP, more than a third of both groups of households (37% migrant and 39% non-migrant) live in pucca houses. The data thus shows that the structure of the residence remains common in each state, irrespective of their migration status.
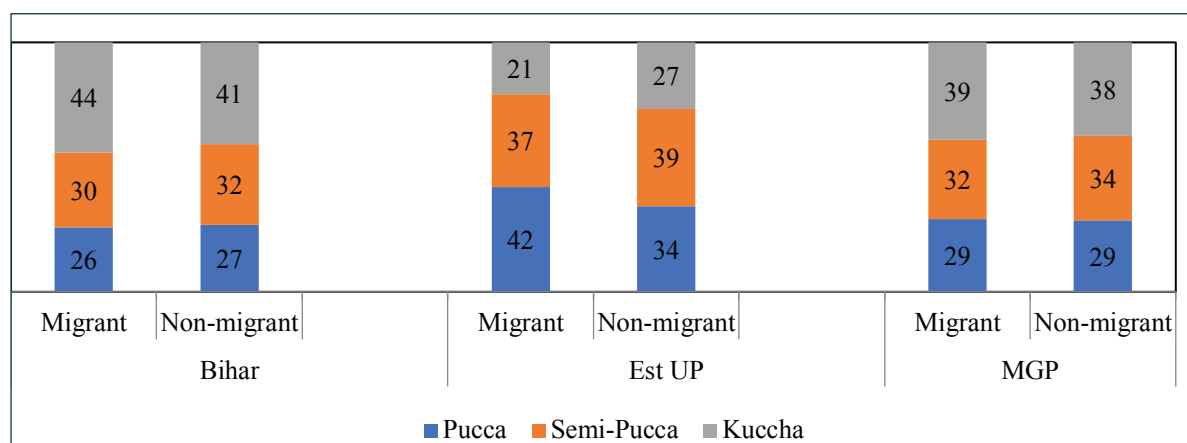
 Figure 3.4: Percent distribution of migrant and non-migrant households by type of house

Household Amenities
No of rooms
Figure 3.3 shows that the majority of houses in MGP have two rooms or less (65%); the pattern remains the same in eastern UP (61%) and Bihar (66%). However, Eastern UP has the highest number of houses with five or more rooms. The difference is distinct across the migrant and non-migrant households in both the regions, migrant households have more rooms than non-migrant households. The difference is higher in Eastern UP. This could also be due to the fact that migrant households tend to live as joint families and so require more rooms.
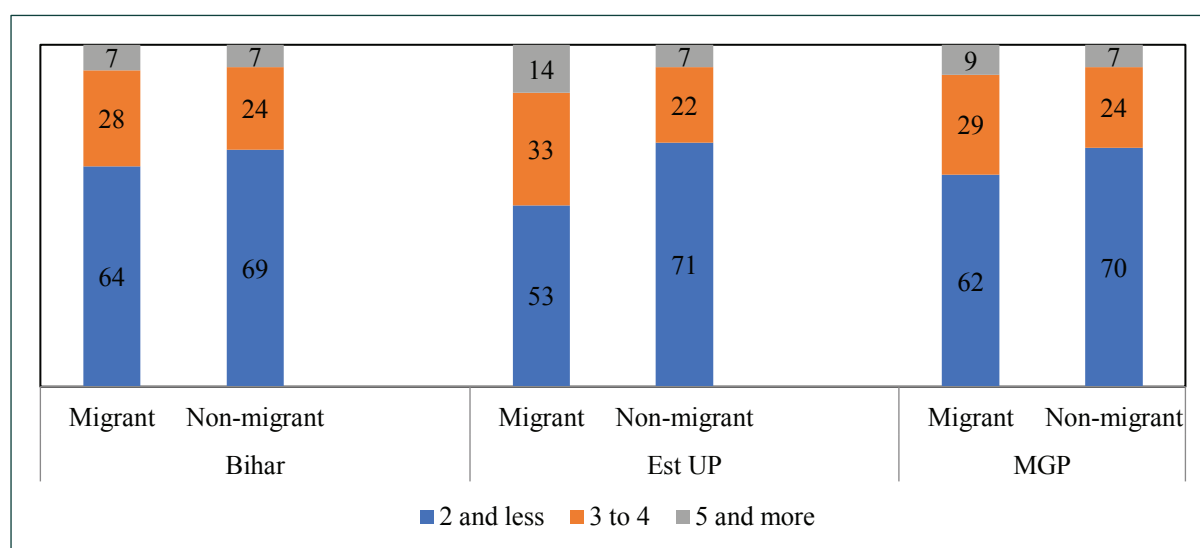
Figure 3.5 Percent distribution of migrant and non-migrant households by Number of rooms

Separate Kitchen

Eastern UP (41%) has almost double the number of households with a separate kitchen for cooking as compared to Bihar (22%). When the migration status of the households is considered, a slightly higher percentage of migrant households has a separate room for cooking as compared to non-migrant households. Non-migrant households in Eastern UP have the least tendency to have a separate space for cooking. In general, the return migrant households have a higher tendency to have a separate place for cooking followed by migrant and non-migrant households having the least tendency for the same.

Cooking Fuel

The fuels that are used for cooking included LPG, Kerosene, and solid waste. Households in both Bihar (80%) and Eastern UP (66%) lean towards the use of solid waste as the preferred fuel for cooking. However, households in Eastern UP show a higher proportion of households use LPG (34%) than those in Bihar. In both regions, the use of agricultural/animal waste as fuel for cooking is more common in the non-migrant household than migrant households.

Drinking water

Groundwater extracted through hand pumps is the major source of drinking water in both regions (Figure 3.4). However, a relatively larger share of the migrant households has their own hand pump while 20 to 35 percent of non-migrant households depend on public hand pump for drinking water.
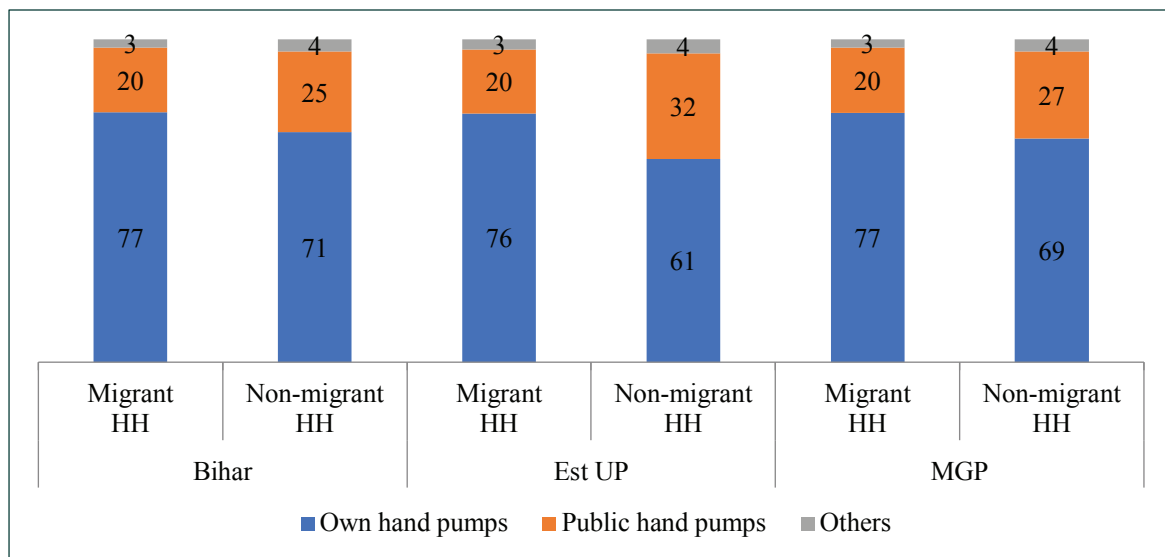
Figure 3.6: Source of drinking water by migration status of households

Bathroom and toilet facilities

A majority of the households in Bihar, Eastern UP, and MGP use open bathrooms with walls (temporary) but no roofs followed by bathrooms within premises. The percent of households with bathrooms within the premises as well as enclosed spaces without roofs that served a bathroom is slightly higher in Eastern UP than in Bihar.

Figure 3.5 depicts toilet facilities available to respondent households in the MGP. A majority of the households across the MGP (53%) and in Bihar (56%) opt for open defecation (partially and mainly) due to the unavailability of toilets. The migration status of the household has no bearing on the use of open spaces for defecation in Bihar. However, more than half of the households in Eastern UP (57%) prefer to use toilets within their residences. Moreover, the availability of toilet facilities within the residences is slightly higher amongst migrant and return migrant households (60%) when compared to non-migrant households (53%).
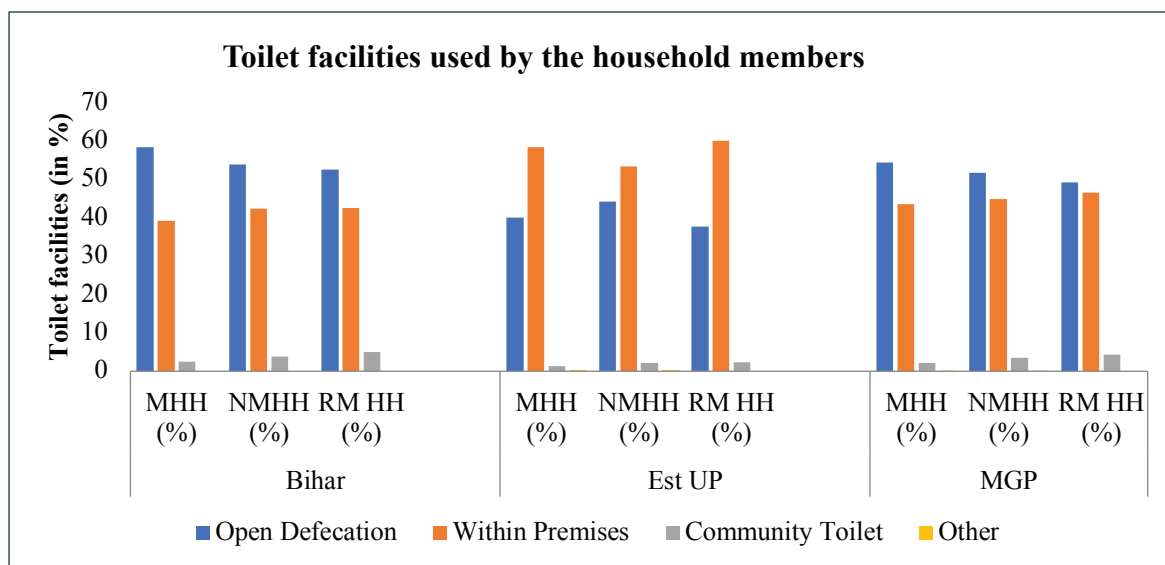
Figure 3.7: Distribution of toilet facilities across migration status of households

3.7 Conclusion

The economic and demographic homogeneity of the region arises mainly from the primary livelihood mode which is agriculture. Despite having dense river networks, fertile land, the region is known for poverty, migration, casteism and feudalism. The rivers are not utilized effectively causing havoc rather than contributing to prosperity. The large population tends to be poor, landless, illiterate, malnourished, unemployed implying that their potential for economic growth is underutilized. Social issues such as caste conflict, gender disparity further aggravate the problems which are not improved by poor governance and the absence of political will to bring about change.

SECTION 2

Chapter 4 Levels and Patterns of Migration

4.1 Key Findings

57% of households in MGP experience some form of migration whereas, 5% of migrant households have more than one form of migration.

One-third of the households are non-migrant where; none of the household members have migrated for employment.

The highest rate of migration is reported from Saran, Gorakhpur, Azamgad & Munger which have been traditional pockets of out migration.

Higher rates of migration are also prevalent in flood affected divisions like Darbhanga, Kosi, Tirhut and Purnia in Bihar.

10% of the households in Bihar are seasonal migrant households. These appear to be concentrated in the flood affected divisions of Kosi, Tirhut and Purnia.

37% of households have internal migrants whereas 3% households have international migration.

Nuclear families and Muslim households are more likely to have migrants in MGP. The level of migration also varies across categories of landholding size and caste.

The volume and nature of migration within a given territory are influenced by the diversity of the terrain and the composition of the people who live there (Lee 1966). Data by FAO (2018) reveals that more than 1.3 billion people living in developing countries have moved internally between rural and urban areas. Empirical evidence shows a strong association between migration and economic condition. Caldwell (1968) notes that migration occurs in economically advanced localities (Caldwell 1968) while others point to high migration in economically worse-off areas (Oberai 1983; Yadava 1989; Jha 1997). Additionally, some studies have examined the associations between the caste and migration pattern (Sharma 1997).

Migration in the Middle Ganga Plain region dates back to the second quarter of the 19th century (Huge 1977). Over time, however, the nature and pattern of migration from this region have also changed. Today, Bihar and Eastern UP are known not only for a high volume of inter-state out-migration but also as two of the biggest sources of international migration.

The present chapter seeks to understand the level/intensity and patterns of migration at the household level from 68 villages across 18 administrative divisions of Bihar and Eastern UP within the Middle Ganga Plain (MGP). The data collected from 4335 households has been analysed to identify patterns of migration across the administrative divisions and socio-economic characteristics (caste categories, religion, landholding, and family type) of the respondent households. The level of migration is measured as the percent of migrant households to total households. The specific definition of different types of migrants and their households used in the study are given below.

4.2 Levels of Migration

The level of migration is defined as the proportion (in percent) of migrant households to the total number of households in a given area. Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 both provide an overview of the status and level of migration across respondent households. The data indicates that 57 percent of households have experienced migration, with at least one household member having migrated for work or business (50%) or all members having migrated and houses left locked (7%). Slightly more than one-third of the households (36%) are non-migrant household, from where no one had ever migrated in search of employment. Further, some households (7%) belong to neither the migrant nor the non-migrant category as these comprised of a household member who was a 'return migrant' which refers to a household member who had migrated for work but had returned and has been residing within the household for more than a year.

That migration is a common phenomenon among households in the Middle Ganga Plain as seen from the higher ratio of migrant households (1.5 times higher) in comparison to non-migrant households. Internal migration which accounts for 38 percent of the total migration, is the most frequently occurring form of migration, followed by seasonal migrant (9%) and international migration (3%).

Table 4.1: Distribution of households by migration status and by type of migration in Bihar, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and MGP

	Bihar		Est UP		MGP	
Migration status of household	%	No	%	No	%	No
Non-Migrant HH	35.5	806	37.0	773	35.9	1579
Migrant HH	49.6	1143	49.7	1021	49.7	2164
Return Migrant HH	7.0	149	8.2	164	7.3	313
Locked Migrant HH	7.7	170	5.3	109	7.2	279
Total	**100**	**2268**	**100**	**2067**	**100**	**4335**
Migrant households by type of migration						
International M HH	3.1	62	3.4	63	3.2	125
Out Migrant HH	36.7	846	42.2	882	37.9	1728
Seasonal Migrant HH	10.0	235	3.9	76	8.6	311
Total migrant HH	**49.6**	**1143**	**49.7**	**1021**	**49.7**	**2164**

Note: NM HH- household without any migrant M HH – households with any long/short term migrant (International/internal/seasonal) migrant - **RM HH- households exclusively with return migrant; IM HH- Household with any international migrant; OM HH- Households with any internal migrant excluding international migrant; SM- households exclusively with seasonal migrant LM HH-** Locked HH due to full family migration

As is evident from Table 4.1, the overall migration pattern does not change much across the two states of Bihar and Eastern UP. The inclusion of locked houses as part of migrant households indicates that more than 55 percent of the households in both the States/regions had experienced some form of migration. However, regional differences across Bihar, and Eastern UP are observed in relation to seasonal and internal migration. The level of internal migration is nearly six points higher in eastern UP (42%) than in Bihar (37%). On the other hand, seasonal migration is a relatively more prominent feature in Bihar, reported by 10 percent of the migrant households when compared to four percent in Eastern UP. The level of international migration is three percent in both areas.
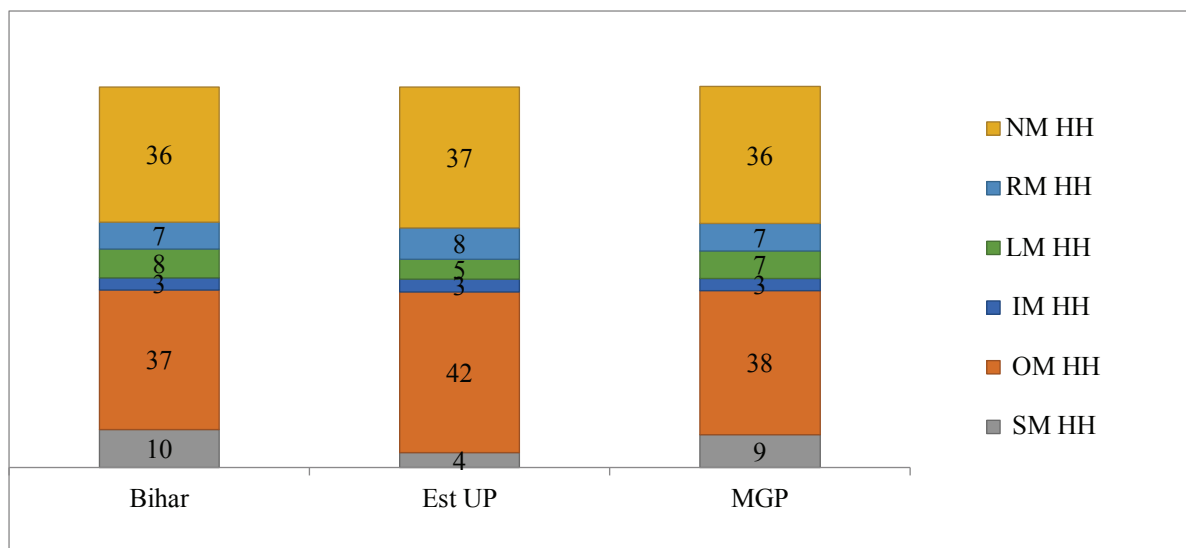
Figure 4.1: Percentage Distribution of households by migration status and forms of migration

1.3   Multiple Forms of Migration

An important feature of the Middle Ganga Plain is the fact that some households reported multiple forms of migration (seasonal, internal and international), indicating that different family members opt for diverse forms of migration to supplement the family income.   Table 4.2 shows the distribution of migrant household across different forms of migration. Five percent of the migrant households in MGP report multiple modes of migrants while the rest (95%) follow a single mode of migration, be it seasonal, internal or international migration. An examination of the five percent households that reported multiple modes of migration shows that a combination of seasonal and internal migration is seen in three percent of households in both Bihar and Eastern UP. Within the five percent of households that reported multiple types of migration, three percent of the households in Bihar and Eastern UP have both seasonal and internal migrants. However, the number of households with a combination of internal and international migration is greater in Eastern UP (19 households) than in Bihar (09 households).

More than three-quarters of migrant households report exclusive internal migration (74% overall in the MGP, 72 percent in Bihar and 82 percent in Eastern UP). Exclusive seasonal migration is not as common, with this form of migration being reported by 17 percent of the migrant households overall (20% in Bihar and 8% in Eastern UP).   When it comes to international migration, only one of every 20 migrant households (across both states) reported that family members opt solely for this form of migration.

Table 4.2: Distribution of migrant households by migration type and migration combination

	Bihar		Est. UP		MGP	
	%	No	%	No	%	No
IM+ OM	0.7	9	2.2	19	1.0	28
OM+SM	3.0	36	2.9	32	3.0	68
IM+SM	0.4	3	0.2	2	0.3	5
IM+SM+OM	0.2	2	0.0	0	0.1	2
Only IM	4.7	48	4.7	42	4.8	90
Only OM	71.5	810	82.2	850	73.9	1660
Only SM	19.5	235	7.8	76	16.9	311
Total Households *	**100**	**1143**	**100**	**1021**	**100**	**2164**

Note: * Excluding locked households
IM+OM- households with a combination of international and internal migrants; OM+**SM**- households with a combination of internal and seasonal migrants; **IM+SM**-households with a combination of international and seasonal migrants; **IM+SM+OM**-households with a combination of international, seasonal, and internal migrants

4.4 Regional Patterns of Migration

Although 55 percent of the respondent households report experiencing migration, the data reveals regional variations in terms of levels of migration (Table 4.3). The inclusion of locked houses in the migrant households in Bihar indicates that migration levels range from 68 percent in the Saran division to 47 percent in the Patna division. Moreover, regions in North Bihar

Table 4.3: Pattern of migration across the 17 commissionaires and two regions of Middle Ganga Plain

Migration Status	Commissionaires of Bihar									Commissionaires of Est. UP							
	Patna	Magadh	Munger	Bhagalpur	Saran	Tirhut	Darbhanga	Kosi	Purnia	Mirzapur	Varanasi	Allahabad	Azamgarh	Faizabad	Basti	Gorakhpur	Devipatan Gonda
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NM HH	44.9	40.2	36.5	42.6	22.0	32.5	31.5	32.4	39.6	41.2	40.5	42.1	28.6	41.7	40.5	24.1	40.9
M HH	35.1	44.6	57.5	43.0	62.5	57.0	43.6	57.7	51.8	50.2	44.2	46.6	59.8	43.6	46.4	60.9	41.3
RM HH	7.9	5.2	3.9	8.2	9.7	6.8	7.9	5.7	4.7	6.7	11.6	10.3	8.1	10.8	6.7	5.4	4.6
LM HH	12.1	10.0	2.1	6.1	5.8	3.6	17.0	4.9	3.9	1.9	3.9	1.1	3.6	3.9	6.3	9.6	13.1
Migrant households by type of migration																	
OM HH	30.6	40.6	45.5	31.1	46.2	33.3	39.4	34.0	35.7	46.8	41.3	39.1	47.2	36.3	40.9	47.1	38.2
IM HH	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	8.0	0.8	3.6	0.4	1.1	0.0	0.4	8.9	2.3	1.6	10.0	1.9
S M HH	4.2	4.0	12.0	11.9	7.9	15.7	3.3	19.4	15.7	2.2	2.7	6.9	3.6	5.0	4.0	3.8	1.2
Total (n)	**265**	**249**	**234**	**245**	**281**	**249**	**242**	**248**	**255**	**267**	**260**	**261**	**249**	**259**	**252**	**261**	**258**

(Saran, Darbhanga, Kosi, Purnia, and Tirhut) that experience recurring and frequent floods have a higher migration intensity (greater than 55%) than the divisions of the south such as Patna, Madadh, and Bhagalpur, where the migration levels are lower (less than 40%. Munger in southern Bihar was exceptional with 60 percent migrant households. A similar trend is seen with regard to internal migration in Bihar which again varies from 46 percent in the Saran division to 30 percent in the Patna division. The intensity of international migrant households is higher than the state average (3%) in Saran, Tirhut, and Kosi divisions (8%). Although the overall percentage of entire households migrating as indicated by locked houses is low (8%), this form of migration is more common in the regions of Darbhanga (17%), Patna (12%), and Magadh (10%). The propensity for seasonal migration is higher in northern Bihar and particularly in divisions of Kosi (20 %), Tirhut, and Purnia (16% each).

The data from Eastern UP reveals that migration (inclusive of locked houses) ranges from 70 percent in Gorakhpur to 47 percent in Faizabad, Allahabad, and Varanasi divisions. Districts with high levels of migration include Azamgarh (63%) and Devipatan Gonda (54%). The prevalence of seasonal migration is low in all the divisions (5% or less) except for Allahabad (7%). The two divisions of Gorakhpur (10%) and Azamgarh (09%) have the highest rates of international migration across Eastern UP. Locked houses that are indicative of migration of entire families are seen in Devipatan Gonda (13%) and Gorakhpur (10%).

4.5 Levels of Migration across Socio-Economic Groups

Table 4.4 illustrates the level of overall migration across different socio-economic groups. An overall examination of the MGP indicates that migration tends to be higher amongst Muslims (63%), landless families (58%), those involved in marginal farming (53%), and joint families (64%). This indicates that decision to migrate is influenced by the type of family structure as this provides support to family members who stay back and enables diversification of the family income. Landholding size is another contributing factor. As the landholding size increases, the propensity for migration decreases. The data indicates that the social caste of the migrant family does not have a bearing on decisions related to migration in the MGP area. However, in Eastern UP, the propensity to migrate tends to increase with the rise in the caste hierarchy. It is equally interesting to note that unlike Bihar, where landless families and those with marginal land tend to migrate, in Eastern UP, a relatively higher proportion of land-owning households tends to migrate. This implies that migration in Bihar is more common amongst the economically and socially marginalized classes, while in eastern UP, migration is more frequent among the relatively affluent caste and class.

Table 4.4: Level of migration by socio-economic categories of household (in %)

	Bihar				Est UP				MGP			
	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	No	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	No	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	No
Religion												
Hindu	39.8	52.1	8.1	1763	37.6	53.9	8.5	1763	40.3	51.3	8.3	3436
Muslim	30.1	64.4	5.6	425	29.4	65.6	5.0	195	30.8	63.4	5.8	620
Cast Category												
ST	40.0	53.3	6.7	47	55.0	40.0	5.0	61	44.7	48.9	6.4	108
SC	42.0	51.7	6.3	415	40.5	50.7	8.8	667	41.6	51.4	7.1	1082
OBC	38.2	53.3	8.4	1305	38.1	53.6	8.3	869	38.2	53.4	8.4	2174
Others	36.7	55.7	7.5	331	35.2	55.7	9.2	361	36.4	55.8	7.8	692
Landholding												
Landless	36.2	57.8	6.0	1245	40.6	51.6	7.8	792	37.9	55.7	6.4	2037
< 1 acre	36.8	52.7	10.5	583	31.8	59.2	9.0	611	36.7	53.1	10.2	1194
≥ 1 acre	49.8	40.6	9.6	270	37.0	55.5	7.5	555	46.0	45.0	9.0	825
Family Type												
Nuclear	41.4	50.0	8.6	1471	45.1	45.6	9.3	1114	43	48.1	8.9	2585
Joint	29.9	65.0	5.1	627	26.1	67.3	6.6	844	29.9	64.3	5.8	1471
Total (%)	38.1	54.3	7.6	100	36.8	55.1	8.1	100	38.8	53.2	7.9	100
Total	806	1143	149	2098	773	1021	164	1958	1579	2164	313	4056

Households with return migrants range from 5 percent (ST households in eastern UP) to 10 percent (marginal land-owning households in Bihar). In general, such households belonging to Hindu, OBC, or the 'other' caste, marginal landholding, and nuclear family have a higher propensity of return migration than their counterparts.

4.6 Levels of Migration across Different Categories of Migration

The intensity of migration tends to be higher across all groups. However, the intensity is relatively more among the Muslims, others/OBC, landless/marginal, and joint family system households. It is pertinent to know how the type of migration i.e., seasonal, internal, and international migration differs across the socio-economic groups.

Table 4.5 presents the variation in the level of internal, international, and seasonal migration with the background characteristics of households. Internal migration remains constant at approximately 40 percent across households belonging to Hindu and Muslims, OBCs and 'others' caste group, landless and marginal farming, and joint families.

Overall, international migration occurs more frequently among Muslim households, those that own one acre of land or more, that live in joint families, and hail from other castes. However, in Bihar international migrants is common from landless and/or marginal farming households. Seasonal migrate families tend to be Hindus, ST/SCs, and landless.

Table 4.5: Levels of types/ categories of migration by socio-economic categories of household (in %)

	Bihar				Est UP				MGP			
	OM HH	**IM HH**	**SM HH**	**Total M HH**	**OM HH**	**IM HH**	**SM HH**	**Total M HH**	**OM HH**	**IM HH**	**SM HH**	**Total M HH**
Religion												
Hindu	37.8	3.8	10.5	52.1	42.6	7.2	4.1	53.9	40.0	2.2	9.2	51.3
Muslim	44.4	11.2	8.8	64.4	42.2	21.1	2.3	65.6	46.0	9.3	8.2	63.4
Cast Category												
ST	28.9	13.3	11.1	53.3	30.5	3.4	5.1	40.0	29.8	9.6	9.6	48.9
SC	35.9	0.4	15.4	51.7	43.2	1.9	5.5	50.7	38.1	1.0	12.3	51.4
OBC	41.4	2.1	9.9	53.3	45.9	4.2	3.4	53.6	42.2	2.5	8.6	53.4
Others	41.1	8.3	6.3	55.7	47.1	5.8	2.8	55.7	42.3	7.8	5.7	55.8
Landholding size												
Landless	40.0	5.5	12.4	57.8	40.1	7.5	4.0	51.6	41.1	3.3	11.3	55.7
< 1 acre	40.1	4.7	7.9	52.7	44.4	9.2	5.6	59.2	42.5	3.2	7.5	53.1
≥ 1 acre	31.9	3.7	4.8	40.6	43.7	9.9	1.9	55.5	37.5	3.7	3.8	45.0
Family Type												
Nuclear	35.7	4.0	10.3	50.0	35.8	5.5	4.2	45.6	36.5	2.2	9.4	48.1
Joint	47.2	7.9	10.0	65.0	51.0	12.8	3.4	67.3	50.4	5.7	8.2	64.3
Total (%)	**39.0**	**5.1**	**9.9**	**54.3**	**42.5**	**8.7**	**3.8**	**55.1**	**40.9**	**3.3**	**8.5**	**53.2**
Total	**846**	**62**	**235**	**1143**	**882**	**63**	**76**	**1021**	**1728**	**1255**	**311**	**2164**

4.7 Conclusion

Migration tends to be higher in areas with a long history of migration, recurring floods, deep-rooted traditions related to migration, and social networks that promote migration. In comparison, urbanized areas that are economically advanced show low rates of migration. Although the overall pattern of migration across the divisions in Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh were similar, the propensity for internal and international migration is higher in Eastern UP while the proportion of seasonal migration was greater in Bihar. The level of international migration rises with an increase in the social and economic hierarchy in society, while seasonal migration tends to happen from the most marginalized section of the society. Migration also appears to be more common in joint families than in nuclear families, probably because better support systems are available in the former.

The next chapter describes the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the internal and international migrants and the root causes of migration.

Chapter 5 International and Internal Migration: Characteristics and Causes

5.1 Key Findings

93% of respondents across the MGP migrate for employment and 99.4% are males. Some (8% in Bihar and 4% in EPU) migrate for education and of these about 18% are women.

Inter-state migration is the most common form of migration (90%), followed by inter-country migration (6%) and intra- state (4%).

Although 80% of the total migrants are married, most migrate on their own (65%) leaving wives and children back in the village of origin.

Migrants tend to be Hindus (81%), OBC (55%) and landless (51%); migrant families are more likely to be nuclear (54%) with four to six members (64%); few migrants have obtained professional qualifications and a fourth were illiterate.

International migrants tend to Muslims (42%), from joint families (59%) and better educated than internal migrants. Internal migration commences at a younger age (below 20 years) than international migration.

Although the mean age of migration is 33, international migrants tended to be two years older than internal migrants. Mean duration of migration is 9 years (inter-state) and 6 years (international).

Work undertaken by the migrants includes salaried employment (58%) and casual labour (28%). 7% are self-employed.

Cause for migration includes poverty and compulsion, landlessness, unemployment, insufficient food and irregular employment The presence of social networks at the place of destination influences choice of destination (82% internal, 64% of international).

Preferred destinations includes Delhi, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana (internal); Saudi Arabia, the UAE (international).

In a given situation of economic crisis, families play the role of catalysing migration decisions, contributing to both stimulating and retarding migration.

Migration is a dynamic phenomenon; the trends, nature, patterns, and causes vary across time and space. Over time, the phenomenon of migration has not only become more diverse but has also become more complex encompassing variables such as age, gender, education, social class, economic status, and religion. Young people belonging to the 15 to 35 age group with better education appear to have a greater propensity for migration, probably due to their higher capacity to adjust during the initial period of uncertainty after the migration (Population Reports 1983). Although migration from Bihar does not appear to be restricted to a single social caste or community, the intensity is higher amongst Muslim communities and those from other caste groups (Karan 2003).

It is not just the demographic characteristics of migrants that have changed across the years. Short-term migration from Bihar has evolved into long-term migration (Karan 2003). The place of destination too has changed. Migrants from Eastern UP and Bihar preferred to migrate eastwards to Bengal and Assam in the mid-1900s, moving to Punjab and Haryana in the 1970s and 1980s and the late 1990s westwards to Maharashtra, Punjab, Gujarat, and Delhi (Karan 2003; Tumbe 2012).

Migration from rural to urban is driven by economics; demand for labour in urban areas necessitates the supply of the same from rural areas. Most migrants from rural to urban find employment in the informal sectors (Bhattacharya 1998). Many rural families opt for migration as a survival strategy as employment opportunities in rural areas are few and have many contenders. However, migration being a complex phenomenon is influenced by many factors, beyond the obvious economic ones, such as social networks, caste dynamics, family size, and societal pressure. Roy (2011) draws from a study located in Bihar to explain that while economic factors drive migration in 'poorer districts, social factors such as aspirations for education and employment and family disputes precipitate migration in 'richer' districts. In some cases, migration serves as a 'face saving' mechanism.

The previous chapter explored the variation in forms of migration at the household level while this chapter has two distinct sections; the first one draws on a migration roster to discuss the characteristics of migrants, and the second section focuses on the diversity in causal factors related to migration including exploring the reasons that prompt some families to migrate while other families with similar characteristics chose not to migrate.

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Section A
Characteristics of Migrants

</div>

The migration roster focuses on the collection of data on the demographic characteristics and information related to the migration of long-term migrants who had migrated for education, employment, or conducting business. As presented in Table 5.1, 2164 households have a total of 2653 long-term migrants (internal and international). The data indicates that many of the households have more than one migrant with an average of 1.34 and 1.51 migrants per household in Bihar and Eastern UP, respectively. More than 90 percent have migrated for employment (92%, 2498 of 2653), seven percent (136) for education, and less than one percent

for conducting business. Employment as a reason for migration is dominated by males (99.6%); however, seven female migrants have migrated for employment. Out of the 136 migrants who migrated for education, 18 percent (27) are females.

