Chapter - IX
Summary and Conclusion

The present study has tried to understand out-migration as a strategy of the households to diversify its livelihood. The study answers how migration is a part of life and livelihood in the study area given the context of development? The previous studies show that migration is not a linear outcome of the process of development but it is a part of area specific characteristics also which includes several social and cultural forces. There are certain areas in the world and in the country where out-migration is high. It has been seen that the history of out-migration and long established social network associated with migration develops a high migratory tendency among the work-force over the generations. The evidences show that ongoing distress in the agriculture is not a short term stress but a part of long term crisis spread all around developing countries of Asia and Africa. It is transforming the rural way of life also and have huge impact on the peasantry. While the magnitude of out-migration is highly debated, it is expected that those who are leaving agriculture and allied activities, a large proportion of them may opt for out-migration. Out-migration may increase from an area where network of migration is well established, whereas heavy outflow may occur from the peripheral regions of such areas.

The study has been conducted in the state of Bihar where peasantry has been a way of life and network of migration is also well established. The secondary data (NSS 64th round) indicates that at least one fifth of household is sending out their male members for economic
or employment related reasons. Census 2001 data indicates that people are mostly moving towards big city centres. The work-force data suggests that male out-migration from the state is taking place from the household, while household is not leaving the other locally available income generating activities. Therefore, migration process is generating a diverse livelihood portfolio at the area of origin, particularly among the agricultural households. While informalization became a leading feature of urban work-force, livelihood in urban area also became fragile. A household situated at rural area is likely to co-insure its income by scattering its work-force at both the areas. Around one fifth household has received remittances sent by the migrants of the household. The remittances comprise almost half to one third of the household expenditure, irrespective of economic status of the households. It is mostly expended on food and other items of consumer expenditure, health care and education of the family members. Thus, remittances received through migration have provided an important cushion against food insecurity for many households in Bihar.

For a nuance understanding of out-migration and the process of diversification, a primary study was conducted at Barauli Block of Gopalganj District which is a part of old Saran District (Saran Division at present). Saran division has the oldest history of out-migration from the state, and it is still a highest out-migratory area of the state of Bihar. According to Census 1921, most of the out-migration from the division was seasonal in nature, occurring at the end of November and lasting for three to four months. Around 1,14,000 were counted in Bengal (chiefly in Calcutta and 24-Parganas), 28,000 were recorded in United Province, 18,000 in Assam and 2,000 in Burma (O’Malley, 1930). At present out-migration from the area is directed to different parts of the country mostly towards big city centre. Along with that, the routes of heavy out-flow towards Gulf countries have also been developed as a new phenomenon (Sasikumar and Thimothy, 2015). The sex ratio which was recorded in favor of
females (recorded by census data and confirmed by the survey), indicates a high rate of single male out-migration.

The lack of housing, sanitation and electricity shown by both Census and the primary survey data, shows that the people of the area are still struggling to realize the impact of development in their daily life. More than half of the household in this area is not Pukka, again around half of the households are not electrified, around 71 per cent are lacking with toilet facility, and around 86 per cent of houses are using the conventional fuel for cooking. In the area, around 41 per cent of household is expending less than the poverty line and around 47.7 per cent of household earn lesser than the amount of their monthly expenditure. As much as 58 per cent of households showing lesser income compared to expenditure, showing the pressing consumption requirement in the face of insufficient income. It shows that the poor of this area has been facing the pressure of their expending requirement with changes in the need of human life amid fast pace of development.

In the area of study, a good proportion of Muslims resides and also OBCs. Religion and caste identities have their impact on social life in a great deal. While nation-wide small and nuclear family became the norm, the large and joint family still exists as the part of life in the area. The mean size of households was recorded as 6.5 in the survey and according to census 2011 average household size of Gopalganj District was 6.2; larger than the national average. After including the out-migrants as household member the average size reaches up to 7.4 in the survey data. Around 40 per cent of the household in the area of study is nuclear, consisted of one marital unit (married couple or one widowed-separated/divorced), showing that the majority of the household in the area of study is living in a joint family structure. In the survey, 1224 females were recorded per 1000 males and proportion of male in the age-group 30 to 44 years was just 9.3 per cent of the total male population. Such distortion found in age
and sex structure in the area of study certainly indicates that the household is using its demographic endowment in migration strategy.

While the social security scheme of the government is reshaping the social and political life of rural people, the implementation of PDS was relatively better and the implementation of MNREGA was disappointing. Certainly, its impact on migration may not be significant with such poor record.

