In the light of the analysis attempted in the preceding sections (Theory, Methodology, Political economy, Agrarian Structure and Pattern of Migration), we intend, hereto arrive at some conclusion within the parameters raised already in the appropriate sections. We hope, the conclusions will be precise enough but also provocative too, and should encourage many others to examine more closely the incidence of migration from the agrarian structure which widely varies from region to region in the country shaped as it is by historical antecedents.

In this study, we have attempted to relate the agrarian structure and incidence of migration from different structures based on the principle of 'class' analysis. We have examined closely the historical antecedents to map the class background of the migrants. The schemata of different classes attempted here are not for the sake of novelty, but judiciously worked out based on the strong co-relation between the important variables like land, income and labour exploitation. The adopted five class scheme here shows the command of various resources like land, labour, agricultural inputs and technology. And the ownership of these resources varies in response to class positions. That means, the upper class monopolises the means of production, thereby depriving a vast majority and creating a condition of unequal distribution of resources among the remaining bottom classes. The class structure of a village has had
a direct influence on the pattern of migration of the bottom classes. Thus the nature of the present study is structural rather than purely functional.

Historically speaking, before independence, the district was ruled by the British from Madras. Thus, it had three broad types of land tenure system — the zamindari, the ryotwari and the inamdari. This created distinct type of classes: the feudallords, the peasant proprietors and the serfs. Further, the ryotwari tract, remaining under the direct control of colonial authority, used it as reserve army of labour force. And this labour force was used to a great extent in the development of plantation economy of Burma, Ceylon etc. (See Appendix - A). These indentured labourers worked not for their interest but sold their labour power as a commodity in the interest of colonial capital. Hence, at this point one should not misconstrue that these indentured labourers formed the segment of agricultural 'free' labourers or constituted surplus population.

As it is evident, the district being located on the coastal belt has made impressive development in agriculture. This is one of the districts in Orissa which witnessed several sporadic peasant movements against the rapacious feudallords, resulting in the enforcement of relatively successful land-reforms. Besides, the district is marked by a high percentage of irrigation. Being exposed to cashcrop production and
excessive use of chemical fertilisers it has achieved the highest per acre productivity in the state accompanied by the greatest inequality of land ownership. Further, the district also shoulders the burden of excessive surplus population. Over and above the salient feature of the district is obvious, as it stands apart from the general backwardness of the state, containing regional imbalances.

The regional imbalance and incidence of migration is clearly manifested in the two villages that have been studied of Ganjam, falling under the Zamindari and Ryotwari tract. The villages demonstrate the domination of the semi-feudal and the capitalist, of course albeit slowly, relations of production which have some definite bearing on the pattern of migration. It seems, the phenomenal increase of migration of small peasants and farm labourers from the ryotwari belt is necessarily the product of agricultural capitalism. The labourers who have been consistently migrating from this region, did it not voluntarily but out of some emerging structural conditions in agriculture. Needless to emphasise, the support of history and psychology on generational migration from the region lubricate the process further. Owning small patches of land or no land, followed by population pressure, has created acute unemployment. The active participation of female population in the production process squeezed the volume of employment days further, creating a state of high underemployment. The slow pauperisation of peasantry in agriculture ceates a staggering situation, where
labourers had to take a decision either to migrate, being transformed into an independent labourer—a free labourer—or to turn into a bonded or a semi-bonded labourer elsewhere in agriculture.

On the contrary, the incidence of migration from the zamindari village is less. The migration process is very slow and stalemate. The overall feature of the village reveals as if it is rolling under the remnants of feudal legacy. The village landlord continues to enjoy the monosposy power without any kind of challenge by the down-trodden or by the democratic institutions either. On the contrary, these institutions convincingly support and protect their interest too. The institution of bonded labour, repression, usury and tenancy of various forms continue both openly as well as concealed. The feudal lords manage to cross all the legal restrictions if needed through the nexus of political patronage. No sooner a labourer is set free by his good luck from such a chain, gets entrapped by another out of the social compulsion. In fact the feudal structure, has been restricting the flow of migration. It should be kept in mind that, during the British regime, the authority could not dare to recruit labourers from zamindari tract, as it lost governancy to the independent zamindars through the system of fixed land tax.

In short, we differ here, categorically from the views expressed by the majority of migration researchers who insistently
stress that the flow of migration of labour is bound to continue from a backward economy to a developed economy without understanding the historical and social context of the area. Instead, what we argue is that the incidence of migration of labour from a village or a region is largely governed by several structural conditions along with historical antecedents. Thus, the incidence of migration of labour varies widely from one village to another and even from region to region.

The migrants drawn from the villages, constitute higher, middle and low castes including comparatively a large number of untouchables. They are young adults, married and relatively better educated, a perquisite demand for undertaking interstate migration. Further majority had work experience at several places both inside and outside the country prior to the settlement in the present job. In addition to, majority have moved alone leaving the family members in the native habitat in order to get relief from the burden of economic cost involved in family migration. This in fact, improved the prospect of the inflow of money to the rural area and indirectly asks the migrant consistently to return to the native habitat on different occasions.

Interestingly, it seems the direction of migration from the district has undergone change, based on the rigid and soft structure of the employment resources. In the earlier period, the direction of migration dominantly continued to Eastern mines.
and plantation economy. But a decade and half past, the direction of migration to western textile industries and allied sectors has increased enormously, due to the unionisation of labour force and emerging strong parochial feelings, the treatment to the 'son's of the soil' in the former rigid structure. But contrary to the facts, the quite openness of these textile industries, being free from trade union politics and having massive employment avenues, have acted as catalyst, invite and divert the larger segment of aspirant labour force to these sectors through the strong network of kinship relation. Besides, the local industrial tycoons prefer Orissa labour force of Ganjam because of their hardworking nature, submissive resignation character, and less prone to trade union politics as it would not pose any amount of danger to the labour relations in the industries and continued super exploitation.

Remittances and home visits are observed fair and regular. Majority of the migrants send remittances most regularly and the percentage of remittances never gets declined over the length of time and stay. As it is evident, most of the remittances are spent meeting the daily requirement of consumption, largely on food and a substantial amount of it is spent on meeting the ceremonial expenses and repayment of old debts. Investment in agriculture figured only negligible percentage. However, a considerable number of migrants have invested the little saving, whatever they could generate keeping them undernourished at the place of work, have invested on land, building
a decent low cost house — a status symbol in the village — and luxury items like Radio, Taperecorder etc. With gaiety they rationalise the income with that of under payment and unemployment in the villages.

The overall development of rural area being brought back by migration economy seems not encouraging, as it is expected or ought to be, like the impact of Gulf money on Kerala which has virtually slumped down the poverty ratio of that state. In the dual economy like ours, neither we give due emphasis on industrialization nor to the development of agriculture, in this entwined situation the rural labour force has to dwell between the rural and industrial sector. At this juncture, it is too much to expect a desired change in the agrarian sector which will help to build up an egalitarian socialist society without inviting any damage to the institutional structure. Thus, in this situation the migration is bound to continue from the villages where the labourers enjoy comparatively more freedom to leave the village, to meet the increasing demands of industry. Under the present situation, the migrant is completely lost, as he cannot end up himself as an industrial working class or he cannot be a permanent member to his own community.