Table 5.1: Long term migrants by reasons of migration and gender of migrants

	Bihar		Est. UP		MGP	
	%	n	%	n	%	N
Household with long term migrants*	39.6	908	45.8	945	41.1	1853
Multiple migrant household	24.4	219	33.4	327	26.6	546
Mean of migrants (HH) long term	**1.34**	**908**	**1.51**	**945**	**1.38**	**1853**
Reason of migration						
For Employment	90.7	1117	95.5	1381	92	2498
For Business	0.8	10	0.6	09	0.7	19
For Education	8.5	79	4.0	57	7.3	136
Total no of migrants (N)	**100**	**1447**	**100**	**1206**	**100**	**2653**
Gender wise long-term migrants by livelihood and education						
Male migrants for employment and business	99.9	1126	99.6	1384	99.6	2507
Female migrants for employment and business	0.1	01	0.4	06	0.4	07
Male migrants migrate for education	84.3	67	71.9	42	82.3	109
Female migrants migrate for education	15.7	12	28.1	15	17.7	27
Total no of migrants (N)	**100**	**1447**	**100**	**1206**	**100**	**2653**

*Migrant HHs includes internal, international

5.2 Socio-economic Characteristics

Table 5.2 depicts the socio-economic characteristics of internal and international migrants in MGP, Bihar, and Eastern UP. In the Middle Ganga Plain, a majority of the internal migrants are Hindus (81%), belong to the OBC group (55%), are landless (51%), and come from nuclear families (54%), which have four to five members (64%). However, international migrants tend to be from joint families with six or more members but appear to be equally distributed across Hindu and Muslim households.

The characteristics of migrants from Bihar differ from those in Eastern UP. Migrants from Bihar tend to be landless (57%) and from nuclear families 60%) with less than five members (68%). Only 13 percent of migrants from Bihar own more than an acre of land. However, nearly a third of the migrants from Eastern UP own more than an acre of land (32%) while a similar percent owns less than an acre of land (35%). Only a third of the migrant are landless (33%). Moreover, migrants from Eastern UP are more likely to belong to joint families (61%) with more than six members in the household (43%).

Table 5.2: Percentage distribution of internal and international migrants by socio-economic characteristics

Background Characteristics	Bihar			Est UP			MGP		
	Migrants by type of migration			Migrants by type of migration			Migrants by type of migration		
	OM	IM	Total	OM	IM	Total	OM	IM	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Religion									
Hindu	80.1	53.4	87.8	88.6	72.3	87.6	82.4	58.0	80.8
Muslim	19.9	46.6	12.2	11.4	27.7	12.4	17.6	42.0	19.2
Caste Category									
ST	1.5	8.1	1.7	2.0	2.4	2.0	1.6	6.0	1.9
SC	18.7	6.8	16.8	28.8	19.5	28.3	21.5	10.1	20.8
OBC	58.1	36.5	54.7	50.2	52.4	50.3	55.8	40.9	54.9
Others	21.3	48.6	26.8	19.0	25.6	19.4	21.0	43.0	22.5
Land holding size									
Landless	57.0	58.1	57.1	33.9	26.8	33.4	50.6	50.0	50.5
<1 acre	30.3	28.4	30.1	34.5	40.2	34.8	31.5	32.0	31.5
≥1 acre	12.7	13.5	12.8	31.8	32.9	31.8	18.0	18.0	18.0
Family type									
Nuclear	60.8	44.6	59.7	39.5	29.3	38.8	54.9	40.9	54.0
Joint	39.2	55.4	40.3	60.5	70.7	61.2	45.1	59.1	46.0
Family size									
Single	6.7	0.0	6.3	2.6	1.2	2.5	5.6	0.7	5.3
2-5 Member	67.5	69.9	67.7	55.7	40.2	54.7	64.3	62.0	64.1
6 and more	25.8	30.1	26.1	41.7	58.5	42.7	30.1	37.3	30.6
Mean family size	4.5	5.2	5.2	5.6	7.2	5.7	4.8	5.7	4.9
Head of HH									
Male	41.4	41.9	41.4	53.8	51.8	53.6	44.8	44.7	44.8
Female	58.6	58.1	58.6	46.2	48.2	46.4	55.2	55.3	55.2
Total (N)	**1058**	**69**	**1127**	**1318**	**72**	**1390**	**2376**	**141**	**2517**

Note: OM- Internal migrants IM- International migrants

5.3 Demographic Characteristics

Age, education, and marital status have been covered as part of the demographic characteristics since previous research and existing literature indicate that migration is closely linked to these three characteristics. Migrants tend to be young adults with higher levels of education than those who chose not to migrate. They also tend to come from a relatively large family who have larger needs and earning capacity and provide support to the left-behind families (Connel, 1976).

As can be seen from Table 5.3, 54 percent of the migrants belong to the 21 to 35 age group, which is considered the most productive age group. A comparison of the mean ages of internal and international migrants reveals that international migrants with a mean age of 35 are two years older than internal migrants (mean age 33). Moreover, more than two-thirds (66%) of internal migrants are below the age of 35, while this is true for less than 60 percent of international migrants. Please also refer to Figures 5.1a, 5.1b, and 5.1c for a geographic break-up of the age of the migrants.
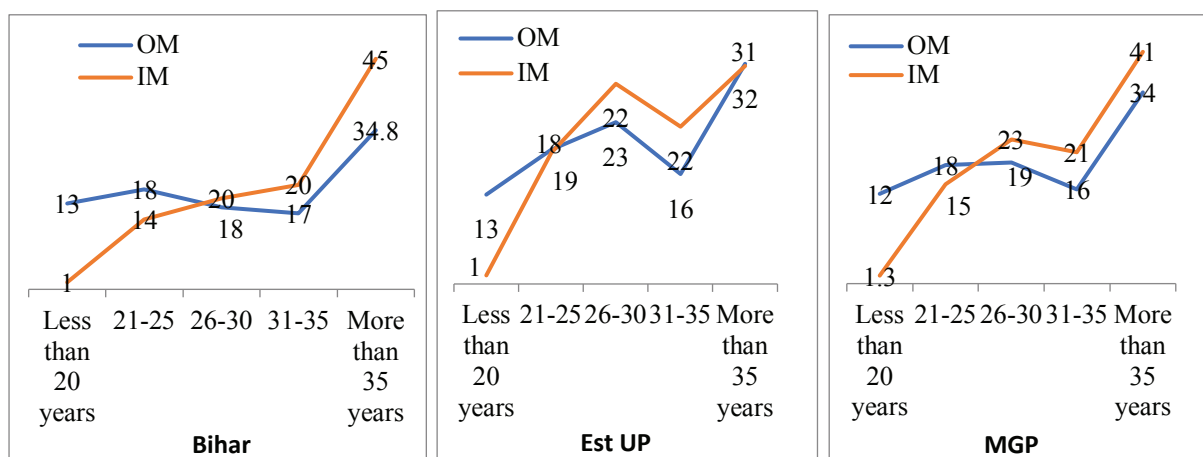
Figure 5.1a, 5.1b, 5.1c: Percentage distribution of internal and international migrants by their age groups

Migrants from Eastern UP have better educational levels than those from Bihar with 40 percent of the migrants from Eastern UP completing their secondary education as against 30 percent of the same from Bihar. However, this could be due to the fact that the literacy rate in Uttar Pradesh (67.7%) is higher than that of Bihar (61.8%) (Census 2011). Although fewer international migrants are illiterate (19%) than internal migrants (26%), it is interesting to note that the mean years of schooling are slightly higher for internal migrants (9.4 years) than for international migrants (9.0 years). Please also refer to Figure 5.2 for the distribution of education levels across geographic areas and types of migration.
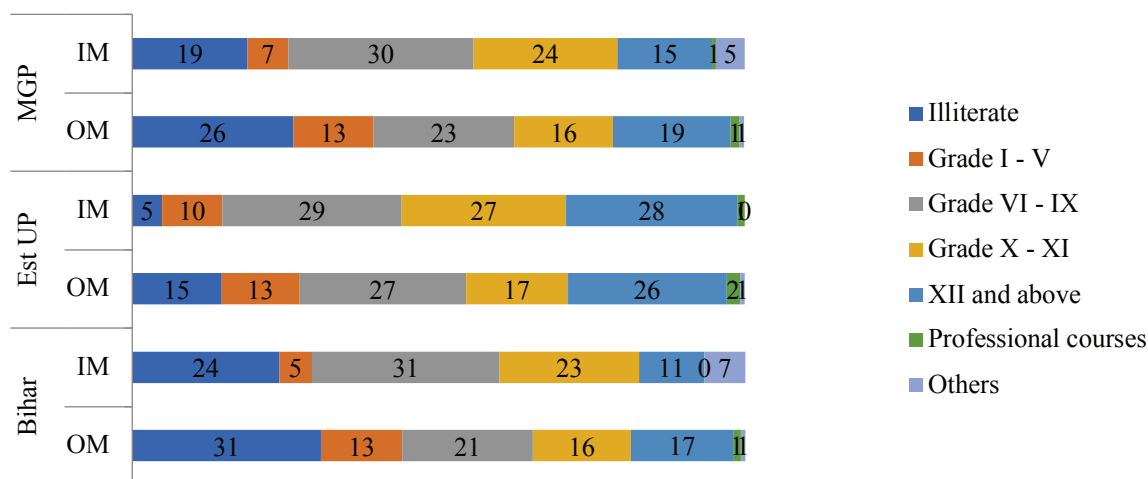
Figure 5.2: Percentage distribution of internal and international migrants by their educational category

Marital status appears to influence decisions related to migration. With 79 percent of the migrants across the MGP stating that they were married, it appears that the responsibilities that come with marriage may contribute to the decision to migrate for better employment. Only one percent of the migrants are widowed and a fifth (20.3%) have never been married. Nearly 14 percent of the migrants opt to migrate with their families, while 65 percent migrate on their own. This proportion of men migrating alone is slightly higher in Bihar (67%) than in Eastern UP (60%).

Table 5.3: Percentage distribution of internal and international migrants by their Demographic characteristics

Demographic Characteristics	Bihar			Est UP			MGP		
	Migrants by type of migration			Migrants by type of migration			Migrants by type of migration		
	OM	IM	Total	OM	IM	Total	OM	IM	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Age Category									
Less than 20 years	12.9	1.4	12.1	12.9	1.4	9.8	12.2	1.3	11.5
21-25	18.1	13.5	17.8	18.4	18.3	18.4	18.2	14.7	17.9
26-30	17.7	20.3	17.9	23.0	28.0	23.3	19.1	22.7	19.4
31-35	16.5	20.3	16.8	16.0	22.0	16.4	16.4	20.7	16.7
More than 35 years	34.8	44.6	35.4	32.2	30.5	32.1	34.1	40.7	34.5
Mean age of migrant	33.0	35.3	33.1	33.1	33.4	33.0	33.0	34.8	33.1
Education Category									
Illiterate	30.8	24.0	30.3	14.6	4.9	14.1	26.3	18.8	25.8
Grade I – V	13.3	5.3	12.7	12.7	9.8	12.5	13.1	6.7	12.7
Grade VI – IX	21.3	30.7	22.0	27.2	29.3	27.3	23.0	30.2	23.4
Grade X – XI	16.0	22.7	16.4	16.6	26.8	17.2	16.1	23.5	16.6
XII and above	16.7	10.7	16.3	25.9	28.0	26.1	19.2	15.4	19.0
Professional courses	1.2	0.0	1.1	2.2	1.2	2.1	1.4	0.7	1.4
Others	0.8	6.7	1.2	0.8	0.0	0.7	0.8	4.7	1.0
Mean years of schooling	9.2	8.8	9.2	9.7	9.8	9.7	9.4	9.0	9.3
Marital and family status									
Never Married	20.2	12.2	19.7	22.6	13.3	22.1	20.9	12.0	20.3
Migrated with Spouse	13.0	1.4	12.2	17.9	4.8	17.1	14.3	2.7	13.6
Migrated without Spouse	65.3	86.5	66.7	58.7	81.9	60.1	63.5	85.3	65.0
Widowed/Separated	1.5	0.0	1.4	0.8	0.0	0.7	1.3	0.0	1.2
Total	**1058**	**69**	**1127**	**1318**	**72**	**1390**	**2376**	**141**	**2517**

Note: OM- Internal migrants IM- International migrants

5.4 Migration-related Characteristics

Table 5.4 depicts migration-related characteristics of internal and international migrants. Inter-state migration features more predominantly with 90 percent of the migrants opting to go to another state for work. Approximately six percent are international migrants and only four percent are intra-state migrants. Details regarding the place of destination are discussed in the next section.

Slightly more than half of the migrants across the MGP region are involved in private salaried work with a monthly payment (58%), one-fourth are involved in casual labour (28%), while very few are self-employed (7%). More than a third are recent migrants who have been away for less than five years (38.3%) and an equal percent are long-term migrants who have been away for 10 years or more (38.3%). The mean duration of migration for internal migrants is approximately 3 years more than the international migrants (6 years). Since the migration is for employment and is seen as a strategy to substantiate the family income, remittances are sent back to families by more than four-fifths of the respondents (84% of internal migrants and 92% of international migrants).

Table 5.4: Percentage distribution of internal and international migrants by their migration-related characteristics

Migration related characteristics	Bihar			Est UP			MGP		
	Migrants by type of migration			Migrants by type of migration			Migrants by type of migration		
	OM	IM	Total	OM	IM	Total	OM	IM	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Migration type									
Intra-state	3.2	NA	3.0	6.2	NA	5.8	4.0	NA	3.7
Inter-state	96.7	NA	90.32	93.8	NA	88.1	95.9	NA	89.6
International	NA	100	6.0	NA	100	5.8	NA	100	6.6
Migration duration									
Less than 1 year	1.4	5.5	1.6	1.1	6.1	1.4	1.3	6.0	1.6
1-4 year	35.4	58.9	36.9	35.4	50.0	36.2	35.4	56.7	36.7
5-9 year	21.7	13.7	21.1	26.8	31.7	27.1	23.1	18.0	22.8
10 year & above	41.0	21.9	39.7	35.9	12.2	34.5	39.6	19.3	38.3
Not reported	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.8	0.7	0.0	0.6
Mean migration duration	8.9	6.1	8.7	8.5	5.2	8.3	8.8	5.9	8.6
Nature of work									
Govt. salaried	3.6	0.0	3.4	3.9	1.2	3.7	3.7	0.7	3.5
Private monthly salaried	58.8	62.2	59.0	58.8	84.3	56.2	57.6	68.0	58.3
Casual wage labour	28.4	29.7	28.5	28.4	7.2	25.8	28.0	24.0	27.7
Self-employed	5.6	0.0	5.3	5.6	3.6	10.5	7.1	0.7	6.7
Economically not active	3.3	8.1	3.6	3.2	3.6	3.2	3.3	6.7	3.5
Not reported	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.3
Remittances sent									
Yes	84.2	91.9	84.7	83.0	92.8	83.6	83.9	91.9	84.4
Total (N)	**1058**	**69**	**1127**	**1318**	**72**	**1390**	**2376**	**141**	**2517**

Note: OM- Internal migrants IM- International migrants NA- Not Applicable

5.5 Destination of Migrants

Decisions regarding the place of destination are influenced by migrants who have previously moved there known to the prospective migrant who can help them to find employment (Population Reports, 1983). Social networks comprising relatives, friends, and co-villagers play a significant role in deciding the place of destination of migrants.

Figure 5.3 depicts the corridors of movement followed by migrants from Bihar and Eastern UP, as reported during the surveys. Migrants from the Middle Ganga Plain move to almost all the states and UTs of India. The places of destination reported by the respondents have been classified into regional zones, following which prominent destination state within the zone has been identified. Please refer to Table 5.5 for more details. Nearly two-fifths of the migrants (38%) from the Middle Ganga Plain move to the northern zone (38%), while the industrially developed states of Maharashtra and Gujarat jointly attract around a third (30%) of the migrants. Only 7 percent of migrants go to West Bengal, which used to be a traditionally popular destination for migrants. South India is emerging as a place of destination with 10 percent opting to migrate there even though the food, language, and culture are completely different from that of their native land.
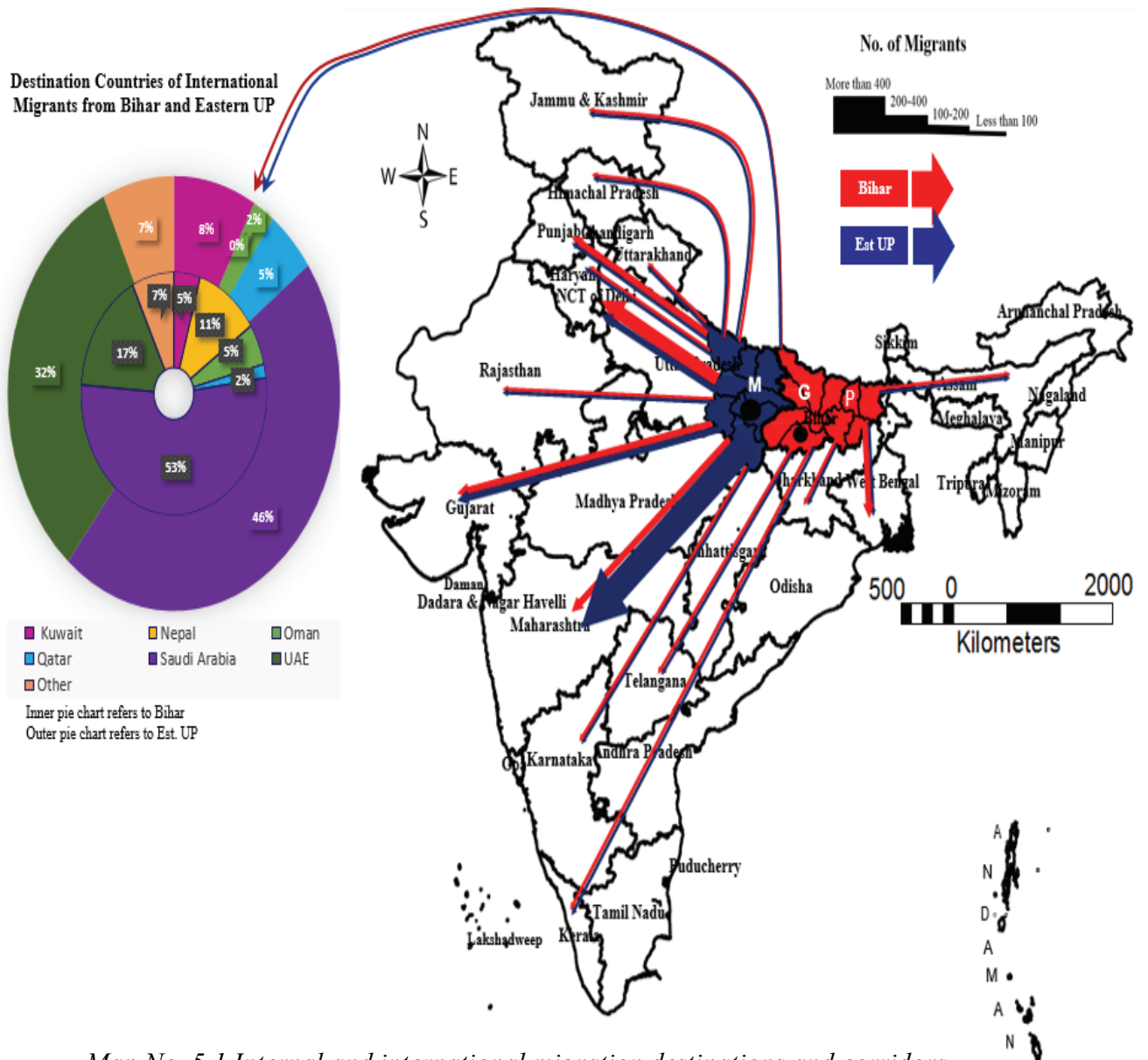
Map No. 5.1 Internal and international migration destinations and corridors

The state-specific destination choices show that from rural Bihar, 23 percent of the migrants went to NCT of Delhi, followed by Punjab (12%), Gujarat (11%), and Maharashtra (10%) for employment. Nearly half of the migrants from Eastern UP choose Maharashtra (as their destination followed by Gujarat and NCT Delhi (14% each). Thus, migration from the region occurs mainly to more industrialized, urbanized, and developed western and northern zones of India.

Table 5.5: Percent distribution of migrants by place of destinations across national zones and the most preferred destination state within the zone

	Bihar (%)	Est UP (%)	MGP (%)
Northern Zone	**44.3**	**22.8**	**38.3**
NCT Delhi	22.5	14.2	20.2
Punjab	11.9	4.3	9.7
Central Zone	**5.2**	**8.1**	**6.1**
Uttar Pradesh	3.2	6.2	4.0
Eastern Zone	**14.5**	**2.4**	**11.1**
West Bengal	8.9	2.1	7.0
Western Zone	**19.5**	**56.4**	**29.4**
Gujarat	10.8	14.3	11.7
Maharashtra	9.9	42.0	18.8
Southern Zone	**11.1**	**8.5**	**10.4**
Karnataka	2.2	6.2	3.5
North East Zone	**3.4**	**0.7**	**2.7**
Assam	2.9	0.2	2.2
Total(n)	**1058**	**1318**	**2376**

5.6 International Destinations

Similar to the internal destinations, the international destinations are also linked to the origin areas of migrants. Pie charts in Figure 5.6 present the distribution of international migrants from Bihar and Eastern UP by their choice of destination. Gulf countries are the most preferred destinations for international migrants across the MGP and the regions of Eastern UP and Bihar as well. Nearly four-fifths of international migrants from MGP (83%) migrate to one of the Gulf countries which include 50 percent to Saudi Arabia and 23 percent to the United Arab Emirates. Table 5.6 depicts the top three international destinations of international migrants across the geographic regions of Bihar, Eastern UP, and the MGP. Saudi Arabia is the number one destination with 53 percent of migrants from Bihar and 42 percent from Eastern UP. UAE is the second most popular destination with 28 percent from Eastern UP and 22 percent from Bihar seeking employment there. Thirteen percent of migrants from Bihar (villages bordering Nepal) go to Nepal because of its geographical proximity and cultural link and similarities, whereas ten percent of migrants from Eastern UP opted to go to Kuwait.

Table 5.6: Top three international destinations of international migrants

Bihar		Est UP		MGP	
Saudi Arabia	52.7	Saudi Arabia	41.5	Saudi Arabia	50.2
United Arab Emirates	21.6	United Arab Emirates	28.0	United Arab Emirates	22.8
Nepal	13.5	Kuwait	9.8	Nepal	9.9
Others	12.2	Others	20.7	Others	17.1
Total (n)	**100 (69)**		**100 (72)**		**100 (141)**

Box 5.1: Migration Pathways

The concept of migration pathway is adapted from the work of King, Skeldon, and Vullnetari (2008) to understand the dynamics of internal and international migration from the Middle Ganga Plain. Internal and international migration are the two fundamental bifurcations of migration. As we have seen in the study, both types of migration are driven by the same set of push factors. However, decisions related to the destination of migrating whether it is to metropolitan cities in their own country or whether it involves the crossing of the international boundaries are influenced by the circumstances and social networks of the migrant. The two case studies detailed here present two diverse sequencings of internal and international migration; one starts as internal migration moving on to international migration while the other follows a reverse pattern beginning with international migration and then the option for internal migration.

Both migrants have a similar socio-economic background and hail from source areas known to be international migration hotspots within the MGP. The first migrant progressed from an internal to an international pathway. He gained skills and experiences through internal migration. He was aware of the terms and conditions of the contract. He migrated abroad with proper skills and knowledge. His migration was smooth without any problems or challenges.

The other migrant opted directly for international migration without any prior experience of working outside the MGP. His lack of experience and skills along with the absence of a social network caused him many problems; feeling harassed, he returned and opted for internal migration to a metropolitan city within India.

Case1: Pathway of Internal to International labour migration	**Case 2: Pathway of International to internal migration**
Respondent Name- *Mohit Kumar (name changed) from Gopalganj*	***Respondent Name-*** *Krishna Mahto (name changed) from Saran*
In 2007, Mohit Kumar migrated to Mumbai for the first time at the age of 18 as his family's financial condition was not good. He had discontinued his education and was unemployed. Mohit's maternal uncle who lived in Mumbai got him employment in a welding shop. Mohit learned welding and stayed in Mumbai for two years after which he broadened his work experience by working as a welder in Hyderabad (08 months), Kolkata (12 months), and Madhya Pradesh (02 months). He also started preparations for migrating abroad. He contacted a local agent to help him to migrate to Saudi Arabia. As the agent was unable to get him a passport, Mohit applied to the State Passport Office and received a passport in 11 days. The agent helped him in getting an employment visa to Saudi Arabia. The visa was written in Arabic and English, Mohit sought the agent's help to make sure he fully understood the terms and conditions of the employment.	*Krishna was working as a daily wage labourer in his village earning a daily wage of Rs 200. At the suggestion of a friend, he took a loan of Rs 60000 to get a passport and employment visa for Kuwait. The agent he approached helped him get an employment visa for a period of two years.* *From his village, he traveled to Delhi by train and then to Kuwait by plane. He started working as "Raj Mistri" (meson) in Kuwait. His monthly earning was Rs.10000 against the promise of*

Mohit traveled to Saudi Arabia via Mumbai. He flew to Saudi Arabia with a group of boys who were recruited through the agency. Soon after reaching Saudi Arabia, they were taken to the place of their stay and employed as welders. The employer kept his passport. He worked nearly 12 hours a day from 6 am to 5:30 p.m. and spent nearly four hours traveling to work on a daily basis.

He did not face any language barriers as he lived and worked with a group of other Indian labourers. The living arrangements were made by his employers who also provided an LPG gas connection. His expenses were mainly around food items. His previous experiences of migration had helped him learn to adapt to new situations and he found himself using informal sign language to communicate when shopping for essentials.

Mohit's residence in Saudi Arabia lasted for nearly three years (July 2013 to March 2016) post which he returned home on leave for a few months. His second employment in Saudi Arabia lasted for 20 months till March 2018. Mohit is clear that given a chance, he would take up a third contract for working in Saudi Arabia.

On the difference between employment in India and abroad, he reported that *there was no significant difference in wages. The work was regular, and the company provided transport, accommodation, and cooking fuel which enabled him to save money. He added that although the work in India was also regular, salaries were not paid on time.* ***When asked about the changes he observed in himself, he said that*** *there is little change in his living style, communication, and dressing sense. He mentioned that he had learned a few words of foreign languages. However, his current focus and priority is his family and so he preferred not to think about himself or his needs.*

Perception of Migration

Mohit opined that migration is both good and bad. If he migrates, his family faces some problem in his absence, but if he doesn't migrate, his family faces financial constraints related to essential expenses and development. Overall, Mohit felt that it is good to migrate out for work. He added that his migration had led to a lot of improvement in his family's living conditions and diet.

Rs 20000/month. Despite earning less than he expected, he was able to save money which had been an impossibility with his low wages in the village.

However, problems soon arose. Despite living close to the company in which he worked, Krishna faced harassment from local miscreants who forced him at gunpoint to turn over his money. This affected his health which deteriorated, negatively affecting his work as well. Krishna left his job; the company returned his passport after deducting some money for returning the passport and Krishna returned home at his own expense.

Krishna felt cheated by the entire experience. Firstly, the job paid less than what he expected. He had been promised 20000 and what he earned was only half of that amount. Secondly, he found himself working for more hours (12 hours) than he had been informed (8 hours). Finally, he had to return after one year although his visa was for two years.

After returning from Kuwait, he migrated to Mumbai with his relative and is working in a cloth factory (textile mill in Mumbai [Bhiwandi] since 2016. He earns Rs.7000 per month.

It can be inferred that both forms of migration are complementary to each other and support existing literature (King et al. 2008). Internal migration provides opportunities for adaptive learning in terms of living and working in a new environment while also enabling the development of technical and social skills and knowledge to handle different situations while international migration provides better choices when it comes to financial growth. At times,

opting directly for international destinations may backfire as described in the case study; however, internal migration is always an alternative option in such cases.

Moving from internal to international migration may seem an obvious progression of the migration pattern with the migrant applying the skills, knowledge, and adaptive learning from internal migration to the international context. As can be seen in the two case studies, internal migration can lead to international migration. It is equally true that both forms of migration are viable options for prospective migrants.

Section B
Causes of migration

The decision to migrate is a manifestation of the push and pull forces operating both at the place of origin and destination. Poverty, lack of opportunities, unemployment and underdevelopment, poor economic conditions, and scarcity of cultivatable land just to name a few are the push factors that make people leave their villages. The pull factors include better job opportunities, higher wages leading to increased income, access to better medical, educational and other civic amenities, which encourage people to move to the urban from the rural (Kundu and Saraswati 2012). Studies suggest that rural-urban migration in India is influenced more by the rural push factors than the urban pull ones. A study conducted in Bihar concurs and points out that migration from Bihar is not a result of choice but is a matter of necessity; people migrate in response to structural poverty and unemployment in the villages of Bihar (Roy 2011). This section presents data related to causal factors at the place of origin that promote migration amongst some households while also discussing the factors that enable other households with similar characteristics to refrain from migration.

5.7 Factors Operating at Place of Origin

The decision to migrate and make the first move is an important one and an integral part of the cycle of migration. This makes it pertinent to develop a deeper understanding of the causal factors related to the first move. The survey questionnaire included a multiple-choice question on this with 15 options. These options were then clubbed together into broader categories such as economic opportunities, employment options, family and social factors. Most of the options except for 'attraction towards the bright lights of the cities' dealt with the rural push aspects of migration.

Table 5.7 presents the factors which result in the first migration for both internal and international migrants. Overall, the causal factors for migration appear to be similar across Bihar and Eastern UP. Primary reasons for migration include
- Economic reasons such as poverty and compulsion (91% internal and 83% international), insufficient food (60% internal, 48% international) and landlessness (68% internal, 71% international).

- Employment related factors such as unemployment (87% internal, 88% international), irregular employment (73% internal, 78% international) and low wages at place of origin (57% internal and 85% international).

- However, family-related factors have been reported by more migrant households from Bihar while social factors are seen more frequently by households in Eastern UP.

*Table 5.7: Percentage distribution of causes for migration (internal & international (push factors) ***

	Internal migration			International Migration		
	Bihar	Est UP	MGP	Bihar	Est UP	MGP
Economic factors						
Poverty and compulsion	92.5	85.5	90.8	82.6	84.1	82.9
Insufficient food	62.7	53.1	60.3	50.0	42.0	47.8
Landlessness	72.2	56.1	68.2	76.1	58.0	70.8
Employment-related factors						
Unemployment	87.5	84.5	86.7	93.5	75.4	87.9
Irregular employment	74.9	67.6	73.1	80.4	70.6	77.7
Low wage at origin	58.2	55.8	57.6	93.5	66.7	84.6
Family Related Factors						
Family bifurcation so increase in responsibility	50.0	43.4	48.4	71.7	44.1	62.5
Large family so high family expenditure	42.5	38.8	41.6	47.8	37.7	44.8
Indebtedness at home	31.7	22.5	29.4	34.8	23.2	31.2
Arrangement of money for dowry payment	33.6	27.9	32.2	34.8	36.2	35.4
Social Factors						
No civic amenities at village	25.6	29.1	26.5	43.5	33.8	40.3
Caste conflict (facing discrimination)	13.6	20.1	15.2	8.7	17.4	11.9
Lack of interest in ancestral work	14.7	25.4	17.3	21.3	18.8	20.1
Attraction towards bright light of the city	16.7	23.5	18.4	26.1	23.2	25.9
Educated youth: prestige issue for doing work locally	10.7	18.4	12.6	27.7	23.5	26.3
Total	**728**	**802**	**1530**	**49**	**60**	**109**
Note: *Multiple response						

Internal migration

The patterns of reporting causal factors are similar for internal and international migrants. Overall, economic and employment-related factors have been reported as the major causes of migration. For internal migrants, poverty and compulsion [to migrate] emerge as the most important push factors (91%) followed by lack of employment opportunities at the place of origin (87%), irregular employment (73%), landlessness (68%) and low wage at origin (58%).

The family system plays both positive and negative roles in influencing the decision to migrate. On the one hand, the joint family provides social and economic support and shares the responsibilities which encourage male members to migrate on their own. However, the bifurcation of the joint family system results in a division of resources leading to economic constraints and may lead to the need for migration. In a nuclear family, when resources are limited/scarce, the sole bread earner may adopt migration as a means of fulfilling the financial

needs of the family. In this study, bifurcation in the family (48%) and large family size (42%) have been reported as drivers of migration.

Social factors like lack of civic amenities, caste conflicts, prestige issues that make educated village youth reluctant to work on the farm or take up other menial jobs in their own village have also been reported by 10 to 25 percent of the respondents. In the MGP, the absence of civic amenities is seen as a cause of migration for a fourth of the households. Social factors are more frequently reported by respondent households in Eastern Uttar Pradesh than by those in Bihar.

International migration
Economic and employment-related factors prove to be major push factors for international migration just as they are for internal migration. Unemployment, the low wage at the origin, poverty, and compulsion, irregular employment, and landlessness have been reported by more than 70 percent of the respondents as causal factors at the time of the first move by the international migrant.

The major difference is observed regarding the frequency of reporting of factors like insufficient food and low wages at origin as well as social and familial causes. For educated youth to work in menial jobs in the village is seen as a prestige issue leading them to opt for migration, and this has been reported more by those who have opted for international migration. Similarly, factors such as the absence of civic amenities and attraction towards bright lights of cities have also been reported by a relatively higher proportion of the international migrant households as was low wages. However, the unavailability and insufficiency of food are reported more frequently by internal migrant households.