In the area, around 71.1 per cent of family is engaged in cultivation, 69.1 per cent in animal husbandry, 39.6 per cent was earning wages, 16.4 per cent is engaged in business and services, 8 per cent is earning salary, 7.3 per cent of household is getting income from other sources, 2.7 per cent of household is getting the benefit of the cash transfer schemes of the government, compared to these as much as 59.3 per cent of households are getting remittances. Thus, cultivation (along with animal husbandry) and remittances have emerged the two most important sources on which a household depends in the area, showing that other sources such as wage labor, providing services and petty trading became way behind in the life of people of the area compared to migration. The differentials in socio–economic background in participation varies and it follows almost same existing pattern, like rest of the country; such as participation in agriculture is higher among Hindus and Upper caste, while SC & ST household is showing more participation in wage earning and domestication of animals. Households with better education of the head is participating less in wage earning and more in salary earning. Poverty is also related to higher participation in wage earning. Earning from remittance is high among Muslims, OBCs, households with below middle pass heads, non-poor and the most complex type of households. Increasing complexity of household is increasing participation in remittance earnings which indicate that if a household is larger, they deploy their labour force more in migration and remittance earnings.
Average income from cultivation is very low (Rs. 17,000 annually) and concentrated in the hands of few; merely 4.7 per cent of cultivators earn around 42 per cent of total income from agriculture. Such amount of income the household got when harvest was not bad and with 180 per cent of crop intensity as this area is good for cultivation. Considering the erratic nature of income from agriculture, this amount of income is inadequate and unreliable to support the household. Animal husbandry is being done in the area at domestic level, mostly not for cash income, yet the mean income from agriculture and animal husbandry is merely 21,800 annually. The average annual income of wage earning (Rs. 28,500) is higher than cultivation. The household which is engaged in tertiary activities, such as business or providing services, among them the service provider households is earning very less annually (around 38.7 thousand), while a small proportion of big businessmen is earning most of the income in this sector. Therefore, this sector is generating inadequate income for the sustainability of the household. Highest median was obtained from remittances (Rs. 55,000) which was a part of support system for at least 53 per cent of the household in the area.

Inadequacy of income from agriculture and locally available activities are inducing the dependency upon multiple sources in the household at one point of time. Around 85 per cent of the household in the area depends upon more than two sources of income and around 33 per cent of household depends upon more than three sources of income at any point of time (considering agriculture and animal husbandry as same portfolio). Cultivation is often combined with animal husbandry, wage earning, business & services and remittances. Around 43 percent of the household in the area depends upon agriculture and remittances together. Given the output from different sources, remittance has become the first source of income for 45 percent of the household in the area, while agriculture (and allied) is the main source of income just for the 15.6 percent of the household. For the rest of the participant households, the role of agriculture (and allied) became subsidiary.
As a source of cash income, agriculture is no more adequate for the household particularly in the state like Bihar where around 90 per cent of cultivators are small, marginal or sub-marginal land holders. Around 43 per cent of the household is getting more than half of their income from remittances. While the need of the household is changing, diversifying and monetizing, most of the households are hardly able to meet the changing needs. Migration is a source of cash income is surely beneficial to supplement the household need of food, partly fulfilled by agriculture and animal husbandry, and the requirement of cash for the other non-agricultural commodities and services.

The multinomial analysis shows that the complex household (with more than one couple) is able to diversify more. It means that household size determines diversification. The another important determinants of diversification is land holding which means that the household engaged in agriculture is more likely to combine the other sources of livelihood in their portfolio.

As the income portfolio of household is highly diversified, such diversification is not possible without deployment of household labour force in different activities. The data of work-force participation shows that male workforce participation (excluding 0 to 14 years of age-group) is found very high (78.9 per cent) in this area. The activity in which males are mostly engaged is migration i.e. 37.8 per cent followed by agriculture 34.6 per cent. The break-up of age structure of work participation in different activities shows that the age group 15 to 29 shares around 57.4 per cent and the age-group 30 to 44 years 34.4 per cent of the entire out-migrant work-force. Such heavy exodus of youth is resulting into a high participation of elders in agriculture. Highest participation rate in agriculture was recorded in the age–group 60 and above (69.1 per cent) followed by the age–group 45 to 59 (65.2 per cent). These two age group shares more than half of male working population in agriculture. Participation of female is also higher in the area (25.5 per cent) which is mostly in agriculture (16.4 per cent)
and animal husbandry (10.2 per cent). In the cumbersome work, such as wage earning and business & services, the work participation mostly comes from the age group 30 to 44 years and 45 to 59 years. Therefore, almost half of the youth are out-migrant from the area, and agriculture and animal husbandry on the shoulder of woman and elderly.

Youth are the capable members of the household for earning cash, while elders and women are left for the rest of the activities. The participation of household in migration depends upon availability of young members within the household. In the age-group 15 to 29 years, youth are available in 69.6 per cent of the households and out-migrating from 42.9 per cent of households. Again, in the age-group 30 to 44 years, youth are available in 48.4 per cent of the households and out-migrating from 28.6 per cent of household.