Top 3 push factors
To understand the causes of out-migration in a more precise manner, respondents were asked to rank in order the three most important precipitating factor which triggered migration from the options offered. The findings are presented in Tables 5.8 (internal migrant) and 5.9 (international migrant). The triggering factor for internal migration at the time of the first move that emerged include poverty and compulsion, landlessness, unemployment, insufficient food, and irregular employment. These four factors are repeated in varying intensity across the three sets of factors.

The first important triggering factor for a majority of the households is poverty and compulsion (70%) which was seen as was the most commonly occurring push factor in MGP and across both regions. Unemployment is the number-one push factor for 10 percent of respondent households, while insufficient food is perceived as the most compelling reason for seven percent of the households in Bihar. However, food scarcity is seen as the second important triggering factor for migration for approximately one-fourth of the household across both regions. Unemployment and landlessness have been reported as push factors in the second and third position by one-fifth and one-third of the households, respectively. Thus, push factors emerge as the major influencers for migration from the Middle Ganga Plain.

Table 5.8: First three triggering factors for internal migration (in %)

The top three factors reported as the number 1 triggering factor for migration

	First cause	Second cause	Third cause
Bihar	Poverty and compulsion 67.3	Unemployment 9.8	Insufficient food 6.9
Est. UP	Poverty and compulsion 71.6	Unemployment 13.6	Irregular employment 3.8
MGP	Poverty and compulsion 68.3	Unemployment 10.7	Insufficient food 6.0

The top three factors reported as 2nd important triggering factor

	First Cause	Second cause	Third Cause
Bihar	Landlessness 29.5	Insufficient food 23.9	Unemployment 23.0
Est. UP	Unemployment 30.4	Insufficient food 23.8	Landlessness 17.1
MGP	Landlessness 26.4	Unemployment 24.8	Insufficient food 23.9

The top three factors reported as 3rd important triggering factor

	First Cause	Second cause	Third cause
Bihar	Unemployment 29.8	Irregular employment 18.5	Landlessness 16.7
Est. UP	Unemployment 24.9	Landlessness 19.3	Irregular employment 18.5
MGP	Unemployment 28.6	Irregular employment 17.5	Landlessness 17.4

Note: The increasing grading of the shades represents a higher intensity of the value.

Table 5.9: First three triggering factors for international migration (in %)

The top three factors reported as the number 1 triggering factor for migration

	First cause	Second cause	Third cause
Bihar	Poverty and compulsion 66.7	Unemployment 11.1	Landlessness 8.9
Est. UP	Poverty and compulsion 55.9	Unemployment 11.8	Low wage at origin 14.7
MGP	Poverty and compulsion 62.8	Unemployment 10.6	Landlessness 7.1

The top three factors reported as 2nd important triggering factor

	First cause	Second cause	Third cause
Bihar	Landlessness 36.2	Unemployment 25.5	Irregular employment 10.6
Est. UP	Unemployment 34.8	Landlessness 15.9	Insufficient food 11.6
MGP	Landlessness 30.1	Unemployment 28.9	Irregular employment 10.5

The top three factors reported as 3rd important triggering factor

	First cause	Second cause	Third cause
Bihar	Unemployment 40.0	Low wage at the origin 17.8	Landlessness 15.6
Est. UP	Unemployment 23.9		Landlessness 11.9
MGP	Unemployment 34.5	Landlessness 13.9	Low wage at origin 13.9

Note: The increasing grading of the shades represents a higher intensity of the value.

In the case of international migration, there are dominant six economic factors which include poverty and compulsion, unemployment and landlessness, low wages in villages, and irregular employment in the first set of factors. Only 12 percent perceive insufficient food to be the second most important factor. Low wages are reported among the three most important factors, but it appears again in the third set of factors. Only 15 percent have reported this as part of the first set while 13 to 18 percent of the respondents have mentioned it in the third set of factors.

5.8 Reasons for choosing the first destination

Understanding the reasons for the choice of destination for the first move would provide insights into the push-pull factors. Eleven factors have been classified related to employment and wage-related, social factors, quality of life, and geographical reasons. The results are presented in Table 5.10.

When it comes to the selection of the destination, social networks are the greatest influencer. The social network not only provides information about the destination to potential migrants but also provides them initial support in finding jobs and accommodation in the new environment at the place of destination. In the MGP, around 82 percent of the internal migrants choose the initial destination because of the presence of their friends, relatives, and co-villagers. In the case of international migration, social networks were reported by 64 percent of respondents. The pattern was similar across Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

*Table 5.10: Reasons for choosing the first destination for internal and international migration (pull factors) **

	Internal migration			International migration		
	Bihar	Est. UP	MGP	Bihar	Est. UP	MGP
Employment and wage-related						
Better Employment	80.0	70.8	77.7	89.1	75.0	84.2
Easy to get job	75.1	69.9	73.8	76.1	52.9	69.2
High wages/ salary	68.9	70.1	69.2	83.0	75.4	80.9
Social Factors						
Presence of friends/relatives/ co-villagers	81.1	82.9	81.6	58.7	75.0	63.6
Religious/caste/ cultural affiliation	23.9	19.9	22.9	15.2	14.5	15.5
Safety and security	24.0	27.6	24.9	19.1	21.7	19.6
Liberal values and freedom	17.8	21.3	18.7	21.3	29.0	23.3
Quality of life						
Better living and working conditions	35.9	33.0	35.2	36.2	33.8	35.2
Easy access to health care and facilities	28.1	26.3	27.6	26.1	24.6	25.8
Geographic reasons						
Good climatic conditions	22.7	23.4	22.9	21.7	27.9	23.5
Good transport and connectivity	25.0	23.8	24.7	13.0	21.7	16.2
Total	**728**	**802**	**1530**	**49**	**60**	**109**
*Multiple responses						

Apart from social factors, employment and wage-related factors are perceived as reasons for the choice of place of destination by more than 70 percent of the respondents when it came to internal migration. The three important factors which attract migrants to choose the place of destination include better employment (78%), high wage and salary (69%), and easy of employment (74%) for internal migration, while better employment (84%) and higher wages (81%) are the reasons for selection of international destinations.

Other allied factors such as better living and work conditions available at the destinations were reported by nearly one-third of respondents for both internal and international migration. Good transport facility and connectivity was one of the deciding factors for one-fourth of the internal migrant respondents, while these were mentioned by only 16% of the international migrants.

5.9 Reasons for not migrating

In order to get a composite picture of the causes of migration, it is important to understand that why certain people chose not to opt for migration even when all living conditions are similar. The reasons for not choosing to migrate as reported by the respondents have been classified into two categories - those who wanted to migrate but were unable to do so and those who do not consider migration as a viable option. The results are presented in Table 5.11.

Lack of social or family support both at the place of destination and origin has emerged as the major cause for non-migration. Sixty-one percent of households from MGP have reported that they do not migrate because there is no one to take care of their families in their absence. Many wanted to migrate but could not do so due to lack of social support at destination (43%), never getting a chance to migrate (22%), lack of money to bear costs of travel and initial adjustments at the place of destination (23%), and absence of social network (14%).

Table 5.11: Reasons for not migrating out from the village

	Bihar	Est. UP	MGP
Reasons for not migrating*	%	%	%
Wants to migrate but unable to do so			
Nobody to support my family during my absence	59.8	62.9	60.6
No social support at destination	46.3	33.7	43.2
Never got a chance	24.2	16.1	22.2
No money to bear the expenditure of migration	22.7	22.1	22.5
Lack of network	11.8	22.1	14.3
Migration is not needed			
Life is difficult at destination	37.8	49.6	40.7
Migration not required	33.6	24.7	31.4
No difference in wage/income	30.3	26.6	29.5
Income is sufficient at the village	24.7	23.3	24.4
Total	**840**	**910**	**1751**

*Multiple responses

Amongst those who felt that migration was not a viable option, more than two-fifths of the respondents perceive that life at the place of destination is difficult (41%), less than a third (31%) view migration as being unnecessary, 30 percent feel that there was no difference in the wage and a quarter opine that they earn a sufficient income in the village (24%).

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter examines the characteristics, destinations, and causes of internal and international migration. It reiterates the findings of the previous chapter that migration is widespread across all sections of rural MGP. However, the pattern differs slightly when it comes to internal and international migration and across the two states of Eastern UP and Bihar. Interstate migration featuring male-only migration (leaving family behind) is a predominant theme across the MGP. The stream of migration heads northward and westward toward the agriculturally and industrially prosperous states of India (Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra, Gujarat) and international to Saudi Arabia and UAE. In comparison to internal migrants, international migrants were more educated and older.

Push factors are greater influencers on both internal and international migration than pull factors. The possibility of a higher wage internationally serves as a pull factor for international migrants. In addition to economic reasons, socio-cultural factors like caste discrimination and issues related to dignity and prestige also influence the decision to migrate, especially for migrants from Eastern UP. Social networks comprising of family, relatives, and friends play important roles in a decision related to the first move. Such networks help new migrants adjust and enable them to fit into the entirely new context of a city or an industrial township, gradually encouraging help them to create a new niche for themselves. The next chapter focuses on the issues pertaining to the seasonal migrants

Chapter 6 Seasonal Migration in the Middle Ganga Plain

6.1 Key Findings

8.6% of households are seasonal migrant households.

Marginalised section of society (SC/ST families) are most likely to migrate seasonally.

Majority of the seasonal migrants are Hindu, come from a nuclear family and belong to OBC cast category.

Seven out of 10 are landless; one in four own less than one acre of land.

Seasonal migration is to urban, non-agricultural work involving unskilled labour.

Seasonal migration supports families in lean time; however. long work hours and no weekly offs makes it challenging.

Payment is in cash, most of the payment is saved up for use by family.

Remitances are made through bank transfer which are percieved as reliable and formal.

Networks of friends play a significant role in the seasonal migration processes.

Role of contractor in the seasonal migration processess appears to be limited.

Seasonal migration is opted for as it allowed migrants to easily manage family and farm.

Seasonal, circular or short-term migration is a viable livelihood option for those who do not have any source of regular income in rural areas. Due to the seasonality of agriculture and lack of alternative employment, many people migrate out for employment during off-seasons. Seasonal migration tends to be from rural areas to urban centers and across non-agricultural sectors such as construction, brick kilns, and stone quarries (World Bank 2009). Most temporary migrants tend to be illiterate and belong to economically and socially marginalized segments of the population (Keshri & Bhagat 2010).

Despite the large numbers of people who migrate seasonally, there is a paucity of information on the magnitude of the migrants and their characteristics. At the national level, the only data on seasonal migration is collected by the NSSO[5], even this is not done in every round of survey conducted. Studies focusing on the situation of seasonal migrants in the specific geographic area do exist; these however are few. This study provides a micro-level analysis of various characteristics of short-term migrants from Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh, one of India's economically backward regions.

For the purpose of this study, a seasonal migrant is an adult who migrates out from his/ her village for employment for a period of less than six months in one year, spending the rest of the year as a member of the sample household. The term includes short-term circular migrants, who move multiple times between the home village and the destination worksite within a season of migration.

As mentioned in chapter IV, nearly nine percent of all households in the Middle Ganga Plain (10% from Bihar and 4% from Eastern UP) adopt seasonal migration as a household livelihood strategy. This chapter presents data on the demographic characteristics, working and living conditions as well as decision-making patterns of the seasonal migrants. Out of 311 seasonal migrant households, data was collected from 276 seasonal migrant households, out of which 206 are from Bihar, while the remaining 70 are from Eastern UP. Keeping in mind that the similar trends that emerged across Eastern UP and Bihar, the results are being presented together under the head of the Middle Ganga Plains (MGP).

This chapter is divided into three sections: demographic characteristics and reasons for seasonal migration, working and living conditions at the destination, and perceptions on seasonal migration and challenges faced by seasonal migrants.

6.2 Demographic Characteristics of Seasonal Migrants

Figure 6.1 alongside presents the household characteristics of seasonal migrants from the Middle Ganga Plain (MGP). Eighty-five percent of the total 276 seasonal migrants are Hindus. Half (51%) belong to the OBC category, while under two-fifths (38%) belong to the SC/ST

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[5] As per the NSSO, a short term migrant is a member of a household who had stayed away from the village or town for a period of one month or more but less than six months during the last 365 days for employment or in search of employment (http://mospi.nic.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/533_final.pdf)

category. Only one-tenth are from 'others' caste groups. The majority of the seasonal migrants are either landless (70%) or possess less than one acre of land (24%). Most (69%) belong to a nuclear family system, and almost all (98%) migrate alone leaving the family behind in the village. The characteristics of the sample households are similar to the overall characteristics of seasonal migrants (refer to chapter IV). However, the relatively higher proportion of the seasonal migrant sample implies that seasonal migration tends to be higher from landless households belonging to ST or SC category.
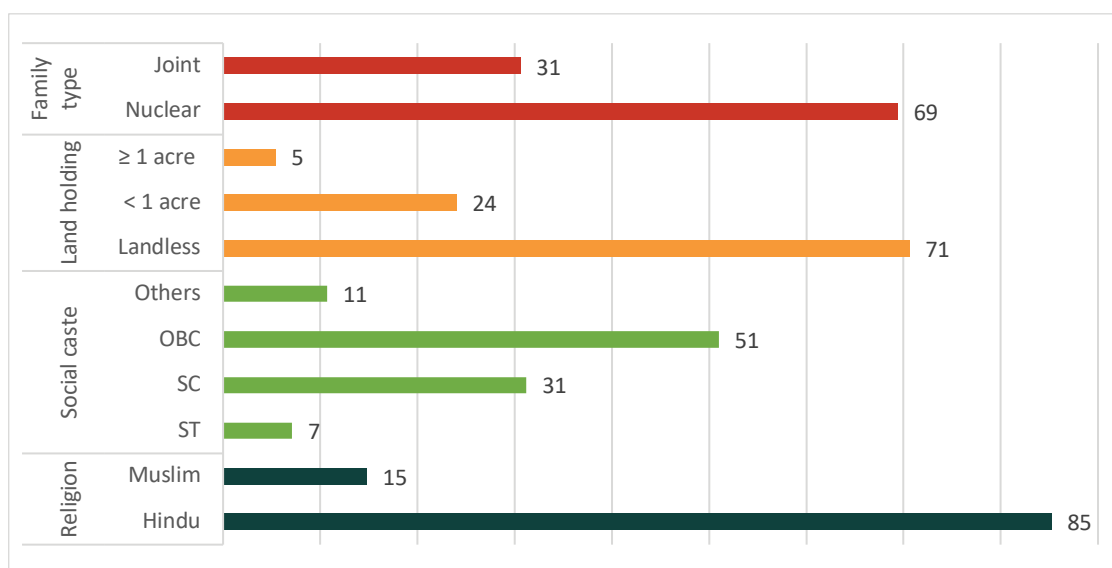
Figure 6.1: Percentage distribution of seasonal migrants by socio-economic characteristics

6.3 Destination Areas for Seasonal Migrants

As can be seen in Figure 6.2, seasonal migration tends to be to urban areas of the North-Western part of India. One-fourth of them migrate to Punjab (26%) followed by NCT of Delhi (14%) and Haryana (9%). Moreover, one-tenth of the seasonal migrants migrated to the state of Maharashtra.

There is no significant difference regarding the destination, whether in the previous year or across the years (most of the time). Most (69%) prefer urban destinations and largely chose it for both options while nearly two sevenths (28%) indicated a preference for rural destinations across both options. Only two to three percent of them have reported that their destination was not fixed. On average, the seasonal migrant makes 1.4 moves annually and stays away from home for approximately four months in a year. Irrespective of their place of residence at the destination, they stay mostly at one location.
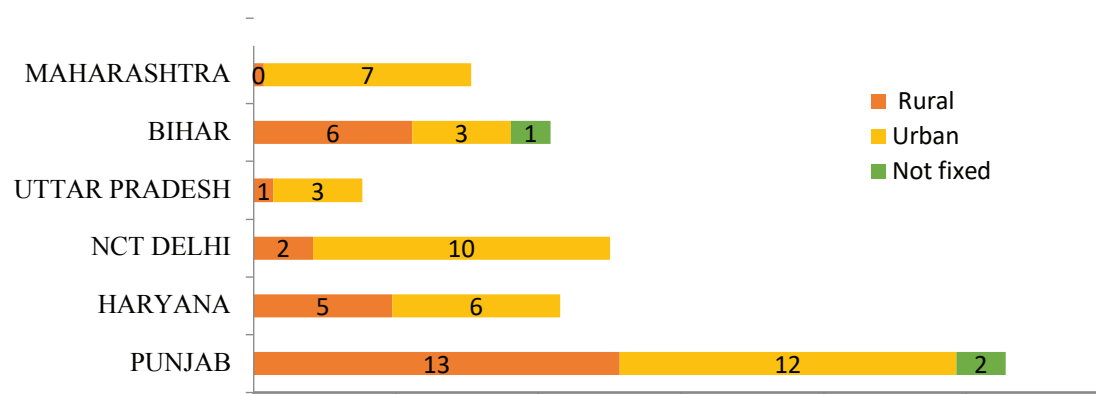
Figure 6.2: Usual destination states of seasonal migrants by place of residence (%)

6.4 Work and Wages

Almost all seasonal migrants (98%) migrate alone, leaving their families behind in the villages. Table 6.1 presents the information related to the work of the seasonal migrants. Around two-fifths of the seasonal migrants (41%) stated that they work in the non-agricultural sector at the destination, including a fifth (21%) who work in the construction sector. A quarter (26%) are engaged in agricultural work while the remaining (14%) did not take up a specific type of fixed work but preferring to move from sector to sector.

Almost three-fifths (64%) of the seasonal migrants mentioned working seven days a week, less than a quarter (23%) work 6 days a week, while eight (12%) work less than 5 days a week. Around half of them (51%) work for eight hours, and two-fifth (41%) for more than 8 hours a day, and the remaining (8%) for less than eight hours a day. Approximately half of them are engaged in skill-based jobs such as welding, laying bricks, electrician, mason, bookbinding, sowing, driver, and tailors.

Table 6.1: Work details of seasonal migrants from MGP

	%	No
Migrated Alone without family	98.3	271
Skill-based job	46.5	115
Type of work		
Agriculture	25.8	75
Construction	21.1	53
Other non-agriculture	19.6	62
Not fixed	14.3	33
Other	19.1	53
No. of working days in a week		
5 & fewer days	12.3	28
6 days	23.4	67
7 days	64.3	181
Working hours		
Less than 8 hours	8.3	26
08 hours	50.8	136
More than 08 hours	40.9	114
Total	**100**	**276**

On average, a seasonal migrant earns Rs. 439 a day (Table 6.2). Around four-sevenths of seasonal migrants (56%) are paid every month, one-fifth (20%) daily, while the remaining (17%) receive a weekly wage. Most (83%) receive payment cash-in-hand. As far as remittances are concerned, 90 percent of the seasonal migrants send money home or take savings back when they return. More than half of the seasonal migrants send remittances through bank transfers (54%), and only 29 percent carry these when they visit home.

Table 6.2: Wages and remittances of seasonal migrants

	%	No
The average daily wage (Rs.)	439	276
Frequency of receiving wages		
Daily	20.4	61
Weekly	16.8	42
Monthly	55.7	153
Occasionally	2.9	7
End of the contract term	4.2	13
Mode of receiving wages		
Cash in hand	83.3	229
Transfer through bank account	15.9	43
Others	0.8	4
Total (n)	100.0	276
Remittances		
Sent or brought money	90.0	247
Source of sending remittances		
When self-visited	29.0	77
Through friends/ relatives	6.3	22
Through recruit agents	0.3	2
Operated through bank	54.2	146
Total (n)	**100.0**	**247**

6.5 Living Arrangement

As far as stay arrangement is concerned, approximately three-fifths of the seasonal migrants (59.6%) live in rented accommodation (Figure 6.3). Around half of them (50%) receive support from their friends and relatives in the initial phase of their migration. However, 11 percent receive support from a contractor, while for 32 percent seasonal migration has been self-initiated. Regarding their daily expenses at the destination, 59 percent meet their daily expenses from their earnings while a fourth (24%) explained that the employer takes care of these expenses, the remaining fifth (17%) manage with their partial or weekly payment called *'khuraki'*.
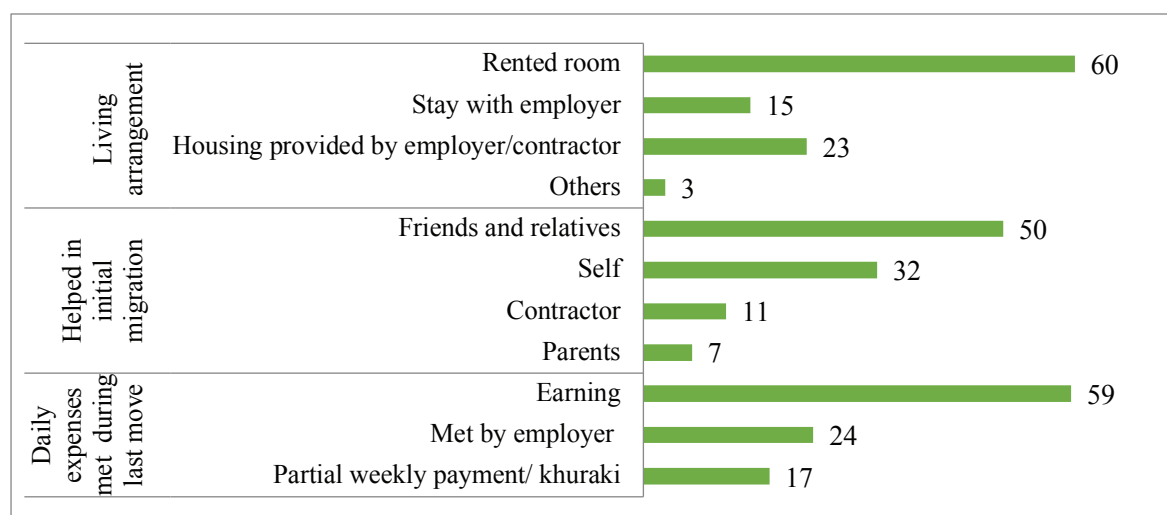
Figure 6.3. Percent distribution of seasonal migrants by living condition and sources of support at the place of destination

Table 6.3 shows the moves and stay of seasonal migrants. Half of the seasonal migrants stay for 3-6 months last year, while 40 percent stay for less than three months; the remaining 8 percent stay for more than six months. The mean duration of the stay for seasonal migrants during last year was 121 days which is approximately 4 months. The data indicate that although most (61%) migrate only once during the season of migration, nearly two-fifths (39%) migrated to the destination at least twice, putting the average no of moves in the past year at 1.4. Based on this, the respondents were asked the duration of their last stay at the destination before returning home at the end of the season of migration. Nearly 70 percent (69%) mentioned that the duration of the last stay was less than three months, while for 31 percent this was between three and six months.

Table 6.3: Move and stay of the seasonal migrants

	%	No.
No. of moves during last year		
One move	60.7	162
Two moves	36.5	107
More than 2 moves	2.8	7
Mean no of moves last year	1.43	276
Duration of stay in last year		
Less than 3 months	41.5	105
3 - 6 months	50.7	145
More than 6 months	7.8	26
Mean duration of stay last year (days)	120.6	276
Duration of stay last time		
Less than 3 months	68.7	175
3 - 6 months	30.6	98
More than 6 months	0.7	3
Mean duration of stay in last time (days)	88.4	276
Total (n)	**100**	**276**

6.6 Perceptions on Issues related to Seasonal Migration

The heads of the respondent households were questioned on their perceptions regarding seasonal migration, the reasons for seasonal migration, and the benefits of seasonal migration to the family. Figure 6.5. shows the reasons for preferring seasonal migration to long-term migration from respondents living in the MGP. The two most frequently occurring reasons include 1) seasonal migration allows them to easily manage family and farm (29%) and 2) the absence of opportunities for regular work at the place of origin (27%). A-fifth (18%) added that the advantage of seasonal migration is the short term contract, while a smaller proportion (12%) opined that problems and low wages at the place of destination make short term seasonal migration more convenient in comparison to long-term migration, and nine percent felt that the long-term migration is neither required nor desirable.
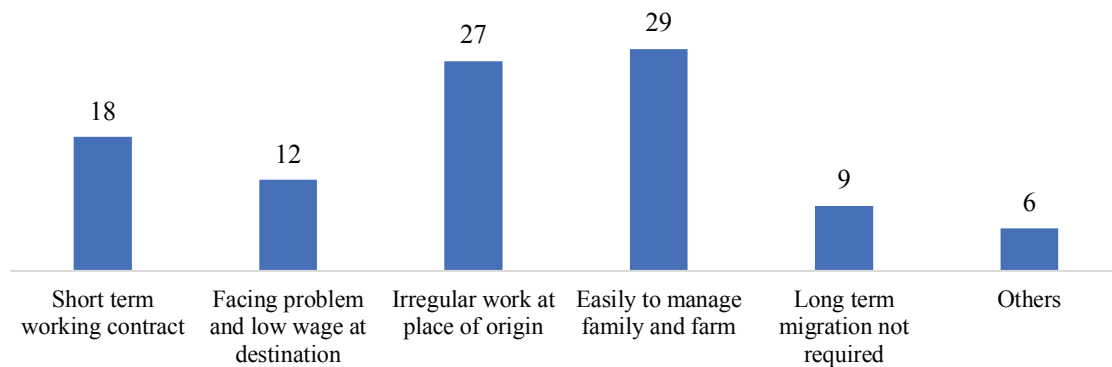
Figure 6.4 Reasons for opting for seasonal migration over long term migration

As is presented in Table 6.4, in response to the question "How do you get benefits from seasonal migration?", more than half of the heads of the households (51.7%) have reported economic benefits and one-fifth (21.9%) felt that it is advantageous for balancing the family and work while a similar proportion (21.8%) stated that no benefits are accrued from seasonal migration.

When asked about their views on seasonal migration, only a third of the heads of the households (32.2%, 89 of 276) are in favour of seasonal migration. Of these, two-thirds (66.3%, 59 of 89) felt that seasonal migration offers job opportunities, while 27 percent (24 of 89) opined that seasonal migration enhances the family's economic status.

Nearly two-thirds (62.3%, 172 of 276) are opposed to seasonal migration. Of these, 61 percent (105 of 172) feel that family members who stay back in the village of origin face problems due to the absence of the seasonal migrant. A fifth (21.5%) added that seasonal migration causes the family to be split for the duration of the migration.

Table 6.4: Perceptions of the head of household regarding seasonal migration

	%	No.
How do you benefit from seasonal migration		
No benefit	21.8	64
Economic benefit	51.7	142
Balancing the family and work	21.9	56
Others	4.6	14
Total	100	276
Support seasonal migration	26.6	89
Why do you think that seasonal migration is the last option?		
Job opportunities	68.9	59
Economic opportunities	25.3	24
Social mobility	2.7	1
Others	3.1	5
Reasons for not opting for long-term migration		
Bifurcation of the family	20.4	37
Family face problem in the absence of migrant	61.6	105
Minding Children	7.8	14
Family conflict	6.9	8
Others	3.2	8
Total	100	172

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the demographic characteristics and working conditions of seasonal migrants. It also provides clarity on perceptions regarding seasonal migration and highlighted the fact that despite being opposed to seasonal migration due to the problems caused to families which remain separated for the season, many continue to migrate seasonally due to economic necessity. The next chapter focuses on return migrants and discusses their socio-economic and demographic characteristics, migration process as well as post-return phase.

Chapter 7 Return Migration in the Middle Ganga Plain

7.1 Key Findings

Out of 390 return migrants, 37 (4%) are international return migrants. 168 of the sample are from Bihar and 222 are from Eastern UP.

Nearly 45% are illiterate or have completed primary schooling while 90% have acquired some skill at the place of destination. Yet 83% are working in farms after return.

Friends, relatives and co-workers serve as the main source of information about opportunities of out-migration for return migrants both at the time of first move (86%) and last move (73%).

Friends, relatives and co-workers influence the choice of place of last destination and were the the first to be contacted after reaching their last place of destination.

Family concerns are considered as the most reported reason for the return.

Half of the return migrants are involved in agriculture post return and 14% have started their own business.

Although the return migrants do not contribute to the economic development of the MGP, most indicated that they are satisfied with thier family income post their repurn.

Return migrant, for the purpose of this study, refers to a member of the household who has previously migrated for employment for a period of more than a year and has later come back to his village of origin and has been living in the household for at least six months before the data collection. According to the United Nations, returning migrants are persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants, whether short-term or long-term in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year. However, this definition does not apply to internal migrants who move within the country.

The study on return migrants supplies valuable information for an understanding of the process of migration, including details of motivation, source of information, and channels of migration. The chapter is based on data collected from 390 return migrants which also includes 353 internal and 37 international return migrants. All these migrants were voluntary independent return migrants who had migrated in the past temporarily in search of employment. As most of the migrants are absorbed in the informal sector, they often change their place of destination. Information on the first move (first destination) and last move (the destination from where the migrant has returned) were collected to understand the process of migration. Out of a total of 390 return migrants, 111 have changed their destinations while the remaining 279 had not changed their place of destination; hence for them, their first and last move remained the same. Details of pre-migration counselling, visas obtained, and official contracts and their details have yielded considerable insights into the migration process. Post-migration job opportunities have been recorded as a means to study the adjustments and reasons for return gives us a perspective into their migration process.

7.2 Profile of Return Migrants

Table 7.1 provides data on the socio-cultural context of the Middle Ganga Plain. The return migrants tend to be Hindus (87%) and from the OBC groups (59%), followed by those belonging to the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes (23%). The data highlights the fact that despite the economy of the MGP being rural and agriculture-oriented, the majority of the return migrants are either landless or possessing less than 1 acre of land. Most return migrants (66%) belong to nuclear families.

The demographic characteristics display that the average age of the returnees is 50 years; however, one-fifth of the return migrants are younger than 35 years of age. Regarding their educational qualification, approximately 40 percent are illiterate, and only one-fifth of them have completed their matriculation. A negligible proportion of them (<1%) have a professional degree. The average age of first migration is 22 years and 96 percent indicate a preference to migrate within India with only four percent of the return migrants having migrated internationally.

Table 7.1: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of return migrants

Socio-economic characteristics			Demographic and migration-related characteristics		
Religion	**%**	**No**	**Age category**	**%**	**No**
Hindu	86.5	334	Below 35	21.1	74
Muslim	13.5	56	35-50 years	28.4	110
Caste Category			More than 50 years	50.5	206
ST + SC	23.0	97	**Mean age of the returnees**	50.3	390
OBC	58.7	214	**Age at the time of first move**	22.6	390
Others	18.3	79	**Education Category**		
Landholding			Illiterate	37.8	135
Landless	39.9	140	Class I-V	16.0	68
< 1 acre	40.8	155	Class VI- IX	20.3	83
≥ 1 acre	19.4	95	Class X-XI	14.2	49
Family Type			XII and above	11.0	53
Nuclear	66.2	217	Professional	0.7	2
Joint	33.8	173	**Place of destination**		
			Internal	96.1	367
			International	3.9	23
Total	**100**	**390**	**Total**	**100**	**390**

Figure 7.1 reveals a decrease in the number of non-earning dependents in the household from 52 percent in the first move to 43 percent at the last move. The percent of return migrants who are heads of households is slightly higher at the time of last move (30% after return) than it was at the first move (28% before migration), indicating that over time, their status in the household could have changed.
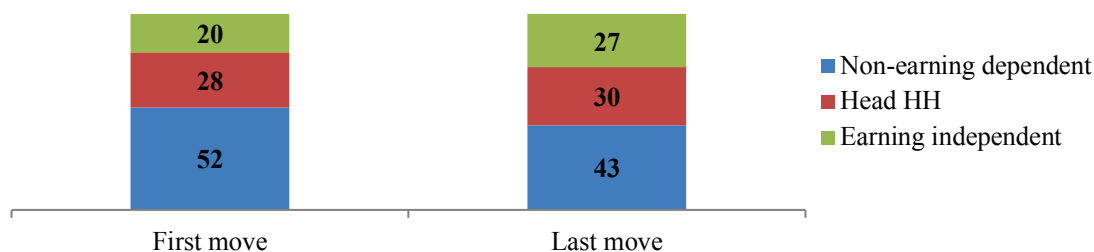
Figure 7.1: Status of return migrants in the household pre first migration move and post return

7.3 Process of Migration

Table 7.2 focuses on the three aspects of the migration process viz information on migration opportunity, the motivation of migration, and channel of migration. Predominantly the return migrants are influenced by friends, relatives, and co-workers in all three aspects of the migration process at both first and last moves. In the context of the source of information on the opportunity, the remaining factors like a recruitment agency, brokerage, newspapers, and mass media, emigrants, and return migrants are low, ranging from three percent to 17 percent. Under the head of motivation, self-motivation is the second most frequently occurring factor, with 29 percent and 36 percent of return migrants stating that this influenced their first and last move,

respectively. The influence of family members and others is relatively low (16% for the first move and 10% for the last move).

The channel of migration refers to the factors which are responsible for the accomplishment of the process of migration. Apart from friends, relatives, and co-workers, these include direct application, i.e., self-initiative and unlicensed recruiting agencies while individual agents and government agencies also execute the process of migration but to a very minimal extent.

Table 7.2: Sources of information, motivation, and the channels of migration of first and last move of the return migrants

	First move		Last move	
Sources of information on the opportunity for migration	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**
Friends, relatives and co-workers	85.6	338	73.4	82
Recruitment agencies/brokers /newspaper/mass media	8.3	32	16.8	21
Emigrants / Return Migrants	3.3	9	3.9	5
Others	2.9	11	5.9	3
Who motivated migration				
Friends / Relatives / co-villagers	51.9	210	44	52
Self-motivation	28.6	111	35.9	43
Family members	15.6	55	9.7	6
Others	3.9	14	10.4	10
Channel through which they migrated				
Friends /Relatives/ Co-workers	56.7	239	57.6	63
Direct application	17.2	53	16.7	15
Unlicensed Recruiting Agencies/ Individual/ Agent	6.5	24	13.4	12
Government agencies	2.0	11	3.5	6
Others	15.7	53		
Received pre migration counselling	31.9	113	28.1	32
Total	**100**	**390**	**100**	**111**

Overall 32 percent of return migrants reported having received pre-migration counselling at the time of their first move. The pre-migration counselling focused on dealing with the key issues like work contract, salary/ wages, working and living terms and conditions, duration of work, socio-political and climatic condition at the destination, accommodation, and other important issues (Figure 7.2).
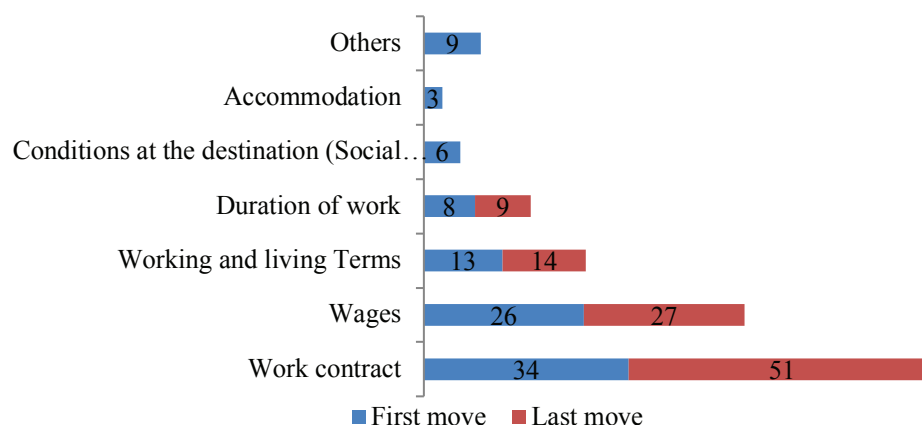
Figure 7.2: Main topics discussed in pre-migration counselling

According to Table 7.3, return migrants favour contracts which precisely framed the promise of working condition, duration of contract, and working hours. Less than half of the return migrants prioritised terms of the health insurance, travel allowance cost, and occupation charges in either the first or last move. Thus, it appears that they signed contracts of their preferences.

Table 7.3: Terms and conditions of work contracts signed by return migrants for their moves

	First move		Last move	
	%	**No**	**%**	**No**
Employment contract				
Employment contract signed before migration	12.9	56	13.4	20
Migration type				
Internal	10.6	40	7.4	8
International	71.4	16	87.5	12
Terms and conditions of contract*				
Working conditions	68.2	37	83.7	15
Wages / salary	57.5	36	86.0	16
Accommodation facility	81.2	42	86.1	15
Health insurance	41.6	30	51.2	13
Leave allowances	69.6	37	53.8	13
Travel cost allowances	50.8	28	43.3	11
Occupation change	48.3	23	39.4	10
Duration of contract	65.0	31	85.8	15
Working hours	52.4	34	75.4	13
Total (No)	**-**	**56**	**-**	**20**

* Multiple options

Table 7.4 focuses on the various sources of cost and expenditure for the out-migration of return migrants. These sources include family members, personal savings, borrowing money from friends and relatives, loans from money lenders or banks, leasing or pledging of land or financial assets such as jewellery, government assistance, or full sponsorship. The analysis reveals that government assistance and full sponsorship are rarely opted for as a source for arrangements related to the cost of migration; however, family members serve as a permanent and primary option for the cost of migration. Table 7.4 shows that around 28 percent of migrants have received all funds for migration from family members while 17 percent partially received partial funds from the family members. It is interesting to note that nearly 40 percent of migrants mention using parental savings for the first move (42%) while a similar percent has reported that they did not touch their parent's savings at all (41%) for the first move. Around 70 percent add that parental savings were not used at all when it came to the last move. Parental savings (40%) and banks (28%) are the least utilized sources of funds for migration. Banks appear to be the least preferred source for fund arrangement with around five percent opting for bank loans at the time of the first move and 82 percent clearly stating that they did not opt for bank loans at all when it came to their first move.

Table 7.4: Cost of migration and the source of arrangement of money

	First move		Last move	
	%	No.	%	No.
Any cost incurred for migration	56.7	227	44.2	53
Source of the cost arranged from				
Parents saving				
Mainly	42.4	99	19.0	12
Partially	16.6	42	10.8	8
Not at all	41.1	87	70.2	33
Members of family				
Mainly	28.2	56	17.6	12
Partially	17.3	37	18.0	5
Not at all	54.5	134	64.4	36
Personal savings				
Mainly	18.5	38	15.9	12
Partially	18.2	47	14.2	8
Not at all	63.3	142	69.9	33
Borrowing from friends/relatives				
Mainly	17.4	38	13.2	7
Partially	19.8	41	11.7	8
Not at all	62.8	149	75.1	38
Loans from moneylenders				
Mainly	9.0	16	18.8	9
Partially	15.0	38	10.9	7
Not at all	75.9	174	70.3	37
Loan from bank				
Mainly	5.8	9	2.6	2
Partially	12.2	33	10.4	7
Not at all	82.0	186	87.0	44
Sale/ Mortgage of landed property				
Mainly	4.2	7	4.6	4
Partially	15.9	33	8.4	5
Not at all	80.0	188	87.0	44
Sale/ pledging of financial assets				
Mainly	4.4	7	3.4	3
Partially	15.7	32	8.8	5
Not at all	79.9	189	87.8	45
Sale/ pledging of ornaments or Jewellery				
Mainly	6.7	9	4.9	4
Partially	12.7	29	8.7	5
Not at all	80.6	190	86.4	44
Government assistance				
Mainly	2.3	7	3.4	3
Partially	16.2	30	4.8	4
Not at all	81.5	191	91.8	46
Full sponsorship				
Mainly	5.3	7.0	2.0	2
Partially	13.1	30	6.1	5
Not at all	81.6	191	91.8	46
Total	**100**	**227**	**100**	**53**

Table 7.5 delineates the achievements of the return migrants in the form of new skills that they have acquired at the place of destination. Around one-third of return migrants (32%) indicating obtaining technical skills, whereas one-fifth (21%) learned accounting, 18 percent gained managerial or supervisory skills, while 14 percent mentioned acquiring housekeeping, marketing, or trading skills, and around 10 percent have received leadership, or organisational

skills. Thus, the majority of the return migrants have acquired some of the other skills at the place of destination. Please note that many of the return migrants reported acquiring more than one skill.

Table 7.5: Type of skills acquired by return migrants at the place of destination

	%	N
Technical Skills	31.9	99
Accounting skills	20.8	61
Managerial / Supervisory	18.4	52
Housekeeping Skills	13.8	46
Marketing / Trading Skills	13.7	38
Leadership / Organisational Skills	10.5	32
Navigation skills	9.7	35
Financial Management Skills	7.2	27
No skills acquired	10.3	32

Note: Multiple options

7.4 Post- Return Phase

Table 7.6 reveals the reasons for return; it shows that nearly half of the migrants (44%) are compelled to return due to family problems at the place of origin, slightly more than 20 percent of migrants returned due to health-related problems or risks, and 15 percent migrants are driven back due to expiry of the contract.

Table 7.6: Percent distribution of return migrants by main reason for their return

	%	No.
Family problem at the place of origin	44.3	175
Health-related problems/risks	21.2	74
Expiry of contract	14.5	51
Work related problem	7.2	30
Other	12.8	60
Total	**100.0**	**390**

Table 7.7 depicts the post-return scenario with regard to the employment status of the return migrants. According to the data, less than half of the return migrants currently work at the place of origin; of these, half of the returnees are working as cultivators, around one-third are working as wage labourers in the field of agriculture, and non-agriculture. Additionally, 14 percent are engaged in self-employment and four percent are involved in regular salaried jobs. Thus, the post returns profile of the return migrant does not appear to have improved much.

Table 7.7: Post return employment status and type of work of the return migrants

	%	**No.**
Working Currently	46.4	190
Type of work engaged in		
Cultivator	49.5	89
Wage labour (Agriculture/non-agriculture)	33.2	70
Employed/self-employed	13.7	24
Regular salaried	3.6	7
Total	**100.0**	**190**

7.5 Conclusion

The chapter on return migration provides an extremely rare view of the complete circle of migration. In the Middle Ganga Plain region, a majority of the return migrants are internal migrants, usually unskilled, and have sought employment in the informal sector. Return migrants, especially in the global context, are usually perceived as bringing back resources that lead to the development of the place of origin; however, this was not the case with return migrants belonging to the Middle Ganga Plain. Most of the return migrants were either landless (40%) or marginal farmers with less than 1 acre of land (41%) and did not report any changes in land ownership to post their return. The economy of the MGP is agriculture based and the absence of change in landownership implies that the return migrants were unable to contribute to the economic development of the region post their return. However, most of the return migrants mentioned an increase in the family income and expressed satisfaction with this. Twenty-nine percent want to migrate in the future if the situation arises, and more than two-thirds would encourage their children to migrate in the future as there is no opportunity in villages. The next chapter focuses on potential migrants and discusses their socio-economic and demographic characteristics, their aspirations as well as their perceptions of seasonal migration.

Chapter 8 Potential Migration in the Middle Ganga Plain

8.1 Key Findings

Understanding the aspirations of those likely to opt for seasonal migration is an integral aspect of this study.

91% of potential migrants are Hindus, 61% belonged to Other Backward Classess and 51% were landless.

15% of potential migrants are aged 15 or less indicating that adolescents appear to have few other employment opportunities available to them.

67% of those likely to opt for sesonal migration in the future are currently pursuing their edcuation and their aspirations include pursuing highter education including professional degrees and white collar jobs.

70% have mobile phones; a third have smart phones.

70% indicate an awareness regarding labour migration and nearly all of these hope to migrate to other parts of India in search of better employment opportunities.

A Potential migrant, for this study, is defined as an individual who aspires to migrate in the future if he/she finds an opportunity. Existing literature suggests that some countries have put in place mechanisms to protect out-going overseas migrants from the trap of irregular migration, essentially focusing on their skill development as per the demand of overseas employment (Ruyssen 2019; ILO, Michel et al., 2019). Gallup research conducted between 2007-2010 estimates that nearly 700 million adults globally indicated a willingness to migrate to another country permanently if given the opportunity to do so. It also found that people's desire to migrate was strongly associated with age, education, and social network presence, regardless of the country in which they resided. Moreover, most of these studies focus on international migration and potential migrants in the international context. Studies that examine potential migrants within the Indian context, however, are rare, despite the fact internal migration is a common phenomenon in India.

In the Middle Ganga Plain, where male out-migration has been a long-standing tradition, and most households opt for migration as a livelihood strategy, migrating to other parts of the country would be seen as a possible strategy by many young people. Understanding the perception of such young people with regard to migration and gaining insights into their reasons for considering migration is both pertinent and necessary. Equally important is examining the socio-demographic characteristics to ascertain whether these affect aspirations and decisions related to migration.

This chapter is based on a survey of 66 potential migrants. The potential migrants in the study refer to an unmarried individual member of the respondent household aged 10-24 years with a desire to migrate in the near future. The head of the household was asked about the availability of potential migrants within the household, and the same was confirmed with the concerned child/youth. Consent was sought from the child/ youth before collecting data from them. In case the respondent child's age was less than 15 years, parental consent was also taken.

8.2 Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics

Table 8.1 presents the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of potential migrants from the Middle Ganga Plain. A large majority of the potential migrants follow Hinduism (91%), while many (61%) belong to other backward class (OBC), are landless (51%), and reside in a nuclear family (61%). Seventy percent of the potential migrants are males, 85 percent are 15 years or older, more than half have completed their SSC or grade 10, and 15 percent are economically active. The share of potential migrants increases with age. Two-third are between the ages of 18 and 24 years, while a fifth belong to the 15 to 17 years age group. Half of the potential migrants have a family of six or more members. The data appears to suggest that as children get older, their responsibilities towards the family also increase, especially when the family comprises of many members, and these factors may contribute to the perceived desire to migrate.

Table 8.1: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of potential migrants in MGP

Socio-economic characteristics	%	No	Demographic characteristics	%	No
Religion			**Gender**		
Hindu	91.3	60	Male	72.9	35
Muslim	8.7	6	Female	27.1	31
Caste category			**Age category**		
SC+ ST*	21.2	17	less than 15 years	14.7	9
OBC	61.1	40	15 - 17 years	24.5	15
Others	17.8	9	18 - 24 years	60.8	42
Landholding size			**Education Category**		
Landless	50.9	30	Illiterate	3.7	3
< acre	38.2	26	Grade I-V	6.8	7
≥1 acre	10.2	10	Grade VI-IX	33.1	19
Family type			Grade X-XI	9.4	10
Nuclear	61.0	38	Grade XII and above	47.0	27
Joint	39.0	28	**Employment status**		
Family size			Working	14.5	13
2 - 5 members	54.5	35	Not working	85.5	53
6 members and more	45.5	31			
Total	**100**	**66**	**Total**	**100**	**66**

*There was only 1 case in the ST category

8.3 Education and Career Aspirations

Of the total 66 potential migrants, 62 percent were attending school/college at the time of the survey. The majority are enrolled in government schools and are satisfied with their performance. Decisions related to education are taken by the respondent on their own (46%), jointly by parents (27%), and solely by the father (22%). Three-quarters of the respondents (76%) stated that family savings are used to pay for all educational expenses. Eleven (out of 14) respondents whose fathers are migrants reported that remittances are used to pay for education. When asked about educational aspirations, passing their school boards is seen as a basic minimum with around a quarter (26%) aspiring to complete their bachelor's degree. Other educational aspirations include medicine (17%), engineering (7%), and master's degree (9%).

When it comes to career choices, the most popular choice is teaching (25%), followed by joining the police force (18%), becoming a doctor (10%), an engineer (9%), a bank employee (6%) and joining the civil services (2%). One-fifth have not taken any decisions regarding their prospective career. None of the respondents have any interest in starting their own business or becoming entrepreneurs. Please refer to Figure 8.1 for more details.

Padna chahte hain. Maagar garibi ki vajah se padai nahi ho pati hai. Padai karna bohot accha lagta haa.

(We want to study. But we cannot study because of our poverty. We really like to study).

Table 8.2: Educational attainment and aspirations for education among potential migrants

	%	No
Schooling status		
Currently attending school	66.6	42
Temporarily left⊖	13.0	6
Permanently left	16.7	15
Never attended	3.7	3
Total	100.0	66
Type of school		
Government	87.2	48
Private	12.8	14
Total	100.0	62
Satisfied with academic performance		
Satisfied to very satisfied	78.3	48
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	13.4	7
Dissatisfied to highly dissatisfied	8.3	7
Total	100.0	62
Education-related decision making		
Self	46.2	27
Mother only	1.5	3
Father only	21.9	12
Parents-Jointly	27.0	17
Other	3.4	3
Total	100.0	62
The main resource of expenditure on educational		
Family saving	75.9	40
Remittance	13.9	11
Other	5.9	11
Total	100.0	62
If given a chance and funding, the level at which you would like to study?		
Up to 10th standard	4.0	3
Up to 12th standard	17.3	12
Polytechnic 13 years (10+3)	7.0	3
Bachelor's degree 15 years (12+3)	26.2	14
Engineering 16 years (12+4)	7.2	4
Master's degree 17 years (12+3+2)	9.0	10
MBBS 17 years (12+5)	16.7	5
Ph.D. 20 years (12+3+2+3)	0.3	1
Other	12.3	10
Total	**100.0**	**62**

Note: ⊖ Includes one case who has not responded subsequent questions on education
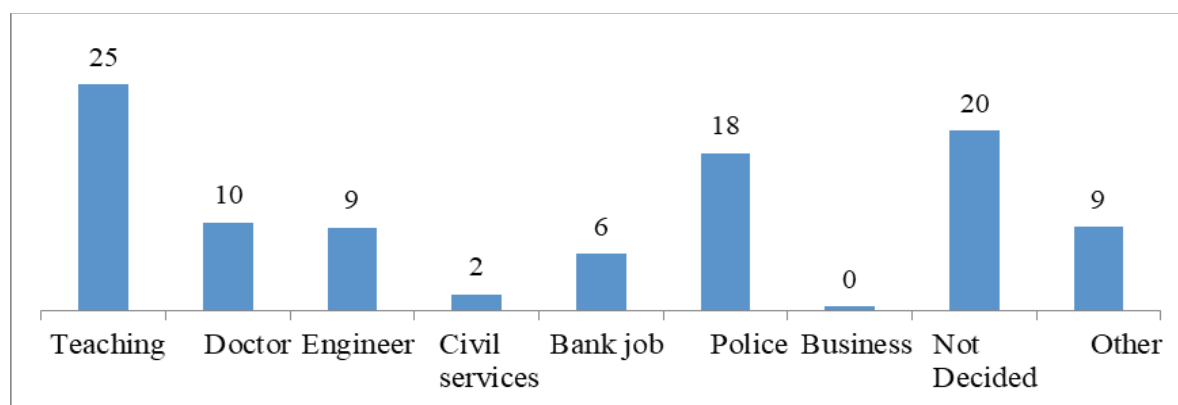
Figure 8.1: Percent distribution of potential migrant by their aspiration for career

Approximately four percent of children had never enrolled in a school, while a fourth has either dropped out or discontinued their education (21 potential migrants). Reasons for discontinuing their education include lack of interest in studies, unable to afford the costs related to education, economic conditions of the family requiring them to either work at home or supplement the family income, absence of civic amenities in the school, poor quality of mid-day meals and distance of the school from home.

8.4 Possession of a Mobile Phone

In the current digital era, a mobile phone is perceived to be as essential to survival as food and water. Mobile phones not only enable communication with friends and family but also facilitate access to services and benefit from schemes and programmes provided by the government. Figure 8.2 depicts that more than two-thirds of the potential migrants (67%) reported having access to mobile phones, with a fifth (23%) indicating that they had either smart or feature phones which enabled them to access the virtual world, providing them new learning opportunities and interacting on social media.
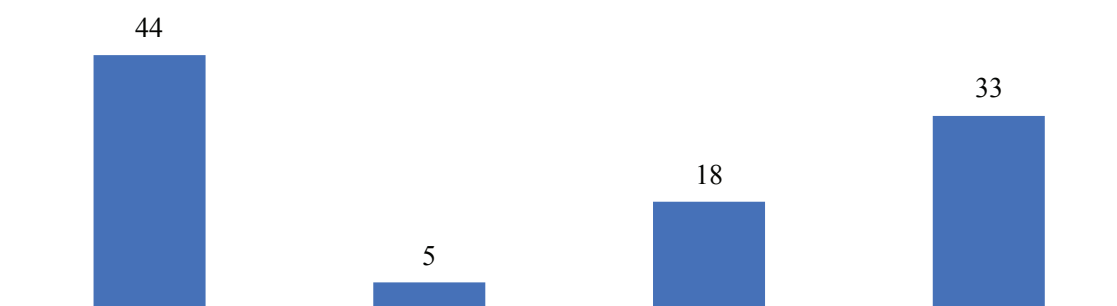
Si **Figure 8.2: Percent distribution of potential migrants by access to mobile phone**

8.5 Consumption of Addictive Substances and Disclosure of Health Issues amongst Potential Migrants

Table 8.3 examines the behaviours of potential migrants in terms of consumption of addictive substances like alcohol and tobacco and the extent to which they shared health-related problems with their parents. Bihar being a dry state, nearly all respondents denied consuming either tobacco or alcohol. Only 12 percent of all 66 respondents across the Middle Ganga Plains have affirmed that they use tobacco and a single respondent mentioned the partook of country liquor.

Four-fifths of the respondents (85%) have revealed that they share all health-related problems with parents, with 7 percent stating that they sometimes hide their health issues from their parents and only 3 percent indicating that they usually or always hide these from their parents.

Table 8.3: Consumption of addictive substances and disclosure of health issues amongst potential migrants

	%	No
Consume tobacco	11.7	6
Take country liquor	0.2	1
Hide health-related problems from parents		
Always	2.3	3
Most of the times	0.3	1
Sometimes	7.2	8
Rarely	5.0	2
Never	85.2	52
Total	**100.0**	**66**

8.6 Perceptions regarding Labour Migration

The data suggests that having migrants in the family and the village influences how adolescents and youth perceive the phenomenon of migration.

> *Bohot log jaate ha kaam karne bahar. yaha yeh bohot common hai, bahar jayenge nhi to kamayenge kya?*
>
> (Many migrate for work. This is very common. How would we manage our livelihood if we don't migrate?)

> *Mazburi hai kamane jane ki, gaon m koi kaam nhi haa. jaana to pdega na. padai ya fir job jo mile. Subidha ha bohot udhar. paani, bijli, sab milta haa. padai accha hota haa udhar.*
>
> (Migration is the need. There is no work available in village, so I have to migrate to city-either for work or education. There are a lot of facilities in cities-water, electricity, everything is available there. Standard of education is also good.)

As is seen in Table 8.4, 70 percent of the respondents are aware of the phenomena of labour migration, and seeing family members migrate makes migration a viable option for them. An overwhelming majority (94%) have indicated that they would be open to migrating to create a better future for themselves. It is interesting to note that all potential migrants expressed an interest to migrate within India. All potential migrants are clearly aware of the difficulties faced by parent/s and/or relatives who have opted to migrate and are still keen on doing so themselves.

Table 8.4: Exposure and aspiration of potential migrants regarding labour migration

	%	No
Awareness of labour migration	70.6	45
Family, relatives, or friends who have migrated for job		
Father	14.4	13
Mother	1.2	2
Both mother and father	2.3	1
Relative	36.8	22
Friends	8.0	10
No one	36.1	16
Other	1.3	2
Total	100	66
Would like to migrate in the near future for work	93.9	62
Would you like to migrate for work within India	93.9	62
Total	**100.0**	**66**

A third of these respondents (36%) did not have any migrants in their family or friends, while the rest have parent/s (18%), relatives (37%), or friends (8%) who were or currently are migrants. Some respondents also spoke about the fallout of migration on the family that is left back in the village.

Ghar ka mard agar nhi rahega to pura parivar toot jata ha. aurat logo ko market jana padta haa, khet m bhi jaana padta ha, accha nhi lagta yeh.magar majburi haa, sab manana padta haa

(If the male member of the house is not at home, the family shatters. Women have to go out for marketing, and to work in farm in absence of their men. We don't like it but we have no choice, we have to do everything)

8.7 Conclusion

An understanding of the perceptions and aspirations of potential migrants may be useful in the context of improving the management of migration and ensuring that migrants have access to all services and amenities at the place of destination. In areas where employment opportunities are limited and migration is an important livelihood strategy; potential migrants may be provided specialized skill-based training that is in sync with the demand at the place of destination. As the majority have access to the mobile phone, some migration apps may be developed to provide counselling services and information about the availability of the jobs and information about the internal and international destinations. Challenges related to low education levels and lack of IT skills can be overcome through mobile and media mentoring.

SECTION 3

Chapter 9 Remittance and Utilization Patterns

9.1 Key Findings

90% of migrant households receive remittances in form of cash during the year preceeding the survey.

The share of socio-economically disadvantaged and female headed households is high amongst the recipient households.

Nearly a sixth of the respondent migrant households also recieve remittances in kind.

55% of respondent households recieve remittances on a monthly basis.

89% of the remittances are done through the formal banking systems.

Spouses recieve the remittances in 61% of the households in Bihar as against 45% in Eastern UP.

Mean annual remittances that migrant household in MGP recieve is Rs. 40,087 and ranges from Rs. 96,088 for international to Rs. 35,242 for internal migrant households.

50% of the migrant households in Bihar receive less than Rs 12,000 in a year as against a corresponding 30% in Eastern UP.

Both internal and international migrant households in Eastern UP receive substantially higher remittances than their counterparts in Bihar.

In a majority of the households, the remittances are used for daily household expenditure, medical care, education of children, festivals and social ceremonies, housing and loan repayment

Nearly 30% of respondent households are able to use the remittances for creating assets and for investments

One of the most important outcomes of migration is the remittances sent back by the migrant that affects the receiving household in multiple ways including the educational opportunities for children, the lifestyle and consumption patterns of the stay back members, as well as the overall economic growth and development of the household. The term remittances in the context of this research study encompass all transfers, both case and kind made by the migrant member to the household back in the village of origin. Previous research and existing literature have shown beyond doubt that remittances are vital for economic growth and provision of better livelihood opportunities, more so in developing countries. Remittances not only assist in the creation of wealth and assets for the receiving household, but also provide opportunities to access better education, health, and quality nutrition for all members of the receiving household.

According to the World Migration Report 2020 (IOM 2019), India received the largest share of international remittances (USD 78.6 billion of USD 689 billion) in 2018. An estimate by the NSS in 2007-2008, puts the total remittance sent by migrants in India at about Rs. 439.5 billion, of which two-third is sent by internal migrants and the remaining by international migrants. Remittances play a significant role in providing sustenance for the poor, especially in regions where migration is the dominant livelihood strategy (Katz & Stark 1986; Katz & Stark 1986; Adams & Page 2005). These studies conclude that households that receive remittances are financially better than those that do not receive remittances. According to Kumar and Bhagat (2012), remittances comprise half to a third of the household expenditure and are usually spent on food, health care, children's education, and consumer goods.

In the Middle Ganga Plain, where more than half the households opt for migration as a strategy for livelihood, there is a paucity of data on remittances in terms of amount, details of persons receiving, frequency, mode of transmission, and utilization. In this chapter, data on remittances is analysed to fill the gaps in the literature.

9.2 Details of Recipient Households by Background Characteristics

Approximately 90 percent of the migrant household across the study area received remittances during the year preceding the survey (Table 10.1). Bifurcation by type of migration shows that a higher percentage of international migrant households (94%) have reported receiving remittance than internal migrant households (88%). The pattern remains similar across Eastern UP and Bihar. The data shows that although most households receive remittance, the share of the poor and marginal households is higher. To illustrate further, more than 90 percent of Muslim households (92%), ST (92%), SC (91%), OBC (90%), landless (91%), nuclear families (90%), and female-headed households (96%) receive remittances when compared to Hindu households (88%), the 'other' caste category (83%), joint or extended families (86%) and male-headed households (77%). The pattern remains similar across Bihar and Eastern UP. However, in comparison to Bihar, a higher proportion of households in Eastern UP owning more than 1 acre and headed by males receive remittances.

Table 9.1: Percent of households received remittances one year preceding the survey in the study area by their background characteristics (%)

Background Characteristics	Bihar	Est UP	MGP
HH received remittances	88.0	89.7	88.4
Migration type			
Internal	87.6	89.0	88.0
International	93.9	97.2	94.0
Religion			
Hindu	86.9	89.5	87.6
Muslim	92.0	90.8	91.8
Caste Category			
ST	94.7	85.0	91.9
SC	89.3	93.7	90.6
OBC	89.4	90.9	89.7
Others	83.3	79.8	82.6
Family Type			
Nuclear	90.2	90.6	90.2
joint or extended	84.2	88.6	85.7
Landholding			
Landless	90.4	93.5	90.9
< 1 acre	89.0	90.7	89.5
≥ 1 acre	71.6	83.3	77.0
HH Headship			
Male	75.4	82.5	77.4
Female	95.7	96.5	95.9
Migrant HH received remittance (n)	794	848	1642
Total migrant HH	**907**	**945**	**1852**

9.3 Pattern of Remittances received by the Households

As is seen from Table 9.2, more than half of the households in the MGP (55%) receive monthly remittances as do those in Bihar (55%) and Eastern UP (54%) while 23 percent of households across the MGP receive it every quarter (25% in Bihar and 22% in Eastern UP). Seven percent of respondent households across the study area receive a six-monthly remittance, six percent annually while nine percent receive remittances as and when they require it. The percent of households across Bihar and Eastern UP receiving remittances at the above frequency remains similar to that across the MGP. The data further shows that the type of migration (international or internal) does not have a bearing on the frequency of remittances as this remains similar across both types of migrant households. The fact that more than half of the respondent households in the study area receive monthly remittances indicates their heavy reliance on remittances.

The person who receives the remittances is usually the one who controls and plans the household expenses. Developing insights into this is essential for a deeper understanding of the effect of migration on the households at the source villages. An examination of the data revealed that in Bihar, the spouse receives the remittance in more households (61%) than parents (35%). However, in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, nearly equal percent of households have reported parents (48%) and spouses (45%) receiving the remittances. This could be because a larger percentage of migrant families in Easter UP belong to joint and extended families (66%) making it easier for parents to receive the remittances.

> *Box 9.1: Best practices for transfer of remittances*
>
> *In the digital age, the traditional form of money transfer through friends/relatives and money order have been replaced by the banking system. With availability of mobile phones and IT services, gradually migrants have started using the online payment system for transfer of the remittances. In the study are, about 90 percent of the households receive remittances through banks. Migrants perform peer to peer remittance transfers through their mobile devices using apps like Google Pay, UPI, M-Pay, Paytm etc. at the place of destinations. At the other end, private service agencies authorized by the local banks like grahak seva kendra, play a key role in transferring remittance to the families at the source villages. With a nominal service charge of 1 percent of the total remittance, the migrant's family receives the money instantly. Digitization of the banking sector has made transactions more convenient and user friendly irrespective of literacy status of the migrants and their families.*

The digitization of the finance and banking sector has resulted in one significant change with regard to the mode of transmitting remittances. Money orders through the Post Officers were the primary means for transferring remittances in the 1980s and 1990s. However, the data highlights the fact that nearly 90 percent of the respondent households (89% across the MGP, 93% in Eastern UP, and 84% in Bihar) receive remittances through the banking system implying a preference for formalized modes of remittances. It is interesting to note that friends and relatives were the preferred mode of remitting money for some households in Bihar (13%) and internal migrant households (12%) across the MGP.

Table 9.2: Pattern of remittances received by households in Bihar, Est UP, MGP, and by internal and international migrant households

	Regions			Migration Type	
	Bihar	**Est. UP**	**MGP**	**OM**	**IM**
Remittances received	80.7	86.0	83.0	81.6	88.5
Frequency of remittances					
Monthly	55.2	54.5	55.1	54.8	60.6
Quarterly	24.9	21.8	23.2	25.0	18.2
Half-yearly	6.6	7.3	6.5	6.9	9.1
Annually	4.7	8.2	6.4	5.9	3.1
When required	8.6	8.2	8.8	7.4	9.0
Mode of transfer					
Friends/relatives	13.4	5.5	9.8	12.3	2.4
Through Bank	83.8	93.1	88.8	85.9	91.9
Other formal sources	2.8	1.4	1.4	1.8	5.7
Received by					
Parents	34.9	48.3	41.7	37.8	48.2
Spouse	60.9	45.4	52.4	58.2	39.9
Children	1.6	2.0	2.1	1.7	2.3
Other family members	2.6	4.3	3.8	2.3	9.6
Remittances in kinds	14.0	19.7	17.9	15.0	21.6
Total (%)	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Total (n)	**728**	**862**	**1,639**	**1530**	**109**
Note: OM- Internal migrant IM-international migrant					

9.4 Remittances in Kind

When migrants visit the home, they bring some essential household goods, utensils, clothes, suitcases, and other household items which can be considered to be remittances in kind. Apart from cash transfers, nearly one-sixth of the MGP households receive remittances in kind. The share of households receiving remittances in kind was higher in Eastern UP (20%) than in Bihar (14%). Similarly, more international migrants (22%) provide remittances in kind than the internal migrants (15%).