Family, friends and society has been playing a major role in motivation for internal as well as international migration, and they the major facilitator of information. In case of international migration, agents and brokers are the channel through which it takes place, while in case of internal migration, around 19.5 per cent of migrants are migrating by self, and the other main channels are relatives (37.6 per cent) and other members of the village or community (21.6 per cent) and friends (18 per cent). Thus social and personal relation becomes important in the case of internal migration. Around 25.9 per cent of internal migrants are making their arrangement at destination by themselves, while friends, relatives and the other members of village and community is helping to find employment, making staying and food arrangement at the destination. Thus, while survival in the urban space is being increasingly difficult, the established networks are helping the new comers in different ways. Around 54.8 per cent of internal migrants got help in finding employment at destination. Therefore, in case of migration within the national boundary also, mostly, there is some certainty of employment at destination, which is easing the risk of unemployment for migrants.
Expansion of information and communication technology has facilitated the migrants to stay in touch with left behind family and community. Around 34 per cent of emigrants and 43.9 per cent of internal migrants talk weekly to their spouse, family, relatives and friends. Use of mobile phone is almost universal among out-migrants, apart from that 35.1 per cent emigrants uses social network sites and 23.4 per cent of them chats online, 15.7 of internal migrants are also using social network sites. Thus, use of modern technology is facilitating a small section of out-migrants. Around 40.4 per cent of emigrants visit home at least once in two years and around 41.1 per cent of internal migrants visit home once in a year. Around 66.5 per cent of international migrants and 53.9 per cent of internal migrants are sending remittances around 7 to 12 times in a year. Around 54.3 per cent of internal migrants send 20,000 to 50,000 thousand as remittances in a year and around 62 per cent of emigrants send one lakh to two lakhs in a year. It shows that economic importance of out-migration, and suggests how strongly migrants are connected to their left behind family. Remittance was received by parents in 73 per cent cases of internal migrants and 85 per cent cases of international migrants. This is expected while out-migration is taking place mostly within joint family structure. In 67.8 percent of internal migrant’s household, the first use of remittance was on food, while this was the case for emigrant’s household, merely 29.3 percent have reported first use of remittance for the same. Therefore, in case of emigrant’s household, remittances are being used for the other purposes, such as improving housing condition (12.2 per cent), marriage/ dowry and other ceremony (12.2 per cent), other household consumer expenditure (12.2 per cent), repayment of debt (9.8 per cent) and health (7.3 per cent). International migration in this area, coping as well as accumulation strategy, while the survival from the other sources fails, international migration work as a hope for the family. As migrating to Gulf is now no more a new thing for the residents of the area,
aspirants are almost aware of the process, they are helping each other for the same and now not much feared of agents and mediators.

In final words, it can be said that out-migration is inducing three important characteristics in the area. A rural area, which is not just dependent on agriculture but is connected to the economy of distinct places. Thus, any change in the policy which prevents the entry of labour force into urban or international market will directly affect the life and livelihood of the people of the area. Not only economic level but culturally also; rural area is now more connected to urban area. The entire male young population, who are connected to both rural as well as urban area, can disseminate the behaviour, way of life, thoughts, choices and preferences etc. to rural area and this potentiality has to be explored. Second, a multi-spatial household deploys its labour force at distinct places. Therefore, for the development of the household, not only multi-sectoral approach is required, but the policy should have the sensibility to accommodate mobility or migration also in the development agenda. The migrant and its right must be protected and they should not be deprived of their fundamental right such as voting etc. or getting the benefit of the schemes of government such as PDS etc. due to their mobility. It is necessary to ensure that migrants and their households should not remain deprived from the assistance of the state at either of the places. Third, along with agriculture, diversification of livelihood as well as migration has to be accepted as reality of life and livelihood. Migration has emerged almost a finite stage of life cycle of youth in the area. While the big cities are increasingly becoming hostile for the migrants, youth are getting help from their family or social network to settle and find work in urban area. The choice of migration must be an informed choice, and they should be equipped with the skills also so that they can be enabled to participate in different niches of the urban job market. Migration can be enabled in such a way that it may bring social mobility also when they reach the next stage of their life. While the hope of betterment of life from agriculture is decreasing,
migration has the potentiality to give a sense of hope for a better life to the youth. The demographic dividend of rural area must be exploited for the betterment of all and for that purpose, recognizing the mobility aspect of the rural youth is very important.

**Limitations of the study**

The major limitation of the study is that it was not possible to conduct it at the area of destination, where migrants get settled, therefore the hardship and challenges that they are facing to earn remittances has not been captured. Second, the nuances of social network which migrants are using for out-migrating has not been explored since the migrants have not been captured. The study opens up a way ahead for further exploration of diversification process. The multi-spatial households have emerged as a reality; the economic and social relation within such household should be explored. The division of work within the household should be explored further as division of responsibility (in economic as well as social terms) within such multi-spatial households. Apart from remittances, the culture and behaviour, which migrants are bringing from the other areas, also need to be explored.