9.5 Remittances in Internal and International Migrant Households

The data shows a clear link between the frequency of receiving remittance and the type of migration. A higher percentage of international migrant households (89%) have reported receiving remittance than internal migrant households (82%). An analysis of the frequency of receiving remittance reveals that a higher proportion of international migrant households receive remittance every month (61%) than internal migrant households (55%) while a relatively higher proportion of the internal migrants send remittances every quarter (25% as against 18% of international migrants). In internal migrant households, the spouse receives the money while in international migrant households, parents of the migrants are the main recipient of remittances.
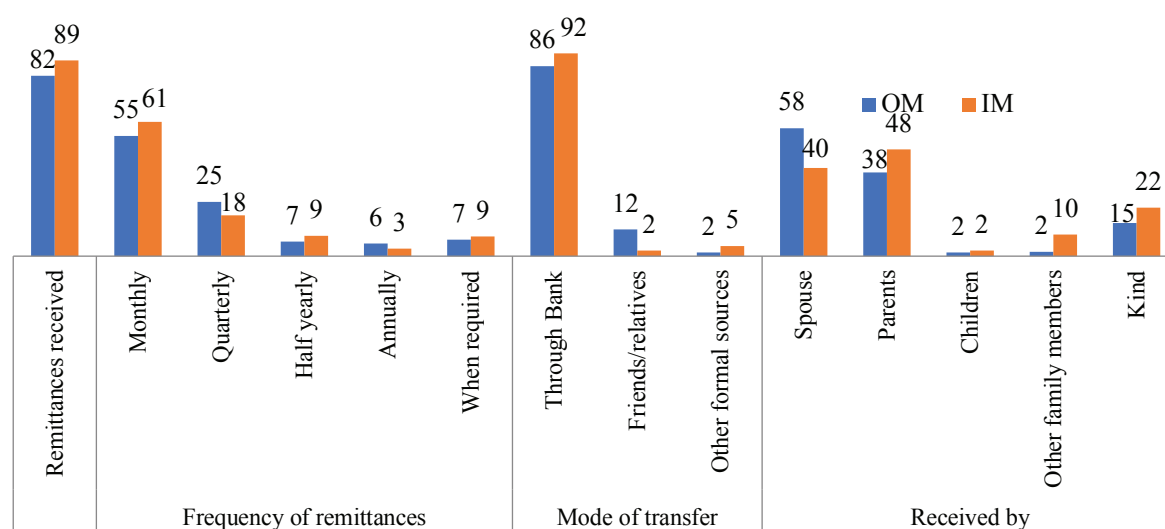
Figure 9.1: Percentage of remittances recipient households by migration type

9.6 Mean Remittance

The mean remittance is calculated for total migrant households and remittances recipient households. Appendices 4a and 4b present the mean remittances received by total migrants and remittance recipient households respectively. Here, only migrant households that received remittance in the year preceding the survey are considered. The amount of remittance depends

on several factors that include the earning and saving capacity of the migrants as well as the economic need of their families in the source villages. Across the MGP, the mean remittance of a remittances recipient migrant household was Rs. 40,087 per annum which comes around Rs 3,340 per month. The corresponding amount for international migrant households at Rs.96,088 was two and half times more than that of internal migrant households (Rs 35,242). A key factor for this difference could be the fact that international migrants earn in currencies that have a higher value than the Indian rupee. Migrant households in Eastern UP received Rs 55,541 which is Rs 20,000 more than the average remittances received by the households of Bihar (Rs 35,042). Similarly, international migrant households in Eastern UP received Rs 60,000 more remittances than their counterparts in Bihar.
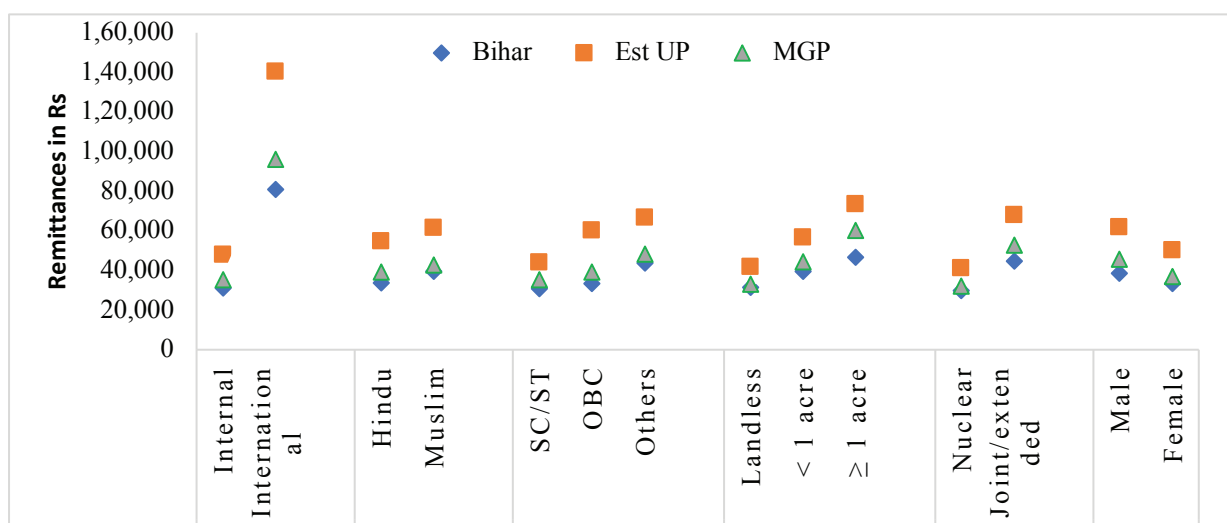
Figure 9.2: Mean remittances received by the household by their background characteristics
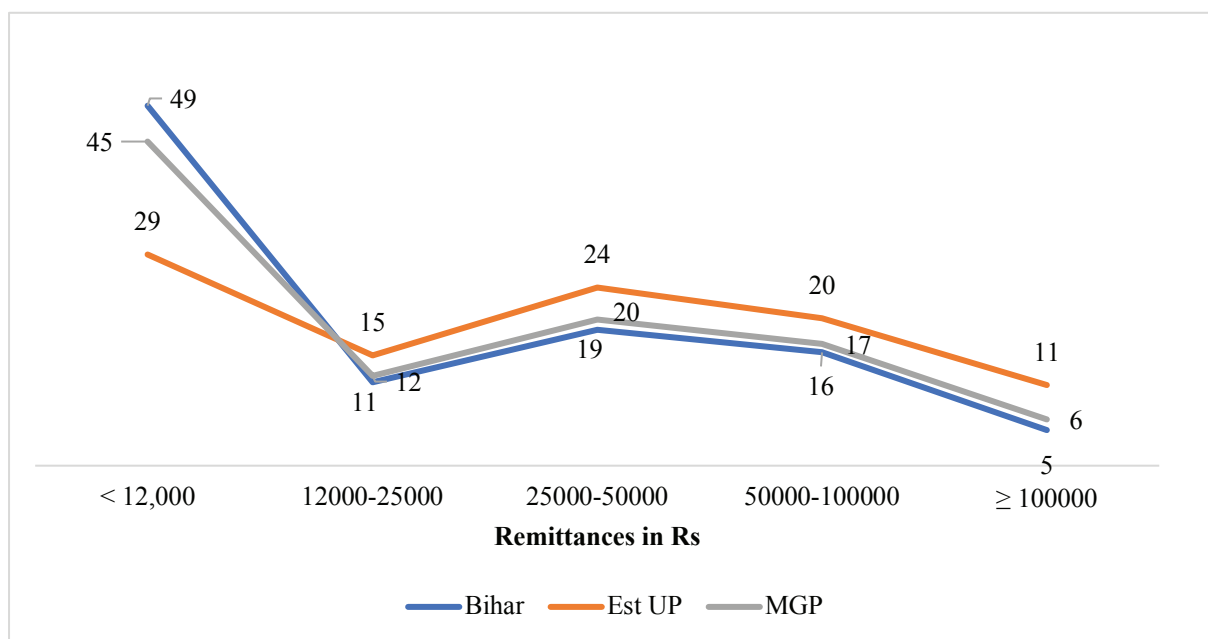
Figure 9.3: Percent distribution of migrant household by the range of remittances received

The data shows a variation across the socio-economic groups (Figure 9.1 and Appendix4a). Muslim households, households from the open or other caste groups, those owing more than an acre of land and those that had joint/ extended families have reported relatively higher remittances. However, the women-headed households receive lower amounts (Rs. 10,000 lesser) of remittances than the male-headed households.

Figure 9.3 presents a distribution of households across the amount of remittances received. The pattern of the remittances received remains similar across both states. More than half of the recipient households in Bihar and 30 percent in Eastern UP have reported receiving less than Rs 12, 000 per annum. The share of the households rises with an increase in the remittance and one-fourth of the households in Eastern UP and two-fifth of the households in Bihar receive remittances between Rs 25000 to 50000 annually which drops to 11 percent and 5 percent respectively when the remittance amounts reach one lakh rupees or more.

9.7 Patterns of Remittance Utilization

Literature has pointed out the role of remittances in the economic development of migrant households and the entire village as well. Remittance utilization has been classified into four categories (Figure 9.4):

1. Household expenditure/ family needs that include daily household expenses, education expenses, health and medical expenses as well as expenses for social events like marriage (including dowry), funerals and similar events.

2. Investment and other related expenses which cover construction and repairing of the house, purchase of land, leasing out the land on cash, and purchasing ornaments.

3. Agricultural expenses that encompass hiring labour, purchasing agricultural equipment, seeds and fertilizers.

4. Other household purchases that included the purchase of household goods like television, motorcycle, mobile

About 61 percent of households use remittances for daily needs and consumption. Slightly less than two-thirds (63 %) of MGP households use their remittance for medical and health care expenditure. The other important expense for which remittances are used is the education of children (56% of households). Asset creation is another area in which remittances are used. More than half of households use the remittance for construction and renovation of houses and purchasing household goods. Only one-fourth of households in the study area use remittance for agriculture-related expenses.

Remittances used for household needs

In the study areas, remittances are mostly used for household expenditure which incorporates daily household needs such as food (61%), medical care (63%), education of children (56%), and social ceremonies (52%). However, in Bihar, the use of remittance in all the categories of household expenditure is higher than in Eastern UP.

Investments

About half of the households use remittances for construction or repairing of the houses. Around 30 percent of the households use remittances to purchase livestock, land, and/or hire the farmland on rent. Many landless and marginal farming households use remittances to rent farmland to increase and diversify the family income. Thirty-five percent of households also use remittances for purchasing ornaments. A small percentage of households from Eastern UP use the remittance as an investment by purchasing land (20%), leasing or renting land (17 %), and purchasing livestock (19%) as compared to households in Bihar (34%, 31%, and 34% respectively)

Other household purchases

There is not much variation between Bihar and Eastern UP in remittance utilization patterns related to purchasing household goods such as a motorcycle, television, or fridge. Forty percent of households from Bihar use the remittances for procurement of mobile as compared to 25 percent in Eastern UP.

Agricultural expenses

The percentage of remittance utilization under this head is low when compared to other heads such as investments and household purchases. Nearly two-thirds of households in MGP use their remittance for purchasing seeds (26%) and fertilizers (25%). A comparison of Bihar and Eastern UP reveals that a higher proportion of households from Bihar use their remittance for agricultural expenses than those in Eastern UP.

Thus, remittances play an important role in maintaining and sustaining the migrant families in most households in Bihar and Eastern UP. However, the reliance on remittances is higher in Bihar, particularly for daily household needs and investment in housing, land, and livestock. The use of remittance for other household purchases and agriculture is low overall with little difference between households in Eastern UP and Bihar.

Household Expenditure/Family need
- Daily need and expanses(including food) 61
- Medical/Health care expenses 63
- Education of Children 56
- Social Ceremonies (Festival/marriage) 51
- Paying Dowry 46
- Loan Repayment 42

Investment and related issues
- Construction of new house 50
- Repair/Maintenance/renovation 51
- Purchasing of land 29
- Purchasing of ornaments 36
- Leasing in land (taking on REHAN) 27
- Buying livestock 30

Other Household Purchase
- Motorcycle 24
- Television 22
- Fridge/Washing machine 19
- Mobile Camera 36

Agricultural expenses
- Hiring labour 29
- Purchasing hybrid seeds 26
- Purchasing of fertilizer/Pesticides 25
- Purchasing tube well 23

Figure 9.4: Distribution of households by the use of remittances in different categories in MGP

Table 9.3: Utilization pattern of remittances received by the household (in %)

	Regions			Migration type	
	Bihar	**Est. UP**	**MGP**	**OM**	**IM**
Household and other expenditure					
Daily need and expenses (including food)	62.0	55.9	60.5	60.3	63.5
Medical/Health care expenses	65.4	57.0	63.2	63.1	65.3
Education of children	56.8	53.6	56.0	55.3	66.7
Social ceremonies (festivals/gifts to relatives)	53.0	47.5	51.5	50.9	62.5
Paying dowry	47.9	38.9	45.6	44.4	62.5
Loan repayment	44.6	35.4	42.3	41.6	54.2
Investment					
Construction of new house	55.7	34.1	50.2	48.9	70.1
Repair/Maintenance of house	56.0	36.7	51.0	49.8	69.1
Purchasing of land	31.7	19.8	28.7	28.6	30.5
Purchasing of ornaments	39.7	23.1	35.4	35.2	39.2
Leasing in the land (taking on REHAN)	30.5	17.4	27.1	27.3	25.8
Investment in buying livestock	33.7	18.8	29.9	30.2	25.0
Other household purchases					
Motorcycle	24.9	22.7	24.4	24.0	30.9
Television	21.7	22.0	21.7	21.7	22.1
Fridge/Washing Machine	19.2	16.4	18.5	18.6	16.5
Mobile/Camera	38.9	25.1	35.4	35.5	34.4
Agriculture					
Hire labourer	27.5	33.3	29.0	29.5	21.9
Purchase hybrid seeds	24.4	30.7	26.0	26.6	16.7
Purchase fertiliser/pesticides	22.8	30.2	24.7	25.3	16.5
Purchase tube well	23.6	19.4	22.5	22.5	21.9
Total(n)	**777**	**862**	**1,639**	**1530**	**109**

Note: OM- internal migrants IM-International migrants

9.8 Patterns of Remittance Utilization across Internal and International Migrant Households

The patterns of remittance utilization differ in terms of the periodicity of remittances. The present study reiterates that international migrant households receive two and a half times higher remittances than internal migrant households, the utilization pattern in internal and international migrant households is also different.

Around 70 percent of international migrant households use remittances for construction and repair of the houses as compared to 50 percent of internal migrant households. Around two-thirds of both internal and international households use remittances for daily household expenses and consumption as well as medical expenses and health care. A higher proportion of international migrant households use remittances for the education of children, social ceremonies, dowry arrangements, and repayment of loans than their counterparts in internal migrant households. A relatively higher proportion (23-30%) of internal migrant households use remittances for hiring labour or purchasing seeds and fertilizers as compared to 17-22 percent to international migrant households.

9.9 Conclusion

Migration is usually driven by the absence of local livelihood opportunities and poverty, as is the case with the respondent households in the Middle Ganga Plain region. In such circumstances, remittances sent by migrant family members are the sole source of income for 48 percent of the recipient households, while it is a means of diversifying the household income for the remaining 52 percent. A majority of the households in Bihar receive less than Rs 25,000 annually, which reflects the low earning capacity of migrants, most of whom are engaged in unskilled work. Remittances received by the households are barely sufficient for their day-to-day needs; hence their use for long-term investment is limited. The most frequently mentioned use of remittances relates to daily household needs, medical expenses, and education of the children. Thus, the families of migrants rely heavily on remittances for their survival. Despite the relatively low sums that are remitted, it is the remittances that keep families afloat, providing them with food security, educational opportunities for children, and access to health care for members. Without migration and the resulting remittances, the conditions of these families would undoubtedly be worse. The following three chapters through light on the consequences of migration on children, women, and elderly members of the migrant households.

Chapter 10 Consequences of Migration on Children

10.1 Key Findings

There is a regional difference when it comes to education of children of migrants. The left behind children of migrants in Eastern UP were performing better academically than their counterparts in Bihar.

45% of the sample popuation is below 18 years of age.

Cost of education and a lack of interest in studies are two reasons for children discontinuing their education.

Dropout rates among children from migrant families in Bihar is higher (9%) than children hailing from non-migrant households (5%) whereas in Eastern UP, the opposite is true with children from migrant households having a lower dropout rate (7%) than their counterparts from non migrant households (10%).

Migration of fathers may increase the chances of their sons staying on in school and completing their education in Eastern UP. However, it does not appear to influence the education of daughters in either of the two states and appears to have a detrimental effect on children in Bihar resulting in higher droppout rates amongst children from migrant families.

For children across developing countries living in single-parent (usually the mother) households due to the migration of the other parent (usually the father) is a normal childhood experience (Nobles 2013). On the one hand, the absence of the father often proves to be challenging in more ways than one. On the other hand, as some studies (Taylor 1987) point out, remittances could and do have a positive effect on the educational achievements of children from migrant households. However, many times, the remittances are just enough to meet the everyday needs of the family, forcing older children to discontinue their education to either care for their younger siblings or provide economic support to their families (Jetley 1987).

This study attempts to develop a deeper understanding of this dual effect of migration on children. To this end, the study focuses on two groups of children, i.e., those under the age of five and those belonging to the 6 to 17 years age group. For the first group, the study examines the place of birth (home versus institutional birth) and ANC provided to the children under the age of five years, while educational attainments are the focus for the second group of children. Information related to profile, educational status, and reason for not being in school for all the children in households were collected in the household roster. Data collected in women's schedules was used for analysing the impact of migration of fathers on ANC and institutional delivery of under-five children. The children from different categories of migrant households are compared with children from non-migrant households across these to enable a deeper understanding of how migration affects these two parameters.

10.2 Age Profile of Children

The Middle Ganga Plain is demographically a young region where 45 percent of the total sample population is below age 18 years. This includes a 12 percent share of children under the age of five and 28 percent of children belonging to the 6-17 years age group. These two age groups are extremely critical from the programme point of view i.e., health care utilization and immunization cover of younger children and nutrition and education attainments of older children.
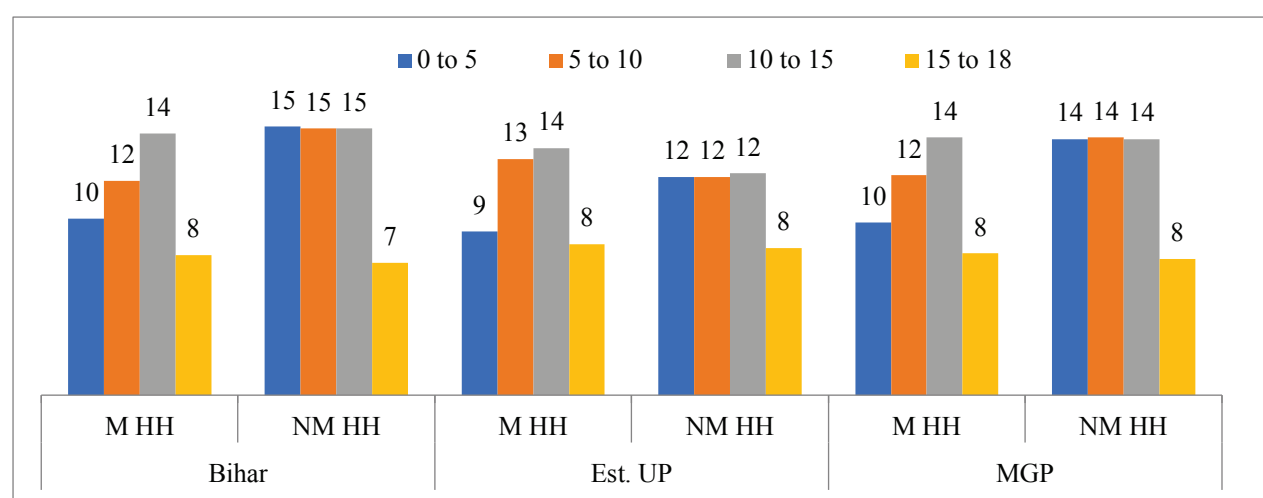
Figure 10.1: Percentage distribution of children by age group

Socioeconomic characteristics of children in age group 0- 5

The total number of children between ages 0 to 5 years in the sample households is 2898. Of these, 1779 are from migrant households and 920 from non-migrant households. The total number of children from sample households in Bihar is 1550 (983 from migrant households, 461 from the non-migrant household) and in Eastern Uttar Pradesh is 1348 (796 from Migrant households, 459 from non-migrant households). The characteristics of children in the 0-6 years age group are similar to those reported for children of the 7-17 years age group. The majority are Hindus, OBC followed by SC, nuclear family, and landless households with few exceptions.

Table 10.1: Socio-economic characteristics of children in the 0=5 years age group by migration status of households

	Bihar		Est. UP		MGP	
	M HH	**NM HH**	**M HH**	**NM HH**	**M HH**	**NM HH**
	%	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**
Religion						
Hindu	76.2	77.5	87.5	89.6	78.7	80.3
Muslim	23.8	22.5	12.5	10.4	21.3	19.7
Caste Category						
ST	2.1	2.1	2.8	5.4	2.2	2.8
SC	23.9	22.0	33.9	42.2	26.1	26.8
OBC	58.6	60.9	50.8	40.8	56.9	56.1
Others	15.4	15	12.5	11.6	14.8	14.2
Family Type						
Nuclear	56.9	66.9	26.4	57.6	50.3	64.7
Joint	43.1	33.1	73.6	42.4	49.7	35.3
Landholding						
Landless	72	70.7	40	56.7	65.1	67.4
< 1 Acre	22.3	20.1	29.9	17.5	24.0	19.5
≥ 1 acre	5.7	9.1	30.1	25.9	11	13.1
Gender						
Male	**51.5**	54.7	52.6	52.8	51.8	54.3
Female	48.5	45.3	47.4	47.2	48.2	45.7
Total (n)	**983**	**461**	**796**	**459**	**1779**	**920**

ANC and Institutional birth

Data related to the ANC received by mothers as well as the place of birth for a specific child below the age of five at the time of the survey had been collected from the women respondents in the sample households. The data indicates that more than 80 percent of women received at least one ANC; however, less than 14 percent revived all four ANCs with a slightly higher number of women from non-migrant households receiving these (15%) than their counterparts from migrant households (12%).

Table 10.2: Percentage of children (0-5 age group) whose mother received ANC by migration status of their husbands

	Bihar		Est UP		MGP	
	Migrant	**Non migrant**	**Migrant**	**Non migrant**	**Migrant**	**Non migrant**
% children whose mothers received ANC	82.9	81.3	79.5	73.9	82.3	79.5
No of ANC received						
< 4	87.6	82.8	92.4	94.9	88.3	85.4
≥4	12.4	17.2	7.6	5.1	11.7	14.6
Total	569	390	339	367	908	757

Regarding the place of birth of the child (Table 10.3), more than half of the expectant women gave birth to their children in government hospitals. However, a slightly lower proportion of women from migrant households' avail of government services. A relatively lower number of children of migrants are born in hospitals. The birth of a child at home without any trained attendant is higher among the mothers from migrant families in Bihar. In UP, however, a higher proportion of children from migrant households are born in institutions than children from non-migrant households.

Table 10.3: Percentage of children (0-5 age group) by place of their birth (institutional and non-institutional)

The place of delivery	Bihar		Est UP		MGP	
	Migration status					
	Children of Left behind women	Children of non-migrant women	Children of Left behind women	Children of non-migrant women	Children of Left behind women	Children of non-migrant women
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Government Hospital	46.6	54.4	58.6	62.1	59.5	56.2
Private Hospital	15.5	17.6	24.9	17.3	17.1	17.6
Home with skilled attendant	18.8	13.9	4.1	6.7	16.3	12.1
Home without skilled attendant	19.0	14.1	12.4	14.0	17.8	14.1
Total	**702**	**503**	**438**	**504**	**1140**	**1007**

Socio-economic characteristics of children in age group 6- 17 years

The data collected covered 6167 children across Bihar (3117; 1702 from migrant households and 1163 from non-migrant households and 252 from return migrant households) and Eastern UP (3050; 1561 from migrant households and 1250 from non-migrant households and 239 from return migrant households). As is seen in Table 10.1 a majority of the children belong to Hindu (82%) and OBC (58%) households, followed by those from SC households (25%). Nearly two-thirds (67%) live in nuclear families except for migrant households in Eastern UP where the corresponding percentage is around two-fifths (45%). More than 70 percent of the children are from landless or marginal landholding households. Migrant children from Bihar tend to be from landless/ marginal farming households (92%) when compared to those from non-migrant households (83%) in the same state. Less than a third (29%) of children in Eastern UP hail from families that own an acre or more of land as against 12 percent of their counterparts in Bihar. Less than two percent of children aged 6 to 17 are economically active, and less than one percent of children are married, indicating that both child labour and child marriage are not prevalent in these areas.

Table 10.4: Socio economic characteristics of children in age group 6- 17 years

	Bihar			Est UP			MGP		
	Migration status			Migration status			Migration status		
	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH
Religion									
Hindu	83.0	76.8	82.9	86.4	86.2	90.7	83.9	78.9	84.6
Muslim	17.0	23.2	17.1	13.6	13.8	9.3	16.1	21.1	15.4
Caste Category									
ST	2.3	1.8	2.0	3.5	2.0	1.6	2.6	1.8	2.0
SC	23.3	23.0	18.7	33.3	33.2	36.8	25.9	25.2	23.0
OBC	60.6	60.5	70.9	50.1	48.5	44.1	57.9	57.8	64.6
Others	13.8	14.7	8.4	13.1	16.3	17.4	13.6	15.1	10.4
Family Type									
Nuclear	72.7	66.8	76.9	69.8	44.3	55.9	71.9	61.7	72.0
Joint	27.3	33.2	23.1	30.2	55.7	44.1	28.1	38.3	28.0
Landholding									
Landless	54.9	64.3	51.4	45.1	35.9	37.2	52.4	57.9	48.1
< 1 acre	27.8	28.7	38.2	28.3	34.6	33.2	27.9	30.0	37.1
≥ 1 acre	17.3	7.1	10.4	26.7	29.5	29.6	19.7	12.1	14.8
Demographic profile									
Gender									
Male	52.5	49.2	51.4	51.0	49.8	50.8	52.1	49.4	51.3
Female	47.5	50.8	48.6	49.0	50.2	49.2	47.9	50.6	48.7
Marital status									
Never married	99.4	99.2	100.0	99.6	99.7	99.6	99.4	99.3	99.8
Ever Married	0.6	33.2	0.0	30.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	38.3	0.2
Economically active	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.2	2.8	1.6	1.3	1.8
Total (n)	**1163**	**1702**	**252**	**1250**	**1561**	**239**	**2413**	**3263**	**491**
Source: Information based on the household roster									

10.3 Education of Children

Table 10.5 presents the gender differential in levels of literacy of children across the different types of households following the definition of literacy in the Census of India[6]. The data revealed that 90 percent of children aged 7 and above were literate in that they could read and write. The level of literacy was slightly lower amongst girls from international migrant (82%) and return migrant (88%) households.

Table 10.5: Gender wise child literacy rate in migrant and non-migrant households

	NM HH	IM HH	OM HH	SM HH	RM HH	Total
Male	90.6	98.0	89.8	89.8	88.4	90.4
Female	89.1	80.2	90.4	89.5	87.8	89.4
Total	**89.9**	**88.7**	**90.3**	**89.4**	**88.1**	**89.7**

Note: NM HH- Non-migrant households, IM HH- International migrant households, OM HH- internal migrant households, SM HH- Seasonal migrant households, RM- Return migrant households

School Enrolment
Nearly 12 percent of children aged 6 and above from across the Middle Ganga Plain have never been to school (Table 10.6). The percentage was relatively higher in international migrant households (16%) and seasonal migrant households (13%). The non-enrolment rate was higher

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[6] any person who is older than 7 years and can read and write with full understanding is a literate

amongst girls from non-migrant (12%), international migrant (19%), seasonal migrant (13%), and return-migrant (14%) households. Close to 90 percent (89% boys and 90% girls) of all children have been enrolled in school and most of these (94% boys and 92% girls) are known to be attending school (at the time of the survey). Girls from international migrant households have a lower rate of enrolment (81%) when compared to their counterparts in other households.

Table 10.6: Gender wise school enrolment and school attendance rate among 6+children in migrant and non-migrant households

	NM HH	IM HH	OM HH	SM HH	RM HH	Total
Never been to school						
Male	9.7	12.7	12.7	13.4	10.7	11.4
Female	12.3	19.2	10.4	12.5	14.2	11.9
Total	10.9	15.9	11.6	12.9	12.4	11.6
Ever been to school						
Male	90.3	87.3	87.3	86.6	89.3	88.6
Female	87.7	80.8	89.6	87.5	85.8	90.1
Total	91.0	89.1	91.0	89.2	89.4	90.6
Currently attending school						
Male	93.9	94.9	95.2	89.7	93.4	94.1
Female	93.9	95.0	90.0	87.4	92.3	91.5
Total	**93.9**	**96.9**	**92.5**	**88.5**	**92.9**	**92.8**

Out of school children

UN Institute of Statistics (UNIS) and UNICEF have devised a new method of measuring out-of-school children for assessment of MDG No 4. The new methodology adopted in 2019, defines any children enrolled in formal education, regardless of the level, as considered to be in school, including children of primary school age enrolled in pre-primary education. Globally, about one-sixth of the children, adolescents, and youth in the age group 6-17 were out of school (UNESCO and UNICEF. 2019). The following table presents the data (percent) on children who are out of school by gender and migration status of the households at primary (6-11 year olds), lower secondary (12-14 year olds), and upper secondary (15-17 year olds) levels.

The overall pattern of the rate of out of school follows the 'L' shape pattern for males and the 'U' shape pattern for females. It implies that the rate of out of school is higher for boys at the primary level and decreases with an increase in age and then remains constant. However, for the girl child, the rate is higher both at primary and upper secondary levels and lower at the lower secondary level. This indicates that school enrolment in the study area starts at a later age that is the norm.

The out-of-school rate at primary school is more than 15 percent for both males and females. In the lower secondary age group, the rate of out-of-school children comes down to six percent which implies that 94 percent of children belonging to the 12-14 years age group are enrolled in schools. This also indicates that school enrolment in the study area starts at a later age than normal.

The out-of-school rate was higher for the children in the 15-17 years age bracket. Around 7-9 percent of children in the senior secondary age group were out of school and these numbers

were greater when it came to girls of that age with nearly 20 percent of those from return migrant households as well 12 percent of those from seasonal migrant and non-migrant households never being enrolled in schools.

It was decided to combine the school dropout rate with the non-enrollment rate to determine the true numbers of children who were out of school. The data indicates that these percentages are nearly 18percent at the primary level, 11 percent at the lower primary level, and between 20 to 30 percent at the upper primary level. This indicates that the school dropout rate is directly proportional to the age and that 30 percent of children from the study area belonging to the 15-17 age group are out of school in that they either never enrolled or dropped out without completing their education. More girls are out of school than boys of the corresponding age group. Children from non-migrant households are more likely to remain in schools. Educational attainment appears to be highest for children from international migrant households followed by children from non-migrant, internal migrant, return migrant households. The children from seasonal migrant households are the most affected and show the lowest educational attainments with forty-four percent of the children in the age group 15-17 from these households not attending school.

Table 10.7: Out of school rate by gender and migration status of the households

		NM HH	IM HH	OM HH	SM HH	RM HH	Total
Never enrolled							
Primary	Male	15.7	25.0	18.5	16.2	13.6	16.9
(6-11)	Female	14.6	38.2	15.7	16.3	17.0	16.0
	Total	15.2	31.1	17.1	16.3	15.2	16.5
Lower secondary	Male	4.1	0.0	7.7	6.3	6.3	5.8
(12-14)	Female	8.3	3.6	6.5	3.9	6.7	6.8
	Total	6.0	2.2	7.2	4.8	6.5	6.3
Upper secondary	Male	4.9	4.3	6.9	9.8	10.5	6.5
(15-17)	Female	12.4	6.3	4.4	11.9	19.0	9.4
	Total	8.5	5.1	5.6	11.0	14.8	8.0

Table 10.8: Out of school rate including school dropout by gender and migration status of the households

		NM HH	IM HH	OM HH	SM HH	RM HH	Total
Primary	Male	16.1	25.0	19.3	16.2	13.7	17.4
(6-11)	Female	15.8	38.2	16.8	18.1	21.5	17.5
	Total	15.9	31.1	18.1	17.1	17.4	17.4
Lower secondary	Male	9.6	0.0	11.0	18.8	8.9	10.4
(12-14)	Female	13.2	3.6	11.1	10.4	6.8	11.1
	Total	11.2	2.2	11.0	13.6	7.8	10.8
Upper secondary	Male	18.2	8.7	18.8	43.1	30.4	21.0
(15-17)	Female	23.6	25.0	31.1	45.5	37.3	30.0
	Total	20.8	15.4	25.4	44.4	33.9	25.6

School Dropouts

In the MGP region, for every 100 children enrolled in school; 6 children from non-migrant and 8 from migrant households drop out of school. Similarly, in Bihar children from non-migrant households have lower dropouts (5%) compared to children from migrant households (9%). In contrast to Bihar, in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, the school dropout rate is lesser for children from migrant households (7% as compared to 10% in non-migrant households).
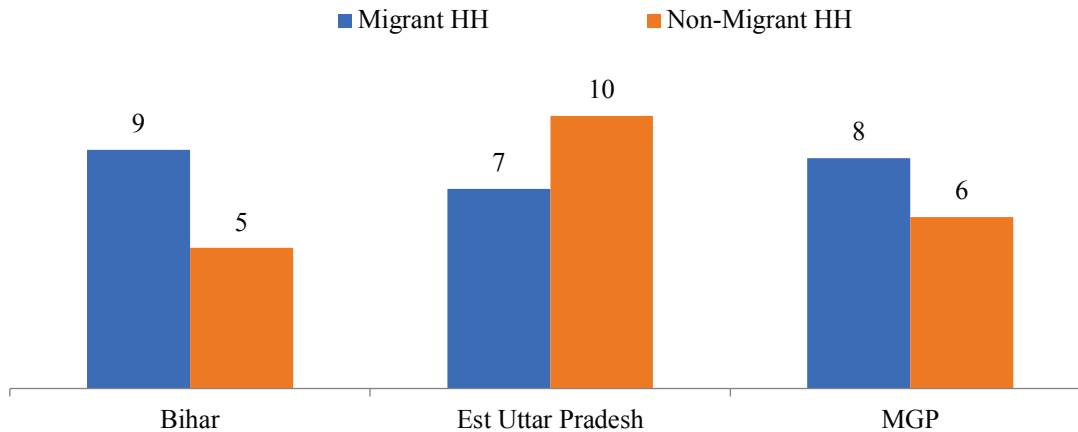
Figure 10.2: School dropout rate across regions and migration status of households

In general, girls tend to drop out more frequently than boys. As evident from Figure 10.3, girls from migrant households have a higher rate of discontinuing their education than their male counterparts (10% to 6%). However, the percentage of dropouts across gender in non-migrant households is the same (6% each). It can be concluded that the presence of the father (as in non-migrant households) has a positive effect on the education of the daughters with fewer daughters from non-migrant households dropping out of school as against their counterparts from the migrant households.

The dropout rate was further analysed across the different forms of migration (Figure 10.3). The picture is very clear that the dropout rate is inversely proportional to the earning capacity of the migrant families as this increase with a reduction in the earning capacity. For children from international migrant households, the dropout rate is lower (<1% for boys and 5% for girls) than those from internal migrant households (5% and 10% respectively).
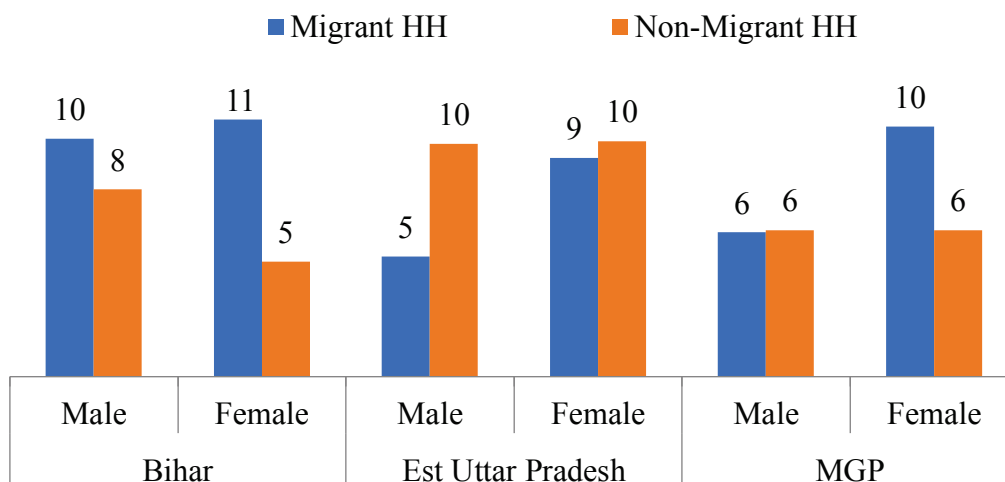
Figure 10.3: School dropout rate across gender, migration status and region

The highest dropout rates are for children from seasonal migrant households which have the lowest earnings with 10 percent of boys and 13 percent of girls from these discontinuing their education. The data indicates that the greater the level of distress migration, the higher the chances of children from these families discontinuing their education or dropping out of school.
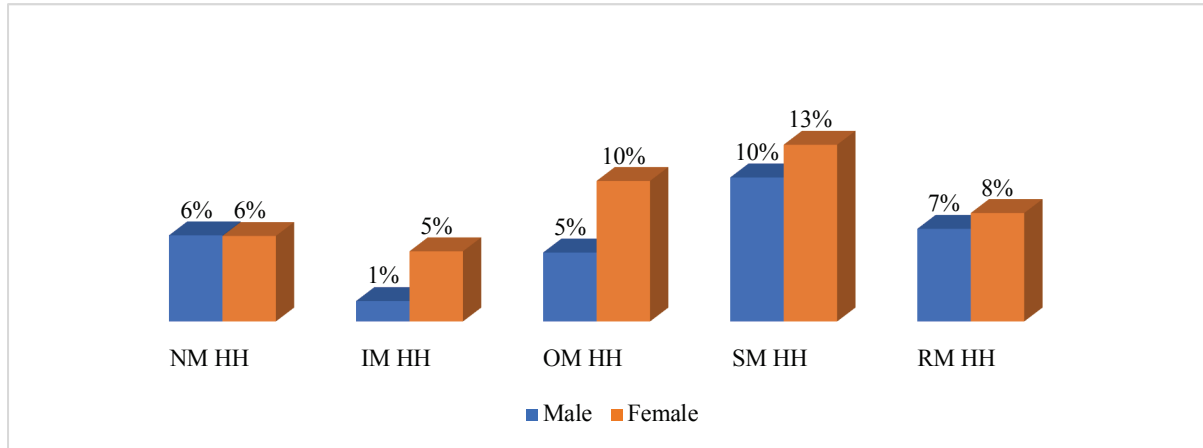
Figure 10.4: School dropout rate by gender and migration typology of the household

Reasons for dropping out from school

Table 10.9 presents the major barriers to education across gender, migration status of the household, and region. The two most commonly occurring reasons for discontinuing education of both girls and boys across the study area are financial (*cost too much*) and the lack of interest of the child (*not interested in studies*). Other reasons for boys from internal migrant households discontinuing their education include the school being too far and lack of transport facilities (17% in Bihar and 8% in Eastern UP) as well as the requirement of children to help in household chores and farm-related work (8% in Bihar and 4% in Eastern UP). Additionally, a few parents in Bihar stated that education is unnecessary. The reasons remain the same for boys from seasonal migrant households in Bihar.

The dropout rate among girls is higher, and the reasons include diverse factors related to economic, social, safety, household responsibility, and structural issues in both Bihar and Eastern UP. In Bihar, one-fourth dropped out due to cost of education, 21 percent were required at home to work in household chores/farm/sibling care, 13 percent were unable to attend school because of distance and limitation of transport, followed by not interested (10%) and the lack of civic facilities at school (9%). Safety issues and marriage were additional social barriers that kept girls from attending school.

Table 10.9: Reasons for school dropout in Bihar and Eastern UP by gender and migration typology

Bihar (Male)

Reasons for dropout	NM HH	IM HH	OM HH	SM HH	RM HH	Total
Costs too much	62.5		8.3	28.6	50.0	35.3
Not interested in studies	8.3		41.7	35.7	50.0	29.4
Required for HH work	8.3		8.3	28.6		11.8
Education not necessary	4.2		12.5	7.1		7.4
School too far	4.2		16.7			7.3
Others	12.5		12.5			8.9

Bihar (Female)

Reasons for dropout	NM HH	IM HH	OM HH	SM HH	RM HH	Total
Costs too much	19.0		30.6	22.2	16.7	25.5
Not interested in studies	19.0		8.2	11.1		9.6
No proper facilities for girls	14.3		4.1	11.1		8.5
Required for HH work	28.5	19.0	19.0	19.0	19.0	21.1
School too far/transport	14.2		8.1	11.1	16.6	12.7
Required education completed			4.1	5.6		3.2
Got married	4.8		4.1			2.1
Not safe to send girls			4.1			2.1
Others		81	17.7	19.8	47.6	15

Est. UP (Male)

Reasons for dropout	NM HH	IM HH	OM HH	SM HH	RM HH	Total
Not interested in studies	42.0		42.3	40.0	27.3	39.8
Costs too much	32.0		34.6	60.0	27.3	34.4
Transport not available	4.0		7.7		9.1	5.4
Required for HH work	6.0		3.8		9.1	5.4
Repeatedly failed in class	2.0				18.2	3.2
Others	14.0		11.5		9.0	11.8

Est. UP (Female)

Reasons for dropout	NM HH	IM HH	OM HH	SM HH	RM HH	Total
Costs too much	42.6	40.0	24.5	40.0	40.0	33.6
Not interested in studies	21.3	20.0	22.6	20.0	20.0	21.6
Required for HH work	14.9		13.2	10.0	10.0	12.9
School too far/transport	6.4	40.0	15.1	10.0	10.0	12.1
Education not necessary	6.4		7.5	10.0	10.0	6.9
No proper facilities for girls	4.3		3.8			3.4
Others	4.3		13.2		10.0	9.5

- No Data

Helping households in managing the family by working at home or, at the farm or business is another major barrier to the continuation of school in seasonal migrant households in Bihar. The factors like cost, distance, the requirement at home to work are structural or poverty issues that have a bearing on the enrolment and continuation of education which may be improved with effort. However, the substantial proportion of children not showing interest in education (29% boys in Bihar, 39 percent boys in Eastern UP, and 10 percent and 21 percent of girls in Bihar and Eastern UP) is a major cause of concern. Whether this is due to an indifferent curriculum or whether it is a result of social exclusion patterns needs to be explored in greater detail possibly through a separate study.

10.4 Conclusion

An analysis of the data suggests that children belonging to migrant households in Eastern UP are doing better when compared to children of non-migrant households in the same region. On the other hand, children from migrant households in Bihar performed poorly in comparison to those from non-migrant households in Bihar. This implies that the nature of migration influences the performance of the children, especially since the proportion of seasonal migrant households is higher in Bihar than in Eastern UP. Children of return migrants display poor educational outcomes when compared to migrant and non-migrant households in both Bihar and Eastern UP. In general, the cost of education and a lack of interest in studies are the two important reasons for the drop of students among both migrant and non-migrant households in the study area.

Similarly, fewer mothers from migrant households received the full complement of four ANC, and close to 40 percent of their babies were home deliveries. Institutional delivery provides better care to both mother and infant and plays a big role in their overall health and wellbeing. It was interesting to note that in Eastern UP, more children from migrant families were institutional deliveries than those from non-migrant families. It thus appears that the migration of fathers positively influences the health and education of children in Eastern UP while it has a negative effect on both with regard to children in Bihar.

The next chapter discusses the consequences of migration on senior citizens by comparing the situation of the elderly living in migrant households with the elderly living in non-migrant households.

Chapter 11 Consequences of Migration on Elderly

11.1 Key Findings

12% of the elderly respondents have reported that they themselves migrated for livelihood and employment in the past.

80% of the left behind elderly live in joint family compared to 48% of those from non-mignrat housheholds.

A relatively higher proportion of left behind elderly are satisfied with food and clothing; while higher proportion of the elderly living in non-migrant households are highly satisfied with their sleeping arrangement.

37% of elderly are engaged in gainful occupation. A larger number of elderly persons living in non-migrnat households in Bihar are responsible for contribtuing to the family income.

Dependency on co-villagers, lack of timely support, loneliness health issue are the major concerns of elderly in general and left behind elderly in particular.

Majority opine that migration brings prosperity to the left behind family. However less than 10% also perceive that economic prosperity comes at the cost of personal relationships and family suffering.

Overall, elderly living in non-migrant householsd face more challenges than the left behind elderly people.

The migration of economically active male members causes disruptions in the lives of the dependent family members, especially children and elders in the family by placing the responsibility of livelihood on them (Démurger 2015). In many developing countries, the left-behind aging population in rural areas faces many challenges owing to the exodus of young adults. Older persons may be left behind without traditional family support and adequate financial resources (United Nations, 2002). Access to health care becomes a challenge for elderly persons living on their own, resulting in a decreased reporting of health issues and lower self-reported health status among elderly parents (Démurger 2015). Access to social welfare schemes is also problematic since the left-behind women shoulder the double responsibility of caring for children and elders in the family in addition to household chores as well as other 'outside the home' work that would have otherwise be done by the men. Evandrou, Falkingham, Qin & Vlachantoni (2017) point out that senior citizens who live alone or have been left behind when the family migrates are at greater risk of hypertension, diabetes, and heart diseases as compared to their counterparts living with family maintain that the main reason for this is the change in lifestyle of the elderly.

This chapter focuses on the elderly population residing in Middle Ganga Plain (MGP) who are left behind by their adult children who migrate out for livelihood and employment. For the purpose of this study, an elderly respondent is defined as "Any household member, who is 60 years or above, and currently living in the household for six months and more". Out-migration is an inter-generational phenomenon and it is likely that many of the elderly respondents of this study have experienced being a migrant themselves or have been left-behind family members in their younger days. It is equally likely that the elderly respondents have a good understanding of the issues related to migration, even if their family members do not migrate since migration is a widespread phenomenon in this region. This chapter seeks to understand the challenges faced by elderly living in migrant households during the absence of their sons, their level of satisfaction from daily and essential living arrangements, their perceptions on migration, and details of their current livelihood of the elderly living in both migrant and non-migrant households.

11.2 Profile of Elderly Respondents

Table 11.1 shows the socio-economic characteristics of elderly respondents across migrant, non-migrant, and return migrant households in Bihar, Eastern UP, and the MGP region. The socio-economic background of the respondents has been sought to examine whether this has a bearing on their views and perceptions of migration. The data revealed that close to 90 percent of the elderly respondents are Hindus and more than half belong to the OBC category. A higher percentage of elderly respondents belong to land-owning households. Eighty percent of the left-behind elderly in migrant households are residing in joint families, indicating a preference of leaving elders back when there was someone to care for them.

Table 11.1: Socio-economic characteristics of the elderly

	Bihar			Est. UP			MGP		
	Migration status			Migration Status			Migration status		
	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Religion									
Hindu	89.5	82.5	90.9	91.9	92	92.3	89.9	84.8	91.7
Muslim	10.5	17.5	9.1	8.1	8	7.7	10.1	15.2	8.3
Caste Category									
SC+ST	27.8	16.3	15.5	37.1	26.7	26.4	29.4	18.8	17.6
OBC	49.6	54.3	62.2	46.8	48.5	47.4	49.2	53.0	58.4
Others	22.6	29.3	22.2	16.1	24.7	26.3	21.4	28.2	23.5
Land holding size									
Landless	43.8	43.3	31.8	29.2	24.7	13.2	41.3	38.5	21.7
< 1 acre	33.6	36.4	36.4	30.8	33	44.7	33.1	35.6	42.2
≥ 1acre	22.6	20.4	31.1	40.0	42.3	42.1	25.7	25.9	34.5
Family type									
Nuclear	62.0	26.2	56.8	34.6	15.0	31.6	57.2	23.4	51.8
Joint	38.0	73.8	43.2	65.4	85.0	68.4	42.8	76.6	48.2
Total (n)	**245**	**264**	**36**	**185**	**311**	**39**	**430**	**575**	**75**

Nearly 42 percent of the left-behind elderly are from land-owning households in Eastern UP, while this is true of around a fourth of those in Bihar. In the region of Bihar, 44 percent of elderly in the non-migrant household are landless, while the corresponding proportion for migrant household and return migrant households are 43 percent and 32 percent, respectively.
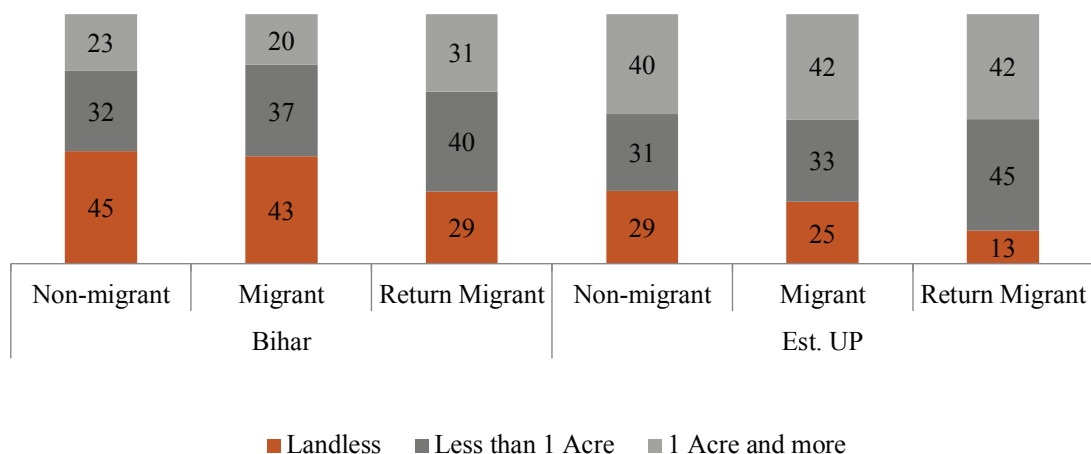
Figure 11.1: Percent distribution of elderlies by landholding size

In Eastern UP, more than two-thirds of the elderly (85% from migrant families, 68% from return, and 65% from non-migrant HHs) live in joint families as compared to 75 percent, 43 percent, and 37 percent in respective categories in Bihar (Figure 11.2). Across the MGP, the percentage of elderly living in the nuclear family is higher in the non-migrant households, followed by return migrant and migrant households (57%, 51%, and 24% respectively).
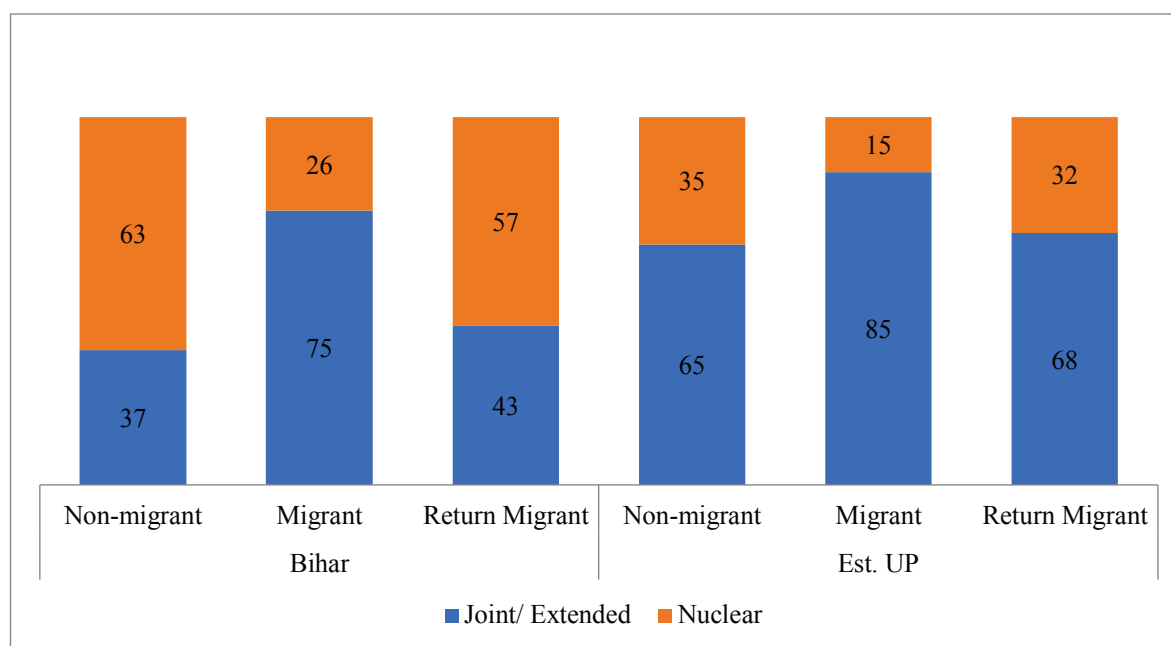
Figure 11.2: Percent distribution of elderlies by their family type

11.3 Living Arrangements

The study compared the living conditions of elderly persons from migrant families with that of those from non-migrant families with a view to understanding how migration affects the living arrangements. Perceptions of elderly respondents on the availability of basic requirements and their satisfaction regarding these have also been explored across categories of households.

Table 11.2: Satisfaction level of elderly respondents on living and other arrangements

| | Bihar | | | | Est. UP | | | | MGP | | | |
| | Migration status | | | | Migration status | | | | Migration status | | | |
	NM HH %	M HH %	RM HH %	Total %	NM HH %	M HH %	RM HH %	Total %	NM HH %	M HH %	RM HH %	Total %
Food												
Highly satisfied	49.6	60.5	63.6	55.8	42.5	51.5	50	48.2	48.6	58.4	60.0	54.3
Not satisfied	3.0	4.3	0.0	3.4	9.7	3.7	5.3	5.9	4.1	4.0	1.2	3.8
Clothing												
Highly satisfied	45.5	58.8	64.4	53.2	39.5	50.8	52.6	46.9	44.6	56.8	61.2	50.2
Not satisfied	4.9	3.6	0.0	3.9	6.5	4.0	2.6	4.8	5.1	3.8	1.2	4.2
Sleeping arrangement												
Highly satisfied	61.7	52.7	61.4	57.4	41.9	41.0	35.9	41.0	58.2	50.1	55.3	49.6
Not satisfied	7.5	8.0	2.3	7.4	14.0	9.0	7.7	10.7	8.6	8.3	3.5	8.9
Toilet/Bathroom												
Highly satisfied	48.3	45.8	62.5	48.2	31.5	35.8	36.7	34.4	44.8	43.2	59.0	45.0
Not satisfied	20.0	21.9	21.9	21.1	13.7	14.0	16.7	14.1	18.9	19.9	19.7	19.5
Total (n)	**245**	**264**	**36**	**545**	**185**	**311**	**39**	**535**	**430**	**575**	**75**	**1080**

As can be seen in Table 11.2 above, close to half of the elderly respondents across the study area and different categories of households revealed that they are highly satisfied with the food,

clothing, and sleeping arrangements, while less than 10 percent mentioned that they are not satisfied with these. However, when it came to bathrooms and toilets, more than 17 percent of respondents across the study area and types of households indicated dissatisfaction with two fifths (41%) stating that they are highly satisfied with these.

A deeper examination of the data in Table 11.2 reveals that more elderly persons from migrant households in Bihar (61%) are satisfied with their food than their counterparts in Eastern UP (52%). Nearly two-thirds (64%) of elders living in return migrant households in Bihar stated that they are satisfied with the food, as did half of those from similar households in Eastern UP (50%).

Elderly people from return migrant households in both Bihar and Eastern UP show the highest level of satisfaction regarding clothing at 59 and 53 percent respectively. The elderly members from migrant households from Bihar (59%) and Eastern UP (51%) show the second-highest level of satisfaction regarding clothing.

The highest level of satisfaction for sleeping arrangements is displayed by elderly persons living in non-migrant households than migrant households. This is in contrast to levels of satisfaction reported by elderly respondents on food and clothing where those from migrant households and return migrant households express greater satisfaction than their counterparts from non-migrant households.

Toilet and bathroom are a special case because they are the first instances reported by the elderly that do not provide a good level of satisfaction, instead provide the maximum level of dissatisfaction to the elderly across all the categories of migration. This could also be due to the fact that nearly 60 percent of the households do not have toilets attached to their residences (Table 11.3).

Table 11.3: Toilet facilities available to the elderly

Toilet facilities	Bihar	Est UP	MGP
Attached to the room	21.6	17.9	20.8
Attached to the house	19.0	21.6	19.6
Close to the house	16.5	24.4	18.2
Away from the house	13.6	16.2	14.1
No toilet / bathroom	29.3	19.8	27.3
Total	**545**	**535**	**1080**

Table 11.4: Problems faced by elderly in Bihar, Est UP, and MGP

	Bihar			Est. UP			MGP		
	Migration status			Migration status			Migration status		
	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Problems faced by elderly									
Dependency on co villagers/ relatives	54.3	46.0	44.4	33.0	45.5	33.3	50.6	45.8	41.7
No timely support in case of emergency	51.1	47.3	46.7	33.0	39.8	23.7	47.9	45.3	41.7
Helplessness	47.9	37.1	47.7	28.1	20.7	15.4	44.4	33.0	41.2
Children become out of control	47.4	39.1	54.5	21.6	24.7	23.7	42.8	35.5	48.2
Loneliness	58.3	51.1	48.9	36.2	38.1	36.8	54.4	47.5	47.1
Difficulty in managing social relations	35.7	33.5	34.1	23.8	22.4	18.4	33.5	30.4	30.6
Lack of security	42.5	36.1	31.8	22.6	16.7	15.4	38.9	30.9	28.2
Lack of control over daughter/ in-law	33.2	28.7	38.6	17.8	16.7	18.4	30.6	25.7	35.3
Jealousy in co-villagers	29.7	25.8	36.4	17.8	14.4	15.4	27.7	22.8	31.8
Encroachment of land / property	27.4	20.4	31.1	18.9	16.4	20.5	25.9	19.6	28.2
Health related problems	40.6	34.9	40.9	26.9	30.1	28.9	38.1	33.9	38.8
Unknown fear	18	13.9	13.3	12.9	9.7	12.8	17.1	12.9	12.9
Total (n)	**245**	**264**	**36**	**185**	**311**	**39**	**430**	**575**	**75**

11.4 Problems faced by the Elderly

Table 11.4 gives information about the various problems and challenges faced by the elderly family members across Bihar, Est UP, and the Middle Ganga Plain. The analysis indicates that the proportion of elderly who face problems is high amongst the elderly living in migrant households in both Eastern UP and Bihar while reporting of the problem was even higher among the elderly living in non-migrant households in Bihar.

Loneliness, dependency on co-villagers, and lack of timely support are the most frequently reported problems among the elderly. The most important feature which is found in this Table 11.3 is that the elderly living in non-migrant households also feel lonely. This may be due to the fact that although the youth from the migrant, non-migrant, and return-migrant households go out of their households to earn a living, the youth from migrant households are better connected with their parents and other elderly through phones and other modes of long-distance communication. Health-related problems are another challenge reported by more elderly members from non-migrant households than their counterparts in migrant households
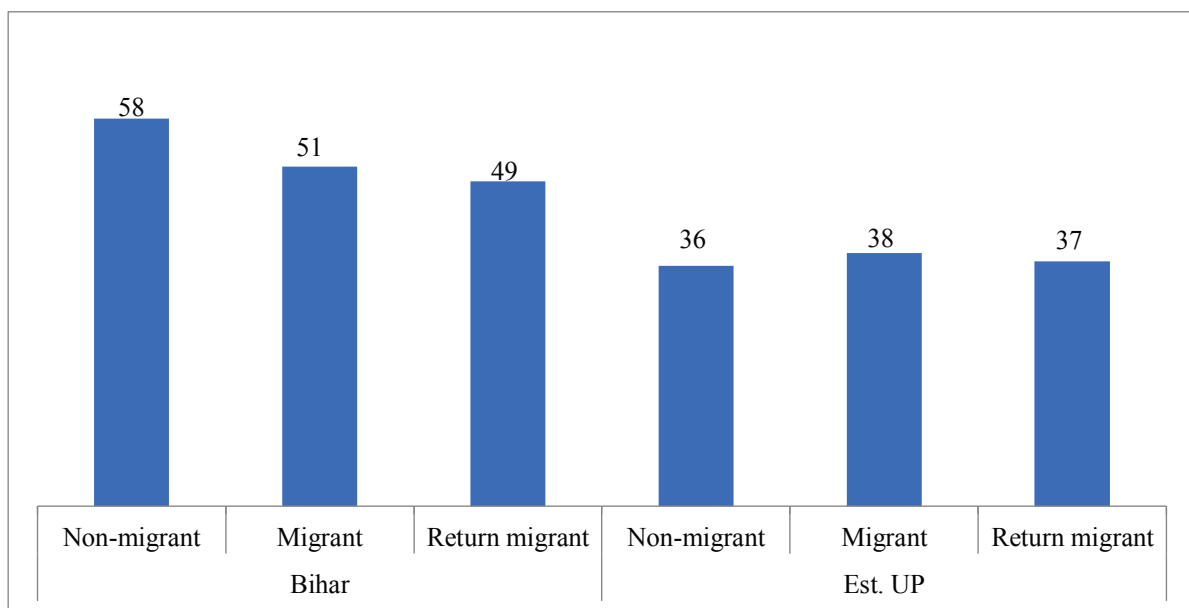
Figure 11.3: Loneliness expressed by the elderly (in %)

11.5 Perceptions of Elderly Respondents on Migration

The perceptions of the senior citizens who have a great deal of life experience on migration can provide valuable insights regarding this complex phenomenon. Most of the elderly respondents (more than two-third) agree that migration brings prosperity to the family, while some (one-third) feel that migration does not make any significant difference to the family, only a small percent believe that it has an adverse effect.

Table 11.5: Perception of elderly about migration (in %)

Migration is a necessity/beneficial phenomenon	Bihar			Est. UP			MGP		
	Migration status			Migration status			Migration status		
	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	NM HH	M HH	RM HH
Yes, it brings prosperity to the family	54.7	58	61.4	70.3	78.3	69.2	57.5	63.0	63.1
No, it has no significant role	34.1	31.4	36.4	20.0	14.4	15.4	31.6	27.2	32.1
No, it has negative impact	3.7	1.5	0.0	1.6	1.0	0.0	3.3	1.3	0.0
Yes, migration brings economic prosperity but family suffer	7.5	9.1	2.3	8.1	6.4	15.4	7.6	8.5	4.8
Total (n)	**245**	**264**	**36**	**185**	**311**	**39**	**430**	**575**	**75**

11.6 Economic Involvement of Elderly Respondents

Table 11.5 shows the occupation of the elderly across migrants, non-migrants, and return migrants households and the study areas (MGP, Bihar, and Eastern UP). Overall, 37 percent of the elderly in MGP are engaged in gainful occupation. A larger percent of elderly respondents is involved in cultivation (62%), agricultural labourers (17%), and casual wage labourer (9%).

More than two-fifths (44%) of elderly from non-migrant households across the MGP region while a slightly lower percentage of elderly persons from migrant (33%) and return migrant (36%) households are currently engaged in work. When the occupation of elderly from migrant households is compared with elderly from non-migrant households, it is found that a relatively higher proportion of elderly from migrant households (more than 70 percent) are working in their own farms whereas a relatively higher share of elderly from non-migrant households across both regions are working as agricultural labourers (more than 20%) or causal labourer or running own business (more than 7% in each). The pattern remains consistent across both regions.

Thus, though approximately one-third of the elderlies in the study are engaged in economic activities; migration appears to bring some relief from livelihood responsibility to the left-behind elderly, particularly in Bihar. More than 90 percent of elders from return migrant households across Bihar (91%) and Eastern UP (97%) have their own bank accounts, followed by more than 80 percent of those from migrant households in both regions (79% in Bihar and 89% in Eastern UP) and non-migrant households (76% in Bihar and 89% in Eastern UP).

Table 11.6 Percent of elderly engaged in gainful occupation by migration status of the households

	Bihar				Est. UP				MGP			
	Migration status				Migration status				Migration status			
	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	Total	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	Total	NM HH	M HH	RM HH	Total
Working currently	44.9	33.1	33.3	38.5	34.4	33.3	44.7	34.5	43.0	33.2	35.7	36.6
Nature of employment												
Cultivator	56.3	74.7	68.8	64.6	50.0	65.0	58.8	59.1	55.5	72.7	67.7	62.2
Agricultural labour	20.2	14.3	18.8	17.7	20.3	14.0	0.0	14.9	20.1	13.7	12.9	16.5
Own business	7.6	3.3	6.3	5.8	9.4	9.0	0.0	8.3	7.7	4.4	3.2	6.9
Casual wage labour	6.7	4.4	6.3	5.8	12.5	8.0	35.3	12.2	7.9	7.7	12.9	8.6
Other	9.2	3.3	0	6.2	7.9	4.0	5.9	5.6	8.6	1.6	3.2	5.9
Have own bank account	75.9	78.5	91.1	78.3	88.1	88.7	97.4	89.1	78	81.2	92.9	83.4
Total (n)	**245**	**264**	**36**	**545**	**185**	**311**	**39**	**535**	**430**	**575**	**75**	**1080**

11.7 Conclusion

The study of the perceptions of the elderly population is of paramount importance because of the scale of out-migration from the region. Antman (2013) reports that elderly parents receive lower time contributions from all of their children when even one child migrates. The out-migration of the youth from this region thus leaves the elderly in a vulnerable state.

In the study area, the majority of the elderly are Hindus, from OBC categories, landless or marginal farming household, and live in a joint family. Although the elderly respondents indicate satisfaction about their living arrangements, the absence of proper bathroom and toilet facilities for close to 60 percent of the elderly seems to be the reason behind the reduced level of satisfaction in this regard. There are several challenges faced by elderly respondents of which loneliness and dependency on co-villagers, relatives, and neighbours seem to be the most frequently occurring problem although appearing unaffected by the status of migration of the household. More than two-fifths of the elderly are economically active despite their old age and more than 80 percent have their own bank accounts.

Overall, a majority of the left-behind elderly have higher satisfaction rates for food and clothing, lesser responsibility for ensuring livelihood for the family than their counterparts in non-migrant or return migrant households. However, they face challenges related to their dependency, loneliness, lack of support during emergencies, and health issues. Irrespective of the presence of migrants in their family, a majority of the elderly believe that migration from the region is beneficial and brings prosperity to the family.

Just like in the case of the elderly, male-selective migration affects the life and status of women who stay back in the village to manage family affairs. The next chapter places the spotlight on the consequences of male migration on the decision-making power of their wives through a comparison of their situations with the wives of non-migrants

Chapter 12 Consequences of Migration on Autonomy of Women

12.1 Key Findings

Higher percentage of left-behind women (70 %) receive money from their husband whereas 37 percent of wives of non-migrant receive money from their husband

About 41 percent of women from non-migrant families get money secretly from husband, only 21 percent of the left behind get money secretly from their husband.

More than half of left behind women take small decisions on their own but when comes to the big decisions, only one fourth ofthese women can take decision on their own.

Level of decision-making power increases with increase in the age irrespective of migration status of husband. More than half of left behind women aged 35 years and above take decisions independently

Migration of husbands may increase the household responsibilities of left behind women, and they have to make many of the household decisions of their own. However, the increased responsibility can ultimately help to empower these women

Labour migration leads to significant changes in the origin area. The separation of male migrants from their families has profound implications for individual family members. Migration affects the lives of not only the migrants but also the left-behind members in the village of origin. Literature and logic both point to the fact that the immediate family members such as the wife, children, and parents are the ones who are most affected by the migration of a male member of the family. The workload of the women often increases with their having to take on responsibility for a variety of work that they have not done prior to the migration of their spouse, ranging from working on the farm to managing bank accounts and other financial matters. This often leads to decreased time for domestic chores and child care (Paris et al. 2005). Moreover, the absence of a spouse or father may deprive the family of the emotional security that comes from the presence of the responsible adult male as well as the protection that they may have had, which is no longer available.

Khuseynova (2013) maintains that migration has both positive and negative effects on households. Positive effects include improved health status and nutrition status, improved purchasing, and consumption power, but negative effect includes a dependency of households on remittance, experience the expansion of role and responsibilities. Left-behind women are more likely to participate in household decision-making and do outside work without seeking permission (Desai & Banerji 2008). Moreover, the absence of the man could strengthen the autonomy of women, provide new opportunities for decision making, enhance confidence, and may lead to taking on greater roles and responsibilities within the household.

This chapter examines the effect of male migration on the changes in the role, autonomy, and empowerment of women who stay behind in the Middle Ganga Plain when their men migrate. Data was collected from 2716 women aged 15 to 49 years, of which 1314 (48%) are women who stayed back when the men in their households migrated while the remaining 1402 (52%) are women from non-migrant households.

12.2 Background Characteristics of Women Respondents

Table 12.1 depicts the background characteristics of women whose husbands migrated and the wives of non-migrants. In the Middle Ganga Plain, nearly 80 percent of left-behind women and 87 percent of wives of non-migrants are Hindus. More than half of both groups of women belong to other backward castes (OBCs), and nearly one-fifth are from the scheduled castes. About one-tenth of the left-behind women and wives of non-migrants belong to scheduled tribes. However, in Eastern UP, 37 percent of left-behind women and 33 percent of wives of non-migrants belong to scheduled caste while the corresponding percent in Bihar were 22 percent and 23 percent respectively.

More than 65 percent of both groups of women belong to the nuclear family. The proportion of left-behind women who belong to joint/extended family is considerably higher in Eastern UP (56 %) as compared to Bihar (30 %). Sixty percent of left-behind women and 55 percent of wives of non-migrants are from landless households. Landlessness is higher in Bihar with

nearly two-thirds of left-behind women from Bihar belonging to landless households while 43 percent of left-behind women from Eastern UP are landless. The mean age of women is 31 years and the average age at marriage is 16 years in both Bihar and Eastern UP. Nearly, half of the left-behind women belong to the age group of 25 to 34 years. The majority of the left being women in Bihar (78%) and Eastern UP (89%) are Hindus, while the remaining (22% in Bihar and 11% in Est UP) were Muslims. The corresponding percent of women from non-migrant families that are Hindu were slightly higher (86% in Bihar and 92% in Est UP). With regard to caste, the proportion of STs is comparatively higher in Eastern UP as compared to Bihar. In Bihar, the majority of left-behind women are from nuclear families (71%) while in Eastern UP just over half of them were from joint families (56%)

Table 12.1: Profile of left-behind women and wives of non-migrants in the 15-49 years age group

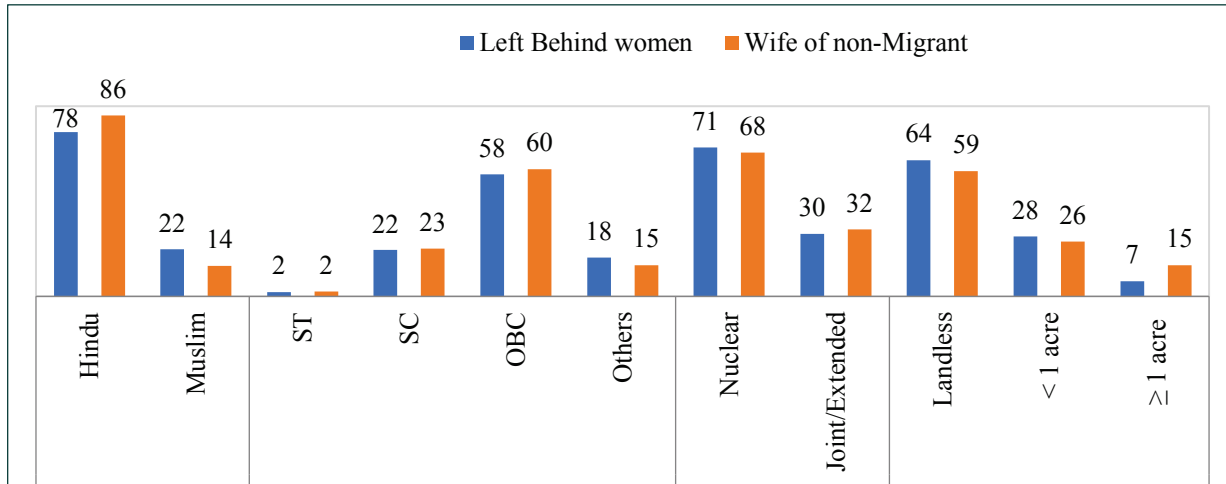|	Bihar		Est UP		MGP	
	Left-Behind women	**Wife of non-Migrant**	**Left-Behind women**	**Wife of Non-Migrant**	**Left-Behind women**	**Wife of Non-Migrant**
Religion						
Hindu	77.8	85.6	89.3	92.1	80.0	87.3
Muslim	22.2	14.4	10.7	7.9	20.0	12.7
Caste Category						
ST	2.0	2.4	2.4	3.3	2.0	2.6
SC	21.9	22.6	36.9	33.3	24.9	25.6
OBC	57.8	60.3	47.0	47.4	55.7	56.8
Others	18.3	14.8	13.7	15.9	17.5	15.1
Family Type						
Nuclear	70.5	68.2	44.4	60.4	65.3	66.1
Joint	29.5	31.8	55.6	39.6	34.7	33.9
Landholding size						
Landless	64.4	59.4	42.6	42.1	60.1	54.7
< 1 acre	28.4	25.9	33.4	29.9	29.3	27.0
≥ 1 acre	7.3	14.7	23.9	28	10.6	18.3
Mean Age (in years)	30.9	32.6	31.6	33.6	31.1	32.8
Age at Marriage (in years)	16.2	16.2	16.2	16.3	16.2	16.2
Consummation age (in years)	17.2	17.3	17.7	17.6	17.3	17.4
Age (in years)						
Less than 25	19.4	16.1	14.4	9.8	18.4	14.4
25 to 34	47.0	38.5	47.5	41.7	47.1	39.3
35 to 44	26.8	36.8	32.6	38.8	27.9	37.3
45 and above	6.8	8.6	5.5	9.6	6.5	8.9
Family Size						
Single member	3.6	0.2	1.6	0.0	3.2	0.2
2 - 5 members	67.6	53.8	56.5	49.5	65.5	52.7
6 and more members	28.8	46.1	41.9	50.5	31.4	47.2
Total (N)	**100 (739)**	**100 (639)**	**100 (575)**	**100 (763)**	**100 (1314)**	**100 (1402)**

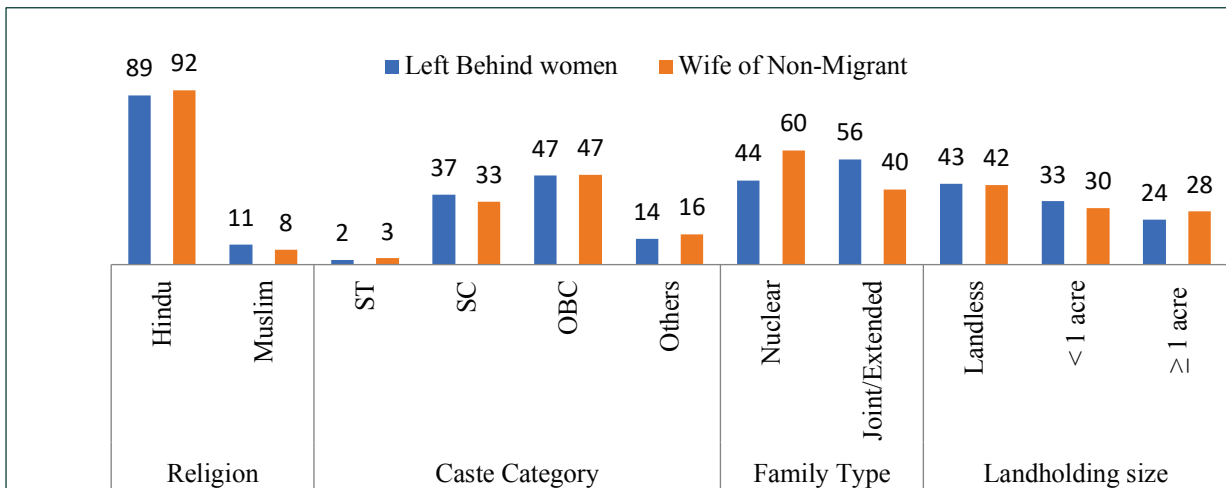**Figure 12.1: Social characteristics of women respondents (Bihar)**

Figure 12.2: Social characteristics of women respondents (Est UP)
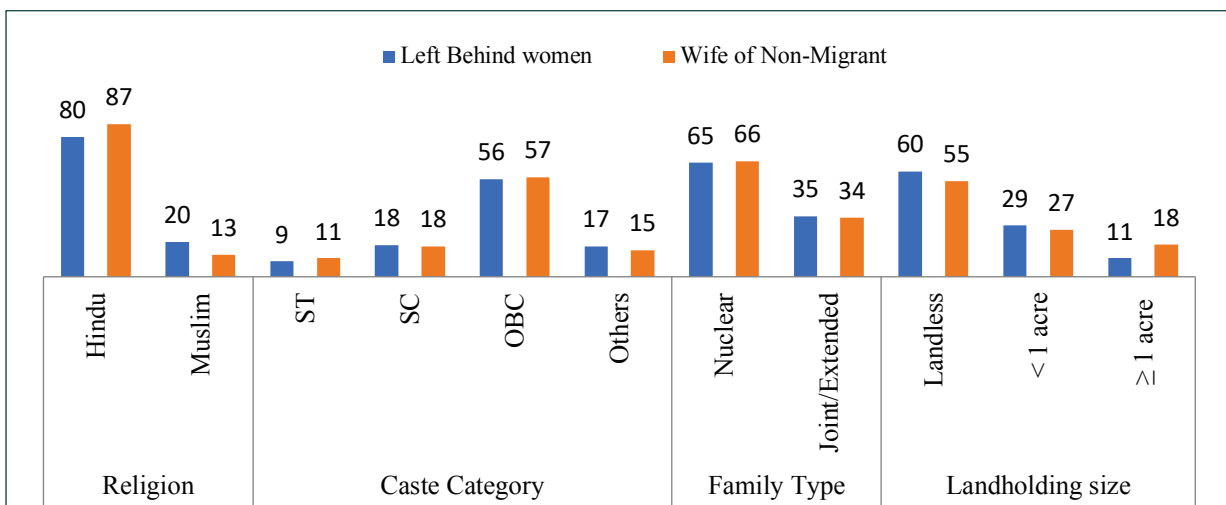

Figure 12.3: Social Characteristics of women respondents(MGP)

12.3 Remittances and Economic Background of Women Respondents

To understand the economic status of women, women were questioned on remittances, possession of the land, and savings. Table 12.2 provides information about remittances and the economic background of women. In the Middle Ganga Plain, around 70 percent of left-behind women receive money from their husbands, whereas 36 percent of the wife of non-migrant receive money from their husbands. While about 41 percent of women of non-migrants get money secretly (without the notice of any other family members) from husband as pocket money, only 21 percent of the left-behind women get money secretly from their husband. This difference is probably due to the fact that nearly three-quarters of women in migrant households (left behind women) are the recipients of remittances and do not require money in secret. In order to understand the financial autonomy of women, the women were asked if they have any control over money. Nearly half of the women from both groups have stated that they have full control over money. Moreover, around 95 percent of women from both groups do not possess any land in their name. About three-fourths of left-behind women (73%) have a saving bank account as compared to wives of non-migrant (67%). The proportion of left-behind women having any savings is relatively higher in Eastern UP (82%) as compared to Bihar (70 %). While more than 30 percent of the women in Bihar are members of various groups such as self-help groups, the corresponding percentage for Eastern UP was about 10 percent.

Table 12.2: Remittances and Economic background of women (%)

	Bihar		Est UP		MGP	
	Left Behind Women	Wives of non-migrant	Left Behind Women	Wives of non-migrant	Left Behind Women	Wives of non-migrant
Husbands send/give/remit money to run the house						
Himself	15.4	57.4	8.0	48.3	13.9	55.0
Wife	71.4	35.1	65.1	40.3	70.1	36.4
Others	13.2	7.6	27.0	11.4	15.9	8.7
Get money / remittances/ in-hand from your husband secretly	19.6	43.0	24.3	36.9	20.5	41.3
Have any say or control over the money						
Partial control	28.1	29.8	48.4	47.2	32.1	34.5
Full control	54.7	50.1	43.8	37.8	52.5	46.8
No control	17.3	20.1	7.8	14.9	15.4	18.7
Possess any landed property or any other property in your name						
Do not possess	96.2	95.1	92.5	92.9	95.5	94.5
Yes, in my name	3.8	4.9	7.5	6.9	4.5	5.4
Yes, jointly with my husband	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1
Have savings account in Bank / post office	70.2	63.9	82.1	76.2	72.6	67.2
Member of any groups	34.1	32.8	10.1	11.5	29.4	27.2
Total(n)	**100 (739)**	**100 (639)**	**100 (575)**	**100 (763)**	**100 (1314)**	**100 (1402)**

12.4 Decision Making Powers of Wives of Migrants and Non-migrants

Left-behind women play a greater role in the decision-making process due to the absence of their husbands. In the absence of their husbands, women take on major responsibilities in households including the education of children, healthcare of family members, managing day-to-day activities along with their already existing domestic responsibilities. In the present survey, women were asked questions related to their decision-making powers on various household decisions. Table 12.3 compares the decision-making powers of left-behind wives with those of the wives of non-migrants. It is evident from the table that the decision-making power is relatively higher among women who are left behind when compared to the wives of non-migrants. For instance, in the Middle Ganga Plain, nearly 65 percent of the left-behind women take their own decisions on the daily household chores whereas only 39 percent of wives of non-migrants make their own decisions. When it comes to decisions related to the purchase of items such as food and clothes for self and children the data reveals that a higher proportion of left-behind women (57%) take decisions on their own as compared to wives of non-migrants (31%).

More than half of left-behind women say that they can take decisions regarding their own health care (56%) and that of their children (57%) and personal health care treatment (56%) in comparison to 34 percent and 32 percent of the wives of non-migrants. However, few women from either group of women take decisions independently when it comes to buying gold ornaments, land, or expenditure on house repairs. Even in these categories, however, the percentage of left-behind women taking such decisions is significantly higher (by more than 10%) than women from non-migrant households. In Bihar, more than two-thirds (68%) of left-behind women take their own decision related to the day-day running of household as against two-fifths (42%) of women from non-migrant households. In Eastern UP, more than half (55%) of the left-behind women take their own decision on daily household activities as against less than a third (30%) of women from non-migrant households. The level of decision-making power of left-behind women is relatively higher in Bihar as compared to Eastern UP. However, the proportion of left-behind women going out for social activity is higher in Eastern UP (41%) as compared to Bihar (36%). Nearly one-fourth of left-behind women from Bihar (25%) and a third (31%) of those from Eastern UP experience freedom of mobility while visiting their family friends and relatives as against 11 percent (Bihar) and 13 percent (Eastern UP) of women from non-migrant households.

Table 12.3: Decision making power of left-behind women and wives of non-migrants across regions (%)

	Bihar		Est. UP		MGP	
	Left Behind Women	Wives of Non-Migrant	Left Behind Women	Wives of Non-Migrant	Left Behind Women	Wives of Non-Migrant
Daily Household Chores						
Own Decision	67.9	41.7	54.6	29.8	65.2	38.5
Jointly with Husband	0.8	5.6	3.3	8.2	1.3	6.4
Others	31.3	52.7	42.1	62	33.4	55.1
Purchase for self						
Own Decision	59.5	35.4	53.6	25.1	58.3	32.7
Jointly with Husband	2.4	7.8	3.8	10.7	2.7	8.5
Others	38.1	56.7	42.6	64.2	39.0	58.7
Purchase for children						
Own Decision	57.7	33.4	52.5	24.4	56.7	31.0
Jointly with Husband	3.2	8.0	3.6	10.6	3.3	8.7
Others	39.1	58.6	43.8	65.0	40.0	60.3
Children's health care						
Own Decision	58.1	34.6	52.2	25.3	56.9	32.1
Jointly with Husband	3.9	8.8	3.6	10.9	3.9	9.4
Others	38.0	56.6	44.2	63.8	39.3	58.5
Self-health care and treatment						
Own Decision	56.6	37.9	51.5	22.5	55.5	33.9
Jointly with Husband	3.9	9.2	3.8	12.2	3.9	10.1
Others	39.5	52.8	44.7	65.3	40.6	56.1
Going out for social activity						
Own Decision	36.2	19.7	41.4	17.1	37.2	19.1
Jointly with Husband	6.7	11.1	4.9	8.1	6.3	10.3
Others	57.1	69.1	53.7	74.9	56.5	70.6
Buying gold/ornaments						
Own Decision	31.8	15.5	32.6	13.9	32	15.1
Jointly with Husband	7.8	12.4	9.5	14.2	8.1	12.8
Others	60.3	72.1	57.9	72.0	59.9	72.1
Purchasing land, seeds, fertilizer						
Own Decision	21.9	9.3	33.1	13.2	24.1	10.3
Jointly with Husband	3.1	6.8	5.5	9.5	3.6	7.5
Others	75.0	84.0	61.4	77.2	72.3	82.2
Repairing house						
Own Decision	22.5	9.6	30.5	13.1	24.1	10.5
Jointly with Husband	6.6	8.9	5.9	9.1	6.4	9.0
Others	71.0	81.5	63.6	77.7	69.6	80.5
Visit family friends, relatives						
Own Decision	24.9	11.4	31.0	12.8	26.1	11.7
Jointly with Husband	8.1	12.5	6.7	8.9	7.8	11.6
Others	67.0	76.0	62.3	78.3	66.1	76.7
Personal expenses						
Own Decision	33.9	26.4	34.8	13.8	34.1	23.0
Jointly with Husband	5.2	7.1	6.2	12.2	5.3	8.5
Others	60.9	66.6	59.0	74.1	60.6	68.5
Total	**100(739)**	**100(639)**	**100(575)**	**100(763)**	**100(1314)**	**100(1402)**

12.5 Increase in Responsibilities of Left-behind Women

Table 12.4 shows the increased responsibilities of left-behind women. Data shows that in Bihar, almost two-thirds of women are involved in minding their children (67%) followed by two-fourth of the wives performing social and ritual activities (48%) and also looking after the elderly family members (47%). In Eastern UP a similar trend is seen with relation to responsibilities taken up by women. Minding children/child care is again a priority, with half (51%) of the women reporting the same, but as compared to Bihar, the second priority of these left-behind women (45%) is caring for older members of the family or elders in the family. This was followed by two-fifth of the women who reported doing social and ritual activities and caring for other household members each. Whereas, in both Bihar (24%) and Eastern UP (25%), only one-fourth of the women have reported undertaking marketing and banking-related activities in the absence of their husbands.

Table 12.4: Percent of left-behind women reporting an increase in responsibilities after migration of their husbands

	Bihar	**Est UP**	**MGP**
Minding children	66.5	51.3	63..5
Increased social and ritual responsibility	48.1	37.5	46.1
Taking care of unmarried brother in law/sister in law /Others	34.1	38.5	35.0
Taking care of elderly family members	47.3	45.1	46.9
Increased financial responsibility	31.0	36.1	32.0
Marketing and banking related work	23.7	24.5	23.8
Total	**(739)**	**(575)**	**(1314)**

The extent of decision-making power may vary according to the socio-economic characteristics of left-behind women and wives of non-migrants. Table 12.5 presents the percentage of left-behind women and wives of non-migrant across the three levels of decision making and select background characteristics. The level of decision-making power is slightly higher among left-behind women who are Muslims (46%) as compared to Hindus (42%) while in the case of non-migrant wives, more Hindus (25%) have decision-making power as compared to Muslims (21%).

Regarding caste, both left-behind women and wives of non-migrants who belong to ST (50% and 36%) and SC (47% and 27%) have higher decision-making power as compared to women who belong to OBC (41% and 24%) and other general categories (41% and 16%). Further, the level of decision-making power is significantly higher among wives of migrants living in a nuclear family (51.7%) as compared to those living in a joint family (30%). However, the decision-making power among wives of non-migrants does not vary significantly according to their type of family.

The level of decision-making power increases with an increase in age irrespective of the migration status of the husband. Table 12.5 also depicts that wives with access to money are more independent when making decisions and this remains constant across both migrant and

non-migrant households. Similar patterns can be seen among wives having a bank account and those who are members of SHG as both groups display greater independence regarding decision-making. However, having said that; a comparison of women from migrant households with those from non-migrant households reinforces the predictable conclusion that wives have a greater say in decisions during the absence of their husbands and this automatically decreases when husbands are present.

Table 12.5: Percentage of women with different level of decision-making power by migration status of husband and background characteristics in the Middle Ganga Plain

Background Characteristics	Decision-making power of Left behind women			Decision-making power of wives of non-migrants		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	medium	High
Religion						
Hindu	25.0	33.3	41.7	37.5	37.6	24.9
Muslim	20.4	33.3	46.3	36.3	42.8	20.9
Caste Category						
ST	25.1	24.7	50.3	39.7	24.2	36.1
SC	16.9	35.7	47.3	33.8	39.8	26.4
OBC	25.8	33.5	40.7	37.2	39.1	23.8
Others	24.5	34.9	40.7	41.5	42.2	16.3
Type of family						
Nuclear	11.9	36.5	51.7	32.6	41.4	26.0
Joint	41.9	28.6	29.5	49.4	30.2	20.4
Landholding						
Landless	18.9	34.8	46.3	35.0	38.2	26.8
< 1 acre	28.1	33.1	38.8	39.8	37.1	23.2
≥ 1 acre	38.5	26.5	35.1	41.6	40.4	18.0
Age Category						
less than 25	40.5	38.1	21.4	53.9	28.7	17.4
25 to 34	26.5	31.3	42.3	35.2	42.1	22.7
35 to 44	14.2	34.1	51.7	33.9	37.5	28.6
45 and above	12.9	29.0	58.1	32.6	37.6	29.8
Access to money						
Yes	11.0	33.4	55.6	19.6	45.0	35.5
No	50.2	33.1	16.8	49.7	33.6	16.8
Having bank account						
Yes	20.9	31.6	47.5	33.7	38.2	28.1
No	31.5	38.1	30.5	44.7	38.3	17.0
SHG member						
Yes	12.2	34.4	53.5	25.2	41.0	33.8
No	28.0	33.0	39.0	42.5	37.1	20.5

12.6 Conclusion

Migration changes the socio-economic, demographic profile of the study area which in turn has positive results when it comes to the autonomy of women. The analysis of data collected from the migrant household when compared to non-migrant households indicates that a majority of the left-behind women take own decision regarding on day-to-day activities while decisions on important matters were taken by other family members. There is a considerable variation in the decision-making powers of left-behind women when compared to wives of non-migrants, with the former being responsible for more decisions than the latter. The level of decision-making power of left-behind women is seen to increase with age and is higher among the Muslim and SC/ST left-behind women. A comparison of migrant and non-migrant households indicates that

the decision-making power of women is significantly higher in the absence of the husband as the absence of the husband extends the women's responsibilities beyond the household to encompass financial responsibility and community work. It appears that this has also contributed to the empowerment of left-behind women.

SECTION 4

Chapter 13 Utilization of Welfare Schemes and Programmes

13.1 Key Findings

Respondent awareness and utilization of government schemes and programme is presented in this chapter.

PDS, employment guarantee scheme MGNREGA, social security schemes like Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana, Indira Gandhi National Old age Pension Scheme, Sukanya Samriddhi Yojana, Janani Suraksha Yojana, Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakaram and Swatch Bharat Abhiyan are some of the schemes/programmes covered as part of the study.

Awareness levels regarding programmes and schemes is higher than utilization of all schemes and services with utilization being relatively higher amongst all households from EUP than the housheodls from Bihar.

By and large, the migration status of households did not influence responses on either awareness or utilization.

There is not much difference in access to various government programmes by migration status either in Eastern UP or Bihar, but return migrant households are more dependent on PDS and public works provided under MGNREGA.

MGP despite economically being a poor region, the level of utilization of the MGNREGA, PDS and other welfare schemes are lower is a point of serious cencern

The overall progress of any area is linked with its development and this has a direct bearing on the programmes and schemes for poverty alleviation and income generation that are available to the people of that area. The NIRD-SAMANVAY(NIRDPR 2014b; NIRDPR 2014a) lists 251 schemes in UP and 307 schemes in Bihar that focus on the development and welfare of rural populations; the significant ones being PDS, JSY, MGNREGA, JSY, NRHM, Aajeevika - National Livelihood Mission, Old Age Pension Scheme, and the Jana-Dhan Yojana. It is important to note that the extent of utilization of these schemes and services depends largely on awareness of these schemes and services amongst the potential beneficiary population and the governance systems responsible for the implementation of the schemes and services.

To date, most research on programme/ scheme utilization amongst migrant households focuses on families at the place of destination. Moreover, few schemes, programmes, or services appear to have been designed specifically for left being wives, children, or elderly parents of migrants. Also missing are programmes, services, and schemes to enable safe migrations or to support the resettlement of return migrants at the place of origin.

The current study presents data from the respondent households on their awareness and utilisation of some of the social welfare schemes and programmes comparing responses across migrant, non-migrant, and return migrant households.

13.2 Public Distribution System

The Public Distribution System **(**PDS) is considered as one of the most important government-run programs for distributing subsidized food grains to ensure household food security to all the poor households in India. The PDS, which became a national policy after the Great Bengal Famine in the early 1940s, is the largest and the most ambitious planned food distribution system in the world (Kumar et al. 2016). However, the targeted public distribution system was launched in 1997 for distributing subsidized food grains such as wheat and rice, particularly to poor people. The outreach of the PDS expanded due to significantly enhanced participation by the lower socio-economic sections of the society (Kumar et al. 2016). Despite its various weaknesses, the PDS system in India remains a key determinant of food security for the poor (Gupta and Mishra 2018). However, the functioning of PDS (which serves about two-thirds of the population with the help of a vast network of about five million fair-price shops) is not uniform across states and is broadly perceived as an irreparably dysfunctional scheme in many of the Indian states.

Four types of ration cards are issued based on the economic status of the receiving family. These include Above Poverty Line (APL) cards, Below Poverty Line or BPL cards, Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) cards for economically weakest sections, and Annapurna Yojana (AY) cards for senior citizens aged over 65 years who are economically disadvantaged. Depending on the type of ration card, the household can avail of rice, wheat, sugar, and kerosene oil at subsidized rates.

The data from the respondent households showed that 70 percent of the households across the MGP possess ration cards with the percentage of ration card-holding households being slightly

higher in Eastern Uttar Pradesh (75%) than in Bihar (69%) (Figure 13.1). The migration status of the household does not have a bearing on the possession of the ration card.
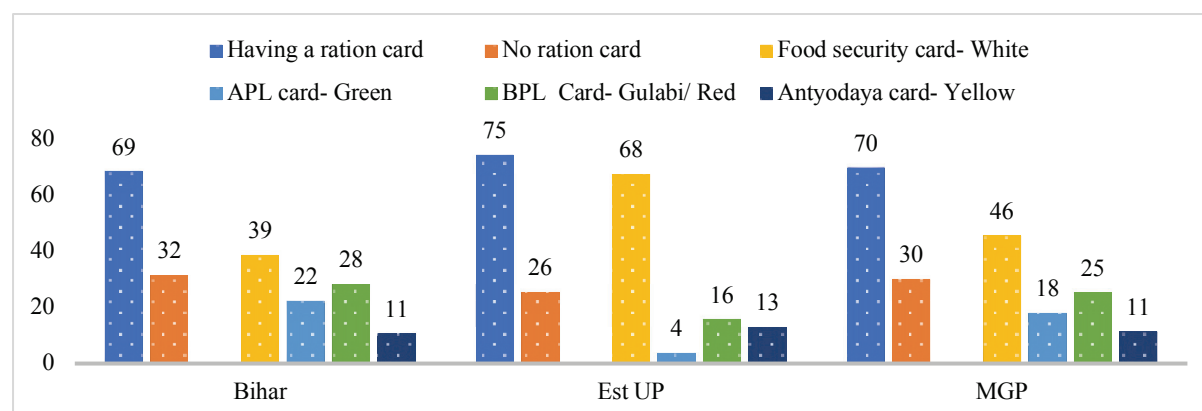

Figure 13.1: Percentage of household having ration card and by types of ration cards

Table 13.1 presents the difference in the type of cards and shows a distinct variation across the regions. In comparison to more than one-third of the households in Bihar, more than two-thirds of the households in Eastern UP have availed of the Annapurna Yojana. In comparison to 16 percent of the households in Eastern UP, 28 percent of the households in Bihar possessed BPL cards while only a fifth of those in Bihar and three percent from Eastern UP had APL cards. Antyodaya cards are availed by slightly more than 10 percent of the households in both areas. The migration status of the household did not have any bearing on the type of card.

The data reveals that 90 percent of households with ration cards use these to get rice and wheat under the PDS while four-fifths receive kerosene oil (Table 13.2). The data indicate that sugar is not provided in these shops hence the number of households that procure sugar is negligible.

Ten percent of the households do not avail of rations under the PDS despite possessing the ration card (Table 13.1). The reasons for not procuring rations from the PDS are presented in Table 13.3. Of these, 42 percent mentioned that the reason for not availing of rations is because the dealer does not provide the items that they required while 12 percent added that they did not need to get rations under the PDS. Only 5 percent stated that the poor quality of the food grains prevents them from availing of the benefits of the scheme. Yet again, the migration status of the household does not have any bearing on the utilization of this scheme by the beneficiaries

Table 13.1: Percent of households that availed of the nutrition scheme

| | Regions | | | Migration status of the household | | | | | | | | |
| | Bihar | Est. UP | MGP | Bihar | | | Est. UP | | | MGP | | |
	Total	Total	Total	M HH	NM HH	RM HH	M HH	NM HH	RM HH	M HH	NM HH	RM HH
Household having a ration card	68.5	74.5	69.9	68.4	68.5	70.0	75.9	71.9	78	70	69.2	71.9
	1424	**1422**	**2846**	**764**	**555**	**105**	**752**	**547**	**123**	**1516**	**1102**	**228**
Avail ration from PDS	89.9	88.5	89.6	90.9	89.1	87.5	87.4	90.2	88.3	90.1	89.4	87.7
Total (n)	**1262**	**1255**	**2517**	**683**	**485**	**94**	**658**	**490**	**107**	**975**	**1341**	**201**
Type of ration card												
APL card- Green	22.4	3.7	17.9	19.5	25.4	27.4	3.9	4.2	0.0	15.7	20.5	20.3
BPL Card- Gulabi/ Red	28.3	15.7	25.3	29.5	27.3	25.7	15.8	16.2	12.5	26.3	24.7	22.0
Food security card- White	38.7	67.6	45.6	39.7	37.2	38.9	68.1	65.7	72.7	46.5	43.9	48.0
Antyodaya card- Yellow	10.6	13.0	11.2	11.3	10.1	8.0	12.2	13.8	14.8	11.5	10.9	9.7
Total (n)	**1424**	**1422**	**2846**	**764**	**555**	**105**	**752**	**547**	**123**	**1516**	**1102**	**228**

Table 13.2: Percent of household availing ration under PDS

	NM HH	M HH	R M HH	Total
Avail Rice	98.4	98.7	96.0	98.4
Total	**958**	**1316**	**192**	**2466**
Avail Wheat	97.6	97.3	97.0	97.4
Total	**950**	**1296**	**195**	**2441**
Avail Sugar	0.9	0.7	0.0	0.7
Total	**7**	**6**	**0**	**13**
Avail kerosene	83.5	83.8	74.0	82.9
Total	**804**	**1105**	**157**	**2066**
Total	**975**	**1341**	**201**	**2517**

Table 13.3: Reasons for not taking ration from PDS in MGP

	NM HH	M HH	R M HH
Inferior quality of food grain	0.9	5.4	22.2
Shop far away	2.7	3.4	0.0
Dealer not provided	38.9	44.9	37.0
Not needed	15.0	9.5	7.4
Don't know	13.3	15.6	7.4
Other	29.2	21.1	25.9
Total	**127**	**175**	**27**

13.3 MGNREGA

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) was launched in 2006 to provide a legal guarantee of employment for 100 days at the statutory minimum wage in every financial year to adult members of any rural household willing to do public work-related unskilled manual work. This act was introduced to improve the purchasing power of the rural people, primarily semi or un-skilled work to people living below the poverty line in rural India and to improve the infrastructure. One of the objectives of this programme was to reduce migration by rural poor households in the lean agricultural period.

In the MGP region, 72 percent of the surveyed households are aware of the MGNREGA scheme but only 11 percent have availed the benefits of the scheme (Table 13.4 and Figure 13.2). This ratio is maintained in Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh, where 70 percent and 80 percent of the households respectively have indicted awareness of the MGNREGA scheme but only 10 percent and 15 percent respectively have availed of it. This pattern remains consistent throughout the different households in the MGP region irrespective of the migration status except for return migrant households in Eastern UP, where nearly one-fourth of these households have benefitted from this scheme.
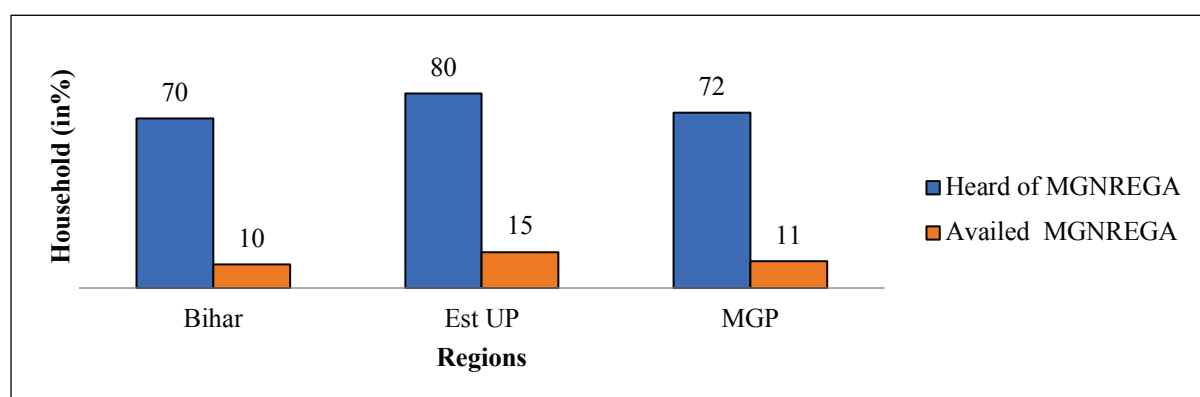

Figure 13.2: Households heard of and benefitted from the MGNREGA scheme

As discussed in Chapter 3, only three percent of the respondent households perceive MGNREGA as a source of income. The percentage is slightly higher amongst return migrant households (6%) and non-migrant households (4%) in comparison to migrant households (2%). Data shows that three-fourth of the MGNREGA beneficiaries worked for less than 40 days in the year preceding the survey.

A majority of the key informants opined that MGNREGA does not reduce migration from the village as the job available under this scheme is usually for only 10 to 15 days annually. Moreover, the wage rate under MGNREGA is lower than other daily wage-earning opportunities. This clearly shows that MGNREGA does not reduce seasonal or long-term migration from the region.

Self- employment Scheme

The utilization of self-employment schemes in the region is negligible. There is not much difference among the households as less than one percent of migrant households, two percent of the non-migrant households, and three percent of the return migrant household avail of the same.

Table 13.4: Percent of Respondents who have heard of and benefited from Government scheme and programmes by migration type in Bihar, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, and MGP

| | Regions | | | Migration status of household | | | | | | | | |
| | Total | | | Bihar | | | Est. UP | | | MGP | | |
	Biha r	Est. Up	MG P	M HH	N M HH	R M HH	M HH	N M HH	R M HH	M HH	N M HH	R M HH
Heard of schemes												
MGNREGA /	69.8	79.9	72.0	70.5	68.2	73.1	78.2	80.0	90.2	72.2	70.9	77.0
Self- employment	33.9	35.8	34.3	32.9	35.0	35.2	37.3	31.7	45.7	33.9	34.3	37.9
Benefitted by												
MGNREGA /	9.7	14.7	10.9	9.4	9.1	14.5	11.6	16.5	23.6	9.8	11	16.8
Total (n)	1353	1529	2882	754	495	104	778	607	144	1532	1102	248
Self- employment Scheme	2.9	1.3	2.4	1.7	4.7	1.8	0.5	2.1	2.7	1.3	4.0	2.5
Total (n)	623	1452	2979	330	244	49	763	559	130	1622	1117	240
Total	**2054**	**1930**	**3984**	**1117**	**790**	**147**	**1004**	**766**	**160**	**2121**	**1556**	**3984**

13.4 Other schemes

Other schemes include Pradhanmantri Jan Dhan Yojana, National Old Age Pension Scheme, Sukanya Samriddhi Yojana, Janani Suraksha Yojana, Jananji Shishu Suraksha Yojana, and Swatch Bharat Yojana. The percentage of households that heard of and benefitted from these schemes in Bihar, Eastern UP, and MGP is presented in Figures 13.3a, 13.3b, and 13.3c. Figures 13.4a, 13.4b, and 13.4c depict differences in awareness and those who benefited from the schemes across migrant, non-migrant, and return-migrant households in Bihar, Eastern UP, and MGP.

Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY)

The PMJDY under the National Mission for Financial Inclusion was launched four years in 2014 by the Prime Minister of India. The coverage of the scheme was further extended beyond every household to every adult from 18 to 65 years of age (GOI 2014) (https://www.pmjdy.gov.in/about). The main aim of the scheme was to make financial services accessible and affordable to people below the poverty line and who do not have a bank account. It offers at least one banking facility to all households, financial literacy, access to credits, access to insurance and pension. The beneficiaries of PMJDY also have access to micro-insurance schemes like Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana (PMJJBY), Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana (PMSBY), Atal Pension Yojana (APY), and Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana (PMMY).
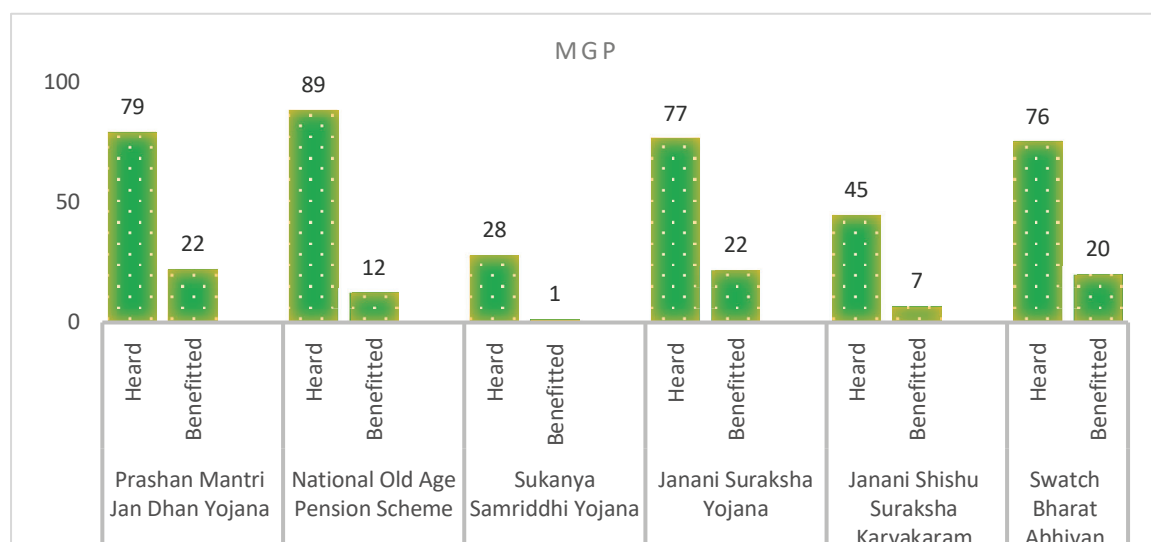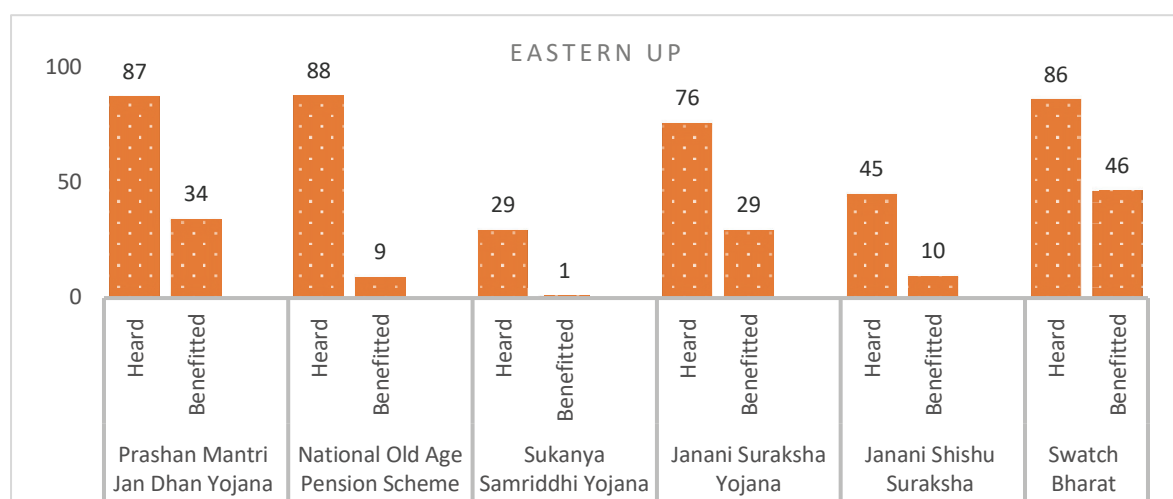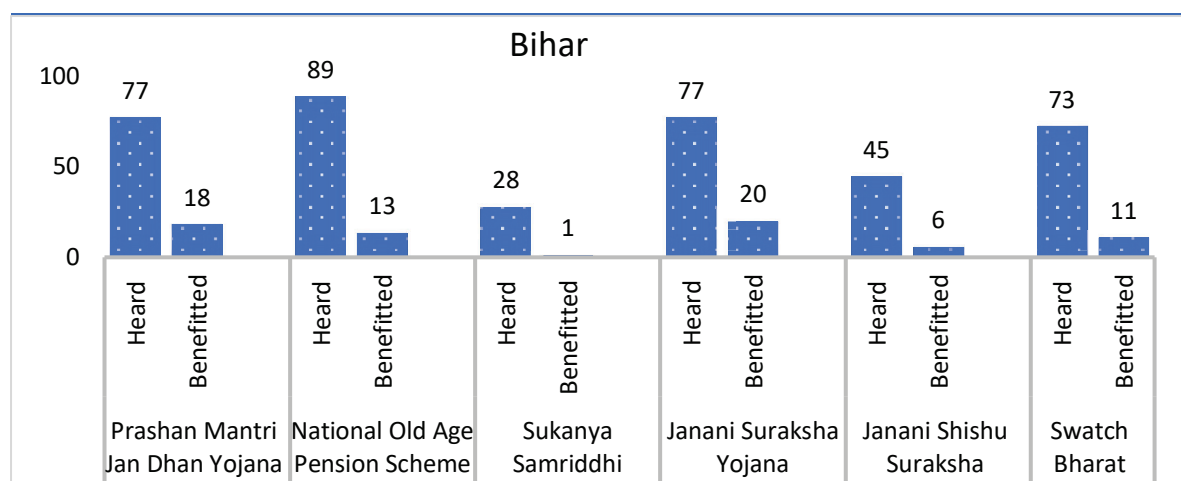
Figure 13.3 a, 13.3b, & 13.3c: Heard of and benefitted from different government scheme and programme (in %)
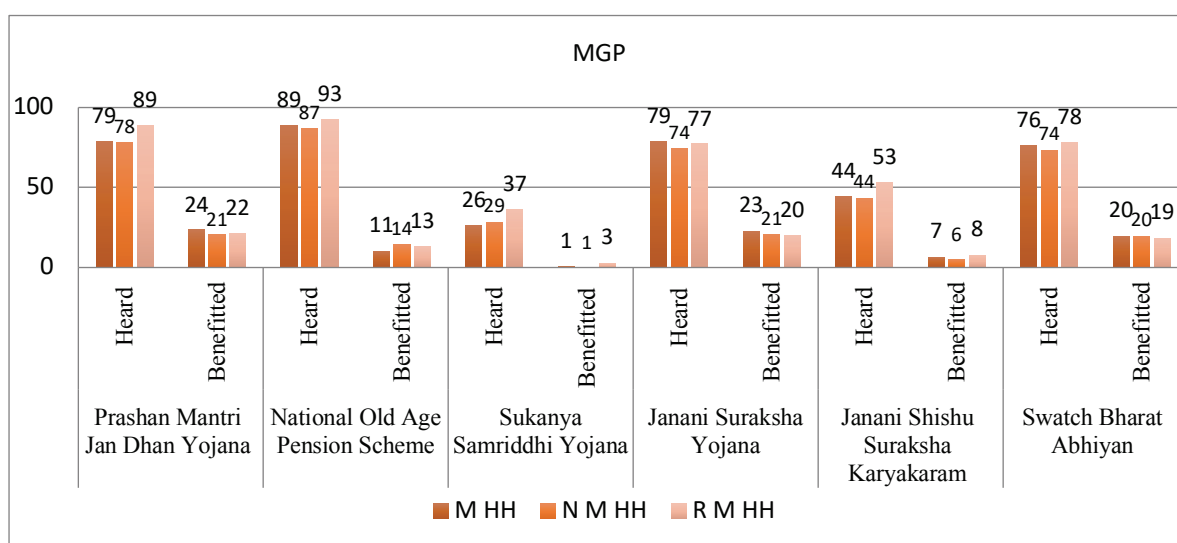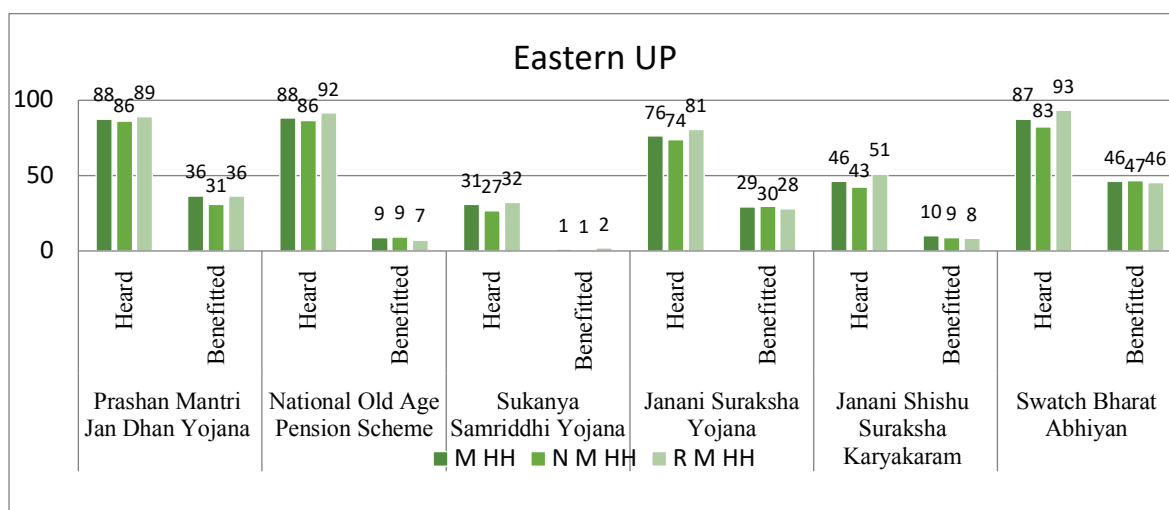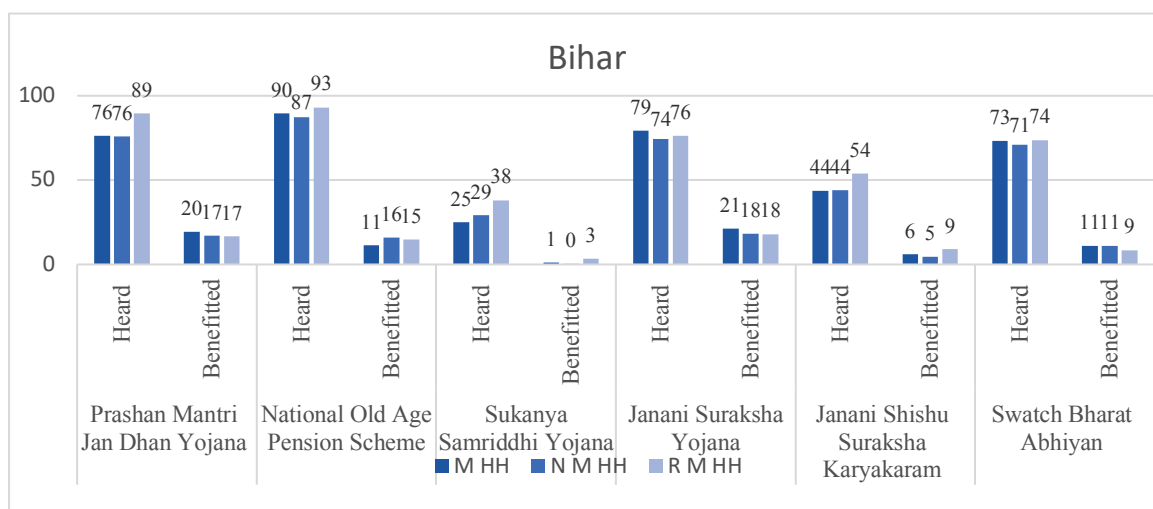
Figure 13.4 a 13.4b & 13.4c: Heard and benefitted by government programme by households' migration status (in %)

In the study area, a total of 22 percent households in MGP, 18 percent households in Bihar, and 34 percent households in Eastern Uttar Pradesh avail the Pradhan Mantri Jan-Dhan Yojana (PMJDY). Overall, a slightly higher proportion of the migrant households (24%) have benefitted from the programme than the non-migrant households (21%). However, in Eastern UP, in comparison to 31 percent of the non-migrant households, the utilization is higher in both migrant and return migrant households at 36 percent each. Not so much difference was observed across household types in Bihar.

National Old Age Pension Scheme

The Indira Gandhi National Old age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS) provides financial assistance to all people above the age of sixty who are below the poverty line. Under this scheme, the beneficiaries aged 60 to 80 receive a total of Rs. 300 per month in the age group 60-79, whereas beneficiaries aged 80 and above receive a total sum of Rs. 500 per month.

Approximately 90 percent of the respondents are aware of his scheme. However, the level of utilization of the National Old Age Pension Scheme is low at 12 percent, 13 percent, and nine percent in MGP, Bihar, Eastern Uttar Pradesh respectively. As far as the utilization by migrant and non-migrant households is concerned, non-migrant households have a higher percent of unitization (14%), followed by return-migrant households (13%) and migrant households (11%). The pattern remains the same across the two states.

Sukanya Samriddhi Yojana

Sukanya Samriddhi Yojana is another financial scheme with a social goal. This scheme is aimed at protecting the girl child through her parents. It encourages the parents of a girl child to invest in her future at an interest rate of eight percent per annum. The release of maturity amount is linked to the daughter being unmarried till the age of 21 years and thus, the Sukanya Samriddhi Yojana indirectly encourages the postponement of the marriage of girls.

In the study area, around one-third of the households have indicated awareness of this scheme; however less than 2 percent of them have utilized it. The level of awareness and utilization was slightly higher in return migrant households. Overall, it can be concluded that this particular scheme is not popular and the migration status of the households has no role either in awareness or in utilization pattern.

Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY)

JSY is a safe motherhood intervention under the National Health Mission (NHM). The main objective is to reduce maternal and neonatal mortality by promoting institutional deliveries. The JSY scheme focuses on pregnant women from states which traditionally have lower rates of institutional delivery, both Uttar Pradesh and Bihar fall under this category.

More than three-fourths of the women respondents across the MGP are aware of JSY. Of those who were aware, 29 percent, 22 percent, and 20 percent of the households utilized the services in Eastern UP, MGP, and Bihar respectively. The utilization was slightly higher in migrant households than non-migrant and return migrant households across MGP and in both regions.

It can be seen from Figure 13.3 a,b,c that the migrant households were slightly more aware of the benefits of this scheme than non-migrant households.

Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakaram (JSSK)

The JSSK is also a safe motherhood initiative that began in 2011. Similar to JSY, it sought to involve mothers who did not participate in the JSY scheme. The JSSK scheme provides essential care to mothers and new-born infants for the first 48 hours. This scheme focuses on eliminating out-of-pocket expenses incurred as part of institutional delivery. JSSK includes free drugs and consumables, diagnostics, blood, transport from home to institution, and diet for 3 days during normal delivery and 7 days for C-section.

Around 45 percent of the respondents are aware of this programme with a total of seven percent of households in the MGP, six percent in Bihar, and 10 percent in Eastern UP availing of JSSK. Although the proportion of households that avail of the JSSK is low, the proportion of households that avail of JSSK in Eastern UP is almost double that of Bihar. There is not much difference in utilization of schemes across the households by migration types. The utilization is a little higher in return migrant (8%) and migrant households (7%) than non-migrant households (6%). A similar pattern is noted in households across Bihar and Eastern UP.

Swatch Bharat Abhiyan / Sanitation

The Swatch Bharat Abhiyan is a nationwide campaign to stop open defecation and improve solid waste management in India. The Swatch Bharat Abhiyan has also worked in tandem with the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goal Number 6 which promises to provide sustainable water management and sanitation for all.

A total of 20 percent households in MGP, 11 percent in Bihar, and 46 percent households in Eastern UP have availed Swatch Bharat Abhiyan. It is thus obvious that in comparison to Bihar, the Swatch Bharat Abhiyan is more successful in Eastern UP. There is not much difference among different households on the use of the Swatch Bharat Abhiyan / Sanitation programme.

13.5 Conclusion

The data shows that awareness regarding the schemes is higher than the utilization of these schemes. This indicates a reluctance or hesitation on the part of the beneficiaries to avail of schemes and services designed to support them and improve the quality of their lives. There could be multiple reasons for this, one of which relates to governance in terms of government systems responsible for the implementation of these schemes, programmes, and services. The absence of schemes specifically designed to support migrant families at the place of origin could be yet another reason for the low utilization of the schemes. It would also be interesting to explore the perceptions of the government scheme providers to understand the challenges they face in implementing the schemes. This may well be the topic of future research and can provide new insights for policy recommendations and advocacy.

Thus, this study sought to develop a deeper understanding of migration in the Middle Ganga Plain in terms of nature, patterns and causes along with the consequences of migration on

empowerment of left-behind women, on the health and health-seeking behaviour of left-behind families as well as on children and elderly. It also explored the role of remittances in economic mobility and poverty reduction and conducted a review of programmes and policies related to migration and livelihood at the place of origin with a view to suggesting policy measures to improve the condition of migrants and their left-behind families.

Poverty, landlessness, and unemployment are the three most important trigger factors for migration across all types of migration. It is interesting to note that migrant households from Eastern Uttar Pradesh perform better on all indictors than their counterparts in Bihar. The study highlights the fact that the migration of the father has a positive effect on the academic performance of their sons but does not make a significant difference when it comes to the education of daughters. Overall, the trends show that families of international migrants appear to send higher amounts of remittances and therefore have improved the socio-economic conditions of the families to a greater extent. The data also reveals that despite a plethora of government schemes, less than a third of the respondents' avail of these. In the case of specific economic schemes like the pension scheme or the MNERGA, only 10 to 12 percent avail of these despite being the fact awareness of these schemes is high (70%). This points to a systemic failure and suggests a feeling of apathy towards these and other schemes. The results indicate that most respondents are well aware of the challenges that migration brings both to the migrant and to the left being family, yet many of the youth, the potential migrants appear to view migration as the only option.

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Appendix 1: Contents of the schedules

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Block 3: Village identification
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Appendix 2: Concepts and definitions

Migration-Migration is defined as a change of residence from one administrative division to another.

Migrant- Migrant is defined as any member of the household, who has ever changed the usual place of residence to other districts in India or outside India for the purpose of employment, business, or education for a duration of more than one year.

Current Migrant- Current migrant is defined as a member of the household, who was residing at another district within India or outside India for the purpose of employment or business for a duration of more than one year.

Out migrant or internal migrant- Out-migrant is defined as someone who has migrated to any other district within India for employment or business for a duration of more than one year at the time of the survey.

International migrant- International migrant is defined as a member of a household who has migrated to a foreign country for a duration of at least six months at the time of the survey.

Temporary/seasonal migrant/short term migrant- Temporary/seasonal migrant/short-term migrant is defined as a household member who migrates out frequently for a short span of time or seasonally for employment for a period of 15 days to six months annually during one year preceding the survey.

Return migrant- Return migrant is defined as a member of the household who had migrated for employment or business for at least one year in the past, and has since returned and has been residing in the household for more than a year, with no intention of migrating in the near future.

Potential migrant- Potential migrant is defined as a member of the household who was between 10-24 years of age and has never migrated in the past but intends to migrate for employment in the future.

Non-migrant household- A non-migrant household is one where no members have ever changed the usual place of residence for the purpose of employment or business or education.

Migrant household- A migrant household is one with at least one internal (out-migrant) or international or seasonal migrant.

Return Migrant household- A return migrant household is one in which at least one member is a return migrant. These households are neither migrant nor non-migrant households.

Locked household- Some of the houses were locked temporarily, as the entire household has migrated to some other place [for employment] and they visit the village as and when required. These households are defined as locked households.

International Migrant Household- A household from which at least one member has migrated to a destination outside India for employment or business for a period of more than six months.

Out-Migrant Household- A household from which at least one member has migrated to a destination within India for employment or business or education for a period of more than one year.

Seasonal Migrant Household- A household from which at least one member has migrated out frequently for a short span of time or seasonally for employment for a period of 15 days to six months in a year.

Primary Migrant- A **current migrant**, who was the first to have migrated from a household for the purpose of employment.

Move- Move in the context of migration refers to the destination and not to the number of visits. It refers to the number of destinations that a migrant has visited during the period of a single migration.

Left-Behind women- Left-behind women are currently married women whose gauna has been performed and whose husband has been residing in another country/ state/district/block/town for a period of one year for employment or work.

Wife of Non-Migrant Non- left-behind women are Currently married women whose gauna has been performed)and whose husband have never migrated for employment and it exclude wives of return, seasonal and temporary migrants.

Elderly– Any household member, who is sixty or above and has been living in the household for a period of at least one year.

Appendix 3: Constituting districts of the Commissionaires

Commissionaires/Administrative Divisions of Bihar and Eastern UP and constituting district	
Bihar	
Commissionaires	Name of Districts
Bhagalpur	Bhagalpur, Banka
Darbhanga	Madhubani, Dharbhanga, Samastipur, Begusarai
Kosi	Supaul, Madhepura, Saharsa
Magadh	Aurangabad, Gaya, Nawada, Jehanabad
Muger	Khagaria, Munger, Lakhisarai, Sheikhpura, Jamui
Patna	Nalanda, Patna, Bhojpur, Buxar, Kaimer Babhua, Rohtas
Purnia	Araria, Kishanganj, Purnia, Katihar
Saran	Gopalganj, Saran, Siwan
Tirhut	West Champaran, East Champaran, Sheohar, Sitamarhi, Muzaffarpur, Vaishali
Eastern Uttar Pradesh	
Varanasi	Varanasi, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Chanduali, Varanasi
Mirzapur	Sant Ravidas Nagar, Mirzapur, Sonbhadra
Allahabad	Pratapgarh, Allahabad, Kaushambhi
Faizabad	Sultanpur, Ambedkar Nagar, Faizabad
Devipatan Gonda	Bahraich, Balrampur, Shrawasti, Gonda
Basti	Siddharthnagar, Basti, Sant Kabir Nagar
Azamgad	Azamgarh, Mau, Balia
Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur, Deoria, Maharajganj, Khushinagar

Appendix 4a: Mean remittances (Rs) calculated for total migrant household

| Mean remittances received (in Rs) by the total migrant households by their background characteristics			
Background Characteristics	**Bihar**	**Est UP**	**MGP**
Mean Remittance	30,844	49,774	35,441
Migration Type			
Internal	27,242	42,712	30,994
International	75,656	1,35,646	90,455
Religion			
Hindu	29,219	48,972	34,499
Muslim	36,534	55,923	39,299
Caste Category			
ST	18,520	39,525	23,696
SC	28,639	41,110	33,055
OBC	29,858	54,625	35,121
Others	36,296	53,446	39,829
Land Category			
Landless	28,361	39,182	30,123
< 1 acre	35,293	51,596	39,830
≤ 1 acre	33,336	61,224	46,382
Family Type			
Nuclear	26,977	37,295	28,906
Joint/extended	37,810	60,454	45,195
Gender			
Male	29,034	50,982	35,533
Female	31,934	48,599	35,378
Total migrant HH (n)	**907**	**945**	**1852**

Table 10.1 Mean remittances received (in Rs) by the recipient households by their background characteristics

Background Characteristics	Regions		
	Bihar	**Est UP**	**MGP**
Mean Remittance	**35,042**	**55,541**	**40,087**
Migration Type			
Internal	31,100	47,969	35,242
International	81,060	1,40,422	96,088
Religion			
Hindu	33,620	54,734	39,384
Muslim	39,749	61,651	42,837
Caste Category			
SC + ST	30,846	44,060	35,517
OBC	33,403	60,126	39,154
Others	43,638	66,876	48,276
Land Category			
Landless	31,370	41,940	33,138
< 1 acre	39,665	56,838	44,514
≥ 1 acre	46,556	73,438	60,152
Family Type			
Nuclear	29,927	41,142	32,034
Joint	44,902	68,131	52,748
Headship of the HH			
Male	38,548	61,779	45,877
Female	33,381	50,357	36,914
Household receiving remittance (n)	**794**	**848**	**1642**
Note: there were only 17 cases in SC and 18 ST so these have been merged			

Appendix 5: Contributors (team members and coordinators)

Contributors

1.   Team members

IT Team	Research Team	Investigators in Bihar	Investigators in Eastern UP
Mr. Anjani Kumar Mishra	Ms. Divya Bhati	Mr. Uday Kumar Patel	Mr. Anoop Kumar
Mr. Nirbhay Singh	Mr. Nandan Kumar	Mr. Ashvin Kumar Rai	Ms. Rekha Devi
Mr. Aniket Velhal	Mr. Khullak Meson Maring	Mr. Koushal Prasad Sahu	Mr. Ravindra Pratap Singh
Mr. Ashutosh Jadhav	Ms. Monoshree Mukherjee	Mr. Sunil Kumar Yadav	Ms. Ragini Devi
	Mr. Manoj Sahu	Mr. Anjani Kumar	Ms. Preeti Yadav
	Mr. Sharad Kumar Suman	Mr. Rajesh Kumar	Mr. Ajay om Dixit
	Ms. Dorthy	Mr. Chandan Kumar	Ms. Saraswati Singh
	Mr. Pravin Singh	Ms. Hina Kumari	Mr. Sushil Kumar Awasthi
	Mr. Shiv Pratap Yadav	Ms. Archana Kumari	Ms. Kajal Raj
	Mr. Shailesh Kumar Pandit	Ms. Nibha Kumari	Mr. Rajesh Kumar
	Mr. Ravi Kanaujiya	Ms. Sonam Kumari	Ms. Sandhya Mondal
	Ms. Bhagyashree	Ms. Anita Singh	Mr. Chandan Kumar
	Ms. Sushmita Paul	Ms.Saraswati Singh	Ms. Mahima Singh
	Ms. Shalini Sen	Ms. Anuradha	Mr. Omprakash Gupta
	Ms. Nilanjana Gupta	Mr. Rajan Kumar	Ms. Chanchal Kumari
	Ms. Labhita Das	Ms. Vibha Rani	Mr. Shahbe Aalam
	Mr. Lahu Vitthal Rahod	Mr. Sachin Kumar Mishra	Ms. Guriya Kumari
	Mr. Rahul Kumar Jha	Ms. Kajal Raj	Mr. Vimlesh Kumar

Middle Ganga Plain

* Shades of Yellow- Est. UP * Shades of Green- Bihar * Blue – Rivers
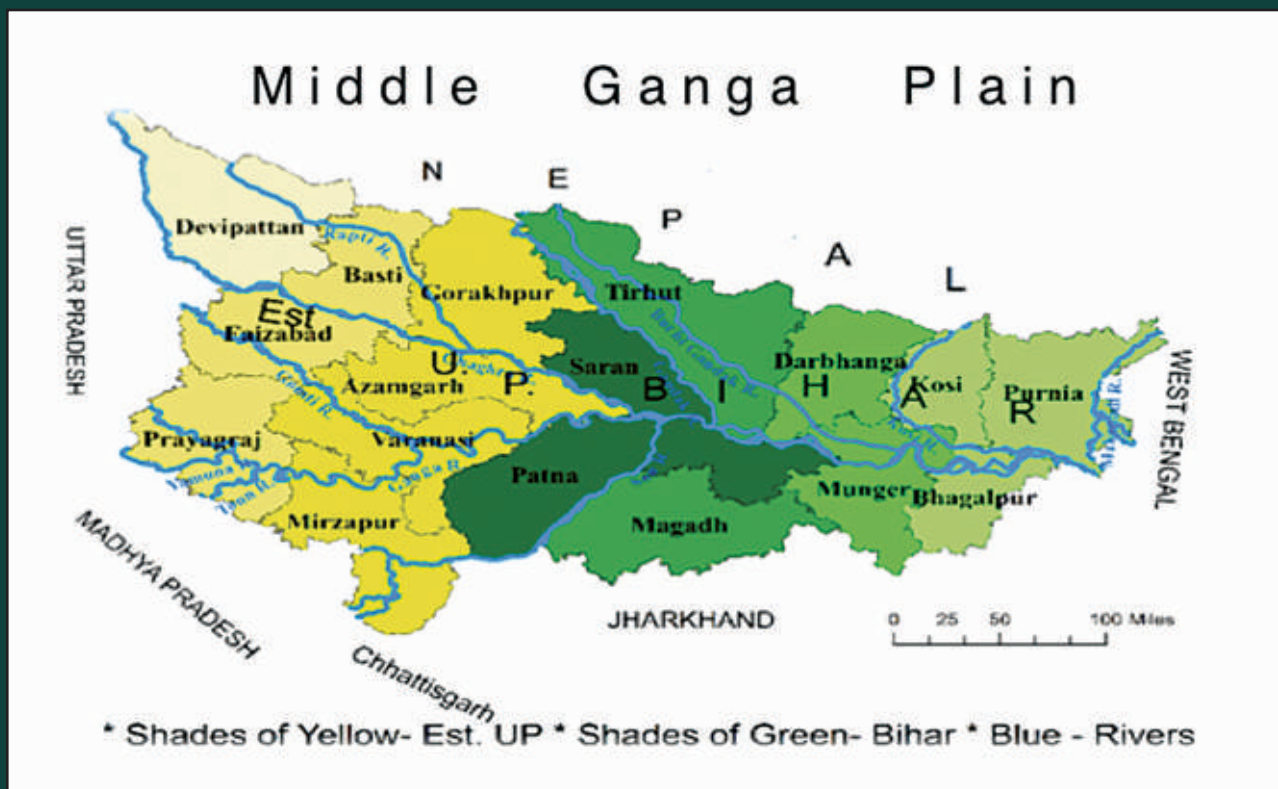
The Department of Migration and Urban Studies, IIPS has conducted a study entitled "Causes and Consequences of Out-Migration from Middle Ganga Plain". Middle Ganga Plain, situated in between foothills of Himalaya from north and Peninsula edge from south has immense human, cultural and economic significance for the country. Migration from this region has been deeply rooted for the past two centuries. In post LPG reform period, both internal and international migration and remittances in household livelihood have become a predominant feature. This study was designed within the framework to study the circumstances leading to migration and the consequent impact on those staying back, focusing specifically on the wives, children and elderly parents of the migrants. The data was collected from 4056 households from 68 villages/PSUs spread across all the 17 administrative divisions / commissionaries of Bihar and Eastern UP in 2018 and 2019, respectively.